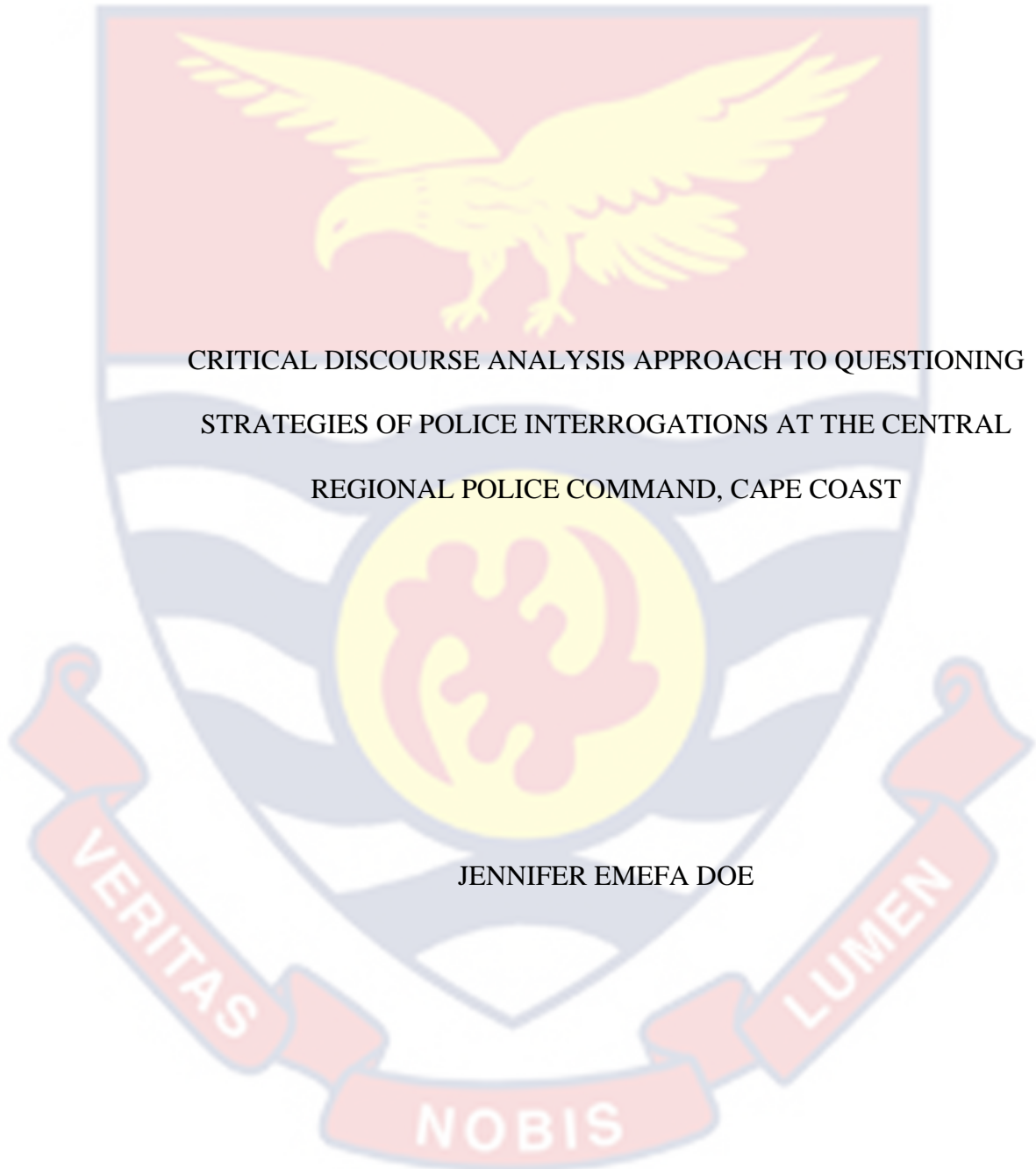UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH TO QUESTIONING

STRATEGIES OF POLICE INTERROGATIONS AT THE CENTRAL

REGIONAL POLICE COMMAND, CAPE COAST

JENNIFER EMEFA DOE

2021

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

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REGIONAL POLICE COMMAND, CAPE COAST

BY

JENNIFER EMEFA DOE

Thesis submitted to the Department of English of the Faculty of Arts, College of

Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of

the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy in English

DECEMBER 2021

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature ……………………… Date …………………………

Name: Jennifer Emefa Doe

Supervisor's Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines and supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature:................................... Date:........................

Name: Prof. Dora Francisca Edu-Buandoh

Co-Supervisor's Signature: .... Date:.............................

Name: Dr. Isaac Mwinlaaru

ABSTRACT

One of the goals of the police interrogation is to produce a record that reflects what was talked about during the interrogation, as much as possible in the words of the suspect. At the same time, it appears the institution does not allow the suspect to participate in reaching this goal. Therefore, the police interrogation setting is not only potentially contradictory for the suspect, but also for the police officer. Each service provided by police officers requires the execution of a critical document. However, police reports are often viewed as of low quality. If a report is badly prepared, it may jeopardize the investigation and, as a result, the officer's credibility. Unlike ordinary conversations, the structure of discourse between the police and complainants or suspects or witnesses differs. This study aimed at ascertaining the questioning strategies in police interrogations at the Central Regional Police Command, Cape Coast. Rooted in qualitative research design, the study was based on 10 police interrogation transcripts obtained from the Police Headquarters in Cape Coast. The study was hinged on the theory of critical discourse analysis (CDA). A multi-method data analysis, which involved the application of Conversational Analysis, and CDA were employed in this study. The findings revealed that interrogation of suspects is viewed, inside and outside police circles, as being at the heart of the police role. The study also revealed that the police used elicitation as a linguistic act form to secure information from the accused person and the latter in turn used reply/informative linguistic act to supply the information requested throughout the interrogation. It was recommended that A discourse-based training programme could be devised to help police officers effectively interview suspects since most of the interviewing/interrogation skills are borne out of the Police Manual. The study also recommended that the police should roll out a statutory requirement for video recorded evidence-in-chief.

KEYWORDS:

Discourse

Forensic linguistic

Interviewing

Interrogation

Police officers

Suspects

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

To my husband, Prof. Benjamin Kofi Nyarko, for his support and my children,

Selikem Korsi Nyarko and Sedem-Xormse Kordzo Nyarko

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives an overview of the background study to the research problem, statement of the problem followed by purpose of the study, research objectives, and research questions. The chapter also dwells on the significance of the study, its delimitation, organization of the study and concludes with operationalised definition of terms to be used in the study.

Background to the Study

Grammar and lexis show that written and spoken languages are constructed differently. Written language employs longer sentence, and a higher lexical-to-grammatical word ratio, while spoken language employs shorter clauses and a lower lexical-to-grammatical word ratio. As a consequence, language style must be considered both orally and in writing (Coulthard, 2005). Writers make regular choices, sometimes due to an unconscious preference for one form over another. McMenamin (2002) further divides language norms into two categories: prescriptive, which refers to what dictionaries and grammars consider correct, and descriptive, which refers to what the user considers appropriate use. McMenamin (2002, p.110) adds that "linguistic norms are not static; they evolve over time in a social, cultural, and geographic community of speakers and writers". But from a forensic linguistic perspective, it is worth noting McMenamin's (2002, p.111) assertion that "prescriptive norms can be useful in authorship studies because they can be used to describe variation".

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With the introduction of Forensic Linguistics as a new field of Applied Linguistics, a new interesting vista has been opened into the study and appreciation of interactions between the police and complainants or suspects or witnesses. Unlike ordinary conversations, the structure of discourse between the Police and complainants or suspects or witnesses differs. Forensic Linguistics has utilized the indispensable role of language in cases involving the use of documents and the like. Farinde (2008) defines forensic linguistics as the study of language within the context of law because he opines that law is an overwhelmingly linguistic institution. Gibbons (1999, p.164) defines forensic linguistics as the study concerned with the creation of linguistic evidence which includes phonetic, syntactic (grammatical), lexical (word), handwriting, discourse and sociolinguistic analyses which helps in identifying (or disproving) the authors of anonymous or questioned texts (such as Police records of suspect statements), or in better understanding what happened in an alleged crime (such as bribery). Forensic linguistics, according to Olsson (2008), is the application of legal jargon to the study of language. Coulthard, Grant and Kredens (2011, p.529) suggest that forensic linguistics is the application of linguistics to three main areas: "written legal texts, spoken legal practices and the provision of evidence for criminal and civil investigations and courtroom disputes". It is therefore worthy to state here that Forensic Linguistics is a relatively new field in applied linguistics. Two notable aspects of Forensic Linguistics are widely known which are the provision of evidence for criminal and civil investigations and courtroom disputes (Language detective, e.g. authorship attribution, Forensic Phonetics, etc.). This study hinges

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on the latter: the use of language within the context of the law. However, based on this, my working definition of forensic linguistics from my point of view and which was adopted in the thesis is the study of discourse within the context of the law that gives coverage to stylistic markers in language.

According to Kredens and Morris (2010), communication problems develop not just because of variations in second language proficiency, but also because of cultural differences among groups that share a common tongue. Using a combination of conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, and pragmatics, Haworth (2012) investigated police interview transcripts. He videotaped police conversations with suspects as part of his study of authority and control. He noted that participants' institutional position, the discursive roles given by the environment, and their respective skills all influenced the debate's dynamics. He demonstrated how power and authority are always questioned and rejected. His research shows that power does not always favour participants during a police questioning.

Police officers are in charge of writing investigation reports that outline their actions and findings during a criminal investigation. The investigators or officer's narrative recall of the crime or occurrence is used to help in the investigation, and the statements of the complainants or witnesses are the primary source of information in these reports. The production of police reports is a significant and important job of individuals working in the criminal justice system (Ang, 2015). However, according to Redwine (2003), the vast majority of police activity is supported by their capacity to correctly and extensively report on their

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investigations. Each service provided by police officers requires the execution of a critical document. However, police reports are often viewed as of low quality. If a report is badly prepared, it may jeopardize the investigation and, as a result, the officer's credibility.

The construction of a police record is accomplished through interaction. The officer generally asks questions and the suspect generally answers the questions. While interrogating, the officer writes the report. This is the general way in which police records are constructed in Ghana and the world over. After the officer has constructed the police record during the police interrogation, it becomes part of the suspect's case file. In many different types of cases, the language experts are now called upon to provide evidence, including authorship in terrorist cases, contamination of products cases and suspect deaths, and interpretation of significance in legal and other documents (Olsson, 2008).

Interestingly, it should not be discountenanced that the discourse contained in a police record is obtained and documented in a setting or context that also needs to be considered in the process of analyses. Thus, one of the important elements in analysing discourse is context (Momeni, 2012). Context is usually referred to as conditions in which language is used. Role of context is so important that many discourse analysts believe that meanings of words are formed in the context (Nölle, Fusaroli, Mills et al., 2020). According to a number of discourse analysts (Cutting, 2002; Gibbons, 2003; Haworth, 2010; Peccei, 1999; Yule,1996), the meanings of words are generated from the context in which they are said. An analyst's interpretation of a text is influenced by the physical, social, psychological, and

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cultural context in which the words are spoken. The police station is a social institution with a particular setting that Schiffrin (2000) claims represents knowledge. Situational, background, and co-textual information are the three types of contextual information.

Officers who produce bad reports are often inadequate in other aspects of their jobs. Detectives and judges will have to spend more time and effort resolving or explaining matters if reports are poorly drafted. There is, however, scarcity of research and readings on the language and general arrangement of police reports. To understand and describe the linguistic features and organizational structure of police reports from the police stations one has to employ the use of discourse analysis to know what goes into the police reports. I therefore deemed it appropriate and important to ascertain the questioning strategies in police interrogations at the Central Regional Police Command, Cape Coast using discourse analysis.

Statement of the Problem

In the current global police environment, the way police communicate and educe information from cooperative and uncooperative suspects require more than customary knowledge and instinct. According to Walton (2003), one factor that makes the interrogation distinct from the basic type of information-seeking dialogue is that of the freedom of the participants. The types of questions (Bull, 2010; Newlin et al., 2015) posed by an investigator and the way in which these questions are posed (Almerigogna et al., 2007; Bull and Corran, 2003; Teoh and Lamb, 2013) can greatly affect the amount and accuracy of testimony. Interrogation research systematically shows that interviewing and interrogation techniques

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consisting of psychological and physical coercion, utilized by overconfident interviewers or interrogators, can cause false confessions resulting in criminal convictions of innocent individuals (Russano et al., 2005; Kassin et al., 2018; Larmour et al., 2015; Leo & Ofshe, 1998).

Wrightsman and Kassin (1993) ironically argue that the term 'interviewing' plays a much more active role than 'interrogation' for police investigators. Heydon (2002) explicitly indicates her preference for the term 'police interview' over 'police interrogation'. Shuy (1998) provides us with not only a distinction between police interrogation and interview, but also recommends that interrogations and interviews be conducted in an informal register, and a series of questioning strategies such as clear and explicit questions, avoiding inferential meaning, and encouraging conscientious fact-gathering be put in place. Institutional interviews have long been recognised as important sites of social interaction, and few have such significant consequences as the context to be studied here. Indeed, a police interview may well constitute one of the most important conversations of an interviewee's life. This therefore represents a particularly fascinating and important area of linguistic study. Yet the police interview context has proved extremely inaccessible to linguistic researchers, especially in the Sub-Saharan region.

Like many types of institutional talk, police interview discourse can be characterised as goal-oriented, with restrictions on the turn-taking patterns and allowable contributions of participants; and as being structured and asymmetrical (Drew & Heritage 1992). Police interview interaction has attracted the attention of discourse analysts primarily interested in the effects on discursive patterns of this

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obviously asymmetrical distribution of power and the goal-oriented nature of institutional talk. Previous linguistic research in the area of police interviews has commented on the discursive effects of the interaction's dual role and context, and explored numerous aspects of the police interviewer's talk as they pursue their institutional goal of fixing the 'facts' of the case 'on the record' for the benefit of the future 'overhearing' audience (Heydon, 2005; Johnson, 2008; Stokoe & Edwards, 2008; Haworth, 2013).

In police interviews with suspects, the role of each participant is clearly defined and restrained. Yet these roles are very unequal, especially in terms of the distribution of power and control. In addition to the asymmetric dynamic created by the ascribed roles of questioner and responder, the police have a considerable degree of direct power over the interviewee, controlling the setting in which the interview takes place and having the capability to make vital decisions about the interviewee's liberty and future based on the outcome. The question of power and control is therefore an important aspect of police interview discourse. Surprisingly, little research has been undertaken on police interview/interrogation discourse both within Ghana and outside Ghana.

A number of scholars proposed that the main role of questions is to request information (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik, 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002; Stivers and Enfield, 2010) and information seeking emerged as the main defining feature of questioning. Although slightly problematic, information seeking is, at least, something one has to take into consideration when tackling the problem of questions and questioning. Furthermore, scholars like Hall (2008) make

a distinction between information-seeking and confirmation-seeking questions. It is worth noting that extensive studies have been conducted in police discourse (Woodbury, 1984; Harris,1984; Buckingham, 1986; Philips, 1987; Matoesian, 1993; Berk-Seligson, 1999; Cotterill, 2003; Heffer, 2005; Eades, 2008; Tkačuková, 2010; Ehrlich, 2011; Johnson, 2014) but very few studies have been conducted on Ghana Police discourse. Exceptions to this are Ahialey (2011) who investigated elicitation and response strategies in courtroom cross-examination, Akinrinlola (2021) on concealment in police-suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria.

Komter (2006; 2013), Park & Bucholtz (2009), Heffer (2005, 2010), Seawright (2012), Haworth (2013), Heydon (2013) and Johnson (2013) have studied different aspects of documentation in the legal process. The interview and interrogation situation is complex and interviewing officers must manage and divide their attention between several activities in the course of the interview. As Rock (2001) puts it, 'as a speech event, the police interview/interrogation consists of multiple tasks, telling, listening, writing, formulating, analyzing, and has multiple goals, the extraction, communication and the use of emotional and factual information'. Furthermore, Berk-Seligson (2002) asserts that each police interrogator "recycles" the subjects of concern to them (the crime and the suspect's participation).

Of particular interest to this study is the fact that most of the works on questioning strategies of police interrogations are foreign-based giving little attention to the Ghanaian context. Police interviews involve various strategies that have been studied by different scholars like Heydon (2005), Seligson (2009),

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Nakane (2014), and others; however, the researcher has not found a clear-cut framework of analysis for the strategies that designate power. This has made it timely and imperative as the present study seeks to bridge this gap by pinpointing power strategies and recognizing the manifestations of these strategies in discourse, particularly in the selected data at the Central Regional Police Command, Cape Coast.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this research is to confirm existing knowledge on critical discourse analysis approach to questioning strategies of police interrogations with a focus on the Central Regional Police Command, Cape Coast.

Objectives of the Study

The primary objective of the study is to analyse the language use in police interrogation. Specifically, the study will tackle the following objectives:

1. To investigate the discourse functions of questioning strategies adopted in police interrogations.

2. To examine the discursive strategies that are used to enact power in police interrogations.

3. To find out how suspects co-operate in police interrogation in relation to response strategies.

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Research Questions

The following questions are posed to guide the conduct of the study:

1. What are the discourse functions of questioning strategies adopted in police interrogations?

2. What discursive strategies are used to enact power in police interrogations?

3. How do suspects co-operate in police interrogation in relation to response strategies?

Significance of the Study

Communication is an important factor in policing and law enforcement for efficient justice service delivery. Effective communication aids police officers in understanding and supporting visions and goals of an agency or between several enforcement agencies. The pragmatic context of utterance must be involved in assigning meaning to these lexical items. The study will be linguistically relevant to individuals and organizations interested in studies on language as evidence, dominance or power relations. Furthermore, the study may add to existing literature in the area of career interrogation and forensic linguistics. It may be the basis for generating studies in the area of career forensic linguistics in Ghana.

Scope of the Study

The area of this research spans forensic linguistics and language thus language as evidence. According to Halliday (1994), language stands as a metaphor for society, with language having the quality of not just communicating the social order but also preserving and perhaps transforming it. As a means of discovering

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how language is used by police to help interrogations and how this power is legitimized in language as evidence, a study of the discourse in the chosen instances will be used to accomplish the purpose of the research. Explanation of how language may be used to manipulate people's physical realities will be made apparent within the confines of the study data.

The strategies through which power manifests itself in discourse will be within the scope of the research whose aim is to find out how this is done through language used in police interrogations. The ways in which discourse functions as a tool in maintaining or changing power or dominance relations in police interrogations will also be within the scope of the research. In brief, all the identifiable strategies that lead to the achievement of a desired power or dominance relation fall within the scope of the research. It is necessary, however, to state that the prime focus of the research is on the language of police interrogations; other police interrogation strategies are only expected to help deepen the depth and increase the quality of the revelations.

Delimitation of the Study

The study is delimited to the Police Sector in Ghana, specifically the interrogating officers at the Central Regional Police Command in the Cape Coast Metropolis. In recent times, the crime rates in the Central Region and most specifically the Cape Coast Metropolis have been on the increase due to the presence of students in the tertiary institutions. This has led to the increase in arrests and more interrogations by the police hence the reason for selecting them. Furthermore, at the time of collecting data, the police and suspects, witnesses are

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likely to be at the police station for interrogating processes to commence. In addition, looking at the time frame for the completion of the research, it will not be achievable to include the other areas such as processing a suspect for prosecution and how the text of the interrogation is going to be used in the Law Court. Finally, a single study of this nature cannot cover an entire spectrum of a problem hence, it is prudent for this study to concentrate on selected aspects of the problem which are forensic linguistics, report writing and interrogation.

Limitations of the Study

According to Best and Kahn (2006), limitations are conditions beyond the control of the researcher which place restrictions on the conclusions of the study and their application to other situations. Though the present study revealed a number of interesting findings, it encountered some limitations. The current research focused on only interrogations conducted at the Police Station, hence limiting the generalisability of the findings. As such, not all the police stations in Ghana would be involved, and therefore, the findings may not represent the experiences of the others across the country.

Organisation of the Study

The study is organised into five chapters. Chapter Two focuses on the review of related literature. It discusses comprehensively, theories related to the study. Empirical studies are also reviewed. Chapter three is on the methodology highlighting the research design that was utilised to execute the research. It looks

at sampling procedures, instruments for data collection, its validity and reliability, and finally, tools for analysis of data.

Chapter Four reports on the results stemming from the analysis of the data obtained from the field work. This is complemented by discussion of the results making reference to studies that support the findings of the current study. Chapter Five focuses on the summary of the study, key findings, conclusions, recommendations, and implication. It ends with suggested areas for further research.

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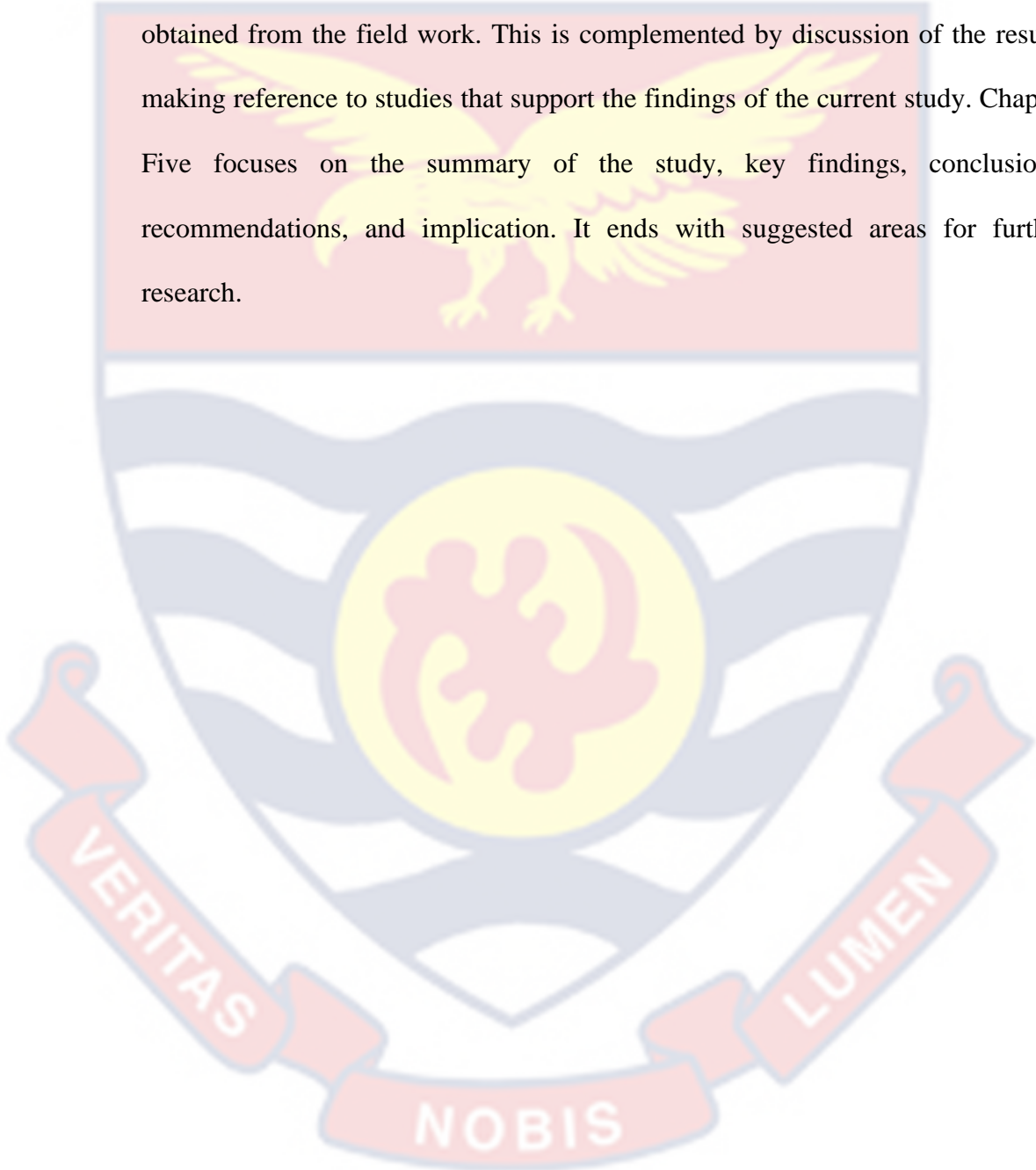
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Police interrogators, according to Berk-Seligson (2002), rehash the issues that interest them. Interrogations, according to police personnel, provide crucial leads for their questioning tactics (Fisher & Schreiber, 2007; Westera, Kebbell & Milne, 2016). Confessions are the goal of the interrogator's whole discourse technique. However, police officers can reinterpret cautionary material during interrogation, which might be problematic. Once again, one of the most effective strategies for the police is to concentrate on how they interrogate witnesses or suspects. Police language can be scrutinized with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to assimilate the avenues through which they conduct interrogations. This chapter discusses theoretical and empirical literature underlying approach to questioning strategies in police interrogations.

