

Republic of Iraq
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
University of Kerbala
College of Education for Human Sciences
Department of English



A Sociopragmatic Study of Power in Selected American Police Interviews

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Council of the College of Education for Human Sciences/
University of Kerbala in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master in English Language and Linguistics**

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2021 A.D.

1443 A.H.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

”أَنَّ الْقُوَّةَ لِلَّهِ جَمِيعًا“

(سورة البقرة / 165)

*In the name of Allah, the Most Compassionate,
the Most Merciful*

“that to God belongs all power”

(Al-Baqara/165)

(Ali, 2018)

Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby certify that the thesis entitled **A Sociopragmatic Study of Power in Selected American Police Interviews** written by **Wasan Hadi Kadhim** has been prepared under my supervision at the University of Kerbala in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in English Language and Linguistics

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In view of the available recommendations, I forward this thesis for debate by the Examining Committee.

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We hereby certify that we have read the thesis entitled **A Sociopragmatic Study of Power in Selected American Police Interviews** written by **Wasan Hadi Kadhim** and, as Examining Committee, examined the student in its contents, and that, in our opinion; it is adequate as a thesis for the degree of Master in English Language and Linguistics.

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Dedication

This work is reverently dedicated to:

*Imam Ali bin Abi-Talib (Peace be upon him and
his family),*

*Imam Al Mahdi (May Almighty Allah hasten
the reappearance of him),*

and

*those without whom everything would be
impossible,
my family.*

Acknowledgments

Praise be to Almighty Allah, Lord of the Worlds, for His grace that is not counted and His prayers and peace be upon our Prophet Mohammed and his infallible progeny.

I owe a special and sincere appreciation to my supervisor Prof. **Muayyad Omran Chiad (Ph.D.)**, for his dedicated guidance and support throughout the process of writing this work. Without his continuous encouragement, recommendation, insightful comments, and serious concerns, this project would not have been completed in time. I am honored to have him as my supervisor.

I am also grateful to Prof. **Azhar Hassan Sallomi**, who has been the source of much inspiration and knowledge about this subject in the early stages of this work.

I would also like to dedicate sincere thanks to all my professors, the staff of the Department of English/ College of Education for Human Sciences at Kerbala University, who gracefully taught me all that I know today and guided me through my BA and MA courses.

Abstract

The present study scrutinizes power as an influential social variable in three selected American police interviews. Power has been examined in classroom discourse, political speeches, courtroom interactions, and other sorts of discourse. However, investigating power in American police interviews has not been conducted, particularly from a sociopragmatic perspective. Thus, the present study attempts to bridge this gap by identifying power strategies and their manifestations in the data under scrutiny.

The study aims at identifying power-practicing and power-resisting strategies, power influence on interaction, most and least exploited power strategies by both police interviewers and suspects, the differences between the various power strategies, and the devices that manifest each power strategy.

In association with the aims, the study sets out five hypotheses: (1) each police interview involves unique strategies for power practice and power resistance, (2) power influences the choice of these strategies, (3) *recycling topics* is the most frequent while *minimization* is the least utilized strategy by police interviewers, in contrast, *denial* is the most dominant whereas *mitigation* is the least used by suspects, (4) significant differences can be noticed among the various power strategies, and (5) each power strategy is manifested in discourse by specific devices.

To achieve the aims and verify these hypotheses, the study develops a model consisting of two layers for the analysis. The first layer is composed of power strategies that serve as an umbrella for the model. The second layer is based on Fairclough's (1992, 2015) and Cotterill's (2003) models and is composed of the devices that manifest power strategies in discourse. A mixed-method approach is used in data analysis by means of the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Based on the findings, the study concludes that: (1) all power strategies are utilized in the data, except that *no comment* strategy has been found absent in George Huguely's police interview, (2) power plays a significant role in the selection of these strategies and the degree of focus on one strategy more than others, (3) *topic control* has recorded the

highest rank whereas *maximization* has achieved the lowest in terms of police power strategies, in contrast, *denial* is the most dominant strategy whereas *no comment* is the least used in regards to suspect power strategies, (4) there are no statistically significant differences between power strategies in impact, which suggests that all power strategies are effectively used, and (5) five devices are reciprocally utilized by both police interviewers and suspects to manifest their strategies including *questions*, *politeness*, *formulation*, *topic management*, and *hedges*. All the hypotheses of the study are verified except that the third is partially valid, and the fourth is invalid. The study ends with some recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

Table of Contents

DEDICATION	IV
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	V
ABSTRACT	VI
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VIII
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	XII
LIST OF FIGURES	XIII
LIST OF TABLES	XIIIV

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Preliminary Remarks	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem	1
1.2 Aims	2
1.3 Hypotheses	2
1.4 Methodology and Procedures	3
1.5 Limits	3
1.6 Significance of the Study	4

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Preliminary Remarks	5
2.1 Sociopragmatics	5
2.2 Power	9
2.2.1 Definitions	9
2.2.2 Bases of Power	11
2.2.3 Power and Language	13
2.2.4 Models of Powerful Interaction	15
2.2.4.1 Fairclough's (1992, 2015) Model of Power	16

2.2.4.2 Cotterill's (2003) Model of Power in Interaction	17
2.3 Police Interviews	18
2.3.1 Definitions	18
2.3.2 Police Interviews as Institutional Discourse	20
2.3.3 Interview versus Interrogation	22
2.3.4 Structure of Police Interviews	23
2.4 Power in Police Interviews	26
2.5 Previous Studies	28
2.5.1 Previous Studies on Power	28
2.5.2 Previous Studies on Police Interviews	31
2.5.3 The Current Study	33

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preliminary Remarks	35
3.1 Research Design	35
3.2 Data Collection and Selection	36
3.2.1 Procedures	36
3.2.2 Criteria	36
3.3 Sample Size and Saturation	38
3.4 Structure of Context	39
3.5 Components of the Model	40
3.5.1 Power Strategies in Police Interviews	41
3.5.1.1 Police Power	42
3.5.1.2 Suspect Power	45
3.5.2 Power Devices in Discourse	48
3.5.2.1 Questions	48
3.5.2.1.1 Question Forms	49
3.5.2.1.2 Question Functions	50
3.5.2.2 Topic Management	54
3.5.2.3 Interruption	55

3.5.2.4 Silence	57
3.5.2.5 Formulation	58
3.5.2.6 Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP)	59
3.5.2.6.1 Observing the Conversational Maxims	59
3.1.2.6.2 Non-observance of the Conversational Maxims	60
3.5.2.7 Hedges	62
3.5.2.8 Politeness	63
3.5.2.8.1 Politeness and Face	63
3.5.2.8.2 Politeness Strategies	65
3.5.2.8.3 Politeness and Power	69
3.6 Testing the Workability of the Model	71

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.0 Preliminary Remarks	76
4.1 Analytical Procedures	76
4.2 The Qualitative Analysis	77
4.2.1 Contextual Analysis	77
4.2.2 Analysis of Case 1	78
4.2.3 Analysis of Case 2	105
4.2.4 Analysis of Case 3	127
4.3 The Quantitative Analysis	153
4.3.1 Power Strategies	153
4.3.1.1 Individual Case Analysis of Power Strategies	153
4.3.1.2 Overall Analysis of Power Strategies	158
4.3.2 The Devices of Power Strategies	164
4.3.2.1 Police Interviewers	164
4.3.2.2 Suspects	169
4.3.2.3 Comparison of Results	171

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Preliminary Remarks	180
5.2 Conclusions	180
5.3 Recommendations	183
5.4 Suggestions for Further Research	183
REFERENCES	184
APPENDICES	I
Appendix A: George Huguely Police Interview	i
Appendix B: Bryan Greenwell Police Interview	xiv
Appendix C: Lee Rodarte Police Interview	xxii
Appendix D: The Devices of Police Power Strategies	xxxix
Appendix E: The Devices of Suspect Power Strategies	xlii

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviated Forms	Full-Forms
CA	Conversation Analysis
CI	Courtroom Interaction
CI_s	Courtroom Interactions
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CP	Cooperative Principle
D.	Device
FSA	Face Saving Act
FTA	Face-Threatening Act
Fr.	Frequency
H	Hearer
H_s	Hearers
No.	Number
PI	Police Interview
PI_s	Police Interviews
POI	Police Interviewer
POI_s	Police Interviewers
PPS	Police Power Strategies
Pr.	Percentage
Q.	Questions
S	Speaker
S_s	Speakers
St.	Strategy
SUPS	Suspect Power Strategies

List of Figures

Figure No.	The Title	Page No.
1	Leech's Classification of General Pragmatics	6
2	Bases of Power (French & Raven, 1959)	13
3	Fairclough's (1992, 2015) Model of Power	17
4	Cotterill's (2003) Model of Power	18
5	PEACE Model of PIs Stages	25
6	The Classification of Question Forms (Quirk et al., 1985)	50
7	The Classification of Question Functions	53
8	The Classification of Topic Management	55
9	Yang's (2001) Classification of Interruption	57
10	Kurzon's (1995) Classification of Silence	58
11	Fairclough's (2015) Classification of Formulation	59
12	Violating Grice's Maxims (1975)	62
13	Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Strategies	65
14	The Model of Analysis	70
15	Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in All PIs	159
16	Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in All PIs	161

List of Tables

Table No.	Title	Page No.
1	The Classification of Power Strategies in PIs	27
2	The Description of the Data	38
3	Positive Politeness Strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987)	67
4	Negative Politeness Strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987)	68
5	Police Power in the Tested Excerpt	73
6	Suspect Power in the Tested Excerpt	75
7	The Contextual Factors of the Selected PIs	77
8	Police Power in Excerpt No. 1	82
9	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 1	84
10	Police Power in Excerpt No. 2	87
11	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 2	88
12	Police Power in Excerpt No. 3	92
13	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 3	94
14	Police Power in Excerpt No. 4	98
15	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 4	100
16	Police Power in Excerpt No. 5	103
17	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 5	104
18	Police Power in Excerpt No. 6	108
19	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 6	110
20	Police Power in Excerpt No. 7	112
21	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 7	114
22	Police Power in Excerpt No. 8	117
23	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 8	118
24	Police Power in Excerpt No. 9	121
25	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 9	123
26	Police Power in Excerpt No. 10	126
27	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 10	127
28	Police Power in Excerpt No. 11	132
29	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 11	133
30	Police Power in Excerpt No. 12	136

31	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 12	138
32	Police Power in Excerpt No. 13	141
33	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 13	142
34	Police Power in Excerpt No. 14	146
35	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 14	147
36	Police Power in Excerpt No. 15	150
37	Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 15	152
38	Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in Case 1	154
39	Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in Case 1	154
40	Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in Case 2	156
41	Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in Case 2	156
42	Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in Case 3	157
43	Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in Case 3	157
44	Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in All PIs	159
45	Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in All PIs	160
46	Descriptive Analysis of PPS	162
47	Difference Analysis of PPS	162
48	Descriptive Analysis of SUPS	163
49	Difference Analysis of SUPS	164
50	Overall Analysis of Devices in PPS	172
51	Overall Analysis of Devices in SUPS	173
52	The Devices of PPS	174
53	The Devices of SUPS	174

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Preliminary Remarks

This introductory chapter highlights the problem of the study by presenting several research questions to be answered. Moreover, it introduces the aims, hypotheses, procedures, limits, and significance of the study.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The term power is defined differently by various scholars. For Dahl (1957), power correlates with obligation and imposition. His intuitive conception of power is that “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (pp. 202-3). Similarly, Wang (2006) describes power as “the ability to control and constrain others; as the capacity to achieve one’s aim; as the freedom to achieve one’s goals; and as the competence to impose one’s will on others” (p. 531). Other scholars consider power to be an influential social variable that affects social interaction. Negura et al. (2019, p.1) confirm that “power is omnipresent in social interactions”. That is, “there is and can be no interaction without power” (Victoria, 2009, p.131).

Consequently, power plays a significant part in everyday interactions, especially when there is a disparity between the participants. As unique forms of institutional discourse, police interviews represent excellent examples of power asymmetry because the institutional positions of the participants vary significantly. As asserted by Shuy (1998), police interviews are characterized by “the inequality of status and power of the police interrogator and the suspect” (p. 178). Such asymmetrical power essentially imposes restrictions on the participants’ contributions (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 25).

Police interviews involve various strategies that have been studied by different scholars like Heydon (2005), Seligson (2009), Nakane (2014), and others; however, the researcher has not found a clear-cut framework of analysis for the strategies that designate power. Therefore, she tried her best to gather these strategies and put them into a framework of analysis. In addition, these strategies represent an upper term that cannot be

measured by themselves, so they need tools or devices to be represented and manifested in discourse. 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. Accordingly, the following questions can summarize the problem of the study:

1. What are the police interviewers' strategies for practicing power and the suspects' strategies (if any) for resisting such power in the data under scrutiny?
2. What role does power play in influencing the interaction in each police interview?
3. What are the most and the least exploited power strategies by both police interviewers and suspects?
4. Can any differences in using the various power strategies be discovered?
5. How can each power strategy be manifested in discourse?

1.2 Aims

In connection with the research questions, the present study aims at:

- 1- identifying power-practicing and power-resisting strategies in the selected police interviews,
- 2- determining power influence on the interaction in each selected police interview,
- 3- specifying the most and the least exploited power strategies by both police interviewers and suspects,
- 4- figuring out if there are significant differences between the various power strategies utilized by both the police interviewers and suspects, and
- 5- pinpointing the devices that assist in the manifestation of each power strategy in discourse.

1.3 Hypotheses

In association with the aims of the study, it is hypothesized that:

- 1- Each police interview involves unique strategies for power practice and power resistance.
- 2- Power influences the choice of the strategies utilized by both the police interviewers and suspects.

- 3- *Recycling topics* is the most frequently used strategy by police interviewers, while *minimization* is the least utilized. Meanwhile, *denial* is the most dominant strategy used by suspects, whereas *mitigation* is the least used.
- 4- Significant differences can be noticed among the various power strategies used by both the police interviewers and suspects.
- 5- Each power strategy is manifested in discourse by specific devices, such as questions and politeness.

1.4 Methodology and Procedures

To achieve the aims of the study and verify the hypotheses, the following procedures are followed:

- 1- Reviewing the relevant literature about the field of sociopragmatics, the concept of power, police interviews, and some other related topics in the field.
- 2- Developing a model of analysis that considers power-practicing and power-resisting strategies and their manifestations in the selected police interviews.
- 3- Selecting the data of analysis.
- 4- Analyzing the extracted data qualitatively in terms of the model.
- 5- Conducting a statistical analysis via the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS) to achieve the aims and quantitatively support the findings of the study.
- 6- Discussing the results, drawing conclusions based on the findings of the analysis, and putting forward recommendations and suggestions for further research.

1.5 Limits

1. The present study confines itself to the analysis of power strategies used in three selected American police interviews with three suspects: George Huguely (2010), Bryan Greenwell (2016), and Lee Rodarte (2017). The data are obtained from the website: <https://criminalwords.net/police-interrogation-transcripts/> (*cf.* appendices A, B, and C).
2. The study is also limited to two layers of analysis. The first layer serves as an umbrella since it incorporates a range of strategies that are utilized to practice and

resist power. Meanwhile, the second layer is based on Fairclough's (1992, 2015) and Cotterill's (2003) models that integrate the devices of exercising power in face-to-face interaction. These layers comprise the model of analysis which seems very suitable and adjustable with the data analyzed in the practical part of the study. In addition, it achieves the aims and answers the questions of the study.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The current study is expected to be of value to students of linguistics in general and researchers of forensic linguistics and sociopragmatics in particular. It is hoped that this study will enrich the researchers' knowledge of the strategies used in practicing and resisting power while police interviewing. Furthermore, it will increase their understanding of the forensic institutional discourse, as exemplified by police interviews. Finally, the study also attempts to elevate the researchers' awareness of the impact of power on the language used by showing how power affects the selection and use of speech strategies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Preliminary Remarks

This chapter is divided into five parts. The first part covers the theoretical background of sociopragmatics, its prominent definitions, and principles related to the scope of the present study. The second part deals with the concept of power, its relevant definitions, bases, models, and its relation to language. The third part sheds light on the nature of police interviews (henceforth PIs), PIs as institutional discourse, interview versus interrogation, and the structure of PIs. The fourth part briefly discusses power in PIs. Finally, the fifth part tackles chronologically a number of previous studies in relation to the present study.

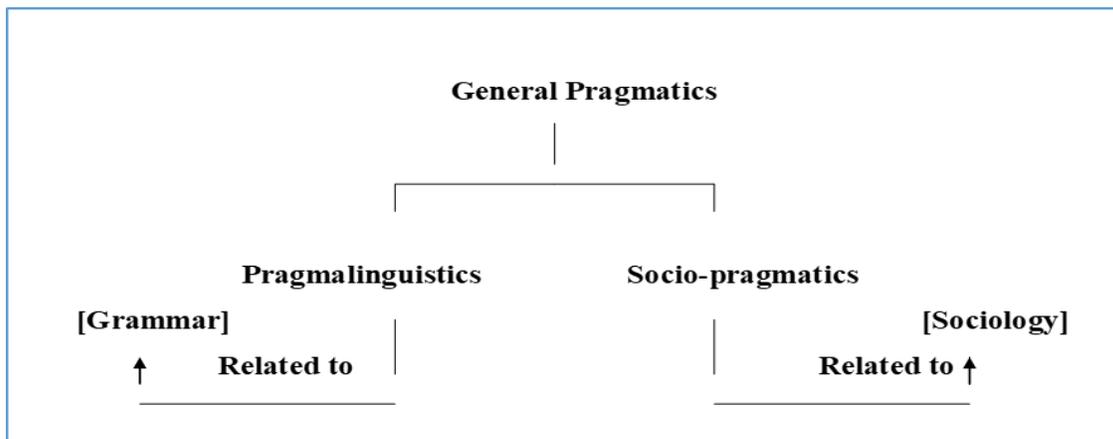
2.1 Sociopragmatics

Sociopragmatics is an approach to the study of language and discourse (Angermuller et al., 2014, p. 259). Leech (1983) is one of the first linguists to recognize sociopragmatics as a crucial component of general pragmatics (see Figure 1). He defines *general pragmatics* as “the general conditions of the communicative use of language” and subdivides it into two areas: *pragmalinguistics* and *sociopragmatics*. The former refers to the linguistic part of pragmatics that constitutes “the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions”, i.e., the relation between pragmatics and grammar. The latter refers to the “sociological interface of pragmatics”, i.e., the relation between pragmatics and sociology. It is based on the language used in different cultures and different social situations. In other words, sociopragmatics is more concerned with how discourse relates to specific “local conditions on language use” like social classes, gender, power, etc. (pp.10-1).¹

¹ Leech (1983) writes “socio-pragmatics” with a hyphen, but recently it is usually written as one word. The recent spelling, ‘sociopragmatics’, is adopted in the current study.

Figure 1

Leech's (1983) Classification of General Pragmatics



Some linguists further elaborate on the distinction between the two areas of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. Richards and Schmidt (2002) assert that pragmalinguistics refers to the interface between linguistics and pragmatics, concentrating on the linguistic means utilized to achieve pragmatic ends, such as asking how to make a compliment in a given language. In contrast, sociopragmatics is concerned with “the relationship between social factors and pragmatics”. For example, to recognize the conditions and circumstances appropriate for making compliments in that language, such as “the social relationship between speaker and hearer” (p. 411). Likewise, Stranzy (2005) assures that pragmalinguistics employs “the structural resources” provided by a language to convey specific intentions, whereas sociopragmatics concentrates on language use and the norms governing the choice of resources “relative to social situations” (pp. 870, 872).

In social interaction, language is determined by the social context in which it is used. In other words, people use language differently in different social situations. Sociopragmatics highlights the interaction between language and its social context. Trosborg (1995, p. 37) affirms that sociopragmatics is significant in analyzing patterns of interaction used in particular social situations and particular social systems. Crystal (2008, p. 441) adds that sociopragmatics denotes “the way conditions on language use derive from the social situation”. Culpeper (2011, p. 1) proposes that sociopragmatics is that part of pragmatics that “concerns itself with any aspect of the social context”.

Swann et al. (2004, p.247) suggest another view of sociopragmatics, emphasizing the “social or cultural factors that influence language use”, i.e., how language is subjected to social factors such as power, gender, and authority. On the same vein, Aijmer and Andersen (2012) describe sociopragmatics as “the study of language and communication in its social and cultural context”. In a broad sense, it aims to show how social and cultural factors are reflected in language practices and how they affect pragmatic strategies that are “manifested by linguistic forms in particular communicative contexts”. This field is concerned with how linguistic forms can express social or cultural meanings due to their close connection with specific situations or situational dimensions (p. 1).

Sociopragmatics may overlap with other socially-oriented fields, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) and Sociolinguistics, focusing on how situational contexts establish and affect the norms that the speakers exploit (Angermuller et al., 2014, p. 259). In terms of Aijmer and Andersen (2012), sociopragmatics not only overlaps but also can encompass several “societal perspective studies to pragmatics” such as interactional sociolinguistics, variational pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, CDA, and other related disciplines (pp. 2-3).

Accordingly, it is possible to say that sociopragmatics studies the way speech strategies are being adjusted and modified appropriately according to different social variables, such as the degree of imposition, power, social dominance, and distance between the participants involved in the act of communication (Harlow, 1990, as cited in Beeching & Woodfield, 2015, p.152). Further, Blum-Kulka (1997, p. 53) comments that such social variables may affect not only the choice of speech strategies but also “the sequential structure of the discourse”. In terms of Schmitt (2002, p. 80), sociopragmatic perspectives focus on the socially based assessments, beliefs, and interactional principles that “underlie people’s choice of strategies”. In short, a cornerstone in sociopragmatics is to understand the interrelated relationship between language and its social context in which social variables or factors play a fundamental role.

A sociopragmatic approach is adopted in the present study rather than pragmatics proper because pragmatics alone is believed to be insufficient for its purpose. Mey (2009)

states that “pragmatics does not suffice to explain the intricate interface of language and the law”. He justifies his view by asserting that the relationship between the two disciplines “cannot be reduced to a simple combination of a few pragmatic concepts”. Consequently, legal contexts such as courtroom interactions (henceforth CIs) or PIs require a multidisciplinary and broader approach. He asserts that a sociopragmatic explanation in terms of power is essential in this regard. The relevance of this approach to the data under scrutiny is derived from the fact that the relation between power and language requires a kind of study that accounts for the social situation (p. 518).

A further justification for adopting a sociopragmatic approach is that power, as a prominent social variable, can be analyzed at a micro text level by using sociopragmatics wherein the emphasis is focused on the social factors that affect language use (i.e., power *in* discourse). Besides, power can be analyzed at a more macro level using CDA to uncover ideologies and relations between different social groups (i.e., power *behind* discourse) (Swann et al., 2004, p.143). Fairclough (2015) illustrates that the radical view of CDA emphasizes “the power *behind* discourse rather than just the power in discourse”, i.e., it focuses on “ideology rather than (just) persuasion and manipulation” (p.3). CDA has not been the focus of the current study since the current study is not after the ideological relations or the way power shapes the orders of discourse, and it instead focuses on *power in discourse* and the way powerful people control what happens in specific interactions such as PIs (*cf.* 2.2.3.).

To sum up, the viewpoint of the current study on sociopragmatics covers the following key facets:

- It is a sociologically-oriented approach to the study of discourse.
- It prioritizes the social factors (e.g., power) that affect and govern the choice of the structural resources in a language.
- It studies the way speech strategies are being adjusted and modified according to the local conditions and social context.
- Finally, within the scope of the current study, it deals with the analysis of power in discourse, i.e., a micro text level.

2.2 Power

2.2.1 Definitions

Power does not lend itself to a clear definition since it implies different meanings for different scholars who have different views about what constitutes power in language and how power is to be analyzed. That is, although “the notion of power is as old as (social) science itself, and certainly one of the mainstays of scientific debates since the turn of the century” (Davis et al., 1991, p. 7), it is still questionable. There is no absolute agreement upon “what it is, where it is located and how it can be analyzed” (Thornborrow, 2002, p.5).

For some scholars, like Dahl (1957), power coincides with obligation and imposition (*cf.* 1.1). Supporting the same view, Brown and Gillman (1960) point out that “One person may be said to have power over another in the degree that he is able to control the behavior of the other” (p. 255). Likewise, Wrong (1980) believes that “power is the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others” (p.2). For Watts (1991), “A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B’s initially perceived interests, regardless of whether B later comes to accept the desirability of A’s actions” (p.62). So, as these views seem to be all in harmony with Dahl’s definition, it can be argued that Dahl’s view is apparently the stereotypical notion of power which, regardless of B’s, it focuses on achieving A’s will. In this sense, power is viewed as a non-reciprocal relationship between at least two individuals.

Power has several sources such as physical strength, age, wealth, sex, institutionalized roles in the army, the state, or even within the family (Brown & Gillman, 1960, p.255). These bases echo the differences in the hierarchical status of participants and cause power asymmetry. As proposed by Scollon and Scollon (1995, p. 42, as cited in Beeching & Woodfield, 2015, p. 154), power “refers to the vertical disparity between the participants in a hierarchical structure”. Moreover, Thornborrow (2002) sees power as an observable concept that “tends to be associated with rank and status” (p.5). Etaywe (2017) confirms that “the greater the power difference between the interlocutors, the stronger the force of the imposition on the one with lower status” (p. 94).

Power is also perceived by some scholars as a dominant social variable that affects social interaction. For Foucault (1979), power is a process that is practiced and manifested at all levels of any human social interaction (pp.93-4). He assures that “power is relational and dynamic, showing itself in the minute interactions between and within people” (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). Similarly, Locher (2004) postulates that power “can be exercised in any interaction involving two or more interactants” because “force, coercion, influence, cajoling or manipulation can occur at all levels” (p. 9). She asserts that power emerges “in and around relationships” (p. 327).

Thornborrow (2002) stresses the contextual sensitivity of power by asserting that power is seen as “a contextually sensitive phenomenon” accomplished at a certain time and in a certain space “depending on who the speakers are and what kind of speech situation they are in” (p. 8). Similarly, Leezenberg (2002, p.906) argues that power is not an individual property and cannot be “characterized in isolation”. Instead, “it arises from interaction” where negotiation and struggle are at its core.

The practice of power in legal and institutional contexts differs from ordinary contexts. Wartenberg (1990, as cited in Limberg, 2008, pp.161-2) suggests “a three-fold distinction of power, consisting of ‘force’, ‘coercion’, and ‘influence’”.

- Force refers to physical action to restrict the speaker’s actions,
- coercion requires both the force and a threat to affect the speaker’s actions and intentions, and finally,
- influence denotes “a more fine-grained way”, which is conceived as manipulation.

Limberg (2008) observes that in legal contexts, these different dimensions of power resemble a pivotal role in negotiation between the legal personnel on the one hand and laypeople on the other (pp.161-2). Shuy (2005) clarifies that law personnel are conscious of their power resources and tools while laypeople “are not likely to be thinking much about whether they were the powerful or powerless participants” (p. 34). Hence, during the institutional interaction, different participants own and exercise various power levels, which is “determined by their institutional role and their socio-economic status, gender or ethnic identity” (Thornborrow, 2002, p. 7).

It is also noticeable that Wodak (1989, p. xv) recognizes that language gains its power when used by the powerful; language per se is not powerful. This implies that language gains power in institutional settings, which is significantly different from using the same language in everyday interaction. Van Dijk (2008, p. 12) illustrates that institutional power is the power of social position, which is part of the power of an institution or an organization rather than the power of individuals.

Out of what has been mentioned above, the perspective of the present study on power encompasses different dimensions for power in general, and in institutional settings in particular as follows:

- Power is a social variable that affects and governs interaction.
- Power comprises imposition, obligation, persuasion, and manipulation.
- Power is a process that is manifested through language.
- Power is asymmetrical non-reciprocal relation.
- Power is a conflict of control and is context-dependent.
- Power is a set of constraints on powerless contributors.

2.2.2 Bases of Power

To go a little more deeply about the nature of power, it is useful to have an idea about its bases. In 1959, French and Raven formulated their model for power bases wherein they posited five bases: reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert power (see Figure 2). By basis of power, they mean the relationship between power and its sources (French & Raven, 1959, p. 151). For them, it is rare to claim with certainty that power is confined to only one source; as such, they list the following bases:

1- Reward Power

Reward power refers to the speaker's "ability to reward" or to mediate rewards for others (French & Raven, 1959, p. 152). This means A can be assumed to have reward power over B if A can control the "positive outcomes" that B desires (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.33). Looking forward to encouragement, advantageous tasks, bonus payments, or improved employment conditions are all examples of predicting positive results. All of these and others are important reasons for pushing individuals or groups to fulfill what others desire.

That is, by means of positive outcomes, whether internal or external, an individual or an organization can generally master the actions of others (Alrikabi, 2014, p. 416).

2- Coercive Power

Coercive power is viewed as the opposite of reward power. Coercive power is based on the listener's expectation that the speaker has the ability to punish or mediate punishments for him/her (French & Raven, 1959, p.152). In other words, A can be believed to have coercive power over B if A "has control over negative outcomes" B wants and tries to avoid (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p. 33). Such power largely depends on the various forms of force, such as punishment, intimidation, or unwanted tasks. The key perception of this basis is when someone is obligated to do something that s/he is unwilling or unable to do (Alrikabi, 2014, p. 416).

3- Legitimate Power

Legitimate power relies on the listener's perception that the speaker "has a legitimate right to influence" his/her behavior and, at the same time, the listener is obliged to accept such influence (French & Raven, 1959, p.153). Commenting on this power, Spencer-Oatey (2000, p. 33) states that A can be believed to have legitimate power over B if "A has the right (because of his/her role, status, or situational circumstances) to prescribe or expect certain things" from B.

Alrikabi (2014) illustrates that this type of power depends heavily on the position or status one has in the government or other official institutions. Thereby, due to the impact of someone's status, such power can enable her/him to control the actions of others (p. 416).

4- Referent Power

Referent power is based on the listener's identification with the speaker. Here, identification means the "feeling of oneness" or the listener's desire to "become closely associated" with the speaker (French & Raven, 1959, p.154). Spencer-Oatey (2000) summarizes it as follows: "if a person, B, admires another person A, and wants to be like him/her in some respect, A can be said to have referent power over B" (p.33). Alrikabi (2014) comments that the commercials presented by a prominent or significant figure, such

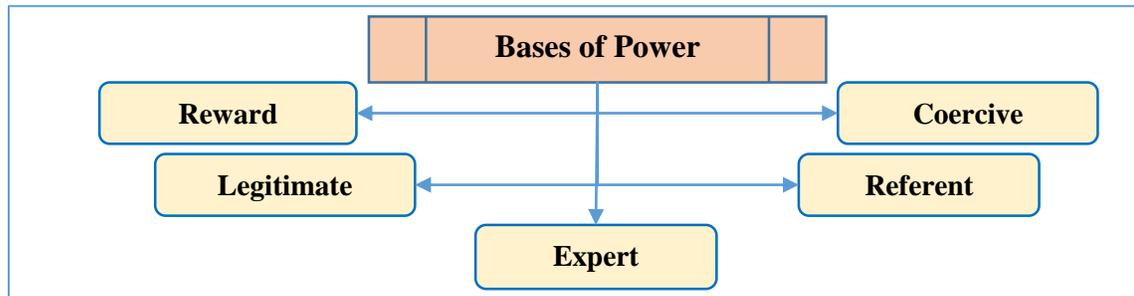
as a famous actor or actress, are much more credible and genuine than those presented by an anonymous person (p. 416).

5- Expert Power

Spencer-Oatey (2000) believes that A can be seen as having expert power over B if “A has some special knowledge or expertise” that B needs or wants (p.33). Alrikabi (2014, p. 416) adds that such power is attached to the individual rather than his/her position. Therefore, if someone has knowledge, skill, proficiency, and talent that helps her/him to solve problems, come up with solutions, and handle things logically and rationally, such a thing would improve her/his chances of being “listened to and obeyed”.

Figure 2

Bases of Power (French & Raven, 1959)



2.2.3 Power and Language

Power and language are closely related. Heydon (2005, p.12) assures that power and language are inseparable since power does not “reside ‘outside’ language” but rather potentially resides within language to form a fundamental part of the interaction. Wodak (2007, p. 209) adds that “language is not powerful on its own- it gains power by the use powerful people make of it”.

Power is manifested in interactions by language. Wodak (1995, p. 204) affirms that power and control are “manifested in language”. Thus, Maley (1994, as cited in Negm, 2015, p. 285) cogently explains that most linguistics have concentrated “on the great disparity of power in discourse”. He maintains that language both reveals and imposes power disparities. Correspondingly, Harris (1994, as cited in Negm, 2015, p. 285) indicates that power differences are covertly realized via linguistic patterns.

Language also functions as a tool for practicing power. Power, especially in legal contexts, is exerted through the use of language “as a tool for the creation of and extinction of rights and obligations” (Ainsworth, 2007. p.28). Weiss and Wodak (2003) affirm that “language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power in hierarchical social structures” (p.15). Moreover, concerning legal contexts, Conley and O’Barr (2005, p. 129) spotlight the point that “the details of legal discourse matter because language is the essential mechanism through which the power of the law is realized, exercised, reproduced, and occasionally challenged and subverted”.