Theoretical Framework

This section provides a comprehensive discussion of the theories that underpins this study. The theories are crucial for this study because it helps to situate the analysis of the data within a specific scholarly paradigm and also serve as a lens through which one is able to understand the findings of the research. Specifically, the theoretical framework comprises Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis and Grice's Cooperative Principle. These theories will be discussed drawing references from other studies which lie in the context of this study.

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Critical Discourse Analysis Theory

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has become prominent and influential over recent years. To understand the questioning strategies in police interrogations in Ghana, using the Central Regional Police Headquarters, Cape Coast as a study area, this study will use the critical discourse analysis theory propounded by Van Dijk in 1993. According to Blommaert and Bulcaen (2002), discourse which is an opaque power object in modern societies is made more visible and transparent by the critical discourse analysis. CDA is not a special research focus; its theoretical framework is not unitary; there are many types of CDA, which may be highly diverse theoretically and analytically. Critical conversational analyses are very distinct from analyzing press news reports or lessons (Van Dijk, 1993; 2006; 2009; 2014).

According to Van Dijk (2001), the enactment, replication, and resistance against social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are key to critical discourse analysis. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality. However, Fairclough (1993, p.135) noted that CDA aims at systematically exploring 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 and hegemony. Yet, given the common perspective

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and the general aims of CDA, overall conceptual and theoretical frameworks are closely related; Van Dijk theory of CDA focuses on a number of basic concepts (that is, power as control and mind control), and thus devise a theoretical framework that critically relates discourse, cognition, and society.

Discourse Analysis (DA) is an interdisciplinary ethnomethodological methodology (Wiggins, 2009; Brown & Yule, 1983; Garfinkel, 1967; Wiggins, 2009). Wiggins (2009, p.427) contends that as an interdisciplinary approach, DA has developed from work within speech act theory, ethnomethodology and semiology as well as post-structuralism theorists such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, and the later works of philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein. Discourse analysis examines the context in which language acts (Brown & Yule, 1983; Jalali & Sadeghi 2014; Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015; Van Dijk, 2003). DA is critical for the organization of social activities, the development of human connections within cultural and social groups, and the study of how individuals build, foster, and dissolve relationships (Gee, 1991; Wiggins, 2009). Johnstone (2008, p.3) adds that DA does not see language as an abstract system, but rather as a tool for pooling memory information and communicating thoughts. Utilizing a sophisticated discourse analysis tool may assist in identifying the hidden medium through which an orator or writer interprets world events or establishes dominance and inequality within their ideological framework (Post, 2009, p.15). This framework must be capable of "identifying the linguistic processes or semantic categories that result in the formation of ideology" (Post, 2009, p. 15).

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Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a common approach to language analysis (DA) that is founded on the Marxist tenet that certain groups in society have more power than others, and oppression is conveyed via discourse (Wiggins, 2009). The fact that CDA studies emphasize power inequality or abuse as well as ideological conflict in a social setting, lends it relevance. CDA is a cross-disciplinary method that incorporates elements of linguistics, semiotics, psychology, anthropology, and sociology. Inspired by Foucault's (1971, 1977) formulations of orders of discourse and power-knowledge, Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony Althusser's (1971) concepts of ideological state apparatuses and interpellation and some contributions from social theories of Marx, Bourdieu and Habermas as well as systemic functional linguistics theory of Halliday, the evolution of CDA can be traced in the studies on critical linguistics at the University of East Anglia in the early 1970s (Post, 2009; Fowler et. al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979, Wiggins, 2009).

However, historical surveys show that the fundamentals of CDA might go back to the critical theory developed in the Frankfurt School prior to World War II (Agger, 1992, cited in Al-Haq & Al-Sleibi, 2015, p.318; Rasmussen, 1996, cited in Al-Haq & Al-Sleibi, 2015, p. 318; North, 2014). To Widdowson (2004, p.158), CDA exposes and resists the misuse of power in text and talk. CDA, as its proponents have always insisted, is an approach to discourse analysis that is ideological in intent. It is committed to the cause of social justice and its purpose is to expose exploitation and the abuse of power.

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Power as Control

Thornborrow (2002, p.8) defines power as "a set of resources and actions available to speakers that may be used more or less successfully depending on the speakers and the situation in which they communicate". Fairclough (1995, p.1-2) defines power as "asymmetry between participants in discourse events, as well as an unequal capacity to affect how texts are formed, conveyed, and consumed...in certain sociocultural circumstances". Power, and more specifically the social power of groups or institutions, is critical to the most serious debate studies. This capability requires the use of a limited amount of social resources, including strength, money, reputation, notoriety, education, knowledge, culture, and even a variety of public pronouncements and channels of communication (Van Dijk, 2014).

Different types of power can be distinguished by the resources used to wield them: military and violent men's coercion is based on their strength, wealthy men's power is based on their wealth, and parents, professors, journalists, and police officers may have more or less persuasive power based on their knowledge, information, or authority. The dominant group's authority is seldom absolute; it may be incorporated into laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a widely distributed consensus, and so assumes the form of what Gramsci refers to as hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; Gramsci & Bellah, 2008). Class domination, sexism, and racism are all examples of such hegemony in action. Power is not only displayed in openly violent behaviours by members of dominating groups; it may also be manifested in the myriad of unrecognized acts that occur throughout everyday life (Gramsci &

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Bellah, 2008). Similarly, not every member of a dominating group is inherently more powerful than every member of a dominated group; power is defined in terms of groupings collectively. As a consequence, we uncover that access to particular types of discourse, such as police interrogations, is necessary for examining the relationship between speech and power. Second, our brains control our behaviour. If we can influence people's thinking, such as their knowledge and ideas, we can indirectly control some of their actions, as persuasion and manipulation demonstrate. The function of each participant in police interviews with suspects is clearly defined and constrained. However, these occupations are very inequitably distributed, especially in terms of power and influence.

Mind Control

Language serves as a bridge between one's worldview and one's place in society. As a person's thoughts and actions are mediated by it, it also reflects their interpretation of the world. Language is not always neutral, and it's important to keep this in mind. As a matter of fact, individuals don't always use language as a way to convey the truth or to treat people and things on an equal basis; instead they use language as a way of lying and manipulating others. They also use language as a way of creating social and political inequality. Controlling people's thoughts is the second most crucial strategy to maintain dominance and hegemony, after controlling their voice. For the CDA, mind control is more than just the acquisition of world ideas through speech and communication (Van Dijk, 1993; 2006; 2009; 2014).

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Recipients tend to accept beliefs and knowledge (unless they conflict with their own personal beliefs or experiences) through discourse from what they perceive as authoritative or trustworthy sources such as academics, experts, law enforcement officers, or reliable media. Van Dijk argues that there are several ways in which power and dominance are involved in mind control (Nesler et al. 1993). Second, participants are required to be discourse receivers in some settings, such as training and many workplaces. Institutional or organizational writers may be required to care for, interpret, and learn from educational materials, teaching, and other types of speech in certain cases (Hart & Cap, 2014; Wodak & Meyer, 2015; Flowerdew & Richardson, 2016). For a third reason, there are no public statements or media outlets that may supply knowledge from which different views might be derived in a variety of circumstances (Downing, 2011). Because of this, receivers may not be able to dispute the material they are exposed to because of a lack of knowledge and values (Wodak, 2009).

Contextual factors have an important role in determining intellectual control, but so do the structures and techniques of text or voice. The notion of persuasion and rhetorical tradition illustrate that in some contexts, certain meanings and statements have a larger impact on the minds of people. Understanding and representations of the complete communication context, not just text and speech, are the foundation of contextual control. For this reason, CDA generally investigates the influence of contextual variables (such as characteristics of language users from strong groups) on how dominant populations describe communication circumstances in preferred context models (Martin-Rojo & van

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Dijk, 1997; van Dijk, 2014). Moreover, CDA investigates the role of speech patterns in the depiction of mental states. What individuals consider to be the most important information in a document or a speech may be influenced by the issues that are discussed at the global level. As a result, a hallmark of manipulation is the ability to convey beliefs without explicitly declaring them and with little opportunity of being questioned.

A stronger influence over the population's thoughts may be achieved if dominant groups (particularly the elite) dominate public discourse and its institutions. However, this kind of control has its limits. As a result, it is difficult to forecast which aspects of a given book or debate will have an impact on the minds of certain readers. An overview of how speech relates to dominance (power abuse) and the formation and replication of social inequality is provided by Van Dijk (2014). CDA tries to examine these linkages in more depth. As a result of CDA's Hallyidayan perspective, it may give useful insights into the links between language and its socio-linguistic environment, its mediation of ideology, and its relationship to power systems in society (Orphin, 2005). Because of CDA's identification of the language processes or semantic categories that are used to generate ideology in discourse, authors may be made aware of how they package their world views, intentionally or subconsciously, in their writings. Also important to the CDA theory is the idea that the choice of one word over another in a discourse might encode an ideological bundle of information to disclose a speaker's ideological viewpoint on the subject at hand.

CDA may provide insights into the methods used to build ideology in different texts by doing this kind of analysis. A text's ideological stance may be discovered by analysing which social actors have been included in the text and whose participation roles they have consistently been selected for inside the text, according to White (2000). Hidden techniques also need an awareness of both the potential of language and its implementation in a text (Stubbs, 1996). According to Stubbs (1996), identifying the language processes that communicate ideology is essential. To be an ideological system, it does not need to operate on the level of conscious or deliberate prejudice... You understand that you can make alternative choices and that reality may be presented in a different way when you realize you've made decisions. The concept that texts should be investigated as not simply representations, but also interactions, is key to CDA's approach (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.4). The control of information not only molds people's views of the world, but it also dictates the kinds of speech and acts they may participate in (Van Dijk, 1993, p.258).

By drawing on theories that mediate ideologies and their connections to power systems, CDA is able to provide critical insight into language that exploits socio-political intimations (Orphin, 2005, p.37-38). For example, thoughts on how speech helps sustain social power and supremacy in society may be derived from such an investigation (Van Dijk, 1993, p.254). CDA demands the assumption that language is not just a representation of a particular situation. Power relations may be performed and exercised in the context of discourse, according to Fairclough (1982a, quoted in Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.135). Language is the basic mode of social

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contact, according to Mason (2006, p.154). This indicates that language not only conveys propositional content, but also assessment and judgemental characteristics. By deconstructing the methods elite groups use and influence media to further their own ideological dominance over individual lives inside societies, CDA is able to explain the structures of social and political issues within discourse (Van Dijk, 2001).

If discourse access is an evaluation measure of power, CDA is a critical diagnostic tool for analyzing the level of social and political domination within that power (Van Dijk: 1996). CDA's tools may be used to define, criticize, and explain the ways in which power and dominance are maintained and reproduced in our society. I chose CDA as my theoretical framework because it provides an explanation for not only why specific language choices are embedded in discourse, but also how specific language choices are categorized within ideologies to construct fabricated textual personas that are used for reproduction via interaction in order to maintain power through interaction.

Grice's Cooperative Principles

Each speaker's approach to a conversation is critical to the success of the conversation as a whole. Cooperative Principle is a term used to describe the way individuals strive to make conversations function. A fundamental assumption we make when we communicate to one another is that we are attempting to work together to build meaningful dialogues. Grice (1975, p.26) proposed the Cooperative Principle which states that speakers usually make their "conversational

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contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange".

In other words, speakers should make relevant, useful contributions to a conversation. Listeners might then think their conversation partners are doing the same. Grice further describes four maxims; some of which have more specific submaxims and he calls these categories Quantity, Quality, Relevance and Manner.

Maxim of Quantity

One of the cooperative principles, Maxim of Quantity, emphasizes the need of providing just as much information as is necessary, and not overdoing it. There should be no difference in how informative one participant's input to a discussion is compared to others. As defined by Finnegan (2004, p.93), the maxim of quantity is the principle that, under normal circumstances, communicators say only as much as is required to convey the message.

Maxim of Quality

According to the Maxim of Quality, in order to effectively connect with others, one should always tell the truth while conversing. According to Grice (1975, p.44), the Maxim of Quality demands that a speaker refrain from saying something that he or she believes to be incorrect or for which there is insufficient proof.

Maxim of Relation

The Maxim of relation requires that everything is said be connected to the subject at hand. This maxim, according to Finegan (2004), advises speakers to make their utterances relevant to the current context: At the moment of saying anything,

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it should be relevant. When a speaker's contribution is relevant to the previous statement, the precept of relevance is met. Grundy (2000, p.74) argues that each participant's input should be relevant to the topic of discussion.

Maxim of Manner

To be precise, a speech must not be ambiguous, unclear, or disordered and needless prolixity, according to the maxim of manner. As a result, each participant's contribution should be clear, concise, and not too wordy.

The cooperative principle must be followed in order for communication to go more smoothly, even if it is difficult to follow and employ all of its maxims while speaking or writing.

Flouting Maxim

If one of the maxims is violated by some utterances and yet we are still assuming that person is cooperating with us in communication, we can take that violation as a sign that something being said indirectly. This is called flouting maxim. Flouting is deliberate and apparent violation of maxim. Grundy (2000,) states that flouting maxims particularly salient way of getting an addressee to draw an inference and hence recover an implicature. According to Brown and Yule (1989, p.32), flouting of the maxims is the result of the speaker conveying in addition to the literal meaning in a conversational implicature. A speaker who makes it clear that they are not following the conversational maxims is said to be flouting the maxims and this too gives rise to an implicature. That is, the addressee

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understands the speaker flouted the maxims for a reason and infers further meaning from this breach of convention.

Implicature

To create effective communication, the speaker and the listener must have an understanding of one another. The meaning of a speech is not only spoken, but it is also suggested; therefore, understanding an utterance syntactically and semantically is not enough. Grice (1967) was the first to develop the concept of implicature, which he described as what is transmitted minus what is expressed. According to Gazdar (1979), implicature refers to everything that may be deduced but is not a precondition for the utterance's veracity. As Davis (1998) explains, Grice's concept of implicature refers to what a speaker does not express but rather conveys or indicates through his words. When something is so widely disseminated, we say that it is also being communicated. As stated by Grundy (2000), the concept of implicature is a valuable addition since it explains explicitly how anything might imply more than just what is really spoken (more than what is literally expressed by the conventional sense of linguistic expression uttered).

Implicature promises to bridge the gap between what is really spoken and what is expressed in a literal sense (Levinson, 1981). Through implicature, the Gricean model provides a link between the stated sentence's literal meaning and what is actually transmitted (i.e., its grammatical structure with the reference of indexicals resolved). When it comes to communicating more than is spoken, implicature is the major example. However, it must be assumed that a fundamental cooperation concept is in place before it can be comprehended. As Levinson (1992,

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p. 89) quotes Grice, the word implicature is a generic cover phrase to stand in contrast with what is stated or conveyed by the truth condition of expression and to embrace all forms of pragmatics. According to Levinson (1981), the assumption that the speaker follows or flouts some norm of cooperation leads to the inference of implicatures. The Gricean implicature arises when maxims are flagrantly violated. Grice (1975) distinguishes between two types of implicature: conventional and nonconventional (conversational implicature).

Conversational Implicature

Grice (1975, p.26) states that conversational implicature is triggered by "certain general features of discourse" rather than by the conventional meaning of a specific word. These features are the following: (i) linguistic exchanges are governed by the Cooperative Principle (CP), the content of which is detailed in the four maxims of conversation and their submaxims; (ii) when one of the participants of the exchange seems not to follow the cooperative principle, his or her partner(s) will nevertheless assume that, contrary to appearances, the principle is observed at some deeper level. Working out a conversational implicature, the hearer will rely on the following data:

1. The conventional meaning of the words used, together with the identity of a reference that may be involved.

2. The CP and its maxims.

3. The context, linguistic or otherwise, of the utterance.

4. Other items of background knowledge.

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5. The fact (or supposed fact) that all relevant items falling under the previous headings are available to both participants and both participants know or assume this to be the case

Grice introduces a distinction between two types of conversational implicature: Generalized Implicature and Particularized Implicatures.

Generalized Implicature

Grice, as cited by Levinson (1992, p.126), differentiated between generalized and particularized implicature in conversational implicature. A generalized conversational implicature, according to him, occurs when an implicature arises without reference to any specific circumstance or environment. According to Levinson (1983), Conversational implicatures that are not specific to the situation are known as generalizations. To put it another way, the extra meaning supplied does not need any additional context or conclusions. As stated by Grice (1989), the use of a given form of words in an expression (in the absence of exceptional conditions) would ordinarily contain such implicature is what characterizes this sort of implicature.

According to Grice (1975), generalized implicature is an inferable conversational implicature independent of any specific context. It is possible for a speaker to utilize the maxim of quantity to imply that there is nothing further to say. Based on inferential heuristics developed from Grice's Maxims, we may infer Generalized Implicature. Heuristics, as defined by Grice (1975), serve as tools for both speakers and listeners, assisting them in the development of their utterances and the interpretation of what they hear.

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Particularized Implicature

A particularized conversational implicature is one that is dependent on the situation in some way. An implicature that requires context or cultural awareness is referred to as specific by Lakoff (1993). An implicature that can only be deduced in a given context is called a specific implicature. Grice argues that a participant in a transaction may violate, opt out of, collide with, or mock a maxim in a number of ways, citing four instances. To begin, he underlines that a person may violate the maxims if he purposefully violates one in a quiet and discreet way to accomplish a goal. Additionally, a participant may opt out of adhering to a maxim by rejecting to engage in the transaction in the way specified by the maxim, indicating a lack of willingness to cooperate or opposition. Thirdly, if there is a dispute, the individual may violate a maxim. For instance, the individual may be unable of adhering to one maxim without violating another. Grice demonstrates this by claiming that the participant is unable of being as informed as necessary without violating the concept of acceptable evidence for one's statements. Finally, Grice argues that an observer may violate a maxim. That is, the participant deliberately ignores a maxim in order to generate an implicature. Grice's hypothesis serves as the framework for addressing the first three study questions. It seeks to illustrate how defendants' and witnesses' language contributes to courtroom power relations. The maxims demonstrate how stronger players in the discourse (legal professionals) place constraints on less powerful participants in court (defendants and witnesses). Court processes require witnesses to present information that is not only relevant, but also sufficient, since they are not expected to supply more information than the court

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requires. Additionally, both defendants' and witnesses' testimony must be truthful and relevant to the issues at hand. Additionally, they must avoid ambiguity and confusion in their evidence. However, as Fairclough (2001) points out, resistance in speech may result in an unfulfilled maxim when a person breaches or refuses to comply with a maxim on purpose (Grice, 1975).

Interview and Interrogation Methods

Interviewing and interrogating suspects may be especially essential in achieving convictions for the guilty and releasing the wrongfully accused. Because of the prevalence of false confessions resulting to erroneous convictions, the efficiency of police interview and interrogation procedures in the criminal justice arena is being called into doubt (Kassin, Drizin, Grisso, Gudjonsson, Leo, & Redlich, 2010). Interrogations are regarded as one of the most crucial phases of a criminal investigation (Baldwin, 1993; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Sear & Williamson, 1999). The main purpose of an interrogation is to collect information regarding the crime under investigation from the individual whom the police suspect is involved in the crime (Memon, Vrij, & Bull, 2003). Depending on the quantity of evidence available to the police, the exact goal of the questioning may change (Vrij, 2003).

In the presence of additional evidence, as may be the case in the great majority of criminal investigations (Wagenaar et al., 1993), questioning of the suspect might aim at resolving confusing problems (for example, the suspect's location at the time of the crime) and leading to confessions. When evaluating the efficacy of questioning strategies on investigation results, it is critical to evaluate

the correctness of the outcome (i.e., do not just take "confession" as the conclusion). It is also critical to evaluate efficacy when suspects are both guilty and innocent, since these two scenarios may create varying degrees of success. Almost every interview has the purpose of gathering testimonial evidence.

Successful interviews do not happen by chance. There are several factors and actions that contribute to a good interview. The first stage is to prepare before conducting an interview, but before preparing, all interviewers must grasp the fundamental requirements of all interviewees. All humans have the same basic requirements. If an investigator wants to be an effective interviewer, they must first grasp these fundamental human requirements. The interview and interrogation are two procedures that are connected but fundamentally distinct. The interview is a method of acquiring information. An interview is best defined as a dialogue between two or more persons, ideally face-to-face, to acquire whatever pertinent information is available.

The information might be as mundane as what occurred in a car accident or as vital as attempting to separate the innocent from the guilty in a severe crime using the Forensic Assessment Interview Technique (FAINT). Interrogation, on the other hand, attempts to persuade the guilty of their participation in a crime or other occurrence (Hall, 2000). These disparities in aims must have an impact on the nature of the situation, the behaviour of the questioner, and the breadth of the inquiries. The interview is a non-suggestive procedure since the interviewer is there to gather and objectively establish the facts and if the interviewee is honest and/or

trustworthy. Excessive and/or direct involvement from an interviewer must not taint the information being gathered.

The interview must be conducted in an impartial and non-judgmental manner. On occasion, investigators or clients may present subjective or biased information (Hall, 2000). The interrogator, on the other hand, must portray to the suspect that he has no question about the suspect's guilt. He must project confidence in his ability to get the truth. This certain demeanour will be critical in breaking down the deceitful suspect's resistance. Of course, if the interrogator has mistakenly judged the suspect's guilt, this attitude of confidence may create hatred and aggressiveness in the true person, prompting the interrogator to reconsider his diagnosis. In the absence of substantial evidence, interrogations may be used to establish the foundation of an evaluation of the suspect's guilt. If the authorities believe the suspect's participation in the crime is doubtful after the questioning, the investigation might be shifted to other prospective suspects. Because interrogations are seen as a critical stage in the investigation of crime, it is critical that they be conducted in an efficient, productive, and ethical manner.

A number of miscarriages of justice related to interrogation situations (where, for example, the use of harsh interrogation methods resulted in false confessions) have shown the police's lack of procedural and ethical rules (Baldwin, 1993; Gudjonsson, 2003; Huff, Rattner, & Sagarin, 1996; Milne & Bull, 1999; Victory, 2002). Interrogations in law enforcement, intelligence, and military situations have historically been cloaked in secrecy due to the rarity of electronic recording (Bang, Stanton, Hemmens, & Stohr, 2018; Sullivan, 2016). Kassin and

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Gudjonsson (2004) stated that interrogations generally involve three components: (a) custody and isolation, in which the suspect is detained in a small room and left to experience the anxiety, insecurity, and uncertainty associated with police interrogation; (b) confrontation, in which the suspect is presumed guilty and told (sometimes falsely) about the evidence against him/her, is warned of the consequences associated with his/her guilt, and is prevented from denying his/her involvement in the crime; and finally (c) minimization, in which a now sympathetic interrogator attempts to gain the suspect's trust, offers the suspect face-saving excuses or justifications for the crime, and implies more lenient consequences should the suspect provide a confession.

However, a number of researchers (Baldwin, 1992; Gudjonsson, 2003; Holmberg and Christianson, 2002; Vrij, 2003; Williamson, 1993) have suggested that the main characteristic of a good interrogator is that he/she has an open mind and a fair approach to the suspect. As in the case of this research, a similar open-mindedness or fair attitude is required for the documenting of questioning results. More precisely, the interrogator may create a pleasant environment during the questioning by developing rapport by displaying a favourable attitude toward the subject and transmitting true respect. In such a pleasant environment, the suspect is encouraged to trust in the interrogator and disclose information. This sort of questioning has been referred to as ethical (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002), 'investigative' (Milne & Bull, 1999), and the 'information-gathering' interrogation method.

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Aside the general aim of developing rapport and a favourable environment, the interrogation requires a number of other components. In order to plan how to organize the interview, the interrogator should be well prepared and knowledgeable with the case (Soukara, Bull, & Vrij, 2002). Open-ended queries are ideal since they extract more information from suspects (Bull, 1999). Open-ended inquiries might be seen as invites to the suspect to give his/her point of view, which may boost the suspect's sense of being taken seriously (Memon et al., 2003). Thus, the information-gathering interrogation technique stresses the communicative and cooperative parts of an interrogator's engagement with a suspect (Baldwin, 1992). In essence, scholars suggest that the goal of interrogations should change from extracting confessions to acquiring information, i.e., discovering the truth (Baldwin, 1993; Gudjonsson, 2003; Sear & Williamson, 1999; Soukara et al., 2002; Vrij, 2003).

Most observational studies of interrogation have been conducted in the United Kingdom (Gudjonsson, 2003), and the available empirical knowledge about police interrogations in the United States and the rest of the world is meagre. Leo (1996) examined the interrogation practice in the United States. He examined 182 interrogations conducted in the course of investigations into robberies, assaults, and homicides, and found 24 police methods. Appealing to the suspect's self-interest; presenting the suspect with existing evidence; weakening the suspect's confidence in denying guilt; and highlighting discrepancies in the suspect's account were among the most commonly used strategies. Several strategies were utilized throughout each questioning, several of which were used in tandem. The

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interrogator would typically begin an interrogation by presenting the evidence against the subject. Frequently, the interrogator emphasized his/her opinion in the suspect's guilt and pointed out flaws and discrepancies in the suspect's testimony. Furthermore, several of the questioning strategies used were similar to those outlined by Inbau et al (2001).