Examining the relationship between language and power, it has been found that language is mainly involved in power and power struggles (Fairclough, 2015, p. 51). Fairclough (2015, p. 51) believes that language is both “a site of and a stake” in power struggle because those who exert power by language must continually struggle with others to protect, or lose, their position. He also argues that language is one way of generating and perpetuating inequality in the distribution of power (p.66). Remarkably, Fairclough (2015) uses language and discourse interchangeably and views discourse as language but in a certain way: discourse is language since it is “part of the social process (part of social life) which is related to other parts” such as power, social relations, institutions, beliefs (pp.7-8). Eventually, Fairclough (2015), attempting to clarify the relationship between discourse and power, noticeably presents a distinction between two types of power as follows:

1. Power *in* Discourse

Fairclough (2015, p. 98) states that “power is exercised and enacted in discourse”. For him, power in discourse is reflected in the lexical choice and syntactic structure of the text, such as topic control, interruption, formulation, and questions that control “face-to-face” discourse (pp.74-5). He also emphasizes that power in discourse comprises the exercise of power between what he calls “unequal encounters” as in doctor-patient discourse, classroom discourse, and job interviews discourse (p.27). He believes that power in discourse helps “powerful participants *controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants*” (pp. 75-6).

To illustrate the exercise of power in discourse, Fairclough (2015) gives an illustration of an asymmetrical interaction between a student and a medical professor. Moreover, he regards PIs as another example of this kind of power where powerful people, i.e., police interviewers (henceforth POIs), can use different kinds of power devices that limit the actions, sayings, and even the amount of participation of the less powerful people such as suspects. For instance, the POI interrupts suspects, controls their turn and contributions, and closes off the interpellation (p.52). It is essential to mention that the present study focuses on power in discourse because it is based on face-to-face discourse.

2. Power *behind* Discourse

Fairclough (2015, p.83) defines power behind discourse as the idea that “the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power”. It involves the effects of power to “shape and constitute orders of discourse” (p.27). He assures that power behind discourse is the cornerstone in power struggles because control over discourse orders is a powerful mechanism to sustain power (p.98). Commenting on Fairclough’s concept of power behind discourse, Farinde et al. (2015) state that this type of power does not belong to face-to-face interaction, as it does in the preceding examples of power in discourse, such as doctor/patient communication and police/suspect communication. The power behind discourse is so secret and hidden that it refers to the power behind the conventions of these discourses. It is not related to the institutions themselves but rather to those who have the power within them. Those individuals in positions of authority are also responsive to dominant groups of people who often govern and constrain them. In other words, behind the scenes, a group of people is holding the strings of power (p. 147). In this sense, this type of power is outside the scope of the current study as it relates to CDA (*cf.* 2.1).

2.2.4 Models of Powerful Interaction

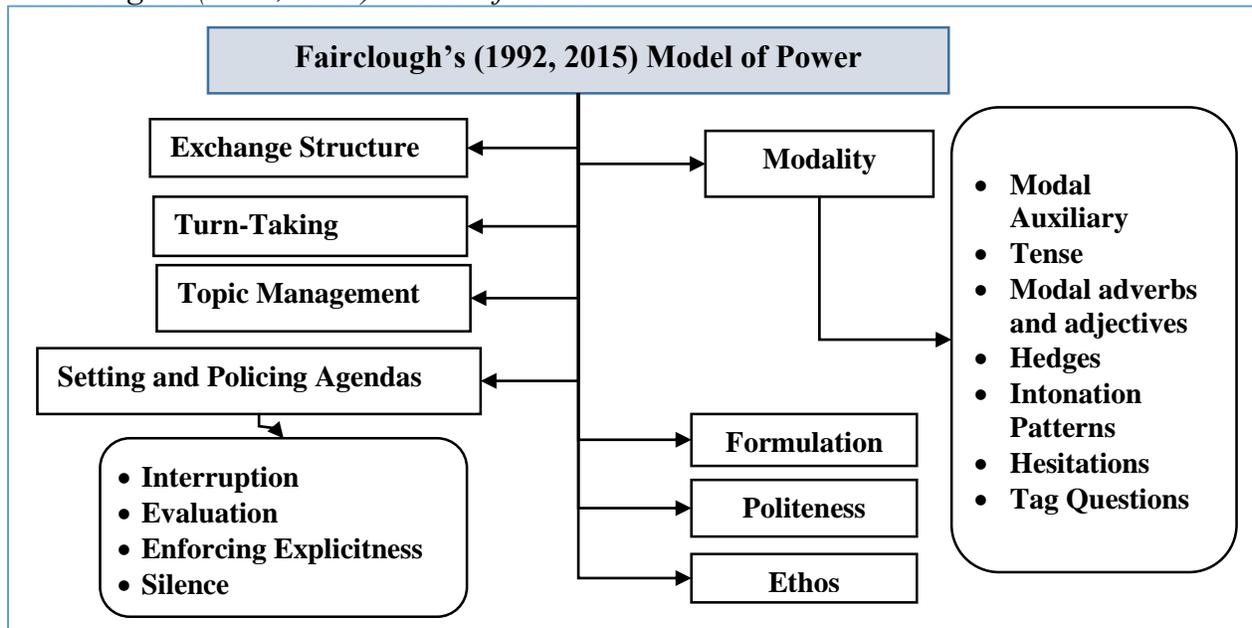
This section aims at surveying the related models of powerful interaction as far as they serve to achieve the aims of the present study in detecting the discourse devices of power that correlate with power strategies (*cf.* 2.4) in American PIs. The researcher selects some elements of these models to form her model of analysis in Chapter Three.

2.2.4.1 Fairclough's (1992, 2015) Model of Power

Fairclough (1992, 2015) lists some features that can be used to exert *power in discourse* during face-to-face interaction. His model is built on interviews with police officers and doctors. He believes that the degree of power and control between participants in such contexts can be asymmetric (1992, p. 152). Hence, he characterizes “power in discourse in terms of the more powerful participant putting constraints on the contributions of less powerful participants” (2015, p.150). The components of Fairclough's (1992, pp. 152- 68; 2015, p.150) model are listed below (see Figure 3):

- 1- Exchange Structure (the question-answer adjacency pair)
- 2- Turn-taking
- 3- Topic Management
- 4- Setting and Policing Agendas:
 - a- Interruption
 - b- Evaluation
 - c- Enforcing Explicitness vs. Ambiguity or Ambivalence
 - d- Silence
- 5- Formulation
- 6- Modality:
 - a- Modal Auxiliary
 - b- Tense
 - c- Modal Adverbs and Adjectives
 - d- Hedges
 - e- Intonation Patterns
 - f- Hesitations (speaking hesitantly)
 - g- Tag Questions
- 7- Politeness
- 8- Ethos

Figure 3
Fairclough's (1992, 2015) Model of Power



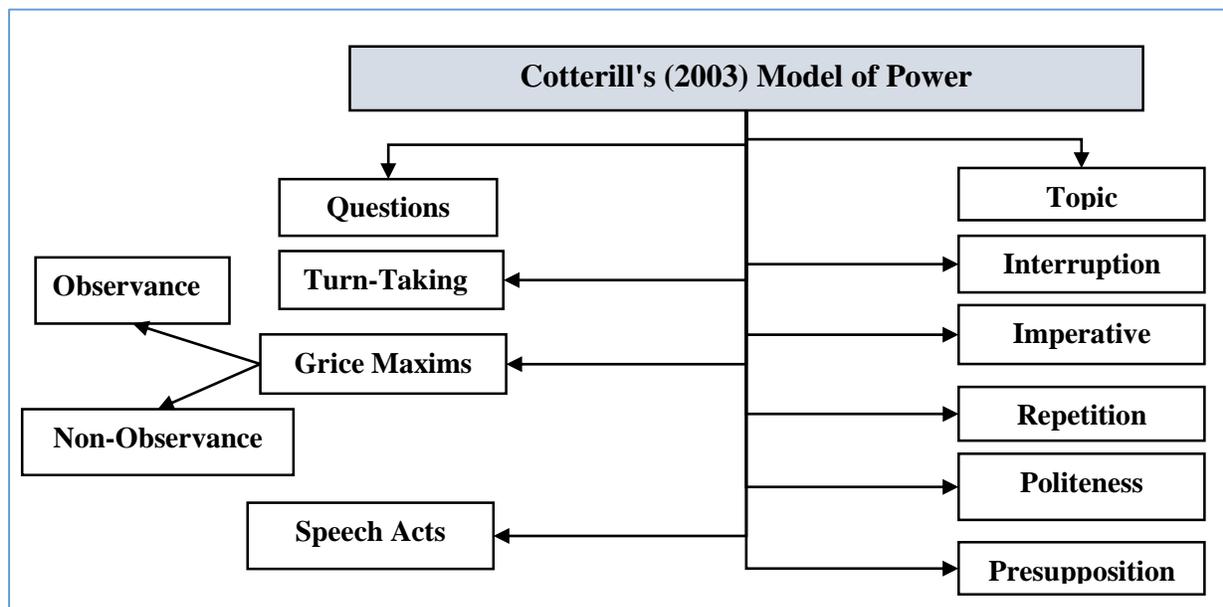
2.2.4.2 Cotterill's (2003) Model of Power in Interaction

Cotterill (2003, pp.126-98) presents a comprehensive analysis of power during CIs and identifies some tactics and devices utilized by the different participants to impose and practice their power. She emphasizes the use of questions-answer, turn-taking, and adjacency pairs as a central way of presenting facts, evidence, and arguments in conducting trial interactions. During the direct and cross-examination process, these devices are used to prevent suspects or witnesses from telling their own stories (p. 126). She also points out that lawyers in CIs employ both question forms and functions (p.127).

According to Cotterill (2003, p. 133), the different types of questions used throughout trials are combined to their pragmatic aims and intentions, particularly with Grice's (1975) *cooperative principle* and his four maxims, along with their observance and non-observance. She states that due to "the legally binding performative utterance of the oath", suspects and witnesses are required to "be cooperative participants" and to follow Grice's maxims (p.104)., i.e., to tell "the truth, [*quality*], ...the whole truth [*quantity*] and nothing but the truth [*relation*]", and to "avoid obscurity and ambiguity [*manner*]".

She also applies *presupposition* and Searle's (1969) *speech acts* and felicity conditions to analyze the questioning process (Cotterill, 2003, p.7, 132). Moreover, she observes that lawyers have a tendency to use *imperative expressions* to reflect their powerful position (p. 140). Likewise, she states that *repetition* is employed as an effective way to reconstruct the victim's account of the event (pp. 4, 148). In addition, Cotterill (2003) spots the tactics of *topic management* and *interruption* and considers them as superior tactics for being frequently used to allow or prevent narration (pp.157-63). Additionally, she adds that different *politeness* strategies are used among the various parties of the trials, including face-saving, face-threatening, etc. (pp.161-4). To sum up, the components of Cotterill (2003) model of power are diagrammed in Figure 4 below:

Figure 4
Cotterill's (2003) Model of Power



2.3 Police Interviews

2.3.1 Definitions

Simply defined, an interview is “a conversation with a purpose” (Hodgson, 1987, p. 2); it is a “conversation, or questioning for the purpose of eliciting information” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002, p.26). However, in criminal cases, particularly in PIs, much more than conversational skills are needed. A PI is a unique type of interviews that differs from

everyday conversation because it involves both getting “accurate, relevant and complete information” from the suspects on the one hand, and imparting information to keep them informed about what is happening and what will happen next, on the other hand (Schollum, 2005, p.10).

Forensic linguistics is “the use of linguistic techniques to investigate crimes in which language data form part of the evidence, such as in the use of grammatical or lexical criteria to authenticate police statements” (Crystal, 2008, p.194). In other words, forensic linguistics refers to the relationship between language and law in all its forms. Scholars focus on many types and forms of forensic or legal texts, whether spoken or written. Johnson and Coulthard (2010) list many kinds of forensic texts: contracts, judgments, jury instructions, product warnings, trademarks, wills, and PIs (pp.7-8).

The PI is a well-established area of study within the domain of forensic linguistics. Johnson and Coulthard (2010) state that PIs are “standardly audio- or video-recorded and these recordings are then transcribed into a written form using ordinary orthography” (pp.7-8). Thus, investigating the language of PIs is one of the areas in forensic linguistics (Gordon, 2012, as cited in Temidayo, 2017, p.226).

PIs are defined differently by different scholars. Each definition emphasizes a specific feature of the very nature of PIs. For instance, Royal and Schutt (1976, p.21) define police interviewing as “the art and mechanics of questioning for the purpose of exploring or resolving issues”. Meanwhile, Ofshe and Leo (1997, as cited in Leo, 2008, p.33) describe it an organized, cumulative, and goal-oriented process with a distinct logic of persuasion to arrive at agreement and confession.

Most importantly, the uniqueness of PIs is stressed by Bruijnes et al. (2015) who assert that PIs represent a distinctive kind of social encounter, chiefly because of “the role of authority that the police officer has and the often uncooperative stance that a suspect takes”. For them, a PI is “a situation of conflict” since suspects usually do not cooperate with the POI, who, in general, behaves in a confronting manner. However, the POI has the challenging task of convincing the suspect to “cooperate and tell the truth in an interview: resolve the conflict” (p. 318).

The aforementioned definitions denote a variety of functions that can be achieved through PIs. An explicit set of such crucial functions involves:

1. Eliciting information, i.e., “to obtain accurate and reliable information from suspects, witness, or victims” (Williamson, 1993, p.98).
2. Identifying the guilty person, i.e., collecting facts principally leads to “identify the guilty person or perpetrator and locate him” (Danbazau, 2007, p. 17).
3. Seeking the truth from those being interviewed, i.e., “to discover the truth about matters under police investigation” (Williamson, 1993, p.98).
4. Obtaining confession, i.e., getting suspects to confess a crime is a herculean function in PI. Confession can “obviate the need for further inquiry” (Baldwin, 1993, p. 325).
5. Providing evidence of the accused person’s guilt is another function. Gathering evidence will establish the credibility of information (Danbazau, 2007, p.17).

2.3.2 Police Interviews as Institutional Discourse

Institutional discourse is defined as the verbal exchanges between two or more people in situations where the work-related institution determines the representative speakers or participants, their goals, the language used, and the nature of the interaction (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999, as cited in Freed, 2015, p.1). Drew and Heritage (1992, p.3) state that the common factor in the interactions analyzed under the banner of ‘institutional discourse’ is that they “involve at least one participant who represents a formal organization of some kind”. They (1992, p.4) suggest three distinguishing characteristics of institutional discourse based on the distinction between institutional and ordinary discourse:

1. Institutional interaction comprises some core goals, tasks, or activities that are conventionally associated with the institution in question and are adopted by at least one of the participants.
2. Institutional interaction often incorporates particular constraints on the allowable contribution performed by one or all participants.

3. Institutional discourse is linked to “inferential frameworks and procedures” that are exclusive to certain institutional settings (p.22).

PIs are unique forms of institutional discourse with highly significant social functions. They encompass the above-mentioned features since they are driven by the goals of police stations, limit participants’ contributions, and finally incorporate certain procedures and regulations. PIs, according to Drew and Heritage (1992, p. 25) are considered as a form of institutional discourse where there are “restrictions on the kinds of contributions to the talk that are, or can be, made”. Such restrictions, as Ellis (1990, pp. 85-6) indicates, are based on the features that characterize PIs as institutional discourse in contrast to ordinary interaction, i.e., the PI takes place among unequal and limited participants, POIs and suspects, whereas ordinary interaction usually takes place among equal participants. He also points out that the POIs have control over the interaction to ensure the suspects’ cooperation. Agreeing with that, Drew and Heritage (1992) argue that a suspect’s talk is limited and constrained by certain conversational constraints during the interaction. Moreover, they mention that “the institutionality” of 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” (p.22).

Heydon (2005) agrees with Drew and Heritage (1992) and explains why PIs are categorized as “institutional discourse”. She maintains that the institutionality of PIs “is constructed through the participants’ interaction as they negotiate the organizational goals” (p.4). Correspondingly, she argues that the institutionality of PIs is derived from the participants’ identities rather than the setting of interaction:

a police interview that takes place in a private home is still identifiable as belonging to the same category of institutional discourse as one that takes place in a police station as long as the interaction makes relevant the participants’ identities as police officers and suspects/witnesses. Conversely, an interaction that takes place in a police station, even in an interviewing room, need not be classified as ‘police institutional discourse’ if the participants are engaged in an activity that does not make relevant their institutional identities, such as a casual chat. (p.37).

2.3.3 Interview versus Interrogation

There is a little agreement among scholars about the exact distinctions and uses of the two terms: *interview* and *interrogation*. First of all, an interview precedes and leads to interrogation. Vessel (1998) divides PIs into two stages: interview and interrogation and assures that “during ... this non-threatening initial inquiry, investigators ... build rapport and find common ground with them [suspects]” (p. 3). In other words, the non-accusatory interview is conducted with the suspect before interrogation (Hartwig et al., 2005, p. 386).