The Police Interviewer

Interviewer qualities, according to Yuille et al. (1999), may influence the result of an interview. A good interviewer can retain an open mind and create rapport with an interviewee so that the victim is more likely to be forthcoming in the interview. The officer's assessment of the victim's information may have an impact on the officer's ability to maintain an open mind and build rapport. As an example of this, Koppelaar, Lange, and van de Velde (1997) examined the treatment of rape victims by law enforcement officers and found that the detectives were more compassionate than law students. When compared to law students, detectives' opinions regarding rape and rape victims were less stereotyped.

However, Sear and Stephenson (1997) studied the relationship between 19 police officers' personality characteristics and their interviewing performance and found them to be cold, calculating and dominant towards others. The study also revealed that openness was a major component of interviewing efficacy. Yuille et al. (1999) stressed that the interviewer must develop listening skills, because it is important to encourage the interviewee to provide information, and consequently, for the interviewer to remain quiet and listen to the provided information. Cherryman and Bull (2001) found that, in the opinion of special investigative

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interviewers, listening was the most important interviewing skill, followed by preparation and questioning skills. However, listening to traumatized experiences can be painful and automatically activate ego-defensive functions.

Croft (1995), as a police officer, argued that some officers may perceive a reluctance to use the technique of re-establishing the context of the crime event emphasized in the Cognitive Interview (CI). Cognitively reconstructing the event in, for example, a rape victim's mind may be seen, by the police officer, as re-raping the victim and causing heavy anxiety. Croft argued that such emotive considerations may be put forward to justify a police officer's reluctance to help a victim to narrate about anxiety-provoking memories. A crime victim who re-experiences a crime event and who shows pain and anxiety may be perceived as threatening to the interviewer, which automatically activates attitudinal ego-defensive functions. These ego-defensive functions may be expressed as a reluctance to use the reconstructing phase in CI.

In addition, Stephens and Sinden (2000) discovered that victims of domestic abuse had either a favourable or bad experience with police personnel, including feelings of distrust and alienation. Yuille et al. (1999) stressed the use of CI components and the avoidance of leading or suggestive questions while discussing interviewing strategies. Yuille et al. found that an interviewer may acquire professional interviewing skills by having a wide knowledge base and keeping the interview's purpose and aspects in mind. More study should be done on the effect and motive of the police interview, the authors noted, adding that there are some gaps in their understanding.

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Contemporary research clearly shows an ongoing change in police interviewing: a change from interviews with pressure to an empathic approach based on rapport. Research has also shown that police interviews signified by pressure are still in use. The present thesis investigates how police interviews are perceived by crime complainants and suspects, as well as what attitudes police interviewers have towards interviewing crime complainants and suspects.

Institutional Discourse

The present study can also be seen to belong to a tradition of research into interaction in professional/institutional contexts, or institutional discourse as it has become known (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999b). Defining institutional discourse is by no means a straightforward matter. In the introduction to their seminal collection of work in this area, Drew and Heritage (1992, p.3) state that a common factor in the interactions analysed under the banner of institutional discourse is that they are basically task-related and they involve at least one participant who represents a formal organization of some kind. They also state that the institutionality of an interaction is not determined by its setting. Rather, interaction is institutional insofar as participants' institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged. Drew and Heritage (drawing on Levinson 1992) propose that:

1. Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short,

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institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientations* of a relatively restricted conventional form.

2. Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.

3. Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.

A further common feature identified in institutional interaction is the asymmetry of knowledge between participants. Drew (1991) suggests that "unequal distributions of knowledge are a ... source of asymmetry in almost all institutional settings: and especially so in those settings in which members of the public or lay clients may not have access to the professional's specialized technical knowledge about relevant organizational procedures". One further point to note with regard to research on institutional discourse is that it has often highlighted the generally highly unequal power relations at work. Professional-lay interaction has been shown frequently to be a manifestation of the control of individuals through specific organisations and organisational practices, with lay participants placed in a typically weaker position both institutionally and discursively (for example Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1993). A key success of much literature in this area is not only in revealing those inequalities, but also in demonstrating how they are not just reinforced but often actually created and perpetuated discursively (Thornborrow, 2002). This is especially true of the asymmetrical discursive dynamic of the interview.

Police interviews are undoubtedly an under-researched area, particularly in the field of linguistics. The police interview with a suspect is intended to produce a written summary drafted by the police interviewer, a process which is discursively managed during the interview and forms a considerable proportion of the interaction (Komter, 2002). With the linguistic position, there is a comparative wealth of psychological studies of police interviewing. Much of the research interest is in detecting deceit (Vrij, 2000; Vrij et al. 2007), and confessions (Gudjonsson, 2003). It is also generally very practitioner-focused (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Bull & Milne, 2004; Shepherd, 2007), and enjoys excellent access to the research context.

Although the police interview is a highly regulated form of discourse that is structured around legislative requirements, its 'institutionality' is constructed through the participants' interaction as they negotiate the organisational goals. That is, while aspects of a police interview, especially the beginning and end of the interview, are dictated by legislation and police regulations, the way in which each police interview is constructed as belonging to police institutional discourse is negotiated through the interactions. The differences in the way that men and women approach police work (McElhinny, 1995) indicate that operating within the same set of legal requirements does not result in identical interactions. Nonetheless, adhering to the formal requirements of a police interview is bound to influence the resulting talk to some extent. Prior research into the impact of legal talk in a police interrogation has tended to focus on the role of cautions in protecting the suspect's rights (Ainsworth, 1993; Shuy, 1997; Cotterill, 2000) and clearly the special

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properties of police cautions as 'a creative speech which brings into existence that which it utters' (Bourdieu, 1991) are worth considering in a broader sense.

Because of this power of certain legal language to 'create' what is stated, it is important to know when such language is being used in the interaction under investigation. Atkinson (1992), for example, uses Conversation Analysis to show how adjudicators in informal court settings design their feedback to maintain a neutral position relative to the utterances of other participants. Thomas (1989) examines the use of discoursal indicators by dominant participants in discourse to guide and manipulate conversations and includes police institutional discourse in her analysis, while Auburn et al. (1995) discuss the way in which a narrative is constructed in police interviews with police participants using language to influence the interviewee towards a 'preferred' version' of the allegedly criminal events.

Atkinson (1992), Atkinson and Drew (1979), Cotterill (1988, 2001), Drew (1985), Fisher and Todd (1986) have studied courtroom language, but there are fewer studies available on police interview interactions, no doubt owing to the difficulties of collecting interview data in the first place. Many of the results about judicial language do not apply to the current study since it examines questions of power in a police organization. When analyzing police interviews, some of the themes of power and speech that are presented in courtroom-based research may be applied. According to the Victoria Police Standing Orders, which emphasize the importance of giving a suspect every opportunity to speak about events connected with the offence and being scrupulously fair in interviewing any person, there have

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been complaints about police conduct that may have an impact on the evidence. The assumption of guilt by police interviewers is specifically addressed by police rules that mandate the clearing of the innocent as well as demonstrating the guilt of the guilty. An investigation on this topic was conducted by Auburn et al. (1995). An important conclusion in this research on police evidential interviews involving allegations of violence is that the main goal of the officer is to get a confession from the suspect, with the implicit assumption that the suspect is guilty of the crime (Auburn et al. 1995). By analysing participants' narratives and how one particular version of events is preferred by the police participants, known as the preferred version, the researchers were able to determine that this particular version of events facilitates the criminal justice system's ability to dispose of suspects (Auburn et al. 1995).

That is, it is the version through which legal considerations are addressed (e.g., establishing that the crime occurred and there was criminal intention on behalf of the suspect) and the guilt of the suspect is constructed as an underlying assumption (p. 356). Auburn et al. (1995) find that in the preferred version, the suspect is attributed responsibility for acts of violence through the use of footing (Goffman, 1981), by constructing the event as distinctively and noticeably violent, and by constructing the suspect as a person with a history of perpetrating violence. Importantly, the researchers note that the articulation of the preferred version through the course of the interview is a project that is achieved jointly insofar as displaying and agreeing on the preferred version requires a mutual adherence to a background assumption of intersubjectivity (Auburn et al., 1995).

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The primary difference between the interview and the report is the reduction or omission in the latter of the suspect's personal history and events leading up to the crime, aspects which serve to justify the criminal activity from the suspect's point of view. The findings of Auburn et al. (1995) and Linell and Jonsson (1991) illustrate a point made by Settle (1990) which examines the use and abuse of power by police officers in Victoria in the 1970s and 1980s. Settle (1990, p.13) claims that police power can be abused by officers in pursuit of two distinct ends: personal and organisational. It is the latter form of abuse that he claims is the most common amongst members of the Victorian police force and he provides many case studies and examples that support this claim. In describing the abuse of power towards organisational ends, Settle (1990, p.19) notes that, in the Victoria Police Force, the pursuit of convictions is not the 'be all and end all' of police ambition, but that many abuses of police power in pursuit of organisational ends are dictated by an assumption, accurate or inaccurate, that a suspect is guilty and by a fear of losing ratification of that by the criminal courts.

In relation to interviewing practices, Settle (1990, p.19) claims that fabrication of evidence is relatively rare, but strengthening of evidence is alarmingly common. The examples given in Linell and Jonsson (1991) could perhaps be described in terms of 'abuse of power towards organisational ends' by such a strengthening of evidence. Whilst the police officer has little, if anything, to gain personally by rewriting the suspect's story with an emphasis on the criminal activity, there are clear organisational benefits in having the court ratify the officer's assumption's regarding the guilt of the suspect (Billig, 1991, p.170). A

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police statement that concentrates on the criminal activity allegedly perpetrated by the suspect and does not indicate the circumstances surrounding the crime nor the suspect's reasons for (allegedly) committing the crime, is more likely to favour the prosecution when presented as evidence in court. Thus, the police are seen to have been correct and justified in any actions they may have taken and any resources they may have expended to arrest the suspect and charge them with the crime.

Legal Style and Register

Communication is a means of transmitting information and there are several ways of how people can do so. One of them is language in its spoken and written forms. Language as an instrument of communication presents a certain continuum of variations depending on numerous contextual aspects, such as the function of the text (Damova, 2007). Attempts to describe, explain and categorize the use of languages have found their way to project also into the field of stylistics, and as Hiltunen (1990, p.12) states, "the more concrete approaches had always been better represented there than in some other areas, for natural reasons. New terms such as register, special language, sublanguage and languages of the professions were introduced into discussions of style". He continues explaining that "languages do not function in a vacuum", so the term of context and other intra and extra linguistic ties need to be taken into account as they create a continuum.

Legal language has a reputation for archaisms and convoluted syntax, but as Halliday (1994) points out language is the way it is because of what it has to do. Wardaugh (1992) states that language allows people to say things to each other and expresses communicate needs. This is nowhere truer than in legal settings. Ritual

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openings of encounters such as the reading of the police caution or the Miranda Warnings at the beginning of an interview, or the reading of the indictment at a court hearing, use formulaic expressions, which signal the start of a formal legal process. Šarčević (1997) pointed out that, the language of the law is not a universal concept. We should refer to it in the plural and talk about languages of law, belonging to different countries and cultures, and having different histories. Modern legal texts are subject to certain constraints, both with respect to content and form. Adherence of legal texts to standard formulae dates back to ancient times, when 'largely illiterate, the populace believed that only word-for-word repetition of the formulae would produce the desired effect' (Šarčević, 1997, p.117).

Crystal (2003) points to the particular nature of legislative language by noting that it depends a great deal on a fairly small set of grammatical and lexical features. For example, modal verbs (e.g. *must, shall, may*) distinguish between obligation and discretion. Pronouns (e.g. *all, whoever*) and generic nouns (hypernyms, for example *vehicle, person*) help foster a law's general applicability. Certainty can be promoted by explicitly listing specific items (hyponyms): if a law concerns a particular category (such as birds), then its provisions may need to say what counts as a member of that category. In terms of vocabulary, it is important to note that the development of legal English was strongly influenced by Latin and French (Crystal & Davy, 1969). In English, many of the most common law-related words stem from French: action, agreement, appeal, bill, condition, contract, crime, damage, debt, declaration, evidence, execution, felony, judge, judgment, justice, obligation, parties, plaintiff, police, robbery, tort, verdict (Mellinkoff, 1963).

When referring to register in writing, the choices are usually familiar, informal, formal and ceremonial. However, the two registers that are commonly crossed in academic writing are generally between formal and informal; therefore, a standard guideline of the stylistic differences between the two have been provided, plus a simple guide of cross registering examples. Alla (2015) states that regarding the performative nature of legal language, it is closely linked to the function of law. Words are not only something we use to say things we also use them to do things. Gibbons (2003) is of the view that legal language has recognizable and distinct patterns in the deployment of the linguistic resources.

The description of legal language presented by various scholars mentions the following distinct features of legal texts: long and complex sentences, technical vocabulary/vocabulary peculiar to the legal register (Trosberg, 1997), archaic words, unusual sentence structure, nominalizations and passives, multiple negation and impersonal constructions and redundancy also referred to as a boilerplate (Tiersma, 1999). Further, legal language is said to be "formulaic" and to be composed of technical terms, common terms with uncommon meaning, archaic expressions, doublets, formal items, unusual prepositional phrases, high frequency of any (Trosborg, 1997).

Hartman and Stork (in Alwasilah, 1985) states that register is a variety of language for specific purposes, as opposed to a social or regional dialect (which varies by the speaker). Register may be more narrowly defined by reference to subject matter (field of discourse, for example, the jargon of fishing, gambling, etc), to medium (mode of discourse, e.g., printed material, written letter, message on

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tape etc), or to level of formality (manner of discourse, for example, formal, casual, intimate, etc). Chaika (1994, p.6) in his book, *Language the Social Mirror* notes that there is no human society that does not depend upon, that is not shaped by and does not itself shape language. In linguistic analysis, different styles of language are technically called register. Trudgill (1974) defines register as a language variety that is shaped by the work environment.

Moreover, Finnegan and Biber (1994, p.4) view register in the sociolinguistic perspective stating that "if sociolinguistics is a wide-ranging term, register is equally tough to corral". Broadly conceived, a register is a language variety viewed with respect to its context of use. Besides, they also argue that register entails text and implies a relationship between text and context (Finnegan & Biber, 1994, p.4). The register study has four specific characteristics as what has been stated by Atkinson and Biber (1994, p.352). The characteristics are:

i.   Register studies involve descriptive analysis of actually occurring discourse.

ii. Register studies aim to characterize language varieties.

iii. Register studies present formal linguistic characterizations of language varieties

iv. Register studies also analyse the situational characteristics of language varieties, and functional or conventional relationships between form and situation are posited.

From the definitions above, we may conclude that sociolinguistic views of each register are different from the others. The difference can be analysed from

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different points of view. Further, Halliday and Hasan (1985) propose three aspects that make register different from each other. The three aspects are field, tenor, and mode. They say that register is a configuration of meaning that is typically associated with a particular situational configuration of field, tenor and mode. Moreover, registers may be narrowly defined by reference to subject matter (field of discourse), to medium (mode of discourse), or to level of formality (manner of discourse) (Hartmann & Stork, 1972 in Alwasilah, 1985, p.63).

Syntactic Features

According to Danet (1985, p.281), syntactic characteristics are probably more distinctive of legal English than lexical characteristics, and undoubtedly account for a greater proportion of the difficulties encountered by ordinary persons in comprehending it. She cites a total of eleven of these traits.

i. Nominalization: this feature is considered by many linguists, Urbanová (1986, p.19) among others, as prominent. Some examples: make such provision for the payment of instead of provide for the payment, or give time for the payment of any debts instead of give time for persons owing debts to pay, etc.

ii. Passives: they are characteristic of formal documents; sometimes an active verb may be more suitable in a sentence but the use of the passive makes it more formal; on the other hand, sometimes it is not possible to use the active voice because there is no specific agent in a sentence, thus the passive is the only choice.

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iii.   Whiz deletion: it means the omission of the wh-forms plus some forms of the verb to be, for example…herein [which is] contained or implied.

iv.   Conditionals: exemplary are complex conditionals, they may be used, for example, to specify who is included in a certain term (for example the Grantee) if there are more people concerned.

v.   Prepositional phrases: legal discourse is high in incidence of this feature. A prepositional phrase can string out one after another, and as Danet (1985, p.282) claims, "prepositional phrases are often misplaced".

vi.   Sentence length and complexity: the complexity of legal register sentences can be spotted very easily. Gustafsson (1975) says that an average sentence contains 55 words (twice as many as in scientific English, for example), and there are 2.86 clauses per sentence in the legal style. Legal English consists of only complete sentences containing both coordinate and subordinate clauses, and instances of clausal embedding (inserted clauses) are not unique. Sentences can stretch over several lines, constitute one whole paragraph, and it is not an exception that a whole document can consist of one sentence only.

vii.   Unique determiners: the distinct representatives are those of such and said. They are used in a way specific only for the legal discourse. They mean this, the, the particular, the one that is being concerned and no other. An example: the said property.

viii.   Impersonality: though legal documents are made to serve as a communication between two (or more) parties, they are typically written in

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the third person as it adds to the degree of formality. The parties concerned are referred to as the Contractor, the Grantee, the Borrower, the Lender, etc.

ix.   Negatives: especially multiple negatives are characteristic items of the legal language. They are not expressed only by not, never, but most frequently by adding the terms like unless, except or by prefixes un-, in-, etc.

x.   Binomial expressions, parallel structures: Danet (1985, p.283) points out that "the legal register is striking for its use of elaborate parallel structures" and that "binomial expressions are a special case of parallelism".

Gustafsson (1975) describes these items as "sequence of two words belonging to the same form class, which are syntactically coordinate and semantically related". Some instances of binomials: goods and materials; liable and responsible; engage or participate, generally and specifically, etc. Apart from binomials, there exist trinomial and even multinomial expressions in (legal) English. Some examples: control, direct or supervise; employee, partner, agent, or principal; files, records, documents, drawings, specifications, equipment, and similar items, etc. Some linguists have focused their analyses on the specification of the relationships in binomials, that is, synonymy, near-synonym, antonym and enumeration.

The vocabulary used in a legal text will look very much like that of ordinary English and most of the time the words will have ordinary language meanings. However, a small number of the words in any given legal document will have a *legal definition*, which dictates how an otherwise ordinary language item must be interpreted in the particular contexts to which the document applies.

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The *WH*-Interrogatives

The common English sentence patterns are categorized semantically as questions, assertions, directions, and exclamations," while their syntactic forms are defined as interrogatives; imperatives, declaratives, and exclamatives (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985, pp. 803-804). However, the particular form of a question's semantic form is not as simply determined. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1985 p.78) define question in terms of what it signifies and what it is used for. The authors point out that interrogative formulations, especially in subordinate sentences, create a vacuum of uncertain information (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1051). This gap of unknown information pertains to two critical characteristics of the syntactic definition. To begin, the reference to subordinate clauses indicates that the inquiring utterance may occur in a variety of grammatical forms. Second, the term "gap" refers to the speaker's need for information or expertise that the hearer(s) can supply.

However, Bolinger (1957) argues that there is no one form of inquiry; rather, a question is essentially an attitude, which could be termed 'craving'. It is an utterance that 'craves' a verbal or other semiotic (e.g., a nod) response (p. 4). One kind of inquiry requires the listener to provide fresh information not previously stated by the speaker. According to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), the Wh-words are used to elicit knowledge about an unknown object, person, or activity (p. 23). These lexical elements are often referred to as "Wh-words" (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973) or "HOW-WHY inquiries" (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973; Bolinger, 1957, p.7). This kind of inquiry could include WHAT is your name? or WHY was your

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flight delayed? Both inquiries require the respondent to give particular facts (as a single word or in a more extended form) that the questioner is unaware of.

Empirical Review

Edu-Buandoh and Ahialey (2012) in their study on exploring the ideological implications of questions in elicitation in courtroom cross- examination discourse in Ghana found that questions in elicitation served ideological more than informative functions. Using Discourse analysis as a methodological tool, to examine question as an elicitation strategy used by counsels during cross examination in Ghanaian legal discourse, they identified and recognised the types and use of questions in courtroom elicitation. Questions were used for their rhetorical functions of seeking information, but more importantly, to manipulate defendants/witnesses to accept positions and burdens they would otherwise not accept.

Linguists like Bambgose (1971), Adekunle (1978), Oyeleye (1985), Ayodele (1988), Ogunsiji (1989), Coulthard (1992), Fox (1993) and Oyebade (2007) have all made worthwhile and insightful enquiries into the language of the police force. Notably among these works are Fox's (1993) 'police speak' and 'normal speak'; Coulthard's (1992) forensic discourse analysis; Ogunsiji's (1989) and Oyebade's (2007) thesis on 'police language in Nigeria'. Bamgbose (1971) in his observation of the language of the police force in Nigeria noticed that Pidgin English served as the semi-lingua franca in that it featured prominently in police communication. But currently, the situation is different. There is another variety of English in police communication in Ghana. This variety is what Bamgbose (1995)

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identifies as Broken English. It occurs both in the written and spoken forms of communication in the country. The use of this variety of English in the Police Service can be traced to the fact that English is used as the language of official communication in the service and not many police officers can converse fluently in Standard English. Thus, the incompetence of these officers has given rise to this variety of English.

Oyeleye (1985) identified some elements of the peculiarities in the language of the police force in utterances like: "Your particulars?", "Where your roadworthiness?", "What you want here?", "Go away!" He posits that the non-standard grammatical constructions reveal the communicative incompetence of the policemen. Furthermore, he explained that 'particulars' and 'roadworthiness' identify the policeman as a professional member of the police. But in present day Ghana, taking into cognizance the sociolinguistic realities, one will note that the non-standard grammatical construction is not only peculiar to the rank and file in the police force, but also to officers and other segments of the society. One striking feature about this is that the levels at which this incompetence occurs in the force varies, because there are varieties of English that are not only Ghanaian, but a deviation from the norm.

One outstanding work in police communication is Coulthard's (1992) Forensic Discourse Analysis. It is a new area of linguistics that studies language as used by the police, especially in criminal cases. The major focus of Couthard (1992) is in the area of 'substance', that is, comparison of samples of hand written contemporaneous records made by police officers of interviews with witness and

suspects, and statements dictated by witnesses and suspects to police officers. The text is supposed to be a complete record of what was said during the interview and with the caution:

> *You are not obliged to say anything unless you wish to do so, but what you say will be put into writing and given in evidence. Do you understand?*

This system of interrogating the accused person cuts across all police stations all over the world and the cautionary words too are the same. Coulthard's (1992) view is that the forensic discourse analyst is to take one or more interview records or statements and comment on their likely authenticity. As Farinde (2008) notes, the already convicted offender claims that police officers have fabricated a part or the whole of an interview or statement against him and is looking for linguistic evidence of fabrication. And what the defence hopes is that the discourse analyst will be able to demonstrate that some or all of the 'content' of the interview is untrue. Coulthard (1992) believes that what the forensic discourse analyst is asked to do is to take one or more interview records or statements and comment on their authenticity. He also observes that the mistakes the fabricator of interviews and statements makes can be grouped into three headings, which he identifies as psycholinguistic consideration, quantity and discourse structure. Under psycholinguistic considerations, he believes that people have the misconception that they can remember verbatim, what was said to them, but this is not true.

Second, speakers forget their contributions entirely, since vocally conveyed knowledge is not retained in the brain. Coulthard (1992) asserts that quantity and discourse structure may also be utilized to convict interviewers and statement

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fabricators. One of the maxims in Grice's (1975) cooperative principle is the quantity maxim, which describes the rules that participants adhere to while contributing to discourse. The quantity maxim is summarized as follows: Provide the appropriate quantity of information, i.e., a) Contribute just what is needed; b) Avoid making your input more informative than necessary (Brown & Yule, 1984, p.32).

When we consider the act of the fabricator of forensic texts vis-à-vis the quantity maxim, we can see that the fabricator is in a tight corner, since the police function is to provide the court with unambiguous evidence of what was said. Thus, the fabricator has broken the maxim of quantity and this could be used against him. Although Coulthard's forensic discourse analysis is a big stride at describing police communication, its shortcoming is that it only attempts to study fabrications in the use of the language of police interviews and the statements of criminals and not how the police use language in communication.