To elaborate the distinction further, Schollum (2005) proposes that the most straightforward distinction is that interview is parallel to inquiry while interrogation is comparable to persuasion. Furthermore, he states that interviewing is considered non-confrontational in nature, whereas interrogation is described as a confrontational situation (p. 12). Moreover, he asserts that “while the objective of an interview is to gain information, the objective of an interrogation is to gain a confession” (p.11).

Despite the differences mentioned above, some scholars believe that police interviews and interrogations are closely related, and it is difficult to draw a borderline between them. Davis and Leo (2006, p.123) argue that both PIs and interrogations are “guided by the presumption of guilt”. In addition, both are “fundamentally about information acquisition and control” (Leo, 2008, p. 3). Recently, modern interrogation is portrayed as “an informal give-and-take ‘interview’ that involves little pressure and results in voluntary confessions” (Leo, 2008, p. 119). Thus, Seligson (2009) comments that while the “first questioning of the suspect should have been merely an interview, it was in reality an interrogation” (p. 51).

Most importantly, the confusion and little consistency in the use of these terms have been motivated by two facts. First, interviewing refers to the questioning of “victims, witnesses and suspects”, whereas interrogation is only “associated with the interviewing of suspects” (Schollum, 2005, pp.3,11). Thus, the interview is the broader and more preferable concept. Second, in recent years, interrogation has fallen out of favor towards adopting the term ‘interviewing’ to describe all interviews because interrogation does not

take account of willing suspects (Schollum, 2005, p.13). The interview has some aims. First, it establishes rapport and trust, tempting the suspect into a false sense of safety. Second, it is used to “elicit personal information about the suspect that may be used in the upcoming interrogation”. Third, it offers significant cues to the suspect’s truthfulness by examining the suspect’s behavioral responses (e.g. gaze and facial expressions) to the interview questions (Hartwig et al., 2005, p. 386).

To conclude, some scholars stress the distinction between the two terms of police interview and interrogation, while others use only the term police interview, emphasizing that it precedes interrogation and is the broader umbrella that subsumes interrogation; the latter viewpoint is adopted in the current study.

2.3.4 Structure of Police Interviews

The PEACE model has been developed in England. Yet, this model has been routinely employed by law enforcement in England and other Western countries, like Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and *United States* (Bayley, 1994, as cited in Schollum, 2005, p. 44). The term ‘PEACE’ is an acronym that stands for interviewing stages (see Figure 5). It includes five components which are:

1. (P) Planning and Preparation.
2. (E) Engage and Explain.
3. (A) Account.
4. (C) Closure.
5. (E) Evaluation.

This model has been designed as “the framework for interviewing in any situation with any type of interviewee”. It “provides a structure that can be used for all investigative interviews” (Schollum, 2005, pp.4,44); and further covers “the before during- and after-interview stages” (p.70).

The present study adopts this classification of the questioning process in the conducted analysis. Below is an outline of the PEACE model and clarification for these components.

1- Planning and Preparation

It is the first and vital step to an effective interview, without which many interviews fail before they even begin (Schollum, 2005, p. 44). According to the Central Planning and Training Unit (1992, as cited in Milne & Bull, 1999, p.159), planning is “the mental process of getting ready to interview,” while preparation is “considering what needs to be made ready prior to interview [including] such things as the location, the environment, and the administration”.

Schollum (2017, p. 33) indicates that this stage aims to identify the purpose of the interview, gain as much related information as possible, describe the objectives of the interview, evaluate the evidence available, and so on. Within this stage, there is one aspect that is very critical in the American PIs: “the Miranda rights and warnings”. The Miranda rights comprise the right of a person to remain silent. POIs, therefore, have to remind suspects of their rights and to ensure that they recognize their rights before dealing with the actual interview (Andersson, 2019, pp. 2-3).

2- Engage and Explain

It is the opening stage that embodies the most crucial and important factor in determining whether an interview would be successful. This stage is known as “establishing rapport” (Schollum, 2005, p.45). Schollum (2005) asserts that interviewing is a nerve-wracking experience; therefore, the nervous interviewed person needs to be settled down by establishing rapport and trust. It involves several steps summarized by Schollum (2005) as follows: making a good first impression, treating each interviewee as a unique person who has concerns and needs, understanding the interviewee’s feelings, and eventually explaining the reason, format, and procedures of the interview (p.45).

3- Account

It is the stage where the interviewer “obtains the interviewee’s uninterrupted account of events; uses interview techniques to expand and clarify the account; and then, when necessary, uses other evidence to challenge the account” (Schollum, 2017, p.33). For an account to be both credible and trustworthy, questioning skills are essential. Such skills include (a) opening up a topic utilizing an open-ended question (e.g., opening with tell,

describe, explain), (b) probing and investigating the account (who, what, where, when, why, and how), and (c) summarizing all the information and evidence been obtained about a certain topic (Schollum, 2005, p.46). The organized processes of “opening, probing, and summarizing” are repeated over and over until the interviewer is convinced that all topics are sufficiently covered. Furthermore, the interviewee’s responses are examined to check consistency or discrepancy. If a discrepancy is identified, the interviewer may challenge it, seeking more clarification of events (Barron, 2017, pp.26-7).

4- Closure

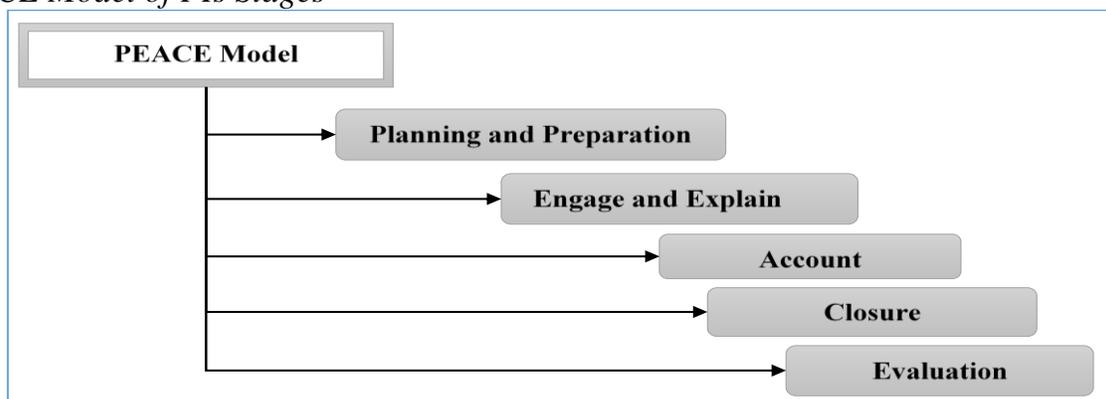
The closure stage should be just “as complete and effective as any other” (Schollum, 2005, p.47). Schollum (2005, p.47) classifies the aims of effective closure into three. (a) ensuring that the interviewee understands what has happened throughout the interview “by reviewing and summarizing the account”, (b) verifying that all the information s/he has given is accurate in addition to highlighting any grey areas, and (c) explaining “what will happen in the future”.

5- Evaluation

The interview comes to an end at this stage. It is at this point where the interviewer evaluates whether the objectives of the interview are met, revises the investigation in light of the information gathered during the interview, and eventually, “reflects upon how well he or she conducted the interview and considers what improvements could be made in future” (Schollum, 2017, p.33).

Figure 5

PEACE Model of PIs Stages



2.4 Power in Police Interviews

PIs provide a rich source of power asymmetry as there are significant differences in the participants' institutional roles or social statuses; POIs have the privilege of legitimate authority and status in contrast to suspects.

The source of power asymmetry in PIs is highlighted by Heydon (2005); she argues that the "inherent asymmetry in power between the police officers and the suspects" stems from the role of the POI as an "institutional questioner and information-provider" whereas the suspect is a "respondent" (Heydon 2005, pp.95, 174). Similarly, Haworth (2006) states that each participant's role in PIs is strictly outlined and controlled. Nevertheless, particularly in terms of the distribution of power and control, these roles are very unequal, i.e., POIs, have power over the suspects, the subject matter, the time and setting, the progress of the questioning process, and the outcome of the interview meanwhile the suspects "have control over [only] what they say" (p.1). Seligson (2009) states that the manifestation of power in legal situations often "resides in the right to ask questions and the concomitant right to expect answers" (p.38). In a few words, POIs have both the power and the right to compel suspects to comply.

Still, power is not entirely one-sided, i.e., power is not limited to POIs. Instead, "all participants have access to certain resources of power that enable the interaction to be controlled". Namely, the increase of power for one participant does not necessarily mean that others will "lose" it. For example, in addition to the POI's right to ask questions, suspects have the power of withholding responses to those questions (Heydon, 2005, p.13). Aptly noted by Conley and O'Barr (2005): "power may exclude, but those excluded remain on the scene, ready to turn local-level episodes of oppression into moments of resistance" (p.10). Likewise, Negm (2015) maintains that "power and resistance of power are inseparable"; it is often the case that the exercise of power stimulates resistance to such power. He also insists that power is "a two-way dyadic interactive relation rather than a one-way relation" since no participant is entirely more powerful than the others.

Additionally, he assures the idea that “power shifts from one participant to another” simply because no participant remains powerful during the entire interaction (p.285).

According to Mulayim et al. (2015), the “imbalance of power manifests itself not only in police authority over managing the whole interview process, but also in the language used” (p. 29). Thus, Walton (2003, p. 1777) indicates that a PI is essentially “an asymmetrical type of dialogue, so the goals and methods of argumentation used by the one side are quite different from those on the other side”. Therefore, there are specific strategies used by POIs to practice power in PIs on the one hand and strategies to resist such power by suspects on the other hand. The strategies held by both parties in the power struggle are listed in Table 1 below. It is worth highlighting that these strategies are further elaborated in Chapter Three within the model of analysis (*cf.* 3.5.1).

Table 1

The Classification of Power Strategies in PIs

Police Power	Suspect Power
1- Topic control	1- Providing Information
2- The Struggle for the Floor	2- Repetition
3- Recycling Topics	3- Mitigation
4- Rephrasing Answers	4- Fragmented Style
5- Accusation	5- Obscurity
6- Maximization	6- Denial
7- Minimization	7- No Comment

2.5 Previous Studies

This section chronologically lists some previous studies and compares them to the current study. Though all studies are related to the present study, they are divided into two groups: the first deals with previous studies on power, while the second deals with PIs.

2.5.1 Previous Studies on Power

1. Hutchby (1996)

The study is entitled as “*Power in Discourse: The Case of Arguments on a British Talk Radio Show*”. It explores the way in which power operates in institutional discourse. Its major aim is to show how power in discourse can be analyzed from a conversation analysis perspective. Thus, the conversation analysis (henceforth CA) approach is adopted by focusing on how participants design their turns in specialized ways, such as restricting themselves to asking questions or giving answers. Notions like topic control and formulation are examined.

The data are obtained from a case study in which a series of approximately 100 taped calls to a British talk radio show are analyzed. Bryan Hayes is the host of the show. Hutchby selects the show because the host thoughtfully discusses specific issues with his callers. According to Hutchby, power is used to change the distribution of resources, allowing certain participants to achieve conversational effects that others are unable to achieve.

The findings reveal that power is not a homogenous attribute in talk radio data. Instead, power dynamics are variable and shift from one participant to another.

2. Haworth (2006)

The title of this study is “*The Dynamics of Power and Resistance in Police Interview Discourse*”. It focuses on power and control balance in an English PI. This study uses an integrated approach based on CA, CDA, and pragmatics. The analytical framework includes four significant features: (a) topic, (b) question type, (c) allusions to institutional status, and (d) the question-answer structure.

The PI is conducted with the unusual suspect, “Dr. Harold Shipman”. The BBC News website archives provided the audio files used in this research.

The analysis results reveal that power and control are constantly being negotiated and still being challenged and resisted. Also, it is found that the discursive roles of the interlocutors, their institutional position, and their knowledge are essential factors that affect the dynamics of power. Moreover, the study illustrates the contribution of linguistics in the criminal justice system of the United Kingdom by the use of PI data as evidence.

3. Negm (2015)

The study is entitled “*Resisting Power in Discourse*” which tries to prove that the relation between power and language is a two-way interactive dyadic relation. The researcher uses an eclectic approach primarily based on Fairclough’s (1989) model. Also, he adopts a descriptive framework in the analysis of the selected literary texts. The researcher chooses the following devices of manipulation and power: (1) instructions, (2) evaluation, (3) questions, (4) interruption, (5) explicitness, (6) controlling topics, (7) reformulation, and (8) repetition.

Some passages from Arther Millar’s literary work, “Death of a Salesman”, are selected as the data for the study. From a new viewpoint, the study attempts to analyze the selected literary text as a framework for resisting and challenging power in order to identify the conflictual strategies of power.

The findings demonstrate that discourse is not just a context for the enactment, exercise, and maintenance of power but also a context for questioning, challenging, contesting, and resisting power. The researcher finds that Willy Loman (the main character) is not surrendering to his manager. Instead, he shares all of the power devices with his manager. Therefore, the devices of power are used by all participants in the discourse. In other words, one participant is not anymore monopolizing power.

4. Hellman (2019)

The title of this study is “*Power Asymmetry in Classroom Discourse: A Study of Turn-taking Systems in Teacher-Student Interaction*”. Within the attempt to explore power asymmetry in teacher-student interaction, the study aims to achieve two objectives: (a) to

investigate how teachers arrange their classroom discussions according to the distribution of turns, and (b) to evaluate the degree to which teacher-student interactions display signs of power asymmetry. The data are analyzed in terms of turn-taking systems and power asymmetry, where notions like interruption, overlapping of speech, insertion, question-answer sequences, and topic control are examined. This is accomplished by integrating the frameworks of CA and CDA.

The data used are obtained from the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English. The corpus data of this study is limited to only two seminars: English composition and politics of higher education.

The findings indicate that teachers control the discourse in the classroom in a variety of ways. Firstly, the design of the turn-taking system in that particular discourse restricts the roles of teachers and students. Secondly, the teachers are observed to organize the implicit rules in the discourse. Thirdly, teachers have higher participation rights and greater power over the participation rights of students.

5. Al-Amery (2019)

The study is entitled as “*A Critical Discourse Analysis of Dominance and Power in American Courtroom Interaction*”. It aims at: (1) finding out the asymmetric relations among the different parties of the courtroom interaction and how power manifests itself by them (2) determining the linguistic manifestations of dominance and power and the tools that are used by lawyers, (3) analyzing critically the linguistic cues and indicators most frequently yielded in such trials, which reflect power, dominance, and asymmetrical relations, (4) showing the different purposes and ideologies of such linguistic tools and strategies. Therefore, the study develops an eclectic model and uses it under the umbrella of the approaches of CDA. The used critical approaches are of both Fairclough’s (1989) three-dimensional approach and van Dijk’s (1995) three-level cognitive model of analysis.

Concerning the data, the study is limited to the analysis of ten randomly selected American samples of courtroom interaction texts. However, only some selected extracts out of the three courts are analyzed to avoid repetition or redundancy.

Regarding findings, the study proves that lawyers use whatever linguistic tools in order to exercise a maximum degree of power, which ultimately creates a dominance patterns and hierarchies. These tools include questions, interruptions, and fixed patterns of turn-taking and adjacency pairs. Moreover, they tend to use different pragmatic strategies such as presupposition, speech act forces, modality and others.

2.5.2 Previous Studies on Police Interviews

1. Sadiq (2011)

The study is entitled “*A Discourse Analysis of the Language of Interrogation in Police/ Criminal Investigations in the Kano Metropolis*”. It examines the language of the police interrogation in the Kano metropolis. The aim is to describe police/accused discourse structure and observe the participants’ communication strategies in the interrogation. The framework of analysis is based on Grice’s (1975) cooperative principles, Sinclair and Coulthard’s (1975) discourse model, and Bruton’s (1981) work.

The analysis data are obtained during the interrogations of some suspects from three police divisions: Sabon Gari (Nomansland) Police Station, Fagge Police Station, and Nassarawa Police Station. Six investigations are reported in all, two in each police station. In Nomansland, cases of theft and fighting were detected; In Fagge, cases of manslaughter and deceit were observed, while in Nassarawa, cases of fraud and cheating were recorded.

The findings reveal the following: (1) the question/answer sequences are the prototypical patterns of discourse acts in police interrogations, (2) questioning forms are often used in police/accused interrogation to control the flow of discourse, (3) the asymmetric relationship between the investigator and the suspect is one significant factor that makes the police staff successful in their criminal investigation, (4) the investigator has the right to ask questions, initiate the talk, and control the turns, and finally, (5) police/accused discourse is highly organized with predetermined structures.