Fox's (1993) study contains a section within Forensic Discourse Analysis dealing with the comparison of police speak and normal speak. His work is based on the analysis of co-build corpus data, and he discovered that there are linguistic peculiarities that differentiate police discourse from normal day-to-day discourse. Lexical items such as 'then, again, at first and continually', which are time and frequency adjuncts used in post subject positions to clauses, which are introduced by adverbials of time like 'as', 'when', 'while' and 'whilst', are some of the linguistic peculiarities discovered by Fox (1993). The following examples, where two police officers at Normansland are talking to each other, illustrate this:

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i.   Detective Jariri then left the room.

ii.   He then started talking to the man

Fox (1993) claims that in normal ordinary day-to-day speech, these peculiarities are not found. He also notes that police officers are absorbed by time. In their statements actual times are often given: 'at 1:15pm' at 4:30 pin' 'at 10.15pm', and many more. These show the time at which questioning begins and ends. Also, there are many approximate times, 'at approximately 2:10am' 'at 12:20pm'. This feature is extended to the statements given by witnesses because the police, when taking down statements, fashion it out like their communicative structure, which describe the time and setting of occurrences. In the view of Fox (1993), ordinary people are not as precise with the time of incidents as peculiar with the police. The setting of the scene of events, according to Fox (1993), is equally precise. These include, among other things, where the interview is taking place, where they were at the time of arrest, and so on. This is quite understandable, but it does lead to some unnatural over-specification.

Although Fox and Coulthard's works provide a good general introduction to the nature and form of police communication, it has two shortcomings, especially when considered relative to the needs of the present research:

i.   The works do not treat naturally occurring conversation in the context of police/accused interaction. Rather, they focus predominantly on written police texts that reflect the ancient nature of police vocabulary, and

ii.   The works do not have any concrete framework on which they are based and from which further research could be made.

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In other words, the works are substantially theoretical. Oyebade's (2007) linguistic study of the pragmatics of English usage in police communication is also significant to the present study. She adopted a pragmatic analytical approach. In doing this, she applied some principles of pragmatics like dietetics, context and contextual beliefs. The co-operative principle conversational maxims and presuppositions highlight their application to the natural data of English usage in the Ghanaian Police Service. Like previous works in forensic linguistics, the study emphasizes the functions of language and takes a look at police use of language. The study takes a holistic look at police language, using relevant pragmatic theory and concepts as its model of analysis and on another level taking police language as a register.

Mansouri and Mirsaeedi (2012) conducted a research on social activities that are dispreferred. The focus of the study was to examine how dispreferred was utilized and presented in the second pair portion of an English textbook for high school students in Iran. The study's results revealed that various disfavored types are offered based on certain key ideas and then compared to how native speakers use them since this is an English textbook used by Iranian students. The second pair's examination of undesirable social conduct demonstrates the connection between that two research and this one. Nonetheless, there are some differences.

Chapter Summary

The literature review has depicted several factors that affect interrogation processes of the police. One linguistic problem in police interrogation originates from the fact that police officers are allowed to paraphrase the message contained

in a caution. Again, of the various factors that police can control, the most productive approach is to concentrate on how they interrogate witnesses or suspects. Police language can be scrutinized with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to assimilate the avenues through which they conduct interrogations. In view of this, the literature reviewed theories such as the Critical Discourse Analysis Theory.

The review of literature revealed that Discourse Analysis (DA) is a more generic name for a set of methodological approaches which are utilized to scrutinize language in use, either written or oral, in various social sciences, namely psychology, sociology, linguistics, anthropology and communication studies. Again, given the immense importance of the legal system in society, and the equally immense importance of language within that system, it can be seen that Forensic Linguistics is potentially one of the more significant, even urgent, areas to which the socially-minded linguist could be expected to turn their attention. It was also observed in the literature that the overarching goal of an interrogation is to obtain information about the crime in question from the person the police believe might be linked with the crime (Memon, Vrij, & Bull, 2003).

Theoretical bases, literature reviewed as well as empirical studies visited have provided evidence that Police interviews are undoubtedly an under-researched area, particularly in the field of linguistics. Although the police interview is a highly regulated form of discourse that is structured around legislative requirements, its 'institutionality' is constructed through the participants' interaction as they negotiate the organisational goals. However, there seems to be no locally research

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work undertaken in the Police Service in Ghana towards CDA approach to questioning strategies and this has necessitated the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This study is a qualitative exploratory study using a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to questioning strategies in police interrogations at the Central Regional Police Command, Cape Coast. The chapter describes the qualitative paradigm, CDA, sampling, data access, data collection instrument, data analysis procedures, as well as ethical issues considered in the study.

The Qualitative Paradigm

The aim of this study is to analyse the language use in police interrogation between police investigators and witnesses/suspects at the Central Regional Police Headquarters in Cape Coast. The study involves several issues such as the language features used in the interactions, the discourses and the discourse control strategies used, and the power relations in the interactions. Smith and Gerald (2010) stated that a good research design ensures that the information obtained is relevant to the research problem, and that it is collected by objective and economical procedures. Within the qualitative framework research approaches may assume a constructivist and critical theory epistemology, and have an ontological disposition of historical realism and relativism (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2000). As such, the aim of qualitative research includes understanding the contextual factors and situations that impact the actions of people and institutions alike. Qualitative research also seeks to understand the process of meaning-making and constructions

of social life and the roles and positions of various participants or organizational entities in these processes (Fairclough, 1995; Saichaie, 2011).

A paradigm is a lens or worldview that defines one's views of the "nature of the world…the individual's place in it, and the variety of relationships to the world and its parts" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p.200). The epistemological orientation of a researcher involves the way a researcher chooses a method to find out whatever he or she wants to know (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Constructivism and critical theory best describe the lens used to conduct this study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Constructivism posits that meaning is contextual and variable. It notes that the process of developing knowledge is value- laden (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Padgett, 2008). Constructivists try to understand the world from the "point of view" of those who experience it (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 221). People in different places and times "develop meaning out of events through prolonged and complex processes of social interaction involving history, language, and action" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 222). For example, "what people take to be objective knowledge and truth vary with whose perspective they are taking. Conflicting constructions of truth are possible" (Khaja, 2004, p. 54-55).

Critical theory also notes that the process of knowledge generation may be impacted by a variety of reified social, political, economic, and cultural factors. Critical theory adopts a broader historical perspective, and focuses on challenging seemingly neutral constructions of knowledge (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Padgett, 2008). Qualitative research methods are traditionally known for using participant observation, open-ended interviews, focus groups, case studies, and ethnography to

collect data. In this study, the qualitative research methodology was used. This is because police interview is a face-to-face interaction between the police investigators and the interviewee, the witness in this context. It is an interaction which is a kind of dialogue or conversation between two parts.

Conversation analysis is one of the prominent approaches within discourse analysis and an ethnomethodological approach whose aim is to explore how language is used in social action or verbal interaction. It involves the analysis of spoken data through interpretive and explanatory way. Thus, in line with the objective of the research and the nature of data used in the study, qualitative research methodology that has been defined by scholars Strauss and Corbin, (1990, p.17) as , "…any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" has been selected. Qualitative research methodology differs from quantitative research methodology in that the former seeks to explain or illuminate a given situation whereas the latter seeks to determine the causal link between different constructs.

As mentioned so far, the overall objective of this study is to analyse the police interview discourse which involves the interaction that takes place between the police investigators and witnesses/suspects in the crime investigation. That was why it considered access to audio - recorded speeches of the interactants (the police investigators as interviewers and the witnesses/suspects as interviewees in the interactions). Thus, this study was based on the analysis of the audio taped interviews between the police investigators and witnesses/suspects. The method selected for scrutinizing the data involved a multi-method discourse analytic

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approach that combined Conversation Analysis (CA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a Methodological Approach

CDA is a methodological approach within discourse studies that focuses on the critical assessment of social processes through the prism of discourse. Discourse, according to the CDA, contains linguistic and textual components, as well as stories and conversations. CDA objects of discourse include visual representations and structures in addition to text and speech (Hart, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The CDA is interested in determining the crucial role discursive practices play in everyday life, as well as how these practices contribute to society's power dynamics in terms of diverse genders, cultural and ethnic groups, and so on. It essentially demonstrates how communication forms and impacts social life (O'Halloran, 2003; Van Dijk, 2008).

According to CDA, messages are often encoded with significantly more meaning than their grammatical representations. Texts might represent secret attempts to gain authority and power (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2001; Van Dijk, 2008; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). As a consequence, according to Wodak (2001, p.2), CDA is "fundamentally concerned with comprehending both opaque and transparent structural linkages of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as expressed in language". Every text can persuade since it offers a specific stance as reality, but upon deeper examination, that position may be ideologically contested (Hill, 2009, p.32).

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Hegemony and Power

The concept of hegemony developed by Antonio Gramsci, is a good descriptor of the attempts at control and dominance with which CDA is concerned. Hegemony refers to how the power of dominant groups gets reified and legitimized in the form of laws, social norms, conventions, commonplace habits, etc. (Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Gramsci & Boothman, 1995). CDA scholars such as Fairclough see hegemony as a means by which particular ways of thought and action become widely accepted mainstream standards (Fairclough, 1989, 1995). Implicit in hegemony, is the notion of power in discourse. Power can be defined as the ability to control and influence the actions of others by shaping discourse.

Power can also be conceptualized in terms of the resources and the means that make it possible for such control to be exercised (Van Dijk, 2008). Power and hegemony are intricately connected and remain a primary focus in the CDA field. This is because of the role language and discourse play in the determination and enforcement of power. Saichaie (2011) asserts that language, whether textual (i.e., written) or audio (i.e., voice), is perpetually and purposefully at work. Furthermore, language is a social construction, created through a process that is not free of bias and impartiality. The construction of language and meaning-making is mediated by one's sociocultural experiences and the dynamics of power in relationships (Fairclough 1992, 2001; Saichaie, 2011).

CDA Types and Principles

There are several CDA methodological traditions or branches (Hart, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). These include: Discourse Historical Approach (DHA),

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Corpus Linguistics Approach, Social Actors Approach, Dispositive Analysis, Socio-cognitive Approach, and the Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA). There is also the three-dimensional socio-semiotic approach which, in addition to DRA, was developed by Norman Fairclough (Fairclough, 1989, 1995a, 2001; Hart, 2010). Each CDA approach is essentially anchored in different, but interconnected theoretical frameworks. Critical theory, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault all had significant influence in shaping CDA (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b; Hart, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2001, 2009).

A common characteristic of the various CDA approaches is that they are all problem-oriented, and primarily focus on a review of representations of power and ideology through written, spoken, or visual data (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2001; Hart, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) outline the following as the main principles of CDA:

- CDA deals with social problems.

- Discourse has an ideological component.

- Discourse is historical.

- Discourse constitutes a form of social action.

- There is a mediated link between text and society.

- Society and culture are composed by discourse.

- Power relations are constituted by discourse.

CDA is not informed by a single theoretical perspective (Hart, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). It is eclectic in its approach, drawing widely and extensively from different disciplines such as communication, history, political

science, etc. As such, studies in CDA may employ different strategies and also utilize different data (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2001; Hart, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). CDA researchers thus attempt to make explicit the particular traditions they adopt in their studies and the fields they draw upon (Hill, 2009).
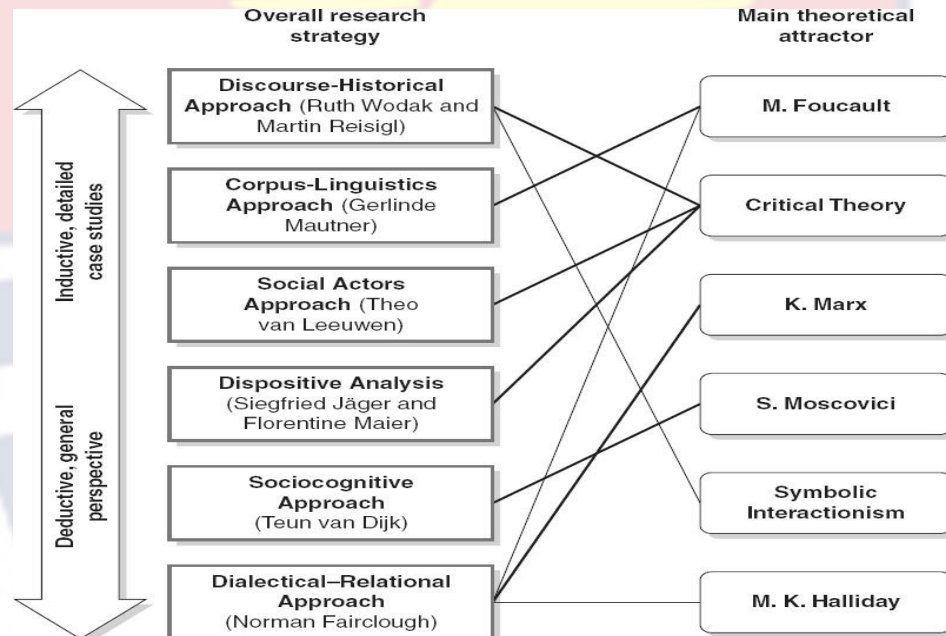
Figure 1: CDA Types and Approaches. (Wodak & Meyer, 2009)

Critiques of CDA

Some criticisms have been leveled against CDA. Since its recent emergence over two decades ago, CDA has been embraced by many scholars, but it has also been criticized by others given it is an emerging field (Breeze, 2011; Poole, 2010). CDA promotes interdisciplinary fluidity by drawing on various theories. While this is perceived to be a strength of CDA, others argue that the lack of a uniform theoretical model creates conflicting perspectives and views (Breeze, 2011). However, CDA's critical orientation is indicative of some unitariness. CDA

researchers, regardless of the particular approach, have a common objective of addressing issues of power, domination, and privilege in language and discourse. The diversity or plurality of theories can be seen as a reflection of the complexity of social phenomena. Thus, CDA's eclectic and multi-theoretical base provides a valuable tool for apprehending social reality and phenomena (Breeze, 2011). CDA has been noted by scholars such as Widdowson (2004) to be obfuscating. This is partly because CDA writers and researchers sometimes fail to explicitly define the concepts they use in their work. Another criticism leveled against CDA is that its political orientation and the focus on power and domination may create some sort of a tunnel vision by CDA researchers (Haig, 2004; Widdowson, 2004). It is noted that CDA researchers may be more inclined to make interpretations or attributions to power relations while neglecting other important factors. Critics also note that even though CDA researchers are generally open about their positionality that does not mean they will still maintain a strict standard of objectivity.

In my view, these criticisms do not invalidate CDA. The criticisms are mostly indicative of methodological flaws in the conduct of CDA. Such issues can be addressed with the rigorous application of the methodological framework a CDA researcher employs in his or her research, and adherence to the standards for establishing credibility and trustworthiness in qualitative research. Despite the critiques, I elected to use CDA for this study because it allows for an examination and review of various discourses, including policy documents, and addresses issues of power, dominance, privilege, and inequality (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2001; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I also elected to use CDA because it gives

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prominent attention to historical and socio-political elements, and illuminates their impact on a phenomenon (Carter, 2011; Tenorio, 2011; Van Dijk, 2008). Further, CDA demonstrates the centrality of language and discourse in all spheres of life. It allows for the origins of discourses to be investigated and interrogated (Tenorio, 2011). This helps uncover manipulative practices in the production of discourses, and provides a basis for addressing inequalities. Also, the inherent critical perspective of CDA extends its scope beyond linguistics. This makes it appealing and suitable for research in various disciplines such as anthropology, social work, political science, education, etc. (Tenorio, 2011).

Study Area

The Ghana Police Service

The Ghana Police Service (GPS) is a major agent in ensuring social order and enforcement of law in Ghana, but has been perceived as a poorly performing organisation (Agbemabiesse, 2011). According to Afari (2004), before the introduction of British colonial rule, Ghana had a system of maintaining peace and order, which was territorially defined according to each ethnic group (Ansah-Koi, 1981). The social network in those days was such that "each was his brother's keeper", and security was the concern of every member of society. The following are the general duties of the police as provided for in the law that established the Service:

i.   The prevention and detection of crime,

ii.   The apprehension of offenders,

iii.   The preservation of law and order,

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iv.   The protection of life and property,

v.   The due enforcement of laws and regulations with which they are directly charged,

vi.   The preservation of the liberty of subject, and

vii.   The control and regulations of traffic. (Danbazau, 2007)

A criminal investigation is a means of the prevention and detection of crime in the country (Osei 2008). When a crime is committed, the investigation of such crime hinges on information procured from the accused person for the success of the inquiry. It becomes very important, therefore, that the law enforcement personnel should know where to seek information, the type of information to look for, and how to assess, preserve and utilize it for optimum results. To obtain relevant information in respect of a crime, the investigating police office (IPO) who is the crime investigator will have to interrogate the suspect(s)/witness(es). The interrogation is done skilfully through questioning to collect facts and information that will lead to among other things:

i.   identify the guilty person or perpetrator,

ii.   locate him, and

iii.   provide evidence of the accused person's guilt (Danbazau, 2007, p.17).

According to Atuguba (2006), as part of the internal accountability mechanism, the Ghana Police have sought internal accountability through various public complaint mechanisms. These mechanisms led from the requirement in section 23(1) of the Police Service Act which states that any member of the public shall be entitled… to make a complaint in writing… as to: (a) any instance of

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bribery, corruption, oppression or intimidation (b) any neglect or non-performance of duty or (c) other misconduct by a police officer (Tsidi, 2006). Under the Act, complaints of bribery, corruption, oppression or intimidation were to be addressed to the senior police officer in the relevant district or unit (or the Inspector-General of Police). Complaints of neglect, non-performance of duty or other misconduct were to be addressed to any senior police officer.

Sampling Procedures

Research is a systematic search for truth. It involves not only the participation of the researcher but it also involves different participants. It is the cumulative roles of these participants that make research full fleshed work as well as effective and important. This study used a purposive sampling technique in selecting the study sample. Purposeful sampling is the selection of a sample that holds information specific to the subject or phenomenon under study (Patton, 2014). This allows the researcher to focus in depth on the subject or phenomenon (Padgett, 2008; Patton, 2001). Police from the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) at the Central Regional Police Headquarters in Cape Coast and witnesses/suspects were the participants in this study. Besides, selected persons (respondents) from the study site who experienced giving their witnesses to the police institutions were participants of the study. The study's sample of 10 cases were specifically chosen because the nature of qualitative research in general did not allow the researcher to broaden the scope of research. Moreso, the research knew that if all of the data (10 cases) were used, saturation can be reached by default as there are no more data to consider. Bernard (2012) stated that the number of

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interviews needed for a qualitative study to reach data saturation was a number he could not quantify, but that the researcher takes what she can get. Moreover, interview questions should be structured to facilitate asking multiple participants the same questions, otherwise one would not be able to achieve data saturation as it would be a constantly moving target (Guest et al., 2006). To further enhance data saturation, Bernard (2012) recommended including the interviewing of people that one would not normally consider.

Proponents of CDA do not have strict or explicit guidelines regarding the numbers or quantity of data that is considered sufficient for analysis. They, however, recommend the selection of a manageable sample that will allow for close and deeper analysis (Saichaie, 2011). The researcher being in Cape Coast allowed her to have better access to the research setting than to any other. Thus, to avoid lack of access to data, the Central Regional Police Headquarters was selected purposely. There were 150 police officers at the Headquarters; however only twelve (12) of them were working as crime investigators. This is because the issue of crime investigation was not necessarily the issue of all the 150 police officers. It was primarily the work of the twelve police officers. The rest of the police members had been assigned to discharge other duties and responsibilities. Hence, the researcher's sample was directly related to those twelve (12) crimes investigators. Because of the nature of the study (its qualitative nature), it was difficult to manage such huge data gathered from a large number of samples. Hence, only the police-witness/suspect interviews made with the police interviewers were used as samples for this study. They were selected based on convenience. About 2hours and 45

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minutes of recordings (10 recordings) were made. These were later transcribed, translated, and analyzed.

Table1: Police Interrogation and Duration

INTERROGATIONS	DURATION
Interview 1	3minutes, 18seconds.
Interview 2	4minutes, 52seconds.
Interview 3	14minutes, 44seconds.
Interview 4	5minutes, 17seconds.
Interview 5	7minutes, 38seconds
Interview 6	6minutes, 27seconds
Interview 7	6minutes, 18seconds.
Interview 8	2minutes, 29seconds.
Interview 9	15minutes, 12seconds
Interview 10	56minutes, 40second

Source: Field Survey (2019 -2020)

Data Access

Conducting research needs access to data. The nature of the data depends on the nature of the research. Some require quantitative data; others need qualitative data. This research required qualitative data. Hence, access was required to spoken interaction in authentic police interviews with witnesses. Different jurisdictions have different procedures for interviewing. At the Central Regional Police Headquarters, only under rare or special cases are audio recorded materials used as evidence for judicial purposes in the police institutions. There is a more recent

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development in the video/audio recordings, especially with the most serious cases (CID Office, 2019). However, this is not yet mandatory in many circumstances. The implementation of recording even varies considerably from institution to institution, often due to financial constraints and technological developments. This means that, there was little or no access to a file of a pre-existing data source or audio data regarding crime investigation of the police. Similarly, the researcher faced lack of access to the recorded data in the research sites. Hence, she was expected to seek new recordings than seeking readymade audio recorded research data which was not accessible. This made her do her own audio recordings of the interactions. The data collection process was therefore as follows:

   i.   the selection of target places (institutions) and participants from the institutions was done.

  ii.   The audio recording materials were prepared in advance.

 iii.   The selected police institution was approached for permission to access data requesting access to record the interviews conducted on a variety of offences through audio taping.

It was not easy to access the data; however, after exhaustive explanation of the research objectives and guarantying the confidentiality of the study, they responded to the researcher's approach letter positively and allowed her the access. However, all recordings of the interview sessions were done by the police investigators as, according to them, is against their ethics by allowing someone else in their interrogation rooms.

Data Collection Instrument

In order to investigate CDA approach to questioning strategies in Police interrogations at the Central Regional Police Command, Cape Coast, the study largely employed interview using audio-recording as the research instrument. Most of the CDA traditions do not grant explicit or direct recommendations of procedures for collecting data. They usually examine written or oral texts and may obtain data from sources ranging from interviews, conversations, communication documents from the media, websites, to institutional and organizational documents including policy texts (de Salvo, 2013; Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2001; Hart, 2010; Hill, 2009; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Interviewing, according to Bryman (2008), is probably the most widely employed method used in qualitative research. This is concurred by King and Horrock (2010). Yin (2003) describes an interview as an oral asking of questions by the interviewer and oral responses by the participant or a selected group. The researcher meets the participants face-to-face and asks questions, either general or open-ended questions. The participants' responses are recorded by the interviewer or videotaped and transcribed and data analysed (Creswell, 2008). In this research, a semi-structured interview was employed. Patton (2002) refers to this technique as the interview guide. The aim of any qualitative research interview is to look at the topic from the interviewed individuals' perspective and to understand why they have a particular perspective (King 1994). The interviewers play a challenging role in asking them (interviewees) questions, recording answers, and seeking to

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maintain their interview interesting and worthwhile (Powney & Watts, 1987; Verma & Mallick, 1999).

This study utilised 10 interviews between police and witnesses/suspects. The police interviews of witnesses and suspects of various crimes were later transcribed. The interview was recorded with the use of a tape recorder. The use of a digital recorder was used to record the interview in order to capture the exact words of the respondents. This is in line with Patton (2002, p. 380) who advises that "no matter what style of interviewing you use and no matter how carefully you word questions, it all comes to naught if you fail to capture the actual words of the person being interviewed". Wooffitt (2005, p.85) states that conversation analysis (CA) examines audio or, less frequently, video recordings of naturally occurring, 'real-life' talk-in-interactions and transcripts are used as an aid in that analysis. That is why CA researchers insist on the use of audio or video recordings of episodes of 'natural occurrings', that is non-experimental, interaction as their basic data. Recorded data are indefinitely rich in empirical detail. In this study context, the recorded data collected from the interviews or interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses/suspects provided rich insight about the patterns of power asymmetry or how the police interviewers exercised their power through interview discourses to access the power and to control the interactions to achieve the desired institutional goals in the crime investigations. The audio recorded data could also reveal how the police interviewers used different mechanisms during the interactions.

The use of recorded data serves as a control on the limitations and

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fallibilities of intuition and recollection; it exposes the observer to a wide range of interactional materials and circumstances. It also provides some guarantee that analytic conclusions will not arise as artifacts of intuitive idiosyncrasy, selective attention or recollection or experimental design. The availability of audio-recorded data enables repeated and detailed examination of particular events in interaction and hence greatly enhances the range and precision of the observations that can be made. The use of such materials has the additional advantage of providing hearers and, to a lesser extent, readers of research reports with direct access to the data about which analytic claims are being made, thereby making them available for public scrutiny in a way that further minimizes the influence of individual preconception (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). Hence, for this study, the basic data collection instrument was audio/tape-recording of the naturally occurring talk-in-interaction which involved the police-witness/suspect interviews in the selected research site.

Data Processing and Analysis

Notably, qualitative research is a complex issue, and making sense of qualitative data is not an easy task (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). From the interviews, considerable text data that were generated were organised, transcribed, edited and coded to ensure that all inferring schedules were complete and contained accurate information. The collected data was analysed and interpreted qualitatively. Multimethod data analysis, which involves the application of CA and CDA, was employed in this study. It has been discussed so far that conversation analysis is one of the prominent approaches within discourse analysis. This approach has been

used by scholars who employ CDA in their study as a base for analysis. It focuses on studying social organization of 'conversation', or 'talk-in interaction'. It needs to be made clear how this study was made or the type of methodology used. Conversation Analysis (CA), a research tradition that grew out of ethnomethodology, has some unique methodological features. It studies the social organization of 'conversation', or 'talk-in-interaction', by a detailed inspection of tape recordings and transcriptions made from such recordings. The approach is based on the analysis of naturally occurring data and undertaking a close analysis of detailed transcripts giving emphasis to the micro features of interaction and its sequential organization.