2. Grant et al. (2016)

The study is entitled “*Exploring Types and Functions of Questions in Police Interviews*”. The aim is to combine the interview structure with the functions of the question rather than concentrate on dividing questions into confirmation-seeking or

eliciting new information. The researcher adopts the CA framework for the analysis. The data are analyzed according to a different categorization of question types: (1) topic initiation questions and (2) topic facilitation questions.

Five suspect interviews are selected as the data of the study. Only the first four to seven minutes are analyzed because the focus is on the ‘Account phase’, which comes early in the PEACE model. The interview sections were digitized and fully transcribed.

The results reveal that these types of questions have different functions; topic initiation questions are only used by questioners and are utilized to the introduction of new topics or initiation of free recall accounts, while topic facilitation questions are not used to introduce a new topic, but to progress an existing one.

3. Barus et al. (2017)

The title of this study is “*Speech Acts in Police Investigative Interviews*”. The study explores the speech acts in PIs. It aims at discovering and explaining how the POI and the suspects utilize specific types of speech acts.

The selected data are the utterances gathered from two PIs on Michael Brown’s case. This study applies Searle’s theory of Speech Acts.

The findings expose that (1) in the first PI, five types of speech acts, namely representative, commissive, declarative, directive, and expressive, are used. In the second PI, still, the declarative speech acts are not used, (2) representative speech act is the most frequent type from the two PIs, (3) the most dominant speech act produced by the POIs to find facts and information is directive (4) the most prominent speech act used by the suspects in the PI is representative speech act in order to inform, describe, explain, affirm or deny.

4. Santoso and Apriyanto (2020)

This study is entitled “*Pragmatics Implicature Analysis of Police Interrogation: Forensic Linguistics Analysis*”. It aims to identify, from the viewpoint of the symbolic meaning, the implications of language conversation. Discourse analysis is employed to analyze the selected data relying on conversational implicature.

The research population is the language used by the interrogators and those involved in the interrogation. The data are taken randomly during an interrogation in a case of deception and traffic. Data collection is conducted by using collected transcriptions, which are then analyzed.

The findings show that (a) the implicature can be used to expose the true recognition of being questioned without committing violent acts, (b) the conversational implicature can support the interrogation process, (c) interrogators can use the conversational implications to extract information from suspects without pressure and force, (d) the implicature is employed by the investigator in the presence of witnesses or suspects to build a friendly image and to show a positive face.

2.5.3 The Current Study

After discussing the aforementioned previous studies, it is necessary to pinpoint the differences between the current study and the previously mentioned ones.

First, in most of the previous studies, the concept of power is undertaken from either a CA, CDA, or a pragmatic proper perspective, while the present study, in contrast, investigates the concept of power from a sociopragmatic perspective in order to reveal the way power is manifested in the data under scrutiny (*cf.* 2.1). Additionally, the current study investigates power resistance along with power practice.

Second, the model for the analysis of power is different. Although some elements have been investigated in the previous studies like interruption, formulation, and question types, still, there are additional elements that have not been studied before. The model comprises two layers: power strategies on the one hand and power devices in discourse that assist in the manifestation of these strategies on the other hand. The former encompasses fourteen strategies (seven for POIs and seven for suspects). Meanwhile, the latter includes questions, topic management, interruption, silence, formulation, the cooperative principle and its maxims, hedges, and politeness. Hence, the model is expected to be unlike those employed in previous studies.

Third, the present study restricts itself to PIs as a type of institutional discourse. Since power asymmetry affects any interaction, PIs are chosen because they, in and of themselves, create power disparity between the questioner, the POI, and the questioned, the suspect. Although some of the aforementioned studies have PIs as their subject of study, they focus on different aspects like questions, implicature, and speech acts. Except for Haworth (2006), these studies have not tackled power. Moreover, the selected PIs are themselves different; the researcher limits her study to three American PIs conducted with the following suspects: George Huguely (2010), Bryan Greenwell (2016), and Lee Rodarte (2017). As far as the researcher's best knowledge, these PIs have not been studied before.

To conclude, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the manifestations of power asymmetry in this specific kind of institutional discourse, PIs, have not so far been studied sociopragmatically.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preliminary Remarks

This chapter introduces the research methodology adopted in this study. It discusses the research design, data collection and selection, the sample size and saturation, and the structure of context. Then, the components of the model are identified and explained. Finally, the workability of the model operated in the present study is assessed.

3.1 Research Design

The current research utilizes a mixed-method approach in a form of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. On the one hand, qualitative research is defined as the “study of things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p.2). Most importantly, qualitative research is “situationally constrained”, i.e., the social context plays a key role since it determines the meaning of the social actions (Neuman, 2014, p.17). On the other hand, quantitative research is observed as the utilization of statistical methods that are “based on numerical measurements of specific aspects of phenomena...[and] are easily replicable by other researchers” (King et al., 1994, pp.3-4). It involves “the collection of data so that information can be quantified and subjected to statistical treatment in order to support or refute alternate knowledge claims” (Williams, 2007, p. 66).

This combination causes both methods to complete and strengthen each other, resulting in a “richer and more comprehensive” research (Creswell, 2009, p.203; Neuman, 2014, p.167). Such a mixed-method can be utilized to assist the researcher in deeply investigating the data; so, it is believed to enhance the validity of the study and detect the issue understudy from a more holistic viewpoint.

The qualitative part of this research is represented by sociopragmatically examining the concept of power in selected American PIs. Meanwhile, the quantitative part includes using the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS) as a statistical tool to enrich the findings of the study, support the researcher’s interpretation, and avoid bias or subjectivity.

3.2 Data Collection and Selection

3.2.1 Procedures

The data collection followed in the current study is internet-based. At first, the researcher searched for data and found about **(94)** scripts of PIs. Later, following specific criteria mentioned below, she downsized these interviews into three video-recorded PIs (*cf.* 3.2.2). The selected data includes publicly available scripts of three American PIs with murder suspects. The data are obtained from “Police Interrogation Transcripts”, (n.d.)², whereby videos of the PIs along with their scripts are published. The scripts are fully copy-pasted³. However, to strengthen the reliability of the data, the researcher thoroughly watched the videos and matched them with their scripts. These scripts are available in the appendices at the end of the thesis (*cf.* p. i-xli).

The PIs took place between May 2010 and August 2017. The three PIs were conducted in a small private interrogation room within an official police building whereby the police officer and the suspect were discussing a recently committed murder crime for which the suspect was accused. In two of the PIs, a second police officer contributed to the interview.

3.2.2 Criteria

In this study, the selection of the data is *purposefully* intended. Purposive sampling is defined by Maxwell (1997) as a type of sampling whereby “particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices” (p. 87). Accordingly, this selection can be justified by the use of specific criteria:

First, since the current study is introduced in English, American PIs are believed to meet the researcher’s demand to accomplish her task as these interviews are in English, and the participants are American English speakers.

² The website from which the data are accessed is (<https://criminalwords.net/police-interrogation-transcripts/>)

³ The three copy-pasted scripts constitute **(26301)** words.

Second, it focuses exclusively on real video-recorded PIs documented “as part of the standard police procedure” and then published on YouTube (de Pablos-Ortega, 2019, p. 9). However, the study depends on their scripts in the analysis. Video-recorded PIs are selected for three reasons:

- a.** to guarantee the authenticity of the murder crimes themselves since video-recordings are considered “authentic communication data without question” (Penn-Edwards, 2004, p.270),
- b.** to increase the reliability of the data by comparing the two forms of data; video and script, and
- c.** to reach the proper interpretation of the utterance since video recordings assist the researcher in understanding the context of the interview because of “the information that can be deduced from them” (Penn-Edwards, 2004, p.274).

Third, all the data include male suspects in order to avoid any interference of gender differences in the interpretation of results.

Fourth, the data include suspects who would later be proved guilty. The reason is to assess the truthfulness of a confession and the observance or non-observance of Grice’s maxims.

Fifth, all texts deal with suspects who are accused of murder rather than other types of crimes such as robbery, sexual assault, or fraud offenses; the aim is to avoid the impact of crime type on the intensity of suspects’ resistance. In the present cases, they are all murderers.

Finally, all PIs are recent and well known according to the statistics of the number of viewership provided by YouTube as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2
The Description of the Data

Case No.	Appendix	Suspect's Name	Date	Participants	Viewership
1	A	George Huguely	May 3, 2010	George Huguely Investigator 1 Investigator 2	189,764 views
2	B	Bryan Greenwell	May 13, 2016	Bryan Greenwell Investigator	192,990 views
3	C	Lee Rodarte	August 2, 2017	Lee Rodarte Officer 1 Officer 2	1,076,623 views

3.3 Sample Size and Saturation

Data saturation is considered a cornerstone in deciding the sample size and is “present in all qualitative research” (Morse, 2015, p. 587). Morse (2004, p. 1123, as cited in Aldiabat & Navenec 2018, p. 247) refers to data saturation as “the phase of qualitative data analysis in which the researcher has continued sampling and analyzing data until no new data appear”. Saturation is an important aspect of the qualitative part of the current research. The saturation of the current study relies on the following factors:

A. Information Power

“Information power” is a term originated by Malterud et al. (2016, as cited in Aldiabat & Navenec, 2018, p. 248) as a guideline for sample size. It is defined as the kind of power built on controlling information to achieve important goals (Aldiabat & Navenec, 2018, p. 248). Malterud et al. (2016) assume that three aspects govern information power:

- a) narrowing the aim of the study,
- b) applying a theory, and
- c) specifying the sample according to certain criteria of selection (Aldiabat & Navenec, 2018, p. 248). Accordingly, the current study embraces all three aspects. It has narrow and specific aims, as shown in Chapter One. Besides, testing the workability of the model on data demonstrates that the theoretical framework is applicable and the data are

representative and rich with power strategies (*cf.* 3.6). Finally, the selection of data is based on the criteria mentioned above.

B. The Smaller the Better

Malterud et al. (2016, as cited in Aldiabat & Navenec, 2018, p. 248) assure that the smaller the sample size is, the greater information power it has. Similarly, Padgett (1998, p.11) affirms that a smaller sample size can be used to enhance the richness and depth of analysis. Mason (2010, para 1) agrees that a smaller sample size is preferable because the analysis of a large sample “can be time-consuming and often simply impractical”. He adds that since qualitative research is based on meaning rather than making statements of generalized hypotheses, one occurrence of a code or a piece of data is “as useful as many in understanding the process behind a topic”. Thus, no need for more data if the same information appears. Therefore, to achieve the advantages of the smaller sample size, only three American PIs are selected.

3.4 Structure of Context

Context is a crucial factor in understanding and interpreting utterances and expressions. The most significant dimensions of context include the co-text (the surrounding utterances), “the immediate physical situation”, the broader situation (both social and power relations), and the shared knowledge between participants (Cruse, 2006, p.35).

To describe the contextual factors of the data under scrutiny, the researcher adopts Hymes’ (1974) SPEAKING model because it gives a comprehensive account of context. Hymes enlists sixteen components in his model. Then he presents the term ‘SPEAKING’ as an acronym whereby each letter stands for a component or a factor that affects the particular speech event and governs the commutation process (Hymes’, 1974, pp. 55-62). In brief, these aspects are explained as follows:

1. Setting and Scene

Setting refers to “the time and place” of a speech event i.e., its physical circumstances; meanwhile, scene “refers to the psychological setting” of the occasion, that is, participants’ awareness of what kind of event is occurring (Hymes, 1974, p. 55).

2. Participants

Participants embrace the speaker, the hearer, and the audience (Hymes, 1974, p. 56).

3. Ends

Ends denote both goals, i.e., the objectives of the people contributing to the situation, and outcomes, i.e., the expected purpose of an event or activity (pp.56-7).

4. Act Sequence

It refers to the message form and the message content of the speech event (pp.54-5).

5. Key

The key of a speech event explicates “the tone, manner, or spirit in which an act is done”, i.e., whether it is solemn, joyful, or mocking (p. 57).

6. Instrumentalities

Instrumentalities refer to the medium or the channel of communication, i.e., spoken or written (p. 58).

7. Norms

These refer to the rules that govern speaking, i.e., the socio-culturally appropriate behaviors and conventions concerning what people can say, how, and to whom they can say it (p. 60).

8. Genre

It represents “the categories [of communication] such as poem, myth, tale, proverb, riddle, curse...etc.” (p. 61). In other words, the type of discourse by which a speech event is achieved.

3.5 Components of the Model

The researcher has developed a suitable model that embraces two layers to cope with the nature of the targeted data and the aims of the study. The first layer is composed of power strategies, while the second layer is composed of devices that assist in the manifestation of these strategies in discourse. This goes in line with what van Dijk (2001, p. 99) suggests as researchers and analysts should “select those structures for closer analysis that are relevant for the study of the (targeted) social issue”, accordingly.

First of all, the strategies of police interviewing are various. Thus, careful investigation is needed in order to select the strategies that fulfill the aim of the current study. The selection of the strategies is based on two dimensions. Firstly, all the proposed strategies should be involved in practicing power and resisting it. Hence, the researcher has selected the strategies that designate power and resistance of power and has neglected the otherwise strategies. Secondly, the description of these strategies as powerful or coercive is made by the authors themselves in their surveying of police strategies in general and not by the researcher herself.

This suggests two types of PIs strategies that can be used in the struggle for power: POIs' strategies to practice power and suspects' ones to resist such power. Each type is of seven strategies: *topic control, the struggle for the floor, recycling topics, rephrasing answers, accusation, maximization, and minimization*, for the former and *providing information, repetition, mitigation, fragmented style, obscurity, denial, and no comment*, for the latter.

Together, these strategies form a set of upper terms that cannot be measured by themselves though they serve as umbrella terms for the model of analysis. They require tools or devices to represent and manifest in discourse at the lower level. Thereby, for building up this layer or level of the model, the study has selected specific devices out of certain models of powerful interaction, namely those of Fairclough (1992, 2015) and Cotterill (2003) (*cf.* 2.2.4). These devices are closely related to the strategies of practicing and resisting power. The selected devices that manifest the power strategies will include *questions, topic management, interruption, silence, cooperative principle, formulation, hedges, and politeness*. Below is a description of the power strategies and the devices that manifest them according to their appearance in the model:

3.5.1 Power Strategies in Police Interviews

This section explicates power strategies as held by both parties, POIs and suspects.

3.5.1.1 Police Power

POIs adopt a set of different powerful and coercive strategies in their bid to succeed in their investigations. These strategies have been investigated by many scholars like Heydon (2005), Seligson (2009), Nakane (2014), and others. A brief account of each strategy is plotted below.

1. Topic Control

Generally speaking, topic control refers to the power to control topics in PIs. Heydon (2005, p. 115) notices that the right to ask questions and control turns is the main powerful instrument available to POIs. They have the opportunity to control responses and limit suspects to merely providing answers. For Seligson (2009, p.34), being an interviewer means that “the police officer... has more power to control topics through turn-taking” owing to the pre-distribution of turns. In other words, POIs hold power in the interaction because “power in legal speech situations often resides in the right to ask questions and the concomitant right to expect answers” (p.38), for instance:

- (1) **POI:** “When they said they (police) were looking for you, what did they say you did?”
Suspect: “They said I stole laptop and that I have sold it”.
POI: “Eh eh, what happened after that?” (Farinde et al., 2015, p. 152).

2. The Struggle for the Floor

The struggle for the floor is clearly evident in the interruption of the speech (Seligson, 2009, p.113). Mentioning this strategy and emphasizing its significance, Seligson (2009) asserts that “interrupting the examinee in mid-answer” is one sign of coercive and powerful questioning and that it is especially significant when the examinee’s answer takes the form of a narrative (p.113). Nakane (2014) mentions that this strategy occurs when a speaker initiates a turn and interrupts the current speaker far before s/he has reached the relevant transition of the turn (p. 14), for instance:

- (2) **Suspect:** “On the first time I talk to you, you know, I’m, I don’t feel comfortable, I don’t know I was scared . . .”
POI: “What did you tell me tonight about ah Moncho” (Seligson, 2009, p. 117).

3. Recycling Topics

Recycling topics means the “repetition of the same questions or lines of questioning over and over again”. Recycling topics is a tool to practice “pressure and control”. It is used when the suspect’s responses are inconsistent with the relevant facts or evidence of the case. That is, POIs repeatedly go back to the same topic, suggesting that the answers they have received are not acceptable or satisfactory. They keep on asking the suspect until they are satisfied with the answers (Seligson, 2009, pp. 128-9). The following example shows how the POI recycles the same questions after few turns as the suspect refuses to answer:

- (3) **POI:** *“Okay. Well then, where is she?”*
Suspect: *“I don’t know where she is”.*
POI: *“where is Savannah?”* (Appendix C. Case 3, pp. xxxvi).