Roberts and Sarangi (1999) explain that linguistic studies which utilize only one methodology can be of considerable theoretical interest, especially in terms of increasing the understanding of the nature of spoken interaction; however, they argue that such an approach is likely to be less effective in addressing more practical research questions. Making CA as a base, the analysis also employed Fairclough's (1989 and 1992) three dimensional frame work: description, interpretation and explanation. The description of the data is concerned with the formal properties of the oral texts collected from the participants. Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (2001) recommend the critical discourse analysis to begin with description of text-internal linguistic features to make empirical and valid interpretation and explanation when text-external contextual and sociological analysis of oral texts are conducted. The study also needs interpretation of the

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qualitative data to explore the circumstances involved in the process of text production and consumption among the groups.

Descriptive interpretive design allowed the researcher to describe and interpret the data from the participant's perspectives. Data interpretation mainly examines the discursive roles of ideologies, practices of the participants in the interview and their discourse controlling strategies. Wodak (1996) states that explanation focuses on textually-mediated social action, ideological and hegemonic works used in representing and constructing social identity, and reproducing unequal relations of power. Not all questions in this research were answered using a single research method. That was why a multi-method was used in the study. Issues related to the power dynamics between the police investigators and witnesses through interview and the discourse strategies used in the interaction, for instance, involved the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a research method.

Critical discourse analysis was used here to interpret the results of the data and to discover the asymmetrical power relationship between the participants. Consequently, in this study, besides the conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis is used as analytic method to deal with the macro features of the discourses in the interactions. On the other hand, CDA was used to see the identification of power and control as a potentially significant factor in the interaction to allow a wider consideration of the institutional context and the social identities and status of the participants. Wodak and Meyer (2001) strengthen these ideas when they state that CDA can help in discerning discourses by revealing implicit power relations.

According to MacLeod (2010), a variety of existing methods of analysis have been employed in CDA research. Many of such methods rely to some extent, on a systemic functional grammar framework. It has been known for other types of analysis, for example Conversation Analysis (CA) to form the basis for subsequent macro-level critique. Van Dijk (2001, p.96) further argues that CDA can be 'combined with any approach and sub-discipline in the humanities and the social sciences.

Similarly, Wetherell (1998) explains that CA and CDA adopt considerably different orientations, but they are not necessarily incompatible and may potentially be adopted in a complementary way. Wetherell further illustrates the argument which holds that CA tools are adequate for analysing single textual units only, while critical discourse studies are only appropriate for wider units of texts as they aim to investigate texts at a higher structural level, is misconceived. Hence, a multi-method discourse analytic approach or an integrated approach was used in this study, combining conversation analysis (CA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). In CA's approach to data collection and analysis using naturally occurring data, a close analysis of detailed transcripts were given due attention. Of course, Conversation Analysis (CA) scholars like MacLeod (2010, p.45) claim that CA is a type of "micro analysis" generally regarded as paying little attention to social structures and patterns of inequality.

This shows that when CA is used, the analytical emphasis will be on the micro features of the interactions. Hence, the macro feature that involves identification of power and control as potentially significant factors in the chosen

interaction seems to be appropriately treated with CDA. Critical discourse analysis allows a wider consideration of the significance of the institutional context and the social identities and the status of the participants. Generally, in this study, a multi method approach which involves combining Conversation Analysis (CA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used to bridge the gaps and to address all the specific research questions. The recorded data were transcribed and translated in a manner that was, a practical compromise given various objectives, considerations and circumstances.

Episodes or excerpts for analysis were selected from the transcripts of the audio recorded data from the police-witness/suspect interviews. The researcher, then, tried to make sense of the episodes, using mainly her common sense. CA was mainly used for the analysis of the micro features that involved the interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses/suspects (interviewees). In this regard, how the turns were designed and the turn takings were managed has been analyzed. Besides, the sequence organizations of the interactions, and the overall structural organizations were considered in the analysis. The analysis of issues in relation to language, discourse, verbal interactions or communications were given due attention at this level.

Transcription and Translation of the Spoken Data

The basic data for this research was a naturally occurring talk of the police-witness/suspect interviews. All the interviews were recorded (audio-taped), and later transcribed using transcription conventions. Some of the transcribed data was translated into English, as the interviews were made in the local dialect (Fanti and

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Twi). Transcribing audio data according to Chafe (1980), addresses the peculiar features of the oral texts. Some features of the audio taped oral texts, according to Burnes (2005), include intonation, pause, connectives, etc. Intonation can be raising or falling.

Comma marks the rising intonation, whereas period marks the falling intonation. Liddicoat (2007) state that transcripts of talk are only ever partial representations of the talk that we record but they allow the analyst to see the transient and complex nature of talk captured in an easily usable, static format. According to Liddicoat (2007), transcriptions are not substitutes for the original recordings but they are additional tools which can be used to analyze and understand these recordings. On the other hand, recordings are essential means in discourse research, but are not sufficient by themselves for the systematic examination of interaction. It is simply impossible to hold in mind the transient, highly multidimensional, and often overlapping events of an interaction as they unfold in real time.

This has made transcripts invaluable. They provide a distillation of the fleeting events of an interaction, frozen in time, freed from extraneous detail, and expressed in categories of interest to the researcher (Edwards, 2007). In this study also an attempt has been made to represent the oral data with written transcript. Mayr (2008) states that without a written representation, talk is very difficult to analyse systematically. It will therefore be good to discuss several aspects of transcription. Roberts (1997) remarks that 'if talk is a social act, then so is transcription'. As one transcribes data, one relies on one's own social evaluations

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of speech in deciding how to put it down on paper. Therefore, transcribers should use or develop a system that can best represent the recorded interactions.

Transcription Conventions

Transcription is the use of symbols to represent sounds or sound sequences in written form (Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, 2002). It is merely the representation of the data collected. The transcription conventions used in this study were derived from the Jeffersonian system (Jefferson, 1984) used in Wooffitt (2005) with slight modification (adaptation). The conversion of spoken data into a written format is a highly problematic process.

According to Wood and Kroger (2000 cited in MacLeod, 2010), in converting speech to writing, "a literal rendering is impossible". It is nevertheless the creation of a transcript that makes it possible for the researcher to attempt any kind of analysis. While it has been suggested that transcription should be comprehensive, due to the impossibility of knowing in advance the importance of certain features (Schiffrin, 1994; Wood & Kroger, 2000), it is also important to ensure readability. Thus, it has been suggested that "too much detail can be as unsatisfactory as too little" (Cameron, 2002, p.39). Gibbons (2003) and Walker (1990 in Haworth, 2009) state the difficulty of changing speech to writing.

Table 2: Jefferson Transcription Symbols for Conversational Analysis

SYMBOL	DEFINITION AND USE	SYMBOL	DEFINITION AND USE
[yeah] [okay]	Overlapping talk	(word)	Parentheses indicate uncertain word; no plausible candidate if empty
=	End of one TCU and beginning of next begin with no gap/pause in between (sometimes a slight overlap if there is speaker change). Can also be used when TCU continues on new line in transcript.	~word~	Tilde sign indicates shaky voice (as in crying)
(.)	Brief interval, usually between 0.08 and 0.2 seconds	#word#	Hash sign indicates creaky voice
(1.4)	Time (in absolute seconds) between end of a word and beginning of next. Alternative method: "none-one-thousand-two-one-thousand…": 0.2, 0.5, 0.7, 1.0 seconds, etc.	£word£	Pound sign indicates smiley voice, or suppressed laughter
WORD	Upper case indicates syllables or words louder than surrounding speech by the same speaker	°word°	Degree sign indicate syllables or words distinctly quieter than surrounding speech by the same speaker
word-	A dash indicates a cut-off. In phonetic terms this is typically a glottal stop	w(h)ord	Indicates abrupt spurts of breathiness, as in laughing while talking

Source: Jefferson (1984)

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The fundamental problem stated by Gibbons (1990) is that of all the features that distinguish writing from speech, the one which is potentially the most significant in transcription, is the inability of our writing conventions to express some of the para and extralinguistic signals that speakers rely on to get their meaning across. Paralinguistic features such as intonation, breathiness, emphasis, high and low pitch, long, drawn out sounds and of extralinguistic features such as raised eyebrows, outflung arms, nods, sneers, and smiles, which can convey meaning on their own or alter the significance of the words they accompany are some examples.

Table 3: Interviews used as Data

Data	Interview Types	Initials
Interview 1	Car Part-witness, 2019	CPw, 2019
Interview 2	Land without Document- suspect, 2019	LwDs, 2019
Interview 3	Car Part – suspect, 2019	CPs, 2019
Interview 4	Poultry Farm – suspect, 2019	PFs, 2019
Interview 5	Pure Water – complainant, 2019	PWc, 2019
Interview 6	Land with Litigation – suspect, 2019	LwLs, 2019
Interview 7	Fridge – suspect, 2019	Fs, 2019
Interview 8	Building Document – suspect, 2019	BDs, 2019
Interview 9	Herbalist without License – suspect	HwLs, 2019
Interview 10	Student Nurse – suspect, 2019	SNs, 2019

Source: Field Survey (2019 -2020)

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Ethical Considerations

It is imperative and necessary for every researcher to put into consideration ethical issues governing the research. This is for the fact that social researchers need to prepare themselves in terms of all ethical issues in the design of a study in order to build a sound–ethical practice (Neuman, 2006). In this study, the participants' privacy was respected by seeking their consent to choose to participate or not first, as one of the tenets in social research requires voluntary participation of participants. In this regard, there were explanations of the objectives of the study, as well as its significance to boost participants' voluntary participation.

There is the belief that subjecting participants to answering items in an interview session could cause physical and emotional harm to them. Thus, statements in the questionnaire were framed in a way that presented a variety of options and free will to participants so that, they could select items appropriate to them. Participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. The researcher revealed her identity to participants of the study for the purpose of clearing their minds of all doubts and deceptions of the study and also, assuring them of not sharing information they provide with anyone. Concerning anonymity, names of participants were deleted from the data analysis.

To avoid the scientific misconduct in research, called plagiarism, the study followed strictly the prescribed standards of scientific behaviour to avoid plagiarism. The researcher ensured that ideas, works and writings made use of were acknowledged and referenced appropriately.

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Chapter Summary

This chapter dwelt on the method and research design which was employed and discussed in detail ways of data collection and analysis, as well as emphasized on the statistical tools, the rationale behind the use of such tools in reaching the outcome of the study. In addition, the ethical concerns binding the study were discussed.

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CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter deals with the results from the data analysis as well as the discussion of the findings. In this section I tend to explain the questioning strategies adopted in police interrogations, the language used to promote power in interrogations and the response strategies adopted by witnesses and suspects. The results and discussion are done based on the research questions.

Participant Profiles

The participants were assigned a pseudonym to protect their identity and to maintain confidentiality. The following names were chosen: Kwame Agboza, Mansah, Dominic and Daniel. All of the study participants were either a suspect or witness.

Research Question One: What are the discourse functions of questioning strategies adopted in police interrogations?

This question sought to find out the discourse function of questioning strategies adopted in police interrogations at the Police headquarters in cape Coast.

Questioning Strategies employed by the Police in interrogations

Surface-level signals provide insight into the speaker's discoursal purpose (Pfeiffer, 1998). They are often used to establish the purpose and tone of the discussion and to set the engagement's boundaries. In effect, it limits the capacity

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of the subordinate participant to communicate. A dominating participant's discourse control authority to dictate the topic matter and informational content of the subordinate's contribution is a discursive sign in police interrogation, as it is in any other discourse of unequal interaction. The interviewer (crime investigator) maintains control of the pace by beginning new topics and closing existing ones if he considers they are not contributing to the achievement of his discoursal aims. He limits the suspect's contributions and directs him toward supplying information pertinent to his intended discursive aim via the use of discoursal markers. It stems from the types of questions asked, as indicated in Table 3 below.

Table 4: Types of questions posed

DATA NAME	QUESTION TYPES				
	WhQ	DQ	IQ	T/F	TED
CPw	2	1	4	-	-
LwDw	9	1	8	-	-
CPs	19	-	16	1	-
PFs	12	3	7	-	-
PWs	15	8	3	-	1
LwLs	16	2	5	1	1
Fs	13	3	8	-	-
BDs	6	8	1	-	-
HwLs	11	7	10	-	4
SNs	85	71	30	-	2
TOTAL	**188**	**104**	**92**	**2**	**8**

Key:
WhQ - WH Questions
DQ -   Declarative Questions
IQ -   Imperative Questions
T/F -   True/False Questions
TED - Tell, Explain, Describe

Source: Field Survey (2019 -2020)

The data in Table 4 indicates that in police interrogations, *Wh-questions* are mostly employed. In the interview room, both the witness and the interviewer are

engaged in demanding cognitive tasks: the witness is attempting to recall and describe in detail a complex event; the interviewer is listening to and noting the witness's response and generating and testing hypotheses about the crime. Because these tasks are demanding, the witness's and the interviewer's cognitive resources must be used efficiently.

Wh-questioning was used 188 times in the data which indicates that the police interrogator mostly sought detailed information from witnesses or suspects before processing theme for the law courts. *Wh-type questions* offer contextual information inside the question turn, but they also elicit additional information rather than provide information for confirmation, denial, or no further remark. These question categories appear in our data in interviews when the interviewee is cooperative. In linguistics, resources such as interrogative words are used at the initial part of the utterance to ask questions. Words such as *what, why, when, where, which* and *how* are used. *Wh-questions* are usually marked by *Wh-element-*auxiliary-subject- main verb order (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973). For example:

Interviewer: After that one what happened?

Interviewee: So, after that one I came back home and I was trying to any help from anyone. So, a man offered to sponsor me then after sponsoring I will come and work for him in his facility. So, he asked me to basically go and do clinicals for some time. So, I went to the Bolga.

<div align="right">SNs,2019</div>

The interviewee's turn is limited to replying to a question regarding what had happened. Police questioning occurs more often and is mostly comprised of

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clarifying inquiries. It has come to be clear from the extracts that questioning was being used by the police interviewers as a means or strategy of extracting information from witnesses. The opportunities to access *Wh-*questions and the possibility to use these kinds of questions were seen as the roles that were given to just police interviewers. Hence, other issues like, who is accessible to asking of questions, what kinds of questions are used, for what purposes are these questions used and in which context are the questions used need to be explored.

Probing Questions

The police interviewer's turns collected from the first transcript of the data reveal the initiation stage of the interaction. In these initiations, *Wh-*questions were used by the police interviewers in the interaction. In this police interview with the interviewee (suspect), some of the *Wh-*questions like *what* and *why* were used to seek specific information. The turn lines (623 and 627) of the police interviewers' questions in the first transcript were forwarded to gather particular information from the interviewee (suspect). Of course, the ways they were uttered were different. This means the police interviewer used these questions not in similar ways or contexts. Hence, the message they transferred also showed the relationship between the police and the interviewee (suspect). For instance, the question forwarded by the police interviewer in line (623) is different from a normal questioning style that takes place between the peer groups. In this context, the speaker used extended or elongated sound in two places and emphasis on two places. This implies that the police interviewer was pressurizing the interviewee (suspect) to speak. First, the police interviewer started saying, "what did the …."

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which implies that the interviewee (suspect) was not clear with the question raised earlier and failed to respond properly. Second, the police interviewer put emphasis on the word "what" and raised the intonation of the word 'agreed on? /what?' This was because his/her question of "what" did not get a relevant response or answer in the earlier move.

Extract *6 (623-628)* indicated the type of questioning strategy the police used in the interrogation of a land issue by two factions. Based on the questions and answers, two strategies were used: probing and factual questioning. The interviewer used open/closed question and when he/she wanted to review the questions and answers provided so far, the use of prompting method was employed to make feuding factions remember what they had said.
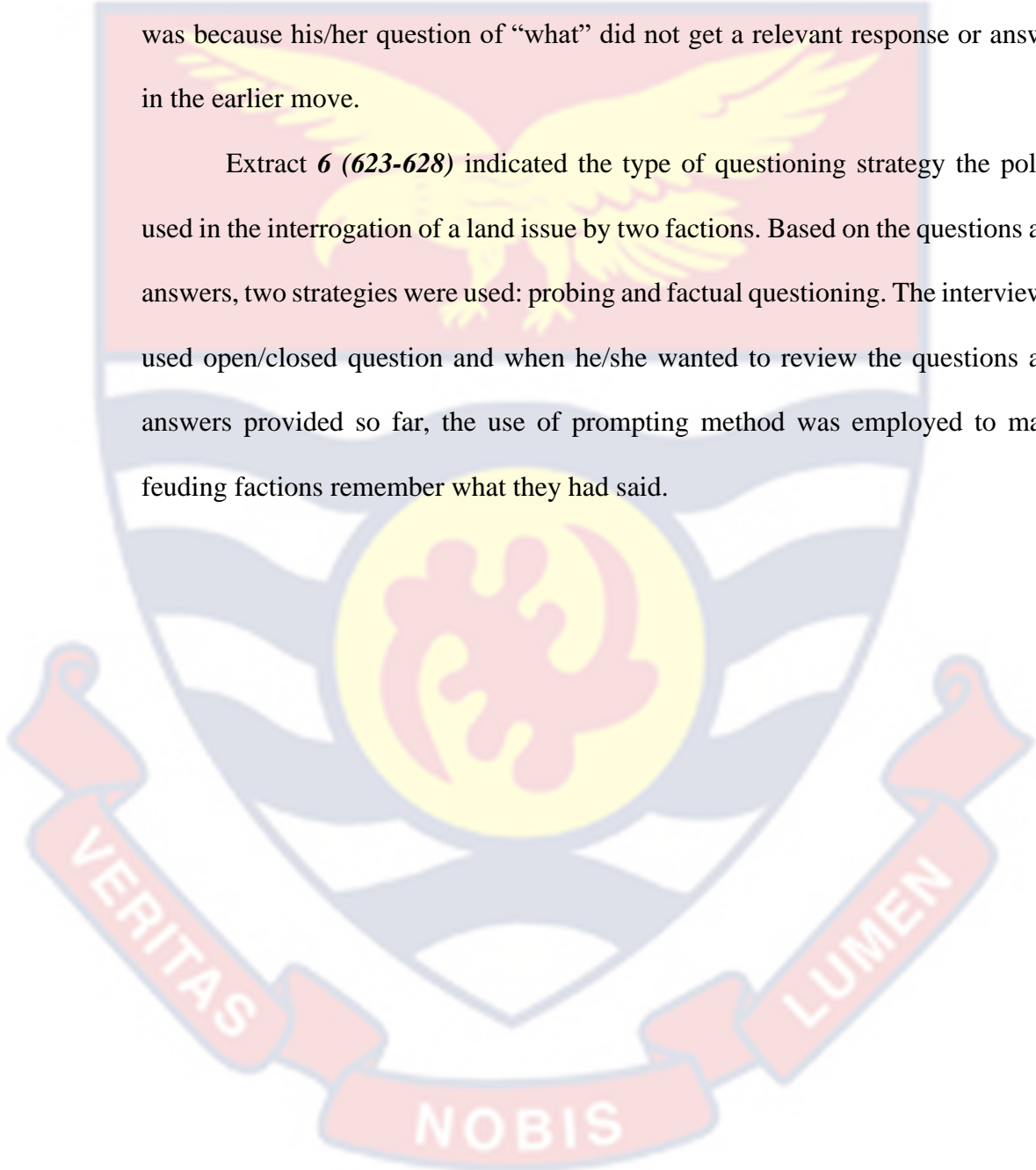
Extract 6 (623-628)

English Version		**Akan Version**

Interviewer: What did the two of you agree on?   623

Interviewee: As for the land, from the beginning I told him to give me all the money, that is Ghc 50, 000 which is 500,000,000 (old currency). He told me he will pay in three instalments. So, the first instalment he gave me was Ghc 11,000   624

Interviewer: Wait a minute, as at now, investigations have shown that the land is not yours, but rather belongs to Nana Ameyaw. So, it means you don't have a land, it's someone's land that you have secretly sold to another person, is it true or not?   625

Interviewee: It's not true.   626

Interviewer: Why is it not true?   627

Interviewee: It's not true, I have all the documents.   628

Interviewer: Na mokae ɛkɔsii sɛn?

Interviewee: Asase no, beginning no, na mese ɔmfa sika no nyina mmra, 50,000 no which is 500 million no nyina mmra. Ɛna ɔyɛɛ sɛ ɔbɛtua no in three installment. Nti no first one ɛna ɔde Ghc11,000 brɛɛ me.

Interviewer: Mereba oo, siesie ara no, nkyer[kyer[mu anaa investigation akyerɛ sɛ asase no nyɛ wo w'asase na mmom Nana Ameyaw, ɔno n'asase. Na kyerɛ sɛ, wonni asase, obi asase na wo nso wafa akyire akɔtɔn ama obi, ɛyɛ nokware anaasɛ ɛnyɛ nokware?

Interviewee: {nyɛ nokware.

Interviewer: Ad[n nti na ɛnyɛ nokware.

Interviewee: {nyɛ nokware, mewɔ papers no nyina.

Source: LwLs (2019)

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Imperative strategy

A police interviewer should always choose subjects, probe, and summarize to elicit an account of an incident, then move on to the next issue and repeat these activities. Heydon's (2011) research demonstrates the highly constrained nature of a suspect's contribution via topic initiation controlled by the police interviewer and makes reference to a "range of devices" (p. 2311) that enable interviewers to introduce new topics; however, these devices are not fully explained in her research. TED and embedded TED questions are interpreted as first pair parts of adjacency pairs requiring an account and performing the same function (Heydon, 2011). It is important to note here that imperative questions are also known as TED questions because they ask to tell, to explain and to discuss. TED questions are a questioning technique that helps in probing for more information. TED questions prompt the recipient to slant the answer in a certain way so it is directive, but it is not as influential as a leading question which can often prompt or encourage the answer that the questioner wants to hear (Lee, 2021).

The police interviewer's intention or power embedded in the imperative sentence used for interaction needs to be realized here. Linguistically, imperative sentences are among the four functionally grouped sentence types. They have their own intentions based on the writer's or speaker's use. Imperative sentences are used to issue command or order someone to do something. Such sentences type have the main verb at the initial position of the construction which is normally followed by an object. Mensah (2017, p.74) claims that imperatives usually do not have perceivable subjects but the subject can be an evoked one or implied or realized

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pragmatically'. Hence, it is possible to realize that even under normal conditions or with no support of other linguistic features like loud sound, or raised intonation, a stronger power is embedded in imperative sentences. Hence, the interaction between the police interviewer and the interviewee (witness) shows the power exploited by the police officer in these few turns of interaction. This made the interaction to be weak in establishing a better rapport using a more polite expressions.

Extract PWs (15 – 16)
Interviewer: … and someone bought your pure water worth 20 pesewas, who was that, if you know the name *mention it.*
Interviewee: I don't know his name; I don't know him from anywhere.

Extract from LwLs (38- 39)
Interviewer: *Have a look at these documents* to confirm it it's part of your documents.
Interviewee: No, it's not part of my documents.

Extract from SNs (379 – 380)
Interviewer: Yes now you are coming to Cape Coast here. *Tell us how you got to*…
Interviewee: Errmm 2017 May when I was on leave in Sunyani I came to work for one month so…
(437 – 438)
Interviewer …Did you get the … so now you are going to *tell me brief* how you got to Cape Coast… *Tell me so that we go*.
Interviewee: So in 2017 May, I came to work there for a month.

All these extracts have one thing in common, that is to *Tell, Explain and Describe.* In the extracts it is realised that the interviewers explored each of the identified topics in a structured manner by opening up a topic through the use of an open-ended question and summarizing all the information obtained about a particular topic. These questions are more specific and tend to be relied on when

the interviewee has omitted some detail in the free recall phase. However, too many

specific closed questions may cause the interviewee to "switch off" and concentrate

less as can be seen in the following extract.

English Version			Akan Version
Interviewer:	You said you are Mansah.	501	**Interviewer**: Wose yɛfrɛ wo Mansah?
Interviewee:	Yes	502	**Interviewee:** Aane
Interviewer:	What's your occupation?	503	**Interviewer:** Woyɛ adwuma bɛn?
Interviewee:	I sell.	504	
Interviewer:	Where do you come from?	505	**Interviewee:** Metɔn adze.
Interviewee:	I'm from Bakano.	506	**Interviewer:** kuro bɛn so na wofiri?
Interviewer:	You are coming to narrate your statement for me to write it down, which language would you use?	507	**Interviewee:** Mefi Bakano. **Interviewer:** Woreba abɛka w'anom as[m ama matwerɛ, kasa bɛn mu na wobɛka no?
Interviewee:	On Sunday…	508	**Interviewee:** Sunday no…
Interviewer:	Which language will you speak? whether you will speak Twi, or English, or Fantse	509	**Interviewer:** Kasa bɛn na wobɛka no w] mu? Wob[ka no w] Twi mu, English mu oo, Fantse?
Interviewee:	Fantse	510	**Interviewee:** Fantse
Interviewer:	What happened?	511	**Interviewer:** Deɛn na ɛsiiɛ?