4. Rephrasing Answers

Rephrasing the suspect’s answers means, for Seligson (2009), ‘reformulating’ their description of events which may result in “the introduction of lexical items that altered the sense of the suspect’s statements”. It aims at helping suspects to be more precise in their speech (p. 129). In the following example, the POI rephrases the details that the suspect has offered regarding his clothes during the robbery, saying:

- (4) **POI:** *“You’re describing like a knit cap of some sort, but the kind, uh, I know this because you told me already what kind it was, but a knit cap like for skiing . . .”* (Seligson, 2009, p. 129).

5. Accusation

Accusation is practiced during police interviewing when the suspect is implicitly assumed to be guilty. Thus, despite being told to provide a free account of events, suspects feel that the POI has already made the decision that they are guilty and will not believe them (Moston & Engelberg, 1993, p. 228). Accusation can be framed in three ways:

- (1) Direct accusation where the POI asks suspects directly about their guilt. It is intended only to provoke a straightforward response, whether admission or denial (Moston & Engelberg, 1993, p. 228), for instance:

- (5) **POI:** *“Bronwyn did you commit the burglary?”.*
Suspect: *“No comment”* (Heydon, 2005, p. 123).

(2) Evidence strategy which is an indirect way of seeking an admission wherein the POI lists part or even all of the evidence against the suspects and then asks for an explanation (Moston & Engelberg, 1993, p. 228). In the following example, the POI accuses the suspect by citing the victim's story as evidence.

(6) **POI:** "He states that it was a closed fist that you punched him in mouth?"

Suspect: "Nah" (Heydon, 2005, p. 117).

(3) Supported direct accusation, which combines both previous accusatorial methods. The latter is the most powerful as evidence supports accusation (Moston & Engelberg, 1993, pp. 228-9), for example:

(7) **POI:** "I put it to you that you actually went into the kitchen and helped drag in Wayne Gibson one of the bouncers".

Suspect: "No way".

POI: "I'll read a section of the victim's statement" (Heydon, 2005, p. 117).

6. Maximization

Maximization is another strategy used by the POIs to frighten the suspects and oblige them into a confession. It embraces over-exaggerating the strength of the evidence, the amount of the charges, and the probable harmful consequences of the situation (Kassin & McNall, 1991, as cited in Leahy-Harland & Bull, 2016, p. 139). It also involves using certain techniques such as "intimidation and veiled threats". Moreover, it may include the use of "trickery and deception" to obtain announcements of guilt. Maximization might include telling the suspect, for example, that there is evidence such as an eyewitness or fingerprints in the crime scene where there is none, i.e., presenting false evidence (Redlich et al., 2004, p. 109). Maximization also implicates the POI's adoption of "unfriendly demeanor" and "a strong conviction of guilt" towards the suspect (Horgan et al., 2012, p. 68), for instance:

(8) **POI:** "You still dey received call (you are still receiving call). See this criminal. You don't know the gravity of the offence you have committed. See how he is looking at me. Bring that handcuffs. Give me that pistol. I will condemn your leg".

Suspect: "Sorry sir. I am sorry sir. I am sorry sir" (Farinde et al., 2015, p. 153).

7. Minimization

Minimization refers to the use of “feigning sympathy, friendship, or understanding, and flattering suspects” with the intention of mitigating offense or lessening the strength of evidence (Redlich et al., 2004, p. 109). In contrast to maximization, minimization is applied to PIs when the POI lulls, deceives suspects, and leads them into a false sense of security by moderating the crime, making justifications for the suspects, or even blaming the victims (Kassin & McNall, 1991, as cited in Leahy-Harland & Bull, 2016, p. 139). Put it differently, POIs tend to manipulate suspects by minimizing the seriousness of the crime so as to gain their trust and make it easier to elicit a confession (Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004, as cited in Areh, 2016, p. 20). Horgan et al. (2012) summarize minimization techniques as follows:

- ◆ adopting a friendly demeanor,
- ◆ mitigating consequences,
- ◆ emphasize the advantages of collaboration,
- ◆ using face-saving justifications,
- ◆ minimizing the severity of the crime,
- ◆ evoking empathy,
- ◆ boosting ego/flattery, and
- ◆ appealing to the suspect’s conscience (p.68).

In the following instance, the POI minimizes the suspect’s act by using the expression “passed out of possession” instead of the more straightforward term “stolen”:

(9) *POI: alright, that passed out of the possession of the true owner into someone’s hands who let’s face it isn’t the true owner* (Carter, 2011, p. 130).

3.5.1.2 Suspect Power

Suspects are “not completely powerless participants” in the speech event of PIs. Even when they are in a completely powerless situation, they can “employ strategies of resistance despite the asymmetry of power”. Some specialists like Philips (1998), Heydon

(2005), Seligson (2009), and others suggest a number of strategies which are briefly explained below:

1. Providing Information

Suspects often try to resist accusations and prove their innocence by providing additional information and presenting evidence. Heydon (2005, p,100) argues that by providing “multi-component answers”, suspects sometimes initiate new topics or change the current ones. They provide additional unrequired information, while in fact, the POIs require more direct responses. In other words, suspects are able to minimize POIs’ power over the interaction by “initiating a new topic and providing information not requested”, (p.178), for example:

(10) *POI: What sort of connection do you have to the shop?*

Suspect: Nothing. Betty and I, we've been together for nine years.

POI: Who's Betty? (Heydon, 2005, p. 101).

2. Repetition

Repetition is another striking strategy of resistance. Seligson (2009) believes that using repetition in situations of asymmetrical power relations can empower the suspect to defend himself and resist the POIs. He observes that there are two types of repetition: “self-repetition” and “allo-repetition”, i.e., repeating others. Moreover, suspects can either utilize an exact repetition or paraphrase. He adds that by repetition, suspects barely add any new information to their answers; yet, they sound as if they were behaving in “a cooperative manner with the authorities” (pp.91-2), for instance:

(11) *Suspect: She must have known something really sparked him off to get me going like that. Something had to be going.*

POI: What happened then?

POI: She get me going to do something like that (Heydon, 2005, p. 105).

3. Mitigation

Mitigation denotes that the suspects, while telling their side of the story, attempt to reduce the seriousness of the circumstances. They, for instance, intend “to remove blame from themselves and, in some cases, to put it onto others”. Additionally, they may depict their actions in a way that reflects them as moral and blameless. They try to defend their

purpose as merely human so as to be viewed positively by POIs (Philips 1998, p.93), for example:

(12) *Suspect*: “Yeah. There’s a big difference. I mean, I shouldn’t have went with my gut and just stayed out of it. But I’m not that type of person. If I see somebody needs help, I try to help” (Appendix B. Case 2, p. xx).

4. Fragmented Style

Suspects can hold information to resist police questioning by the use of fragmented style strategy. Seligson (2009, p.80) asserts that this strategy is marked by “brief, unelaborated answers to questions” instead of the required narrative detailed answers. That is, the delivered answers are not as satisfactory as needed. Accordingly, this strategy denotes uncooperativeness. In the example below, the suspect provides only part of the truth.

(13) *POI*: “So what did you do when you got home?”

Suspect: “I just went to bed” (Appendix A. Case 1, p. vii).

5. Obscurity

Obscurity refers to the process whereby suspects provide answers to questions that can be “uninterpretable or obscure”, making no sense and contributing nothing to the account of events. That is, suspects tend to be uncooperative (Philips 1998, p.93). Seligson (2009) calls this strategy: “the use of vague and euphemistic language” because it is mainly characterized by the use of vague and unspecific expressions (p.88). This strategy is also referred to by Fairclough (2015) as “ambiguity or ambivalence”. He affirms that it can be effective in the hands of those with less power when dealing with those with more power (p. 150). The example below is related to the previous one, where the suspect uses obscurity strategy, saying:

(14) *Suspect*: “yeah but it wasn’t sort of the only reason I didn’t sort of say it because if I’s said it, it would’ve looked sort of more suspicious” (Carter, 2011, p.119).

6. Denial

Denial can be utilized by suspects when they “often directly deny some element of a crime for which there must be evidence” (Philips 1998, p.93). Hence, they refuse to cooperate and reject to admit that they have done something wrong, for instance:

(15) **POI:** *So we got an independent witness that says you hit him.*

Suspect: *No, I didn't hit. I missed him. I didn't even touch him NEVER come into contact with* (Carter, 2011, p.116).

7. No Comment

No comment strategy is highly dependent on the suspects' Miranda rights, i.e., the right to remain silent and refuse to answer questions posed to them by POIs. Accordingly, "suspects do not have to say anything" if they are not willing to (Stokoe et al., 2014, p. 1).

Within the context of PIs, the practice of this legal right has a significant role in terms of "power asymmetry and the suspect's resistance to power"; suspects' silence or 'no comment' response indicates the "lack of cooperation" in interaction (Nakane, 2014, p. 14). The following examples indicate this strategy:

(16) **POI:** *Last night, Peters was assaulted quite badly and I believe that you were there and you obviously I believe that you saw what went on.*

Suspect: *[Silence]*

POI: *Can you tell us what happened?* (Carter, 2011, p. 125).

(17) **POI:** *Is there anything else that you said to that security guard?*

Suspect: *No comment* (Stokoe et al., 2014, p. 13).

3.5.2 Power Devices in Discourse

The following section delves deeper into the power devices that aid in manifesting the previously described strategies in discourse.

3.5.2.1 Questions

The study of questions is central to the analysis of power in PIs. Their significance springs from the fact that powerful participants exploit questions to impose and practice their power. El-daly (2011, p.73) stresses the definite importance of questions as powerful forms that supply speakers with the power to elicit answers from other participants. In the same vein, Wang (2006) expounds that "the inborn features of questions make them naturally bound up with power in that questions possess the ability to dominate and control" (p. 531). Under the heading of questions, two components are going to be discussed. The first component deals with question forms, while the second tackles the way these forms are employed to perform certain functions regarding the practice of power.

3.5.2.1.1 Question Forms

In examining the police interviewer's production of questions, one can "depend on grammatical form, specifically, the interrogative sentence type, for determining whether an utterance accomplishes questioning" (Schegloff, 1984, p. 34). As for the grammatical classification, Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 807-24) classify questions according to the type of answers they elicit into five main categories, as explained below.

1. WH-Questions

Wh-questions are also labeled as information questions as they request an open reply. They can be made by using one of the wh-words like why, what, which, where, when, whom, who, whose, or how. Moreover, they usually have falling intonation (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 817).

(18) *Where were you last night?*

2. Yes-No Questions

They are typically made via "placing the operator before the subject and giving the sentence a rising intonation" (Quirk et al., 1985, pp 807). These questions require negation or affirmation in the form of a yes/no answer.

(19) *Did anyone call last night?*

3. Tag Questions

Tag questions consist of an operator and a pronoun subject, for instance, "isn't he" or "did she"; They are attached to the end of a statement from which agreement or confirmation is expected. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 810).

(20) *He is your friend, isn't he?*

4. Declarative Questions

These questions are identical to declaratives in form but have a final rising intonation of yes/no questions. They seek the hearer's verification (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 814).

(21) *Somebody is with you?*

5. Alternative Questions

There are two types of alternative questions:

- i. The first type is identical to a yes-no question, but in intonation. As a replacement for the final rising tone, each alternative in the list has a rising tone, except the last alternative, where there is a fall indicating the completion of the question.

(22) *Did you go by bus or train?*

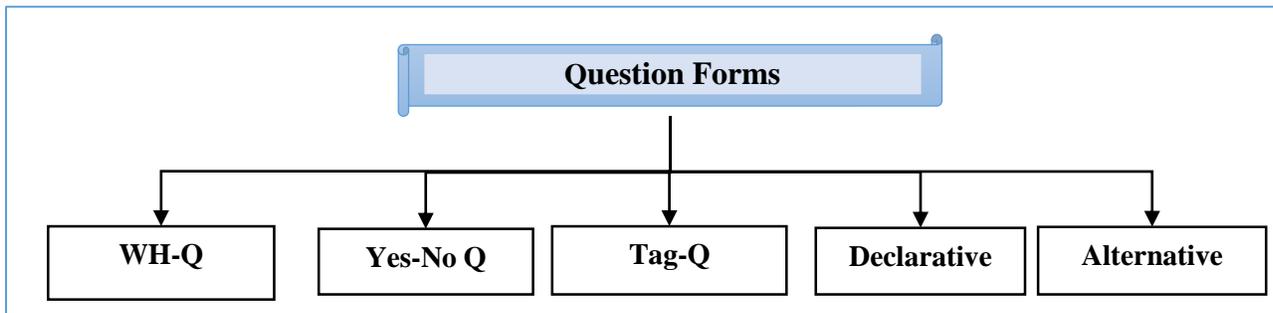
- ii. The second type is a combination of two questions: “a wh-question followed by an elliptical alternative question” (Quirk et al., 1985, pp. 823-4).

(23) *Which ice cream would you like? Would you like Chocolate, Vanilla or strawberry?*

Alternative questions presuppose that only one of the possibilities is true (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 823). Seligson (2009, p.112) calls them “choice questions” as they are characterized by the use of the conjunction “or”, which suggests a range of options to choose from. These question forms are charted in Figure 6 below:

Figure 6

The Classification of Question Forms (Quirk et al., 1985)



3.5.2.1.2 Question Functions

The different syntactic forms of questions are believed to be used in PIs in order to fulfill a set of functions (see Figure 7). From a forensic perspective, scholars such as Dillon (1990), Kostelnik et al. (2006), and Seligson (2009) classify the different types of questions according to their functions in PIs as follows:

1) Closed Questions

Closed questions are customarily used at the beginning of PIs to ask, for instance, about the name, date of birth, job, etc. They require a short answer or a yes / no response.

They are chiefly useful for investigating facts and eliciting quick and straightforward answers (Dillon, 1990).

- (24) *POI: “And how old are you?”*
Suspect: “Um. I’m 28” (Appendix C. Case 3, p. xxiii).

2) Free Narrative Questions

Free narrative questions, also sometimes called “open questions” (Dillon, 1990, p.85). They are the opposite of closed questions because they “produce longer, more detailed and accurate responses than do closed questions”. Free narrative questions can be either wh-questions or, in terms of de Pablos-Ortega’s (2019, p.4) acronym, ‘Tell, Explain and Describe’ (TED) questions. They fulfill a set of functions as follows:

- 1- They intentionally elicit the suspect’s unrestricted long answers.
- 2- Generally, they provide detailed information that can be helpful for the investigative process.
- 3- They provide the suspect with relative control over the interview as they “prevent the interviewer from providing their own views of what happened”.
- 4- They serve as an indicator of cooperation on the suspect part (Dillon, 1990; de Pablos-Ortega, 2019, p.4).

Seligson (2009, p.112) proposes that such questions are usually “the least coercive” because the interviewee is given the greatest degree of freedom to respond in the manner s/he desires, for example:

- (25) *Tell me what happened that night.*
 (26) *What did you see that night?*

3) Direct Questions

Direct questions are best described as being (Dillon, 1990, p.85):

- 1- specific, accurate, typically brief, and simply worded, and
- 2- typically formulated to determine the specific information that has not been elaborated by the preceding narrative question.

Wh-questions can function as direct questions, as in the following example:

- (27) *What specifically were you looking for on the memory card or the media card?*

4) Cross Questions

Cross-questions refer to questions that seek information concerning what has been said in previous questions. The answer may be an exact repetition of what has been answered previously. However, this is very often not the case. They perform the following functions:

- 1- They check the consistency of previous responses.
- 2- They guarantee the accuracy and correctness of detailed information.
- 3- They create a way to obtain information that has not been collected or even answered before (Dillon, 1990, p.85.).

Now, consider the examples below:

- (28) *Q. of the three times, you only heard one male voice?*
A. There were two male voices that I heard.
Q. Didn't you just say you only heard one male voice?

5) Review Questions

Review questions are used to summarize the information gathered before and obtain a confirmation from the suspect. This kind of questions may be useful for:

- 1- obtaining more information, especially by using 'what else?', and
- 2- closing a topic before presenting another or even ending the whole interview

(Dillon, 1990, p.85). Consider the following examples:

- (29) *So, John came out after Jimmy, is that correct?*
 (30) *Is there anything else you can say about this to me?*

6) Leading Questions

Leading questions can be utilized to gain maximum control over suspects by constraining the length of their responses or even forcing them to answer by *yes* or *no* only (Kostelnik et al., 2006, p.295). Leading questions, by themselves, are "unfair... since they suggest their own answer" and put words into the suspect's mouth (Seligson, 2009, p.141). In other words, they are very restrictive because the interviewer provides details in advance, for instance:

- (31) *The killer is your friend, isn't he?*

Seligson (2009, 112) suggests that declarative questions, with or without tags, can be “put into the category of leading question”. Moreover, alternative questions also fall under this category as they present two alternative responses to a question, both of which would indicate guilt if selected by the suspect (Kostelnik et al., 2006, p. 259).