Extract 5 (501- 511)
Source: PWs (2019)

 Similar to the way reported in the opening phase in the interaction in extract

5, the police interviewer in the above interview extract 5 (501-511) started her

request for the identity of the interviewee (witness) using an imperative sentence

You said you are xxxxx." The interrogator did not even explain the aim of the

interview and how the interviewee (witness) should proceed or act in the interview

process. The interrogator did not also use the direct question "what is your name?"

Instead, imperative sentence was used. The use of this imperative sentence indicates

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the gap in authority between the police officer and the interviewee (witness). It is command or imperative that carries a strong message to the interviewee (witness). On the other hand, the interviewee (witness) is ordered or commanded to tell his name to the police officer. The police interviewer's utterance is not polite. This was because the police officer knows that politeness is not needed. The non - use of direct question is an expression exercising of power through language (discourse). The institutional power vested in the police officer is embedded in this imperative sentence and exerted to the interviewee (witness) through her first turn in line (1) of the interview extract 5 above.
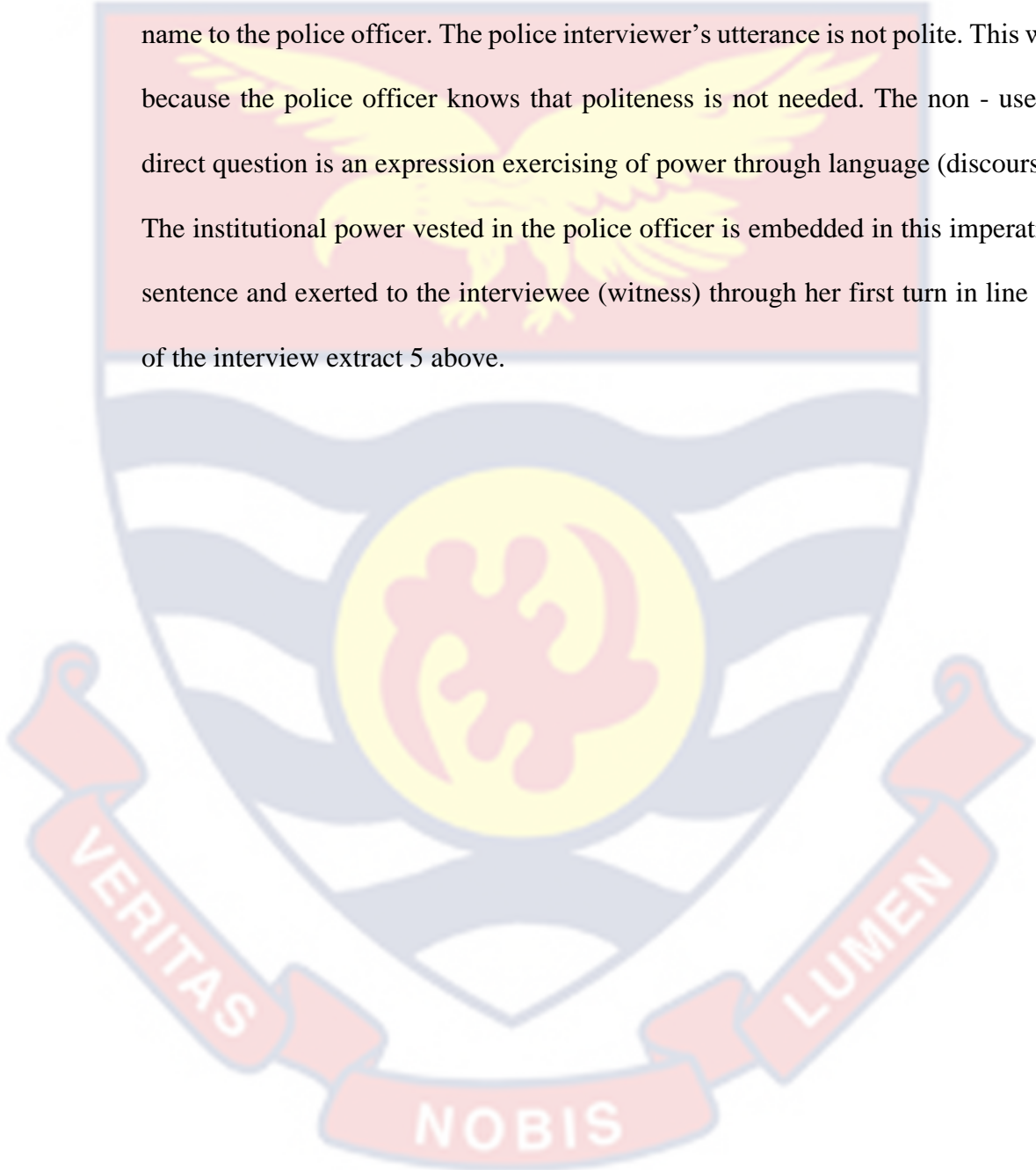
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Extract 6 (201- 214)

English Version

Akan Version

English		Line	Akan
Interviewer:	Please what's your name?	601	**Interviewer:** Mepa wo kyɛw yɛfrɛ wo sɛn?
Interviewee:	My name is Kwame Agboza.	602	**Interviewee:** Yɛfrɛ me Kwame Agboza.
Interviewer:	What's your house number?	603	**Interviewer:** Wo house number yɛ deɛn?
Interviewee:	I don't remember my house number.	604	**Interviewee:** Menkae me house number.
Interviewer:	Please do you have a phone?	605	**Interviewer:** Mepa wo kyɛw wowɔ phone?
Interviewee:	Yes, I have a phone.	606	**Interviewee:** Mmm mewɔ phone.
Interviewer:	Please give me your phone number.	607	**Interviewer:** Mepa wo ky[w ma me wo telephone number no!
Interviewee:	xxxxxxxxxx	608	**Interviewee:** xxxxxxxxxxxxx
Interviewer:	Please what's your occupation?	609	**Interviewer:** Mepa wo kyɛw woyɛ adwuma bɛn?
Interviewee:	I'm a business man.	610	**Interviewee:** Meyɛ business man.
Interviewer:	You are a business man, what business do you do?	611	**Interviewer:** Woyɛ business man, deɛn business na wow] mu?
Interviewee:	I buy and sell any item.	612	**Interviewee:** Oh metutɔn, any ayi biara.
Interviewer:	Where is your home town?	613	**Interviewer:** kuro bɛn so na woifri?
Interviewee:	I'm from Asante Bekwai.	614	**Interviewee:** Mefiri Asante Bekwai.

Source: LwLs (2019)

The police interviewer wanted to show that the investigation or interview is between him/her and the witness. The police interviewer - interviewee (witness) interaction at this initial phase was designed to open or begin the investigation. This phase of interaction seeks information regarding the identity or name of the interviewee (witness) and the way the turns in interaction were arranged were based on the police interviewer's controlling or managing of the topic or the turns. Consequently, the police interviewer used imperative sentence and interrogative sentences. The imperative utterance of the police interviewer is used here to impose order (command) on the interviewee to do what he/she is told to do. Utterance in questioning form on the other hand is used to urge the interviewee (witness) to provide response. In general, in both types of utterances, the discourse for building rapport was influenced more by questioning and commanding than relaxing discourses.

Inverted questions strategy

Inverted questions are questions that usually demand a Yes/No answer. The Yes/No question which seeks a comment on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition is the most basic of question types. According to Quirk & Greenbaum (1973), they are marked by the subject-auxiliary inversion or rising intonation as seen in the following extracts.

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Extract 6 (201- 214)

English Version
Extract from CPw (9 – 12)

Akan Version

Interviewer*: Did she fall down when he hit her*?
Interviewee: She didn't fall but because of the push she went backwards.
Interviewer: *Were the guys able to get him out of the office*?
Interviewee: Yes, they were able to bring him out with force after initial resistance…

Interviewer: ɛbɔɔ no no, ɔtɔɔ fam anaa wantɔfam?
Interviewee: Want[fam but (mmom) [pushee ([piaa) no nti y]n madam k[[n'akyi.
Interviewer: W[s[[guy (aberante]) no mu de no puee ab[ntene?
Interviewee: Aane, w[s[[no mu. Still now koraa na [mp] s] [b]pue ab[ntene. (.)

Extract from CPs (53 – 56)

Interviewer: When you were coming from your house, *were you with a car or not?*
Interviewee: I came with a car.
Interviewer: You parked your car in front of the woman's office*, isn't that the case?*
Interviewee: I didn't park in front but

by the side of the shop.

Interviewer: Woreba [fese…wofiri wo fie anaas] wo [fese aba maame no [fese h[no, na wokuta kaa anaa na wonkuta kaa?
Interviewee: Na me…mede kaa na]bae].
Interviewer: Na wode kaa no bae] na wob]park asi maame no anim h[, ny] saa?
Interviewee: Aane mepark… ny] n'anim h[p]], mepark no w[ne side, ne shop no, metraa shop no kakra na mepark kaa no w[nky]n.

In the above extracts, the italicised structures are the Yes/No questions by inversion used by the Police Interviewer to invite the witness, suspect or complainant to take their speaking turn. An embedded question is a question that is inside another question or statement. This grammar point is sometimes explained on its own or in a lesson on noun clauses or reported speech (Trusler, 2016). Embedded questions can cause confusion for English language learners because they follow a normal Subject-Verb-Object pattern instead of a typical inverted

question pattern. Embedded questions are introduced by whether, whether or not, and if when there is no question word in the sentence (yes/no questions).

Inversion in embedded questions is a phenomenon in which embedded questions have a word order more typically associated with non-embedded questions. The use of questions plays a very important role and can determine whether a conversation is fluent or not. Moreover, questions can also determine how far that information or a conversation is understood (Wälchli, 2005). Contextual conversations, theoretically Yes/No questions can be answered variously depending on the context of conversation.

Extract 7 (729-733)

Interviewer:	But in your own estimation, does this fridge sell at Ghc 1000?	729
Interviewee:	Oh no, it will cost more than Ghc 1000, but like I said earlier, he said he was in a financial difficulty and so he needed money urgently for something.	730
Interviewer:	Are you aware that you've bought a stolen item, and that he stole what he sold to you?	731
Interviewee:	No, I'm not aware.	732
Interviewer:	As at now that you are standing here, have you realized that you have bought a stolen item?	733

Source: Fs (2019)

Questions are the discourse devices that scaffold police interrogations. Conversation analysts Clayman and Heritage (2002) examined d an array of issues related to questioning. One can note that in line 732 "No, I'm not aware" was produced as a response to the declarative form in line 731. It seems that the suspect treats this turn the way he/she would treat a yes/no interrogative, in spite of the absence of subject-auxiliary inversion in this example and question intonation which would compensate for the lack of inversion. Furthermore, as I have pointed out some linguistic devices can alter the default function of certain forms.

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Extract 10 (1012-1017)

Interviewer:	Your father died so you had to stop. I mean I am not interested in who sponsored you that is not why I am here. Whether anybody was willing to sponsor you or not at the end of the day you have not been successful so..is that not the case?	1012
Interviewee:	Yes	1013
Interviewer:	Whether anybody promised to sponsor you or not, the bottom line is that, are you a medical doctor?	1014
Interviewee:	No	1015
Interviewer:	Ahaa. So those who made those promises all landed on the rock so I don't want to… So now you are saying that unfortunately your father passed on so what happened? So you couldn't continue.	1016
Interviewee:	Yes.	1017

Source: SNs (2019)

In extract 10 above I am focused particularly on the interrogative in line 1014. Extract 10 is taken from an interview with a suspect in a stolen identity case. The suspect had been going round practising as a medical doctor with fake certificates. The interview was 56minutes, 40second long and the extract below occurs in the tenth minute of the interview. This is a record taking interview. The interviewee is questioned about his/her activities in the country. This interview had 30 inverted questions. The matter of whether somebody is treated as a witness or a suspect by the interrogator is sometimes unclear. The questioned party is never explicitly told what their status is. Where questions move from purely information-seeking to accusatory/implying something, the questioned party finds they are being treated as a suspect. As a consequence of this, one can note different levels of defensiveness in their responses. What emerges from the above given examples on a larger scale, however, is something along the lines of the studies which suggest that positive yes/no interrogatives that resemble information-seeking questions are found to perform other activities (Koshik, 2002; Heinemann, 2007; Monzoni,

2007). These examples indicate that information seeking rarely comes to the listener as a single component, but is usually used to facilitate some other action.

Declarative strategy

One of the intent of the researcher was to know whether declarative (intonation) questions were posed by the police interrogators. Though some declarative questions do not get answers, the data showed that most of the questions posed had answers to them as they convey a point across. For instance, a declarative question has a form of a statement but has the intonation of a question when spoken and is marked by a question mark in writing:

Extract 9 (1 – 10)
Interviewer: *Your house number?*
Interviewee: H E 15/03
Interviewer: Where?
Interviewee: Twifo Henman
Interviewer: *You live in at Henman*?
Interviewee: Yes please
Interviewer: What work do you do?
Interviewee: I am a Herbalist.
Interviewer: *You are a Herbalist*?
Interviewer: Yes please
(HwLs, 2019)

The extract above is potentially informative, even in contexts where they are entailed. There are four main things that the police interrogator is trying to convey through his intonation: reaching the end of the sentence, done talking, emphasis of specific words or phrases in the sentence and emotion. When listening to data, it was noticed that the speaker had to signal through intonation that another sentence was coming. Declaration questions also known as intonation questions

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have the subject verb (S+V) structure but the tone of the voice changes the statement into a question. For example: *Your house number?*

Aarts (2001) opines that the Subject comes first in the sentence, followed by the Predicator, which in turn is followed by an Indirect Object and a Direct Object. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) clearly indicate that declarative sentences have patterns such as SV, SVC, SVOC, SVOO, SVOA and SVA.

Extract 4 (19 -20)
Interviewer: You said what was wrong with the chicken, *they were ill*?
Interviewee: The chickens were ill and they were on the verge of dying…
(33 – 34)
Interviewer: In terms of the law, there's something termed as 'ignorance of the the law is no excuse'… *I hope you have heard me*?
Interviewee: The police officer let what you said serve as a warning to me.
(PFs, 2019)

People are likely to presume that the communicative activity of questioning is accomplished by the posing of questions. Such an assumption is largely reasonable although it does not address the definitional complexities that surround 'the question'. The linguistic lineage of 'question' is both fascinating and pertinent. The nature of actuality, of things that have happened, or what things 'are', appears to be central to meanings of 'question'. Reliable information is sought in an inquiry; events are challenged on the basis of the factuality of their representation. Because institutions constitute little worlds, institutional discourse constructs its own kind of reality in any context (Berger & Luckmann, 2002).

In the investigative interview, there was 104 declarative speech act. These were performed while the detectives were conducting the interviews. It can be seen from the utterance in extract 4. In the extract, we see evidence that the interviewee interprets the interviewer's utterance, this time with declarative intonation, as a request for

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elaboration on a particular element of his/her account, which he/she duly provides. The interviewer omits any explicit invitation to provide narrative, relying solely on the narration the interviewee is providing. Of further interest in this extract is that the interviewer formulates the confirmation-seeking question on 823. Another possibility is that the stress indicates an element of surprise at the suspect being "shocked" in this situation.

Summary

How the first question in the interview is worded is vital to the usefulness of the information. Research shows that some of the most common approaches are particularly ineffective (Schollum, 2005). When we speak or communicate using language, we perform different kinds of speech acts (Searle 1969). This is because speech acts are the underlying actions we perform in our speeches. Besides, recognizing the speech act that is being performed in the production of an utterance is important because it is the speech act that to some extent tells us what the speaker intends to do with the propositional content of what he/she says (Schifrin , 2005). Questioning is a speech act which affects the way information is organized. Different types of questions are used for different purposes. The purpose for which questions are used is based on the intentions of the speakers when uttering a question and on the functions that questions perform. Different types of questions are characterized by different functions. The use of different modes of questioning also indicates the relationship that exists between the questioner and the respondent (intimacy, social distance, authority). In other words, the meanings given to questions are determined by the status of the speakers involved in the question act

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and the way they convey intention. Modes of questioning are strategies for conveying; certain kinds of intentions and not others. Likewise, from the extracts of the interview between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witnesses) in this study, it could be understood that the police interviewers used questioning as one of the strategies to gather information. For this to happen, different types of questions were used in the interactions for different purposes. Hence, it will be advisable to analyse the purposes for which the police interviewers used and the contexts in which these questions were used.

In the interview interactions, the police interviewers were given the roles of persistent questioners and the interviewees (witnesses) were given the roles of respondents. Thus, it needs to see forms and functions of questions used by the police interviewers in the interview during the crime investigation or information gathering from the eye witnesses (interviewees).

Research Question 2: What discursive strategies are used to enact power in police interrogations?

The analysis presented here has demonstrated the discursive influence of an interviewer over an interviewee's account, revealed through the use of features such as formulations, topic control, and question structure, and amplified through the intrinsic power which comes with their institutional position and knowledge.

Rapport Building

Rapport building is an opening section in which the parties enter into a state of interaction and establish their identities for one another (Schegloff, 1986). It is a

critical step in the development of a professional relationship between a police officer and a witness/suspect) in this study. Rapport should be established and maintained to influence the quality and outcome of police interviews. The success of police interviews reflects, in part, how well the witness and interviewer interact with each other. Ideally, the interviewer must gain the witness's trust as someone who is concerned about the personal welfare of the witness and is not seen only as an evidence-gatherer. The goals of the first interview phases are normally greeting and personalizing the interview, establishing rapport, and explaining the aims of the interview. If an institutionally defined goal of the opening phase is the building of rapport, for instance, then an orientation to this goal should be observable in the language of the interviewing officer or the police interviewer. However, in the opening phases of the interview, the discourses used by the police interviewers were not fully addressing the way it was expressed earlier. It is worth analysing how the discourses were presented in the opening phases of the interviews in this study.

Extract 4 (401-408)

PI:	What's your name?	401
Suspect:	Dominic	402
PI:	What's your house number?	403
Suspect:	Please we don't have a house number at my place, it's a new place.	404
PI:	Do you have a phone?	405
Suspect:	Yes, I have a phone.	406
PI:	Do you have the number off head?	407
Suspect:	It's a new chip so I can't remember.	408

Source: PFs (2019)

It was found from the extract that; the PI started the interrogation by eliciting relevant and personal information from the suspect to illustrate the cooperative/uncooperative pattern in police interrogations of the accused person.

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The personal information gave the PI a clue on the attitudinal background of the accused person, which in turn could lead to the eventual determination of his involvement or innocence in the case that had been levelled before him. This explains why the elicitations employed by PI are graded and seek personal information about the accused person before moving into the actual interrogation. In a post interview with a CID at the Police Headquarters, he indicated that this is a structure that they follow, however, it can take different turns in achieving the same objective of getting information from a witness or suspect. This showed the co-operative pattern at the initial stage in the interrogation of the suspect by the police investigator.

The statement by the CID is buttressed in the Police Training Manual which stipulates that the interrogation process must begin with questions the person should not be afraid to answer such as their name, address and employment and the interrogator must always be neutral. The conversational maxims of quality, quantity and relevance were observed in the interactions. It is quite apparent therefore that the three maxims record the highest percentage of observance, thus implying that the suspect gives information that is true or that could be manifestly proved. The responses and replies provided by the suspect were informative. This is characteristic of police interrogations as questions compel responses. The interrogative atmosphere at the Police Station also enhances a person to give information needed because of the fear that if the right answers are not given, the suspect will be manhandled. Furthermore, questions may be used as weapon to test or challenge claims made by the accused person.

The interview interaction in the excerpt is the opening phase to the information gathering or to the "interview proper". It is the phase at which the police interviewer, as a person who is ready to gather information from the interviewee (witness), completes all the preliminaries. It is unusual to audio record the police interview interactions during crime investigation in our country's judicial system. The police interviewers transcribe the interaction like minutes taking (manually record the interview verbatim) of the spoken interaction using pen and paper. This transcription or recording includes filling formalities or gathering the preliminary information like the name, age, address, family status, or job of the witness. These are done to maintain the legality of the information gathered and to increase its reliability. At this stage, the police interviewers are expected to establish good rapport with the witness to increase the effectiveness of the information gathering.

Scholars like Vallano and Compo (2011) also strengthen this when they state that interviewers need to build rapport to increase the accuracy of witness recall. The asking of questions related to the names, ages, addresses, marital status or family condition can of course be considered to be some ways of making rapport in the interaction. However, these cannot be considered to be a better rapport creating or establishing methods. Besides, the loud voice of the police interviewer heard at the first utterance would not allow the interviewee to relax. In this interview context, the police interviewer could not establish a good rapport with the interviewee (witness). Greeting helps to improve the relationship between the police officer and the witness and reduces sense of potential frustration on the part

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of the witness. Furthermore, it creates trustworthiness between the two participants in the interaction. Introduction of oneself and one's responsibility also helps to approach the interviewee in a good manner. However, the police interviewer neither started the interaction by greeting the interviewee (witness) nor introduced himself and his responsibility to the interviewee (witness) before coming to the main information gathering phase of the interview.

It was also possible for the police interviewer to establish a good rapport through explaining the objective of the interview to the interviewee. This is because explaining or orienting the interviewee in this way creates a positive atmosphere between the police interviewer and the interviewee (witness) at the beginning of the information gathering phase. Nevertheless, the police interviewer did not do that at all. Furthermore, the police interviewer did not orient the witness (interviewee) on how to proceed with the interview and what ethical and legal considerations needed to be maintained to avoid false witnessing which could also affect the evidence and spoils the legal processes.

Extract 5 (501- 511)

Interviewer:	You said you are Mansah.	501
Interviewee:	Yes	502
Interviewer:	What's your occupation?	503
Interviewee:	I sell.	504
Interviewer:	Where do you come from?	505
Interviewee:	I'm from Bakano.	506
Interviewer:	You are coming to narrate your statement for me to write it down, which language would you use?	507
Interviewee:	On Sunday…	508
Interviewer:	Which language will you speak? whether you will speak Twi, or English, or Fantse	509
Interviewee:	Fantse	510
Interviewer:	What happened?	511

Source: PWs (2019)

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Good rapport at the beginning of the interaction and the power relation built through the loud voice of the police interviewer for instance, may create a sense of worry and tension in the witness which, in turn, may affect the next mood of the interaction. The production and understanding of an utterance, as an action, derives from features of the social context, especially an utterance's place in an organized sequence of talk. Any participant's communicative action is contextual (Maynard & Heritage, 2005). Hence, this communicative action depends on the orientation of the preceding, most commonly, the immediately preceding talk, the projection of the relevance of the particular "next" action or range of the next actions. On the other hand, turns at talk are based on the inter subjectivity of the interactants, in which the interactants understand each other in the process of interaction. The implication is that the next speaker will only respond or interact correctly if he/she understands well what has already been spoken by the earlier speaker. This means if the second speaker fails to understand the preceding talk, it will be less probable to respond properly.

The police interviewer's intention or power embedded in the imperative sentence used for interaction needs to be realized here. Linguistically, interrogative sentences and imperative sentences are among the four functionally grouped sentence types. They have their own intentions based on the writer's or speaker's use. One of these sentence types, which is the interrogative sentence, basically helps to ask questions whereas imperative sentences are used to command or order someone to do something. It is possible to realize that even under normal conditions or with no support of other linguistic features like loud sound, or raised intonation,

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a stronger power is embedded in imperative sentences. The interaction between the

police interviewer and the interviewee (witness) shows the power exploited by the

police officer in these few turns of interaction.

Extract 2 (201- 214)

Interviewer:	Please what's your name?	201
Interviewee:	My name is Daniel.	202
Interviewer:	What's your house number?	203
Interviewee:	I don't remember my house number.	204
Interviewer:	Please do you have a phone?	205
Interviewee:	Yes, I have a phone.	206
Interviewer:	Please give me your phone number.	207
Interviewee:	0598741300	208
Interviewer:	Please what's your occupation?	209
Interviewee:	I'm a business man.	210
Interviewer:	You are a business man, what business do you do?	211
Interviewee:	I buy and sell any item.	212
Interviewer:	Where is your home town?	213
Interviewee:	I'm from Asante Bekwai.	214

Source: LwDs (2019)

For most of the interview, the account which emerges from the interactions

contain much, which is harmful to the interviewee's position. But the striking

feature of this interview is the shift which takes place, after which several points

materialize which are extremely helpful to his defence. It could be interpreted as a

positive finding. Heritage (1984) states that utterances in interaction are not just

single events but are connected with other utterances. Likewise, in this interview

extract, the interviewee (witness) was supported by the contexts provided in the

previous turns about personal information like name, and father's name. The

interviewee could understand that the pervious turns of the police interview in lines

(1 and 3) were questions about name and house number.

Generally, in the interview presented in the previous excerpt, the police

interviewer did not use a better approach that makes the interviewee (the witness)

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relaxed to express his ideas during the interview. Rather, the police interviewer's discourse mainly focused on gathering the preliminary information about the interviewee's name and other particulars. For this to happen, the police interviewer used direct questions.

Enactment of Power

Power behind discourse, according to Fairclough (1989) is the idea that the whole social order of discourse together and is put together as a hidden effect of power. Fairclough (1989) explores various dimensions of the relation of power and language. Power in discourse has to do with asymmetrical relationships.

Extract from CPs (2019)

Interviewer:	I mean did she refund the money the very day you sent the doors, yes or no?
Interviewee:	She didn't give me the money that day but she asked that I come for it some other day because she has used the money for other transactions.
Interviewer:	Yesterday 27th at 10am you went to her office, is that true or false?
Interviewee:	It's true.

In the above extract, the police investigator was able to assert his influence and will on the suspect. It could be seen from the extract again that, the investigator exercises power that affects or coerces the suspect in a manner contrary to the suspect's interest. The issue of power play was illustrated in a number of ways, including through the elicitation techniques used by the police investigator and the controls they employed to manipulate the answers of suspects, such as question formulation, question repetition and enforcing explicitness of language.

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When learning the role of discourse especially on society, CDA particularly focuses on (groups) relation of power resisted by social group members through talk and text. CDA commonly focuses on the strategies of manipulation, legitimation, the manufacture of consent and other discursive ways to influence the minds (indirect actions) of people in the interest of the powerful. This is depicted in the extract below:

Interviewer:	You mean the indenture he brought for you to sign was different from the one you gave to him so you suspected that he was attempting foul means to let you sign the new one to replace the one you gave to him so that that one can bear his name. Is that not it?
Interviewee:	Correct.
Interviewer:	And you said you won't sign?
Interviewee:	Pardon me?
Interviewer:	You said… what you said is that you did not sign the document because you suspected a foul play.
Interviewee:	Yes.

Source: LwLs (2019)

A central idea in most critical work on discourse is that of power, and more particularly the institutions or social power of groups. Power which divided into two kinds are social power and power abuse. Where social power is (approximately) defined as a form of control of one group to another, power abuse further implies that the control is in the interest of the dominant group, this means that dominant social group members may exercise such control over talk and text. For example, this extract

Interviewer:	No, I mean when you went to collect your Ghc 700 that day what did you take with you to her office?
Interviewee:	I went there before the 27th
Interviewer:	I'm talking about the 27th, what did you take to her office?
Interviewee:	On the 27th I was on my way to work somewhere so I had a gallon of petrol with me. So when I got there I decided to go

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	and collect my money from her. So that's what I was holding when I went to her office.
Interviewer:	You were also holding a lighter, true or false?
Interviewee:	It's false, I wasn't holding a lighter.
Interviewer:	What of matches?
Interviewee:	I wasn't with matches either.
Interviewer:	How did the petrol you were holding sprinkle on the floor of the office?
Interviewee:	What happened was that I was going somewhere with the petrol so I couldn't leave it outside, but when I went to ask for the money and an argument ensued, I got a bit furious because I came to buy something with my money, so if I didn't get the item, I was expecting my money but she kept postponing the payment and giving excuses. Meanwhile she wasn't the reason why I took the petrol there, but when we were talking, one of the workers thought we were fighting so she came behind me to hit the gallon on the floor.

Shows power abuse during the interrogation. Foucault (1977) considered examinations as an implicit coercive gatekeeping process, and regarding this, in the following subsections, it is seen how interruption in its various forms leads to the control and power enactment. Interestingly, interruption was not reciprocally justified. As it is seen in the examples the interviewers were regarded as legitimate since no resisting sign was seen, while interviewees' interruptive discourses, though very few if any, were not commonly legitimate or natural! Power abuse may be exercised when arguments are based on false premises and manipulative or coercive attempts.

Karlberg (2005, p.1) introduced the concept of 'discourse intervention' signifying the effort of changing reality by changing the discourses constituting that reality. Eltanskaya, et. al. (2018) state that power is cognitive (creating linguistic interpretation of the world), sociolinguistic (related to social status employed by participants with higher status), and pragmatic (related to the intentional aspect of communication) category. Power abuse can be characterised similarly as cognitive

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when the linguistic interpretations created are based on fallacious arguments, sociolinguistic as people practice control over the media along with other resources to impose a certain representation of reality, and pragmatic as when reality representation and interpretation of the world are stated to serve speakers' self-interest while employing legitimation strategies to persuade the audience of the validity of their claim. This study supports van Dijk's view (2006) that power abuse involves manipulating recipient's knowledge. It further suggests that speakers, by reproducing inequality and racial discourses through aggression, accusation and ban, are subverting mainstream and challenging the existing power structures. Power abuse is an act of influencing others via ideology imposition, coercion and domination and may lead to social and group inequality along with discrimination against others holding different ideologies and attitudes.

Comments and Explanations

In the study, most interruptions were in this mode of discourse. While some of the defending students were speaking, some professors interrupted them, using declarative statements in order to explain some parts or state their comments.

1. **Interviewer:** You are here because Grace has made a complaint about you that you sold a land to her but while she was working on the land, some young men who claim to be soldiers came around claiming ownership of the land.
2. She claims to have bought the land about fifteen years ago but because the land was water locked, he couldn't afford the cost of filling the land and putting a structure on it, so he has sacked her from the land.
3. But when she called you and reported the incidence she has encountered on the land to you, you did not do anything about it.
4. And you don't answer her calls when she calls.
5. Now, you have even put off your phone and she don't know your house too; that is why she reported the case to the police and we have arrested you.

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As it is seen, the interviewers' comments were the main cause of the above interruptive statements. However, they were not interpreted as interruptions by the interviewee, since they were normally responded to. In these examples, the interviewer felt a need to explain and mention the ideas in the case. The study contributes to the available knowledge by filling the gap of examining power abuse and its representation in text and talk.

Summary

Understanding of what rapport-building or rapport-maintaining communication may mean in everyday practice, and how it may be achieved linguistically or non-verbally may vary considerably. Not least because much is dependent on context (i.e. stage in the interview, suspect's attitude and age, nature of the crime, time constraints); in addition, the use of rapport needs to be reconciled with the main objective of the interview: retrieving investigative-relevant information that is both accurate and admissible in court. Rapport has been extensively defined and studied from a psychological perspective. Police interactions may be deemed intrinsically face-threatening, as they result from the suspect being questioned on the suspicion of having committed a crime, which clearly restricts the suspect's autonomy and places them under the imposition of questioning. The relationship between the interlocutors is, consequently, asymmetric, with most of the power laying with the interviewer. Some use of face-threatening/aggravating acts, such as unmitigated requests or even accusations and blaming, may, therefore, be expected to be integral to this interactional context.

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Research Question 3: How do suspects co-operate in police interrogation in relation to response strategies?

How serious crime suspects responded during these interviews was categorised as either a relevant response, silence, no comment, challenging response or unclear/complex response. Analysis of all the interview tapes revealed that relevant responses were found to be the most frequent suspect response. It could be noted that a denial also included those interviews where the suspect stayed silent or made no comment but made denials via a prepared statement in the interview. Some of the responses are documented in the following extracts.

Extract 1 (109-114)

Interviewer: Did she fall down when he hit her?	109
Interviewee: She didn't fall but because of the push she went backwards.	110
Interviewer: Were the guys able to get him out of the office?	111
Interviewee: Yes, they were able to bring him out with force after initial resistance. He then told our madam that she's a bad person and that he will bring his bodyguards, his "boys" to finish her. That was when our madam said she's going to report him at the police station.	113
Interviewer: Did you see where the man dropped the gallon of petrol.	114
Interviewee: He took it away with him together with the lighter.	115

Source: CPw (2019)

The extract begins as the interviewer is eliciting information from the interviewee. This in itself reveals the interviewer's orientation to the institutional context, it seems safe to assume that he/she is not recording these details for her own purposes, but rather due to institutional requirements. On line 111 the interviewer uses a metalinguistic comment to begin the 'interview proper,' a clear indication that what has gone before is not considered to belong in this category. The construction of the sentence,

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Did you see where the man dropped the gallon of petrol

and the specificity of the time reference are all typical of "policespeak" (Fox 1993), indicating that the interviewer is merely animating a message authored by the police institution. Rather than seeking unknown information, these questions are designed to elicit confirmation on the record from the interviewee (Stokoe & Edwards 2008). There are obvious reasons for these discursive strategies when one considers the institutional role of the interview, and these reasons are familiar to practitioners.

Interrogations are interactional texts because they are designed to gather propositional information and include interactional positioning that presupposes power relationships. The propositional information can be controlled and corrupted by the interlocutors, as well as reveal characterizations of their social group and standing. (Wortham, 2001). The goals of every police interview can be described in terms of institutional requirements. Therefore, one of the goals of a police interview is to elicit a voluntary confession from the suspect.

Beune, Giebels and Sanders (2009) noted that, irrespective of whether a suspect is guilty or not, he or she may be showing resistance for various reasons. Resistance to cooperate can, for example, be caused by embarrassment for the act, revenge towards the police in general, or the protection of a friend (Smith & Parrent, 2013). Resistance of a suspect includes acts that thwart, obstruct, and impede officers' attempts to elicit information, acts that undermine authority, and physical proactive or reactive acts against officers' attempt to control a suspect (Terrill, 2003). The data further revealed that the linguistic act forms of elicitation and reply/informative are employed by the PI and suspect. This is obvious because

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much of the power the police personnel have during investigation and interrogation rest on the power of questions.

In police discourse, only the PI can ask questions, while the suspects' role is to answer them. That is why PIs during interrogation usually exploit the various forms of questions to allow the culprit confess his/her guilt. According to Terrill (2013), in 13% of all encounters police officers experience some form of suspect resistance. Because the suspect's stance has everything to do with how the interaction goes and we focus on interaction-related communication errors, we assume the suspect's stance after a communication error affects what police officers experience and think the suspect experiences, and if they change the amount of responsibility in their repair strategy

The focus of communication research within a suspect interview has been mainly focused on identifying communication that encourages cooperation (Beune et al., 2009; Holmberg & Madsen, 2014) and how to communicate evidence that is known to the police (for example, Inbau, Reid, Buckley, & Jayne, 2001; Starrett, 1998). Oostinga et al. (2017a; 2017b) have recently started to research the effect of communication errors on suspects and crisis negotiators as regard to what type of errors and repair strategies exist. It can be inferred from the extract that power and control lie with the PI during interrogation and that the suspect has no control over their testimonies. Also, the power base for the control of suspects by the PI is by questioning, a powerful technique element being used strategically.

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Extract 2 (215-244)

Interviewer	Yes, the reason why you are here is that Opanin Kwame has come to make a case against you. He said you sold a land to him and he has built on it to the lintel stage when someone came to him that he owns the land. He came with the document of the land and truly when we took the document to the Lands commission, they confirmed that the land belongs to him. It means the land document you gave him was fake, that's why you are here. But before then, have you sold any land to him?	215
Interviewee	Oh yes, I have sold a land to him but he hasn't paid in full so how can I give him document? I can't give him all the documents.	216
Interviewer	How much did you collect from him, how much did you say you will collect?	217
Interviewee	The money is 50 million, that is 500 million old Ghana cedis but he has paid Ghc 22, 000 and so it's left with a balance of Ghc 28, 000. He hasn't paid yet and I realised he's building on it. That wasn't the agreement we had.	218
Interviewer	When you were talking, you said you are a business man who buys and sells, so how did you get that land to sell?	219
Interviewee	You see that land, it's through this my business that I bought it, I bought it and kept it. I have different lands at different places.	220
Interviewer	Ok, so how did you come into contact with him?	221
Interviewee	Oh, I was there when he came to me that one of my friends told him that if he's in search of a land to buy then he should come and see me and he will get one to buy. I think that's how I came into contact with him.	222
Interviewer	What did the two of you agree on?	223
Interviewee	As for the land, from the beginning I told him to give me all the money, that is Ghc 50, 000 which is 500,000,000 (old currency). He told me he will pay in three instalments. So, the first instalment he gave me was Ghc 11,000	224
Interviewer	Wait a minute, as at now, investigations have shown that the land is not yours, but rather belongs to Nana Ameyaw. So, it means you don't have a land, it's someone's land that you have secretly sold to another person, is it true or not?	225
Interviewee	It's not true.	226
Interviewer	Why is it not true?	227
Interviewee	It's not true, I have all the documents.	228
Interviewer	Do you have all the documents?	229
Interviewee	At the time when the other person came to attack him on the land and told him that the land belongs to him and not Kobina Adjei, he told you about it and you said you have heard and that you will come so you settle it. The following day when he called you, he couldn't reach you, up till today that we have monitored you to arrest you. How come that if the land	230

	is yours and you possess the documents, you have gone into hiding all this while	
Interviewee	It's not true that I have gone into hiding, I'm not hiding because the land belongs to me, so why should I go into hiding, he is not telling the truth.	231
Interviewer	It's been five years since he came to report the case here, we've been to your house at Kasoa, we've been to Accra, they said Takoradi, and yet we couldn't find you, you don't even stay here in Cape Coast, we've been to all the houses and all the places I have mentioned and yet you were nowhere to be found. So where exactly have you been, here in Ghana and all your houses that I've mentioned? Where have you been that we've searched severally and couldn't find you? So if you say you didn't run away, where did you go?	232
Interviewee	I didn't run away, I travelled	233
Interviewer	Where did you go?	234
Interviewee	I travelled, I made it known to you that I'm a business man, I travelled.	235
Interviewer	Ok, so when he came to inform you that someone has come to attack him on the land and that there is a problem, what did you do about it?	236
Interviewee	I told him to wait while I meet the one who is claiming ownership of the land to talk over any issue at hand. But he wasn't patient, when he called me I wasn't in the country; it's now that I've come.	237
Interviewer	Have a look at these documents to confirm if it's part of your documents.	238
Interviewee	No, it's not part of my documents.	239
Interviewer	He said you gave him this document.	240
Interviewee	It doesn't bear my signature, and the person he's talking about, I haven't seen him so I can't even tell if the person is dark or fair or whatever personality he is.	241
Interviewer	Alright, right now what we will do is that we will go with you to your house, so that you give us all the documents on the land that you claim belongs to you, so that we investigate it to confirm if indeed the land is yours. Because land commission has already said the land doesn't belong to you, you are also saying the land is yours. Where did you register the land that you seem not to have any record with the lands commission and yet you claim the land is yours, when you say that, what are you insinuating?	242
Interviewee	I said it it's mine, I own it. I registered it at the lands commission.	243
Interviewer	At where, Cape Coast or Accra.	244

Source: LwDs (2019)

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Again, it was found that most of the conversation comes across as if the police investigator felt the accused wanted to cheat the complainant in the case. A suspect sold a plot of land to the said complainant but the same land was sold to a different person by a different owner. The accused agreed to sell the land to the complainant at a fee of fifty thousand Ghana Cedis and it was agreed between the two parties that the money would be paid in three instalments. It was this agreement that came to be understood as the accused consenting to sell the land. While it was established that initial money had been paid, five years on, someone else shows up with evidence to claim that he is the rightful owner of the land.

In the interaction between the police officer and the suspect, the police investigator encouraged the suspect to confess to guilt. The suspect was aware of the legal implications of telling the truth. In a bid to exonerate himself, he made frantic efforts at maximizing relevance by saying he has the particulars of the land in question. By uttering this statement, the suspect felt the investigating officer would see the case from another perspective. It was a means of manipulating the cognitive skill of the officer. Police interviewers have to cope with crime complainants, and suspects, but also with themselves, with respect both to previous stressful exposures and to the present crime they are investigating. In the interaction with the accused above, it was realized that the accused was cooperative with the interviewer. The answer given to the questions seems to be the truth as the accused could be seen as showing confidence in his answers.

> *Oh yes, I have sold a land to him but he hasn't paid in full*
> *so how can I give him document? I can't give him all the*
> *documents* (line 216).

The accused person's response shows that he observed the three maxims. However, up to that point in the interaction, the suspect and the police officer seem to agree that the accused had done something against the victim

> *It's not true that I have gone into hiding, I'm not hiding because the land belongs to me, so why should I go into hiding, he is not telling the truth* (line 231).

Instead of asking whether the suspect had gone into hiding, the Police Investigating Officer asks "Why is it not true?" (Line 227) emphasizing the word 'why'. Although the suspect avoids admitting what he had done, the suspect states:

> *I told him to wait while I meet the one who is claiming ownership of the land to talk over any issue at hand. But he wasn't patient, when he called me I wasn't in the country; it's now that I've come* (line 237).

It could be seen in the excerpt that the suspect was cooperating with the Police Investigator. Kimper (2006) on question formation identified three things that are used in forming polar questions: the use of a question particle to the beginning of a sentence, a final syllable stress, and a rise in pitch. This was corroborated in the conversation that ensued between the PI and the accused.

Extract 5 (541-554)

Interviewer	If he comes to you again to buy on credit you won't give it to him, will you?	541
Interviewee	No I won't.	542
Interviewer	Really?	543
Interviewee	Yes please	544
Interviewer	What if he comes again?	545
Interviewee	When he came here last Monday, he didn't talk to me. My siblings came here and he tried talking to them and he wanted to tell me that I'm stupid. Monday he insulted me, Tuesday he insulted me but I didn't utter a word. Throughout the week he has been insulting me but I don't utter a word to him.	546
Interviewer	So why did you come to the police station?	547

Interviewee	It's because he threatened to stab me	548
Interviewer	When did he threaten to stab you?	549
Interviewee	Sunday	550
Interviewer	That very Sunday?	551
Interviewee	Yes	552
Interviewer	I've written all that you said in English. You said you are Mercy Sagoe, and you are a seller, who sells drinks and pure water. And that on Sunday, 7th January, 2018, around 3:00pm you were selling pure water when a young man came to you to buy pure water worth 20peseswas on credit and you sold it to him. Later when you went there to take your money he started insulting you. Some of the insult are that, you are a prostitute, you are useless among others which you cannot say. After he insulted you, he called you to come for your money but you didn't go for it because he had insulted you. After that day, you intended not to give him anything on credit again. And the day he insulted you, he also threatened to hurt you and that you would see. That is what scared you to come to the police station to make a complaint. Is that not the case? Or is there anything you haven't said yet so that I add it.	553
Interviewee	That's all.	554

Source: PWc (2019)

In addition, in lines 553-354, the PI summarises the entire conversation and requests that the summary is a true reflection of their interaction, to which the complainant affirms. This re-confirmation is essential especially as the interrogation takes place in the absence of a lawyer. The confirmation of translation is necessary in order to avoid misunderstanding that may occur if meanings are lost in the course of translation. This has implications for the successful prosecution of case. At court session, the suspect may claim that the summary presented on the charge sheet is not a true reflection of his/her interaction with the PI. However, the confirmation at this stage of the investigation rules out, to a large extent, any attempt at discrediting such evidence from a public prosecutor in case the case goes

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to court for adjudication. Here, the PI at the end of the interrogation appeared to follow standard operating procedures.

Types of Responses in relation to Grice's Maxims

The responses of the witnesses and suspects who were interrogated by the police were analysed using the cooperative principles. The Cooperative principle states that the speakers need to make an observation on the facts or reasons embedded in the discursive exchange of relevant information. In the same vein, Gice (1975) categorized it into four which include the Maxim of Quantity, Quality, Relevance and Manner. In the midst of discourse, one must be unequivocal in his responses on the manner of conversations. The study presents the observance of the Maxim of Manner during the interrogations. The suspects and witnesses only give information that is relevant to the questions posed to them and do not give any further elaboration of their answers. In short, they simply responded based on what is asked.

Maxim of Manner

Interviewer: Are you fighting with someone over that land?
Interviewee: No.

(LwLs,2019)

Interviewer: Yesterday 27th at 10am you went to her office, is that true or false?
Interviewee: It's true.

(CPs, 2019)

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Interviewer: *You said you are Mercy?*

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: *What's your occupation?*

Interviewee: *I sell.*

(PWs, 2019)

In the Cooperative Principle which was proposed by Grice (1975), he articulated that one must give the briefest information and in an orderly manner. The response to the question must only be based on what is being asked. **LwLs (2019)** validated this maxim when the police interrogator asked the suspect to confirm whether he was fighting with someone over a piece of land. The question was only answerable by *yes* or *no* and *no further explanation needed*. This is also true in **CPs31**, and **PWs1**, respectively. Conversely, in **PWs1**, the Police Officer went straight to the point by asking the suspect's name. The responses of the respondents during the interrogations were in agreement to the Cooperative Principle of Grice especially on the Maxim of Manner. They only gave the information that was asked to them. They did not give any further explanation of, and elaboration on their answers. Their answers were brief, concise and only based on the context of the question. Additionally, the witnesses were asked in this manner to give direct and clear answers. This is further confirmed by Levinson (2000) that Maxim of Manner gives us a set of instructions to give a vivid message in our utterances. In a study conducted by Miller, Lane, Deatrick, Young and Potts (2007), the Maxim of Manner was utilized especially on the reaction of the participants on controlled language, and on the restoration of freedom on their

utterances. However, controlled language was found to have a negative response from the participants.

Maxim of Quantity

It is foregrounded that one must be informative as required. It means that the response to the questions must be substantial and can give the clear explanation of the circumstance. The interrogations need responses that need to give a profound picture of the circumstance. Thus, suspects/witnesses are enjoined to give much information to protect and substantiate their credibility as shown in the following examples:

Interviewer: *After one year?*

Interviewee: *Yes. After errmm… if you are able to cross that GPA you go for an interview then you are admitted into the Medical School.*

(SNs, 2019)

Interviewer: *The date on the indenture is 2010.*

Interviewee: *2010. So I suspected a foul deal because he did the indenture before taking the levirate.*

(BDs, 2019)

Interviewer: How much did you collect from him, how much did you say you will collect?

Interviewee: The money is 50 million, that is 500 million old Ghana cedis but he has paid Ghc 22, 000 and so it's left with a balance of Ghc 28, 000. He hasn't paid yet and I realised he's building on it. That wasn't the agreement we had.

(LwLs, 2019)

Interviewer: *What were some of the insults?*

Interviewee: *As for me I can't mention some of the insults. When he finished, he told me to come for the money and I told him that if he has finished insulting me, he should keep the money because I won't take it***. (PWs, 2019)**

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In contradiction to the maxim of Manner, Grice (1975) foregrounded in the Cooperative Principle on the Maxim of Quantity, the amount of information that is helpful to the conversation must be expressed. That substantial information must be apprised. The suspect in **PWs** was asked by the CID to tell him about the types of insults that were rained on her. In **LwLs**, the suspect was asked how much he collected from the complainant. His response gave a breakdown of the various monies that he had received so far going further to state that the complainant has started building on the land. Furthermore, in **SNs**, the interrogative –*when* was utilized to extract information on the knowledge of the accused that he was a suspect in identity theft case. Immediately, he responded and gave further information in the following extract.

Interviewer:	Drink all. No finish. So you are saying that somewhere…that is somewhere in February 2018 you swore an affidavit for a change of your surname from Opuako to Denkyie is that correct?
Interviewee:	Yes please.
Interviewer:	Why were you doing that?
Interviewee:	Errrmmm ever since my daddy passed away my family… the family side they are not supporting so I decided to take the Opuako and replace it with Denkyie.
Interviewer:	Where did you get the Denkyie?
Interviewee:	Denkyie was the name given to me by my dad but I wasn't using it.
Interviewer:	So you brought the Denkyie anybody who knows you as Opuako will not know that…they will now know that you are now Denkyie.
Interviewee:	Yes.
Interviewer:	Fine. So did you use the Denkyie to generate a certificate?
Interviewee:	No.
Interviewer:	So are you saying that with all the hospitals that you worked, you didn't go there with any certificate.

Source: SNs (2019)

The findings articulated that indeed the mode of the questioning used by the CID during interrogations helped them gain profound and substantial information. They were able to let the witnesses explain and enumerate the details of the matter leading to clarifying the events of the circumstances. Without reservation, data presented in these forms of questioning proposed that they did not violate the Maxim of Quantity. As such, they were able to quantify their answer and these are within the rule of conversation as proposed by Grice (1975). The proponent (Grice, 1975) emphasised that, on Maxim of Quantity, one must make his/her contribution as informative as required. This means that the information shared must have the substance to clarify the details being conveyed. Innocent participants in a conversational experiment were found to have a moderate level of attachment to the utilization of this maxim (Engelhardt, Bailey & Ferreira, 2006). In this manner, it manifests that a conversant needs to be more substantive on their responses to conversations.

Maxim of Relevance

The maxim of relevance apprises that the contribution must be appropriate on the event of the conversations. It is stipulated that the speaker's discourse must focus on the goal of his question and that the hearer embraces the focus of the goal when replying to the question raised. The following extracts accord that the suspects and witnesses gave a relevant answer to the question and they did not make any explanation to the matter:

Interviewer: You said what was wrong with the chicken, they were ill?