7) Loaded Questions

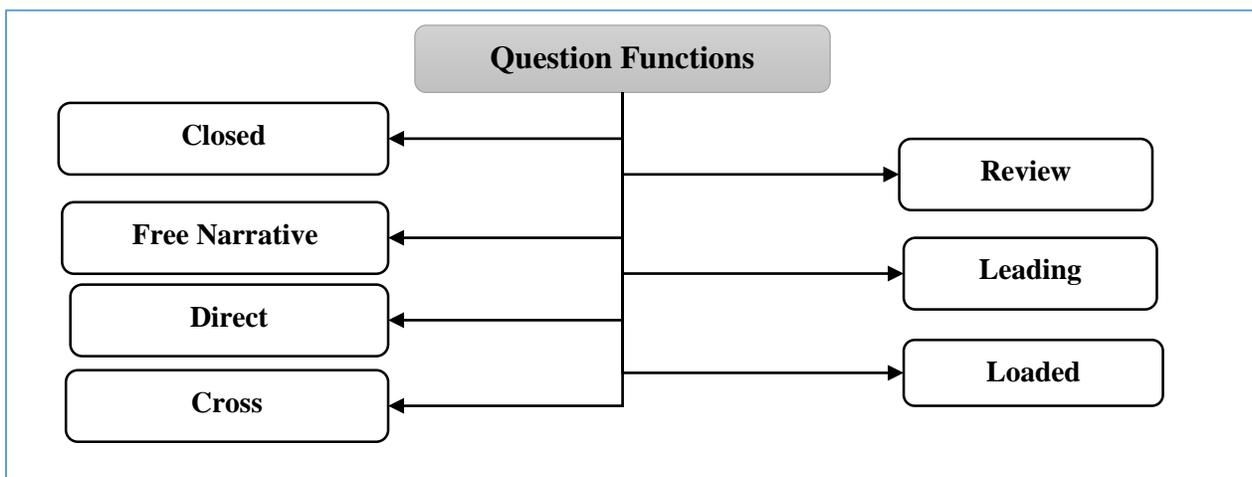
Another characteristic feature of PIs is the presence of loaded questions. Seligson (2009) calls them “semantically overloaded questions”, which embrace two or more propositions within one utterance or turn, each of which could be denied or affirmed. The key point is that the POI asks about more than one referent and/or more than one proposition that are conjoined within a sentence (p.119). Such questions denote power because they do not allow the interviewee to respond before the interviewer finishes his or her turn and “there is no simple way to answer them” (p.120), for instance:

(32) *“So you bought that on Friday and paid her cash. Would she ring up the register, did she ring up the register when you bought that, how did she take your money?”*
(Seligson, 2009, p.120).

Apparently, there is no one-to-one agreement between question forms and question functions. Accordingly, the same form can be used to perform more than one function.

Figure 7

The Classification of Question Functions



3.5.2.2 Topic Management

Topic management is a crucial device to denote power in any institutional discourse, such as CIs or PIs. Powerful participants are frequently in a position to “specify the nature and purposes of an interaction at its beginning”, and to restrict and disallow contributions that are irrelevant in their view (Fairclough, 2015, p.150). Moreover, the more dominant and powerful speaker can “choose what will be discussed and even the length of the topic”. Fairclough (1992) assures that topics are introduced, developed, and changed “only by the dominant participant” (p.155). Generally, topic management can be summarized into four strategies (see Figure 8):

1- Topic Initiation

Nakane (2014) emphasizes the fact that the powerful participants can ask “questions and initiates the first pair parts of adjacency pairs” (p.13), for instance,

- (33) *Investigator*: “Well, I mean like, she is there. I mean, have you ever heard of about, uh, doing a bank robbery”.
Bryan Greenwell: “Yeah” (Appendix B. Case 2, p. xviii).

2- Topic Development

Leo and Thomas (1998, p. 293) state that powerful speakers can control topic development by asking questions to keep the progress of the questioning process.

- (34) *Investigator*: “You’re the robber, you go in and rob the store. I’m just the driver. We both get in a car chase and get caught down the way. What charge do I get?”
Bryan Greenwell: “Accessory”
Investigator: “What charge do you get? It’s a robbery”.
Bryan Greenwell: “Yeah” (Appendix B. Case 2, p. xviii).

3- Topic Change

Greatbach (1986, as cited in Haworth, 2006, p.3) states that powerless, in contrast to powerful participants, “are not able to shift from one topic or topical line to another”. Shuy (2005, p.34) indicates that the speakers exercise their power intentionally “by...bringing up a topic, then changing it before the other person has a chance to respond”. Cotterill (2003, p. 149) lists some examples of topic management; for instance, ‘now’ marks topic change as in:

- (35) *Q. Now, when you arrived at the police station, you and Detective Phillips who got there first, if you remember?*
A. I don't, sir.
Q. Now, you stated you work at a lab?

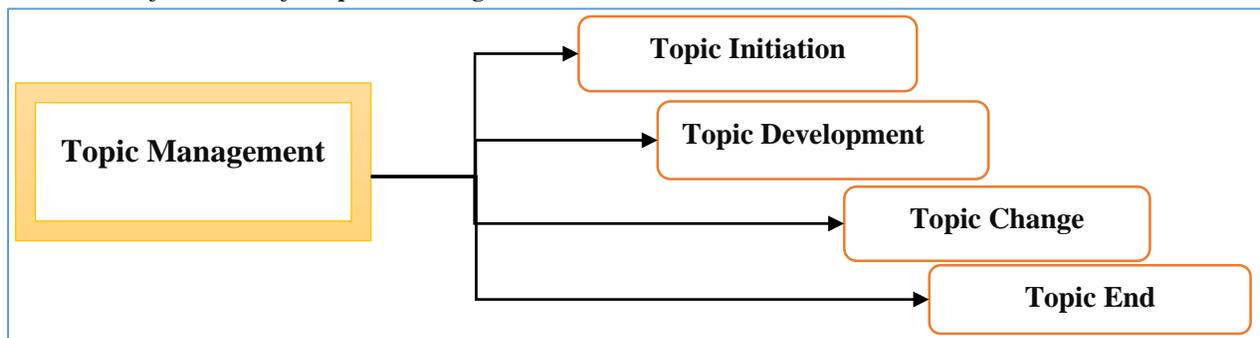
4- Topic End

Heydon (2005, pp.115-6) believes that the interviewer has the power to pose questions, direct the course of the interrogation, and eventually decide to end the questioning process. The end is determined by whether the interviewer has collected the required information or not.

- (36) *Investigator: And you've done yourself big time favors here. You've done the best you can for yourself with the situation you're in. I'm going to go out here and talk to the corrections people and make sure they know about everything. Any questions you have for me right now? You have anything? Alright. Sit tight. We'll be back here in a few minutes.* (Appendix B. Case 2, p. xxi).

Figure 8

The Classification of Topic Management



3.5.2.3 Interruption

Interruption occurs when the next speaker's turn begins before the end of another's turn (Ahrens, 1997, p. 80). Interruptions are described as "intrusions in the current speaker's contribution" (Ilie, 2005, p. 421).

Interruption is another manifestation of power in discourse. Clyne (1996, p. 95) describes interruptions as "the classic case of competition for control of the 'floor'". Fairclough (2015) highlights this phenomenon concerning classrooms, doctor-patient, and PIs interactions. For example, the teacher interrupts the student to "control his

contributions...[and] to stop him repeating information or giving irrelevant information” (p. 150).

Yang (2001, p. 2) classifies interruptions according to its functions into two types: competitive and cooperative.

1- Competitive Interruption

Yang (2001, p. 2) points out that competitive interruption occurs when one speaker tries to take the floor by giving a higher priority to his or her remarks over the speech of the main speaker who intends to proceed. Goldberg (1990) asserts that such interruption is power-oriented and is often described as impolite, disruptive, intrusive, and aggressive towards other participants. Besides, it is “concomitantly treated as an act of conflict or non-involvement (p.896). James and Clarke (1993, pp.243-4) postulate that competitive interruption occurs in formal settings, like PIs, and less likely to occur in casual or informal conversations. The functions of competitive interruptions are investigated by Yang (2001, pp.2-6) as follows:

- demanding new information or clarification,
- expressing strong opinions,
- shifting topic,
- showing disagreement, and
- resisting topic shift. Consider the following example:

(37) *Q. What you mean by that? What is a “go-by”?*

A. So, let me ...

Q. Is it kind of like a template?

2- Cooperative Interruption

Yang (2001, p. 2) indicates that cooperative interruptions occur when “one speaker wants to support or reinforce the main speaker’s point without disrupting the main speaker’s continuation”. These supportive remarks often take the form of short commentaries or clarifying questions. Such clarifying questions can support the continuous flow of the main speaker by keeping both speakers in synchrony with the topic development.

An interrupter utilizes cooperative interruption to achieve a set of functions such as:

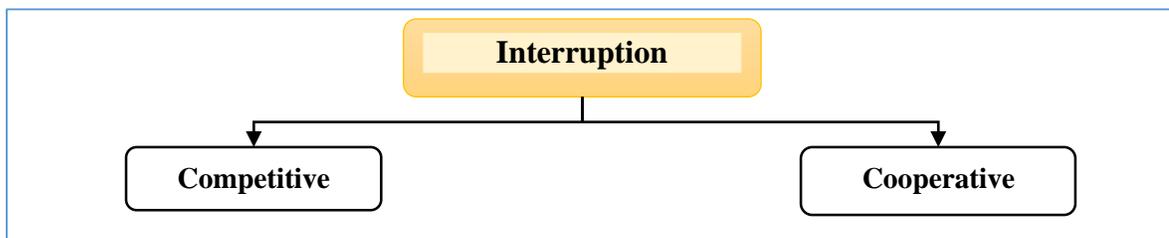
- expressing agreement,
- completing an anticipated point (Yang, 2001, p. 2),
- showing understanding and interest in the topic (Zhao & Gantz, 2003, p.354).

Figure 7 below shows the classifications of interruption, and an instance of cooperative interruption can be:

- (38) A: *What problems might she have had? She was healthy, had a great home, a nice family. Her life...*
 B: *Her life, yeah, you're right.*

Figure 9

Yang's (2001) Classification of Interruption



3.5.2.4 Silence

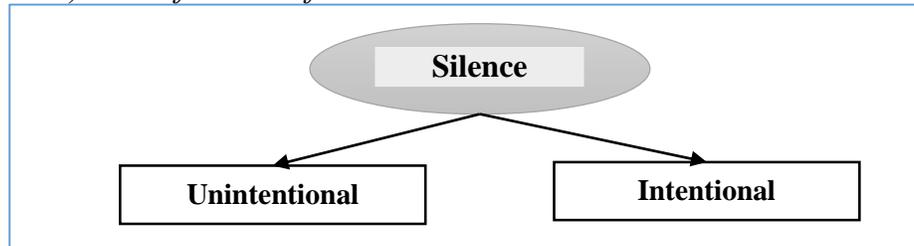
Linguistically, the role of silence in communication is seen not only as “an absence of noise” but also as an essential part of communication as speech (Paulston et al., 2012, p.158). According to Fairclough (2015), “silence is another weapon for the less powerful participant, particularly as a way of being noncommittal about what more powerful participants say” (p.150). Therefore, silence at various levels of discourse can “affect power relationships in communication” (Paulston et al., 2012, p. 161).

Kurzon (1995, as cited in Nakane,2014, p. 165) identifies two types of silence based on its interpretation in legal contexts. They are:

- 1- **Unintentional silence** is not deliberate and “has psychological causes such as embarrassment, shyness, or the need to hide ignorance”.
- 2- **Intentional silence**, in contrast, is “a deliberate attempt by the addressee not to be cooperative with the addresser”. Figure 10 below charts silence types as follows:

Figure 10

Kurzon's (1995) Classification of Silence



3.5.2.5 Formulation

Formulation is the process of “summarizing, glossing, or developing the gist of an informant’s earlier statements” (Heritage, 1985, p. 100). Heritage (1985) states that formulation is relatively rare in conversation but frequently occurs in some types of institutional interaction where the questioners most usually perform it. He adds that PIs, as a type of institutional discourse, are loaded with formulations (p.100).

Formulation is usually employed to summarize the previous discussion for the sake of “clarification” (Heydon, 2005, p. 141) and functions as “requests for confirmation... or disconfirmation” (Bolden, 2010, p.8.), as in the example:

(39) “*You understand that, don’t you?*”

Fairclough (2015, pp.150-1) divides formulations into two types (see Figure 11):

- 1- A rewording of *what has been said* by oneself or others.
- 2- A wording of “*what is implied*” from what has been said.

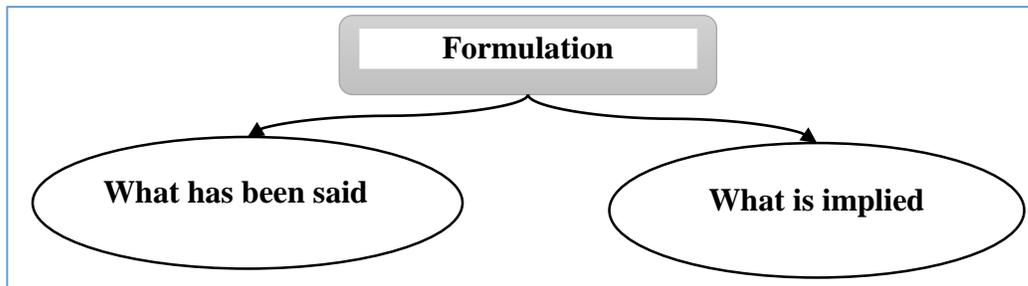
By form, formulation essentially comprises different devices, for example, *reported speech* and *repetition*, which are at the center of formulating process in trials and PIs (Holt & Johnson, 2010, p.35). Additionally, certain words and phrases such as ‘*so*’ and ‘*and*’ can also be used to enable the interviewers to construct their narrative sequences (Nakane, 2014, p.62). The ‘*so*’ and ‘*and*’ prefaced formulations are exemplified in the exchange below:

(40) “*PO2: So you saw all damaged luggage in the back of the car, and you did nothing about it, is that correct?*
S: Yes” (Nakane, 2014, p. 59).

- (41) A: *I had really bad morning sickness. Then I just had all sorts of aches and pains.*
 B: *And now you're starting to get pas that problem?* (Bolden, 2010, p. 13).

Figure 11

Fairclough's (2015) Classification of Formulation



3.5.2.6 Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP)

Cruse (2000, p.355) demonstrates that any interaction is not just a randomly produced set of unrelated utterances since there are rules that govern it to create cooperation. Grice (1975) establishes the concept of cooperativeness and assumes that people can make meaningful conversations by obeying and employing certain rules or principles (Yule, 1996, pp. 36-7). Grice (1975) sets his four maxims: quantity, quality, relation, and manner, to count for the principle of cooperativeness during the interaction. According to him, the CP reads as: *"Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged"* (Widdowson, 2007, p. 56).

3.5.2.6.1 Observing the Conversational Maxims

As indicated above, cooperation in interaction requires the observance of these maxims. These maxims run briefly as follows:

1- The Maxim of Quantity

It is the first maxim of the CP that applies to the speaker's amount of information in conversations. In other words, while speaking, speakers are expected to provide a sufficient amount of information, i.e., neither being too short nor having more details than necessary. They should avoid being "not explicit enough" or "boring" (Cutting, 2002, pp.

34-5). The maxim of quantity subsumes two submaxims that are expected to be obeyed and put in Grice's (1975, p. 45) terms:

- i. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange).
- ii. Do not make your contribution more or even less informative than is required.

2- The Maxim of Quality

Cruse (2000, p.355) points out that this maxim is about the truthfulness of the information supplied in interaction. Speakers are required to provide truthful information and avoid presenting any false information; they must avoid lying. For Cutting (2002, p.35), "speakers are expected to be sincere [and] to be saying something that they believe corresponds to reality". Grice (1975, p.46) puts this maxim as follows:

- 1- Do not say what you believe to be false.
- 2- Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

3- The Maxim of Relation

The maxim of relation contains only a single sub-maxim which demands the speaker to make his/her contribution "relevant" (Yule, 1996, p.37). In other words, what speakers say should be "relevant to the topic or the purpose of communication" (Widdowson, 2007, p. 61).

4- The Maxim of Manner

The fourth maxim is that of manner; it deals with what is said and how it is most likely to be said. It encompasses the supermaxim "be perspicuous", which includes the following submaxims:

1. avoid obscurity of expression,
2. avoid ambiguity,
3. be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity), and
4. be orderly (Grice, 1975, p. 46)

3.1.2.6.2 Non-observance of the Conversational Maxims

In everyday interaction, people may fail to observe or fulfill the requirements of these maxims for different reasons, such as being nervous, frightened, hesitant, or

deliberately choose to lie. Scholars distinguish different ways of failing to observe the maxims or breaking them, such as flouting, violating, infringing, suspending, and opting out (Grice, 1975, p. 49; Thomas, 1995, pp. 64-72).