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Interviewee: The chickens were ill and they were at the verge of dying, one was even dead already, so when I saw that I carried them into the sack in order to take them away. So, it means the animals were already dead, so I didn't enter the man's coop to take the chicken.

(PFs, 2019)

Interviewer: What did you do when you heard the noise?

Interviewee: When I heard the noise, I was wondering whether it was a quarrel or they were just having fun. So I went there to see what was happening. When I got there, I saw the young man holding a gallon of petrol and a lighter.

(CPw, 2019)

Interviewer: You don't know him. Okay. How come he sold this fridge to you?

Interviewee: Well, I was home when he came that he's encountering some financial difficulties and that he wants money to sort out something so he has got a fridge so if I will buy. So I said ok, he should go and bring it for me to see. Truly when he brought the fridge it was new and from the way he was talking it seemed the fridge was his, so I bought it

(Fs, 2019)

Interviewer: Have they given you documents?

Interviewee: The day I went there, everything…you know when you decide to establish any business, through enquiries, you get to know certain areas that you need to go for the appropriate certificate needed for the business. So when I went there, they asked me to go to the Research and Finance; that was in last year, December. I did not disobey them. I went to the Research and Finance to register the clinic officially.

(HwLs, 2019)

As shown in **CPw**, the answer of the witness to the question of whether the chicken was ill was relevant and within the context of the interrogative –*what*. Also, in **Fs**, the suspect answered a question based on the context of interrogative –*how*, pertaining to how the fridge was sold to him. Again, in **HwLs**, the suspect answered

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the interrogative –*when* if he had received the documents. The results indicate that the witnesses and suspects gave relevant information. These are sets of information that have bearings to the present case being investigated. Emphatically, the findings support the views of Grice (1975) that one must be relevant and should not give information that does not have significance on the topic.

Discussions

     My analysis of questioning practices in a sample of interviews with suspects and accused persons showed that interrogation practices are not critically adhered to. This is based on the case that comes before the interrogator. In the data collected it was revealed that all the interviewing sessions were managed because it followed the same pattern, whether the crime is a soft crime or a hard crime. In general, the overarching finding is that interviewers failed to use practices that allow suspects or accused persons to talk and provide information freely. For example, in **extract 1**, this is clear as the suspect kept fumbling with his answers and sometimes the interviewer had to step in to ensure that what he (the suspect) was saying had the same intended import. Rather than using different practices to facilitate the extraction of information, interviewers tend to ask many *yes* and *no* questions, or they dominated the talking time, and requested free narratives infrequently. This is reflected in Gibbons' (2003;2008) assertion that declarative questions, like tag questions, can be of great value to prosecutors and defence lawyers in their attempt to supply a particular prepared account of events. Furthermore, the findings support Gibbons' (2008) stance that declarative questions, tagged and untagged, are best suited for, and occur most frequently in, cross-examination rather than direct

examination. These findings suggest that there is much room for improvement in how investigators gather information from suspects and accused persons.

This study explores the CDA approach to police interrogation of suspects at the Central Regional Police Headquarters, Cape Coast. Findings from interviews showed that the interviews were characterized by rapport building and also suspects affirming their stance on the various crimes committed. It is reasonable to assume that the experience of a humanitarian approach generates a mental space wherein suspects can narrate and admit the crime (all the cases) and the suspects provided all information needed. It is worthy to state here that, without training, police officers create their own interview methods by learning on the job or by observing senior colleagues (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992). Such methods, termed as the standard method, are often marked by frequent questioning (Clifford & George, 1996).

Attitudes, values and beliefs are mediating factors that influence communication (Hargie & Tourish, 2000). Attitudes are defined by Eagly and Chaiken (1998) as a psychological tendency to evaluate and express a positive or a negative value with regard to a certain attitude object. Thus, the valuations that follow the individuals into a police interview and the evaluations conducted during the interview are attitudes that will be expressed as approval or disapproval, approach or avoidance. The police interviewer's presumption of a suspect's guilt may cause behavioural confirmation by an attitudinal approach expressed through pressure and dominance (Kassin, 2003). In such conditions, Kassin found that suspects became more defensive, as seen in extract 4, line 418.

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As for the chicken, I didn't steal them. I sell scraps, so I was moving around with my sack looking for some scraps. So, I was moving in the direction where the hencoop is, and I saw the chicken in the coop and later saw some of the chicken moving around. They were ill and about to die.

In the extract, it can be noted that the suspect was being defensive in his response by emphasising that he is a scrap dealer and that he did not steal the chickens and it is being speculated by the owner and he being sent to the police station for a statement. The attitude objects in the police interview can be represented by the parties of the interview, but also by the interview itself. This implies that the evaluative responses an interviewer or an interviewee perceives may emanate from previous experiences (for example, a prior encounter with the police), or as a direct response during the interview. Ridgeway (2000) argued that rapport is built on ethical parameters, the humanitarian style – with its empathy, personalization, positivity, helpfulness and accommodating approach – mirroring such ethical parameters. Moreover, Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990) described rapport as prototypical components comprising attentiveness, positivity and coordination. Hendrick (1990) viewed these components as feelings of mutual interest and focus (attention), feelings of friendliness and warmth (positivity), balance and harmony (coordination).

Showing personal interest, creating personal conversation and being helpful in interviewing style mirrors the feelings of interest and focus in the attention component of rapport. Rapport can determine whether an interview will fail or succeed. Rapport certainly makes it easier for a crime victim to provide information in a police interview. Thus, establishing rapport is essential to the police interview. Collins, Lincoln and Frank (2002) investigated the results of the three interviewer-

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attitude conditions, rapport, abrupt and neutral. In the rapport condition, the interviewer showed a gentle, relaxed and friendly approach, and used the interviewee's name.

Results showed that participants clearly recognized the rapport approach and felt that more rapport had been established. Friendliness and warmth in the rapport component positivity are in line with positive attitude and empathy in the humanitarian interviewing style. Additionally, there was no increase in incorrect information in the rapport condition. The coordination component of rapport, with feelings of balance and harmony, is in line with cooperative and accommodating behaviour in the humanitarian interviewing approach. Cooperation needs balance, otherwise communication in the interview will be more one-way, and harmony presupposes a certain amount of accommodating behaviour. Ridgeway (2000) argued that rapport exists inherently in a communicative process that comprises ethical parameters. When rapport is established, interviewees provide more correct information than they do without rapport, and in the latter condition, partners react with dislike and show reluctance to create social bonds. This perspective indicates that attitudes may have an automatic function in rapport building.

Language itself is central to the actual exercise of power and control, particularly in institutional work contexts, and not merely a transparent and neutral medium. Whatever other factors are in play, ultimately control of the interaction is achieved on a turn-by-turn basis through the use of discursive strategies and techniques. Power and control can always be challenged by the use of discursive strategies, regardless of the subject matter, the status of the participants, or any

other factor. Interviewer characteristics is a dimension that may affect the interview outcome. This dimension includes the interviewer's ability to keep an open-minded approach, and an ability to establish rapport with an interviewee that improves the prospect that the victim will be forthcoming in the interview. The prospect of keeping an open-minded approach and establishing rapport may be affected by the way in which an officer evaluates the information about a crime victim (Cherryman & Bull,2001).

It was found that interviewers asked questions using the TED strategy more than the use of open-ended questions. This was in sharp contrast to the stance of (Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Wright & Alison, 2004) who stated that most interrogations take the "what", "how", "so" forms. This finding may simply be because of the fact that these words are not a common part of our vernacular used to form questions in everyday life and thus may be difficult to use. It may also be because of the fact that these investigators were never trained to ask open-ended questions. Snook and Keating's (2010) field study of witness interviews showed that around 6% of all questions asked in an interview were open-ended, but I found that TED questions comprised more than 70% of all questions asked. There is much consensus among investigative interviewing researchers that all interviews, regardless of type of interviewee, should be an exercise in gathering complete and accurate information (Read et al., 2009). Studies have shown that open-ended questions elicit the most information from an interviewee (Milne & Bull, 2003). My analysis of response lengths from open-ended questions and requests for free narratives also supports this notion. This can be seen in the following extract:

Interviewer: *Did he add any documents when he gave the land to you?*   *423*
Interviewee: *No. There was no document. It is recently that I have*
                made up my mind to go and make documents on the land.   *424*
Interviewer: *But did you add any documents to the woman when you*
                sold the land to her?   *425*

The very infrequent use of open-ended questions may also be the result of a self-fulfilling prophecy where interviewers have a preconceived idea that suspects will be unwilling to provide an account on their own accord, thus they do not ask the questions that would result in a free and extensive account being provided. Some support for this speculation comes from research showing that the types of questions asked vary if there are pre-existing expectations (Kassin, Goldstein, & Savitsky, 2003). In contrast to an expectation that suspects will always be unwilling to talk, research with offenders suggests that they may be willing to provide information if they are treated in a humane and ethical manner. In a recent study by Vanderhallen, Vervaeke, and Holmberg (2011), 126 interviewees completed a questionnaire about the perceptions of the interviewer's approach and a measure of working alliance. They found a positive correlation between working alliance and humanitarian interviewing style, empathy, respect, and interview clarity.

In terms of the other types of questions asked, it was found that some of questions asked tended to be either closed yes–no or probing. The use of probing and closed yes–no question types at appropriate points in an interview is acceptable (For example, after open-ended questions have been used). However, the overuse of and reliance on probing and closed yes–no questions to extract the majority of information is problematic because it is a sign of a controlling interview strategy, and the elicited information is tied to the specific request that often generates shorter responses than those obtained from open-ended questions. Furthermore,

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results showed that, on average, open-ended questions (including free narratives) produced more information as probing questions. As a consequence, unsolicited information is generated rarely from closed yes–no questions, and the information gathered might ultimately narrow the scope of the investigation and provide little guidance as to whether the suspect is lying and/or is guilty (Granhag, Stromwall, & Hartwig, 2007).

In comparison to studies of witness interviews, the results showed that the interviewers tended to express their opinions/statements about the events in question relatively frequently. Interviewers using an accusatorial approach try to convince the interviewees that it is in their best interests to confess their wrongdoing. A natural result of the accusatorial methods is the use of opinions and/or statements:

Excerpt 2

Wait a minute, as at now, investigations have shown that the land is not yours, but rather belongs to Nana Ameyaw. So, it means you don't have a land, it's someone's land that you have secretly sold to another person, is it true or not?

This statement was made by the interviewer to persuade an interviewee who was perceived to be uncooperative to become cooperative. It is possible that the use of opinions/statements may cause interviewees to become defensive and uncooperative if the interviewer's expressed attitudes are factually incorrect, accusatorial, and/or judgmental. Research suggests that suspects and accused persons are more inclined to deny offences and to be uncooperative when they perceive the interviewer to be domineering (Beune et al., 2010).

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In general, the officers asked relatively few leading, multiple, forced-choice, and re-asked questions. It is important to note that these questions should not be asked at all during an interview because they are not conducive to maximizing the amount of information gathered. Furthermore, misunderstandings and memory contamination, which decrease the reliability of the elicited information, can occur easily. For instance, leading questions suggest an answer to an interviewee, multiple questions make it difficult to ascertain which question the interviewee is meant to answer, and forced-choice questions cause interviewees to guess the answer by selecting one of the options given thus potentially resulting in incorrect information being brought into an investigation.

Another important finding was that the interviewers talked too much and often talked more than the interviewee.

Interviewer:	*It's been five years since he came to report the case here, we've been to your house at Kasoa, we've been to Accra, they said Takoradi, and yet we couldn't find you, you don't even stay here in Cape Coast, we've been to all the houses and all the places I have mentioned and yet you were nowhere to be found. So where exactly have you been, here in Ghana and all your houses that I've mentioned? Where have you been that we've searched severally and couldn't find you? So if you say you didn't run away, where did you go?*	*232*
Interviewee:	*I didn't run away, I travelled.*	*233*

The domination of talking time may also be related to the confession culture, where the interviewer monopolizes the time to convince suspects of guilt and to minimize the speaking time given to the interviewee to obtain a psychological advantage over the individual. As mentioned above, it may also be the case that the assumption that suspects are not going to talk much leads the interviewer to talk the majority of the interview time to persuade the suspects to

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confess. Alternatively, the over talking on the part of the interviewer may also be a reaction to the interviewee's perceived unwillingness to talk, whereby the interviewer has made the decision that they will have to engage in extensive conversation to extract the desired information.

Contrary to the observations from witness interviews, free narratives were almost never requested. This finding may be a result of the interviewing officer's belief that suspects will not talk and will likely be uncooperative. These findings are troubling because research by Lipton (1977) showed that more than one third of the information obtained in a witness interview is gathered from the free narrative. However, it is still likely that the use of a free narrative with suspects will lead to the collection of more information than when using other question types. Regardless of one's belief about the cooperativeness of an interviewee, every attempt should be made to obtain a free narrative of the events in question.

There is no doubting the fact that interviewing suspects is a key aspect of every police investigation and subsequent legal proceedings. The results of this field study showed that, the take-home message from the current findings is that investigators do not engage in interviewing practices that facilitate effective information gathering from suspects and accused persons. The Cooperative Principle states that you should "make your conversational contribution what is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1989). The maxims are not prescriptive but rather descriptive, and they can help us account for the reasons why some conversational exchanges are successful and others are less so.

Interrogations are cooperative activities that feature the projection of inherent discursive ideologies of police and suspects. While the police are known to hold and sustain power in the interaction, suspects/witnesses are constructed as victims of the polices' discursive constructions. The responses of suspects are consciously constructed by the police investigator. Affirmative responses of suspects perform quite a number of discursive acts in specific contexts. This study establishes that police investigators' questions are intended to either elicit affirmative or negative response from suspects. However, the notion of context of discourse has not been engaged to underscore the multiplicity of meanings that suspects' responses assume in contexts. This study's investigation of the implications of suspects' flouting of cooperative maxims identified by Grice (1975) shows that suspects do more than mere expression of agreement in their interaction with interviewers. This study shows that suspects manipulate affirmative responses to enact power, hold the floor, sustain their turns and register their influence. In the course of interrogation, suspects flout the cooperative maxims by deploying affirmative responses to seek the path of exoneration.

Chapter Summary

The police interview is one of the most important investigative tools that law enforcement has close at hand. In police interviews with suspects the role of each participant is clearly defined; however, interviewees still have control over what they say, and that is the most crucial part of the interaction. A good police interview is conducted in the frame of the law, is governed by the interview goal, and is influenced by facilitating factors that may affect the elicited report. Police

interviews marked by dominance are mainly associated with a higher proportion of denials, whereas an approach marked by humanity is associated with admissions. Communication is relevant if it has a role in a criminal investigation or a legal process, for example, a contract, a personal letter or a recorded conversation. Police interview recordings and interview transcripts are one example of forensically relevant communication.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Chapter five is composed of an overview of the study and a summary of the various findings of the study. Again, the chapter deals with the recommendations based on the key findings as well as suggestions for further research.

Summary

Police investigations can be dynamic, and the way events unfold and evidence is revealed can be unpredictable. Actors in a criminal event may be revealed as suspects at different stages of the investigation. To properly secure and manage the statement evidence that is gained during interactions with suspects or possible suspects, it is important for investigators to understand the actions that should be taken at each stage, while remembering that interviewing, questioning, and interrogating are terms that refer to separate stages in the process of gathering verbal responses from a suspect or a possible suspect. The challenge for the police is that the questioning of a suspect and the subsequent confession can be compromised by flawed interviewing, questioning, or interrogation practices.

The study sought to analyse the language used in police interrogation at the Central Regional Police Headquarters in Cape Coast. It applied Fairclough's Three-Dimensional model of CDA which involves description, interpretation and explanation in the analysis of obtained data. The Critical Discourse Approach was adopted by using the descriptive survey design as the researcher wanted to present the situation as it exists as far as police interrogation of suspects is concerned. Using the purposive sampling, ten (10) cases were sampled from the police station.

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The interview guide was used to solicit the information from the suspects and informants with a pilot testing of the instrument being conducted to ensure its validity and reliability. I presented the research findings and used the results of the research study for only academic purposes.

Key Findings of the Study

The analysis of the data revealed the following findings with specific reference to the research questions.

With respect to research question one, the study revealed that *Wh-type questions* offer contextual information inside the question turn, but they also elicit additional information rather than provide information for confirmation, denial, or no further remark. It was found that a police interviewer always probes, and summarize to elicit an account of an incident and this was consistent with the findings of Heydon (2011) who demonstrated that the highly constrained nature of a suspect's contribution through topic initiation controlled by the police interviewer and makes reference to a "range of devices". Furthermore, interaction between the police interviewer and the interviewees showed that power is exploited by the police officer during turns of interaction. It was also found that the data produced 104 declarative speech acts as these were performed while the police were conducting the interviews. But the interviewer omits any explicit invitation to provide narrative, relying solely on the narration the interviewee is providing.

Discourse in police/accused interrogation is organized into various linguistic 'act' forms, such as elicitation, and reply/informative; and each of these act forms has its peculiar linguistic function. The police use elicitation as a

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linguistic act form to secure information from the accused person and the latter in turn uses reply/informative linguistic act to supply the information requested throughout the interrogation, concerning the case under investigation. Accusation is used by the investigating police officer to pre-indict suspects so that they will be psychologically intimidated and give the needed information. The suspect/accused person is always at the receiving end during interrogation and crime investigation. The major linguistic acts used by the accused person for self-defence mechanism are reply/ informative and excuse act forms although some of the most common approaches are particularly ineffective (Schollum, 2005).

Concerning the second research question, the study revealed that rapport is always established at the onset of an interview/interrogation. During interrogation, it was observed that the police investigator makes a stance and proceeds with the conversation, controls it and asks the right questions from the suspects. However, with this, the suspects do not have control over what they say as these statements would be admissible in the court. In order to highlight the cooperative/ uncooperative pattern in police interrogations of the accused person, it was discovered from the extract that the PI began the interrogation by obtaining pertinent and personal information from the suspect. The personal information provided the PI with a hint about the accused's attitudinal history, which in turn may help him determine whether or not the accused is guilty or innocent in the case that has been laid before him. The conversational maxims of quality, quantity and relevance were observed in the interactions. These findings confirm the findings on rapport building, as it helps the interviewer/interrogator create an atmosphere that

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enhances a person to give information needed because of the fear that if the right answers are not given, the suspect will be manhandled. Good rapport at the start of the discussion, as well as the power relationship established by the police interviewer's loud voice as any participant's communicative action is contextual (Maynard & Heritage, 2005).

The account that emerged from the interactions indicated that the striking feature of the interviews was the shift which takes place, after which several points materialize which are extremely helpful to his defence. Also, it was found that, the problem of power play was brought to light in a number of ways, including the elicitation techniques used by police investigators and the controls they used to sway suspect responses, such as question construction, question repetition, and language explicitness. Using CDA, it was noted that the strategies of manipulation, legitimation, the manufacture of consent and other discursive ways to influence the minds (indirect actions) of people are in the interest of the powerful. This was in consonance with Foucault (1977) who considered examinations as an implicitly coercive gatekeeping process, and with respect to this, it is shown in the next subsections how interruption in its many forms results in the enactment of control and power. According to this study, van Dijk's (2006) assertion that abuse of power includes influencing the recipient's knowledge is supported. It also suggests that speakers are subverting the status quo and confronting established hierarchies by fostering racism and inequality via outrage, reproach, and restriction. Power abuse is the practise of exerting influence over others by ideological imposition, coercion,

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and domination; it may lead to social and group inequality as well as prejudice towards others who have different values.

With research question three, its main focus was on How serious crime suspects responded during these interviews. It was interesting to note that the interrogation of suspects is viewed, inside and outside police circles, as being at the heart of the police role. The study found that questions are intended to elicit confirmation from the respondent on the record rather than obtaining unconfirmed information and supports Stokoe and Edwards (2008) findings. It was found from the data that police interviewers have to cope with crime complainants, and suspects, but also with themselves, with respect both to previous stressful exposures and to the present crime they are investigating.

Furtherance to these, the study found that the interviewees' answers during the interrogations agreed with the cooperative principle of Grice, particularly with regard to the maxim of manner. They just provided the data that was requested of them. They did not elaborate or provide any further context for their responses. Their responses were succinct, to the point, and only dependent on the question's context. The witnesses were further requested in this fashion to respond in a plain and understandable manner. This is further supported by Levinson's (2000) assertion that Maxim of Manner provides us with a set of guidelines for conveying a compelling message through our speech. The findings articulated that indeed the mode of the questioning used by the CID during interrogations helped them gain profound and substantial information. They were able to let the witnesses explain

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and enumerate the details of the matter leading to clarifying the events of the circumstances.

In general, the overarching finding is that interviewers failed to use practices that allow suspects or accused persons to talk and provide information freely. Rather than using different practices to facilitate the extraction of information, interviewers tend to ask many yes and no questions, or they dominated the talking time, and requested free narratives infrequently. The police interviewer's presumption of a suspect's guilt may cause behavioural confirmation by an attitudinal approach expressed through pressure and dominance (Kassin, 2003). The police interrogator's presumption of guilt may result in a suspect's conduct being verified by an attitude approach exhibited through pressure and dominance (Kassin, 2003).

Free narratives were virtually never sought, contrary to what was observed during witness interviews. This conclusion might be due to the questioning officer's opinion that suspects will not communicate and will be uncooperative. These findings are concerning since Lipton (1977) discovered that the free narrative accounts for more than one-third of the information gained in a witness interview. The implications of suspects violating Grice's (1975) cooperative maxims are explored, and it is found that suspects go beyond merely agreeing with interviewers. This study shows that suspects utilise affirmative responses to record influence, keep control, sustain turns, and exert authority. When being questioned, suspects go against the rules of cooperation by giving affirmative answers in an effort to clear their names.

Conclusions

The CDA theory helped in know the enactment, replication and resistance against power in police interviews. It emerged from the study that human connections within a cultural and social settings and in this case, the police setting (Wiggins, 2009). Using the CDA helped the researcher not to see language use as being abstract during the interrogation processes. The results of this study have indicated different patterns to the approach to questioning strategies of police interrogations. For instance, a significant finding from this analysis is the tension between what may appear to be two conflicting sets of interactional goals. The first set of goals can be broadly categorised as those relating to the 'traditional' aims of an investigative interview, in which an interviewer, as a representative of the police institution, gathers evidence about a reported crime for the benefit of that institution, for the purposes of a potential prosecution.

The second goal is the linguistic tools like power relations can be effective to recontextualize the context of police interrogation. Interviewees are therefore likely to enter the interview room expecting to be the subject of control from an authority figure, and for the interview to be dominated by a stream of questions. This investigation did not consider the potential impact of the police officer's familiarity with the suspect, knowledge of previous convictions, evidence against the suspect and any discursive interactions between the police officer and the suspect which may have occurred prior to the onset of the interview. This potential under-estimation of suspects may impinge on the eventual success or failure of the case.

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Police interrogation is within the ambit of institutional discourse which has its focus on the unequal distribution of power among participants. It was observed that the police-suspect interaction sometimes reflects the norms for conversational interaction in the Ghanaian language and culture. A typical example is "I was there" which can be traced to line 222 of extract 2. This is a classic opening line of Ghanaian conversation.

Recommendations

This present study makes some recommendations

1. As well as incorporating a discourse component into the training packages of officers hoping to conduct significant witness interviews, the CID officers would benefit from a briefing on the reality of suspected cases, that is, explanations that challenge the mainstream assumptions to which they are likely to subscribe.

2. The police should roll out a statutory requirement for video recorded evidence-in-chief. A statement, however well written, simply cannot capture the nuances of footing that are so crucial for the way a particular stretch of talk is framed; where two or more wordings of the same event are produced, a statement will likely only represent one of these wordings (most likely the interviewer's); it will not distinguish between a proposition put forward by the interviewee and one which is put forward by the interviewer and simply confirmed by the interviewee. Overall, it will distil the report into those elements that are deemed appropriate by an institution that has repeatedly been shown to obscure responsibility of perpetrators of crimes.

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3. A discourse-based training programme could be devised to help police officers effectively interview suspects since most of the interviewing/interrogation skills are borne out of the Police Manual. A training programme could encourage the police to examine audiotapes of `open' and `closed' interviews and recognise the implications of the two interviewing techniques for eliciting information. A refined `open' interview schedule could instruct the officers on effective interviewing techniques.

Implications of the Study

The research has established the fact that there are various levels of discourse when it comes to police interrogations in Ghana, using extracts obtained from the Regional Division of the Ghana Police Service in Cape Coast. It has also unearthed the various ways in which interrogations are made. Apart from its general academic contribution, the thesis is also concerned with key additional academic areas such as forensic linguistics and interpreting studies which provide traction in terms of demonstrating the significance of an interdisciplinary approach towards initiating interest of linguists and legal minds in addressing and understanding language, culture and record construction related challenges within the police service.

In order to better understand the reliability of interrogations, future exploratory empirical studies should be carried out using a larger sample from the other divisional police offices across the country. Also, a Systemic-Functional

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Linguistics (SFL) approach should be used to identify how police interrogations work which will lead to further prosecution in the Law Courts.

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