It is worth mentioning that only suspects' responses are examined in the analysis of the observance or non-observance of conversational maxims because POIs have the inherent power to ask questions, control topics, and impose constraints over the participants' answers (Heydon, 2015). Accordingly, the analysis of CP is less important to the POIs than to suspects. Moreover, the present study is limited to the analysis of 'violating a maxim' as a non-observance strategy that seems the most relevant to the very nature of PIs. Accordingly, 'violation' is further explained in the section below.

1. Violation

In cases of violation, a speaker deliberately violates a maxim in order to generate a misleading implicature i.e., deceiving the listener is the purpose of violating any maxim. Maxim violation is "unostentatiously, quietly deceiving". In other words, the speaker may simply deceive hearers by, intentionally providing ambiguous, irrelevant, and insufficient information by which "the hearer wrongly assumes that they are cooperating" (Cutting, 2002, p. 40). Additionally, Thomas (1995) highlights that "pragmatically misleading utterances of this sort are regularly encountered in certain activity types such as trials, parliamentary speeches, and arguments" (pp. 73-4). Therefore, examples of CP violation can be seen in the data under scrutiny.

In the example below, a husband inquires about the price of his wife's new dress. She can offer many answers; each one violates a certain maxim.

(42) Husband: "How much did that new dress cost, darling?"

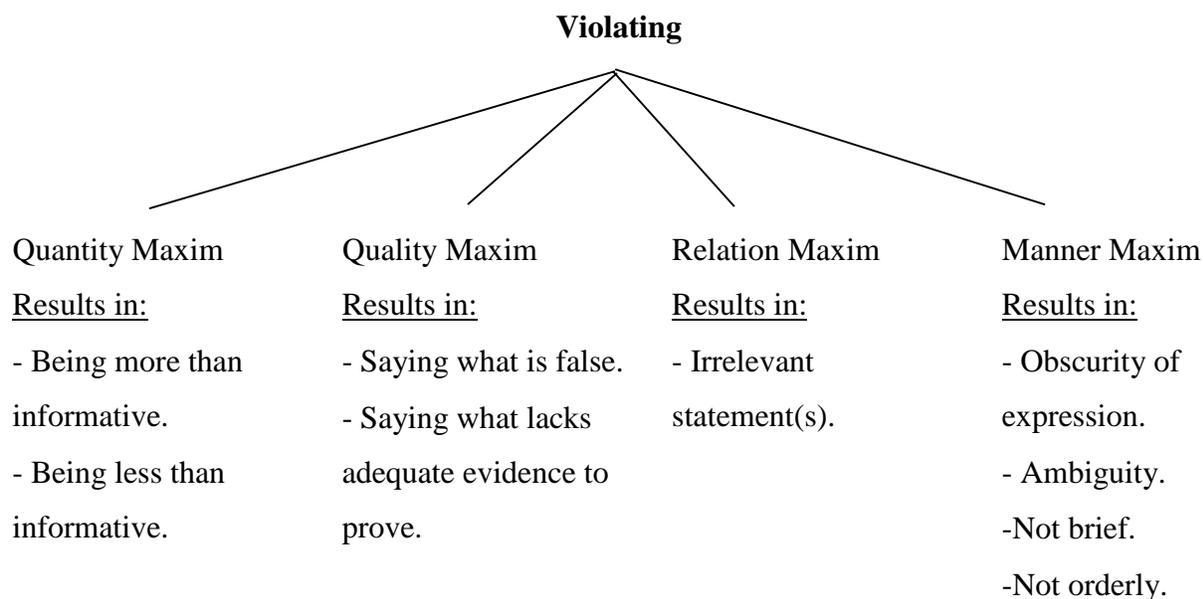
- Wife
- (a) "Less than the last one".
 - (b) "Thirty pounds".
 - (c) "I know, let's go out tonight. Now, where would you like to go?"
 - (d) "A tiny fraction of my salary, though probably a bigger fraction of the salary of the woman that sold it to me".

Reply (a) violates quantity maxim as she has not specified accurately how much less it costs in comparison to the previous one, (b) violates the quality maxim only if she

gives incorrect information, (c) violates the relation maxim as she changes the conversation topic to avoid responding to his question, and, eventually, (d) violates the manner maxim by not being brief enough (Cutting, 2002, p. 40). To sum up, the results of the violation of maxims are summarized in the following Figure 12:

Figure 12

Violating Grice's Maxims (1975)



3.5.2.7 Hedges

Hedges are defined as “words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness - words whose job it is to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy” (Lakoff, 1973, p. 471), for example, *sort of, kind of, like, in a way, absolutely, completely, etc.* Salager-Meyer (1997) adds that hedges are “understatements used to convey evasiveness, tentativeness, fuzziness, mitigation of responsibility and/or mitigation of certainty to the truth value of a proposition” (p. 129). Moreover, Yule (2014, p. 145) combines hedges with uncertainty by stating that hedges are utilized to indicate that speakers are not “really sure” that what they have said is “sufficiently correct or complete” as in, *as far as I know*.

Some scholars associate the use of hedges with deception, particularly in legal contexts. Sporer (2004, pp.91-2) believes that people may use hedges as a “lie criteria” because they appear “more frequent in deceptive statements”. Bachenko et al. (2008) identify a subset of language deception and insincerity indicators during their study of forensic texts. For them, hedges, such as *maybe, I think, to the best of my knowledge*, are part of the deception indicators since they are used as linguistic devices to prevent a clear statement of facts from being made (pp.43-4).

Hedges also can denote untruthfulness and uncooperativeness. Ainsworth (1993, pp.318– 9) states that speakers tend to “use indirect and hedged speech patterns” more frequently than usual in forensic contexts. Consequently, this leads to a high degree of difficulty in detecting the truth. Ponterotto (2018, pp. 112-3) notices that the use of hedging expressions such as *well, yeah, I mean, I think, Uh*, represents a sign of untruthfulness and insincerity. It also indicates low degrees of collaboration and co-cooperativeness (p. 154).

Shuy (2005, p.33) relates the use of hedges in courts and PIs with the phenomena of power, stating that hedges serve as an indicator of “a speaker’s lack of power” or as a feature of powerless speech. That is, the powerless speaker appears to employ more hedges than powerful one does.

Finally, hedges can also be part of positive politeness under the strategy ‘avoid disagreement’ where a speaker “chooses to be vague about his own opinions so as not to be seen to disagree” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 116). However, they are usually a feature of negative politeness where speakers “avoid commitment” to their assumptions as in *I suppose/ guess/ think* (p.146).

To conclude, hedges have different functions according to the context in which they are used. The goal is to investigate how the use of hedges can assist in both practicing and resisting power.

3.5.2.8 Politeness

3.5.2.8.1 Politeness and Face

Politeness is often interpreted by laypeople as simply related to courteous and

refined expressions, i.e., the acceptable or appropriate use of language in a given situation. However, studies on linguistic politeness prove that politeness does not necessarily mean that (Al- Khasaali & Al-Hindawi, 2016, p.12). Different theories have tackled the task of theorizing linguistic politeness. However, Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory is viewed as "the most influential work" (Al- Khasaali & Al-Hindawi, 2016, p.16) wherein they (Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 1) define politeness "as a complex system for softening face threats". Their concept of politeness is based on 'face theory' originated by Goffman (1967), who defines *face* as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself ... during a particular contact" (p.5). For Brown and Levinson (1987, p.61), face is "the public self-image that every member [of society] wants to claim for himself". In other words, "the emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects everyone else to recognize" (Yule, 2014, p.132).

Commenting on Brown and Levinson's (1987) point of view that *face* has two different categories, positive face and negative face, Yule (2014) indicates that negative face does not inherently mean 'bad'; it is just the opposite of 'positive': the former being the "need to be independent and free from imposition" whereas the latter being the "need to be connected, to belong, and to be a member of the group" (p.133).

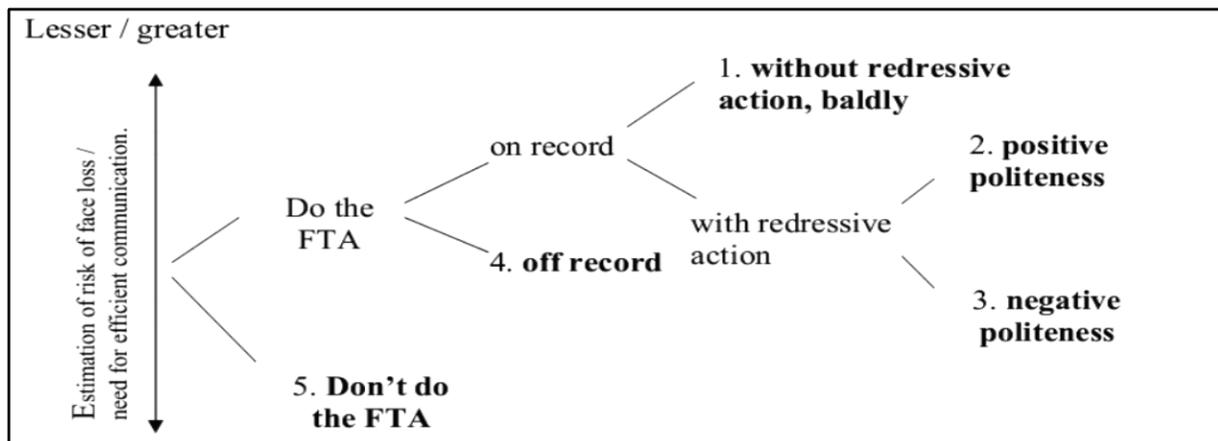
Face-Threatening Acts (henceforth FTAs) refer to situations where a speaker (henceforth S) says something that represents a threat to another person's self-image (positive or negative), such as the use of direct speech acts by powerful individuals to get someone to do something. If the opposite happens and one says something that "lessens the possible threat to another's face", such as indirect speech acts, it is then called *Face Saving Acts* (henceforth FSAs) (Yule, 2014, p. 133). In order to save the S's and hearer's (henceforth H's) face from being threatened, Brown and Levinson (1987) introduce their "face-saving politeness theory". Accordingly, politeness strategies are used to "mitigate, reduce or minimize" the possible threat caused by acts like apology, request, and refusal to S's or H's face (Sa'd & Mohammadi, 2014, p. 37).

3.5.2.8.2 Politeness Strategies

Brown and Levinson (1987) propose five politeness super-strategies to deal with FTAs as shown in Figure 13 below. These strategies pose different degrees of risk to S's or H's face as shown in the left side of the same Figure, i.e., "the most impolite politeness strategy is 'bald on record' and the most polite is 'Do not do FTA'" (Sa'd & Mohammadi, 2014, p. 36).

Figure 13

Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Strategies



It is worth mentioning that the current study adopts Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory in the analysis of politeness as a manifestation of power in discourse following Fairclough's model (1992), in which he describes this theory as the most appropriate one as it "incorporates an excellent account of politeness phenomena" (p. 163). However, the researcher limits herself to the analysis of only the first three strategies, namely:

- 1- Performing FTA without Redress (Bald on Record).
- 2- Performing FTA with Redress (Positive Politeness).
- 3- Performing FTA with Redress (Negative Politeness).

As stated by Olanrewaju and Matthew (2015, Abstract section, para 1), these are the most relevant strategies in the analysis of PIs discourse. The aim is to examine how the selected politeness strategies assist in power practice and resistance when adopted by both parties, POIs and suspects. The following discussion illustrates that each super-strategy consists of a set of sub-strategies.

1- Performing FTA without Redress (Bald on Record)

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that this strategy involves doing FTA “in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible” (p. 69). Austin (1987) notes that because of their “minimal attention to H’s face wants”, bald on record strategies are “the most likely of all the strategies to be seen as rude” and are used where the power asymmetry is immense (p. 45). Also, Verschueren (2003) points out that this strategy is “completely open and direct, without any attempt to let the addressee preserve some freedom of action or some sense of equality” (p. 45). It echoes acts like those that “tend to contain the imperative without any mitigating devices”, i.e., it lacks mitigation and indirectness (Cutting, 2008, p. 46), for instance:

(43) *“Tell me where you were that night”* (Bruijnes et al., 2015, p.228).

2- Performing FTA with Redress (Positive Politeness)

Positive politeness is defined as “redress directed to the addressee’s positive face” where his/her wants are thought of as desirable and taken into consideration (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.101). It seeks to establish a positive relationship between the S and H, for example, when the S expresses his approval of the H’s behavior as in:

(44) *“I think it’s decent of you that you try to support your family financially”* (Bruijnes et al., 2015, pp.228-9)

Likewise, the S can take into account the H’s wants as in:

(45) *“Would you like to tell me where you were that night?”* (Bruijnes et al., 2015, pp.228-9).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987, pp. 102-29), the strategies of positive politeness include three broad mechanisms along with fifteen sub-strategies as follows:

First: Claim common ground :(1-8 strategies).

Second: Convey that S and H are cooperative: (9-14 strategies).

Third: Fulfil H’s wants: (only one strategy:15). These strategies are enlisted and exemplified in Table 3 below:

Table 3*Positive Politeness Strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987)*

		Strategy	Example
A-Claim Common Ground	1-	Notice, Attend, to H (Interests, Wants, Needs, Goods)	(46) <i>Goodness, you cut your hair!</i>
	2-	Exaggerate (Interest, Approval, Sympathy with H)	(47) <i>It hurts me to know that you got sick.</i>
	3-	Intensify Interest to H (by exaggerating facts or making a good story)	(48) <i>I came into his room, and guess what I saw! A huge mess all over the place, especially in the center.</i>
	4-	Use In-group Identity Markers	(49) <i>Yeh, mate, can you lend me a dollar?</i>
	5-	Seek Agreement (Safe Topics and Repetition)	(50) <i>Chris: I had a flat tire on my way home.</i> (51) <i>Mike: Oh God, a flat tire!</i>
	6-	Avoid Disagreement	(52) <i>A: Can you hear me? B: Barely</i>
	7-	Presuppose/Raise/Assert Common Ground	(53) <i>I really had a hard time learning to drive, you know.</i>
	8-	Joke	(54) <i>How about lending me this rusty heap of junk?</i> (55) <i>(It is a new Cadillac).</i>
B- Convey that S and H are Cooperative	9-	Assert or Presuppose S's Knowledge of and Concern for H's Wants	(56) <i>Mike, I'm sure that you don't want anyone to know about your problem, but I can help you to resolve it.</i>
	10-	Offer, Promise	(57) <i>I'll drop by sometimes next week.</i>
	11-	Be Optimistic	(58) <i>You don't mind if I use your pc for a second, do you?</i>
	12-	Include both S and H in Activity	(59) <i>Let's have a cookie, then.</i>
	13-	Give (or Ask for) Reasons	(60) <i>Do you have any reason to doubt?</i>
	14-	Assume or Assert Reciprocity (‘I'll do X for you if you do y for me’)	(61) <i>Do me this favour, and I'll make it up to you.</i>
C- Fulfil H's Want	15-	Give Gifts to H (Goods, Sympathy, Understanding, Cooperation)	(62) <i>You look like you've had a rough week.</i>

3- Performing FTA with Redress (Negative Politeness)

Negative politeness is a “redressive action addressed to the addressee’s negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p.129). That is, when the S uses negative politeness, s/he attempts to avoid, or at least, minimize the imposition of a certain FTA towards the H. In institutional settings (e.g., PIs), Harris (2003) assures that negative politeness is utilized to “reify existing power hierarchies”. This occurs by distancing and depersonalizing the relationship between participants to avoid explicit confrontations or probable communication breakdowns (p. 33), for example:

(63) *“I hope you don’t mind too much to have this conversation with me.”*

(64) *“If it’s not inconvenient to you, could you tell me where you were that night?”*

(Bruijnes et al.,2015, p.229).

Brown and Levinson (1987, pp. 131–211) list the following (10) strategies of negative politeness as shown in Table 4 below:

Table 4

Negative Politeness Strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987)

Strategy		Example
1-	Be conventionally indirect	(65) <i>Can I ask you a question?</i>
2-	Question, hedge	(66) <i>You’re quite right.</i> (67) <i>He went in the dark, did he?</i>
3-	Be Pessimistic	(68) <i>I don’t suppose there’d be any chance of you...</i>
4-	Minimize Imposition	(69) <i>It’s just that I want to ask you (to sell) a bit of chilli.</i>
5-	Give deference	(70) <i>Can I help you, sir?</i> (71) <i>Yes, sir</i>
6-	Apologize	(72) <i>I simply can’t manage to . . .</i> (73) <i>Excuse me, but . . .</i>
7-	Impersonalize S and H	(74) <i>One shouldn’t do things like that</i>
8-	State the FTA as a general rule	(75) <i>The committee requests the President to attend the meeting.</i>
9-	Nominalize	(76) <i>I am surprised at your failing to reply</i>
10-	Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H	(77) <i>I will never be able to repay you if you...</i>

3.5.2.8.3 Politeness and Power

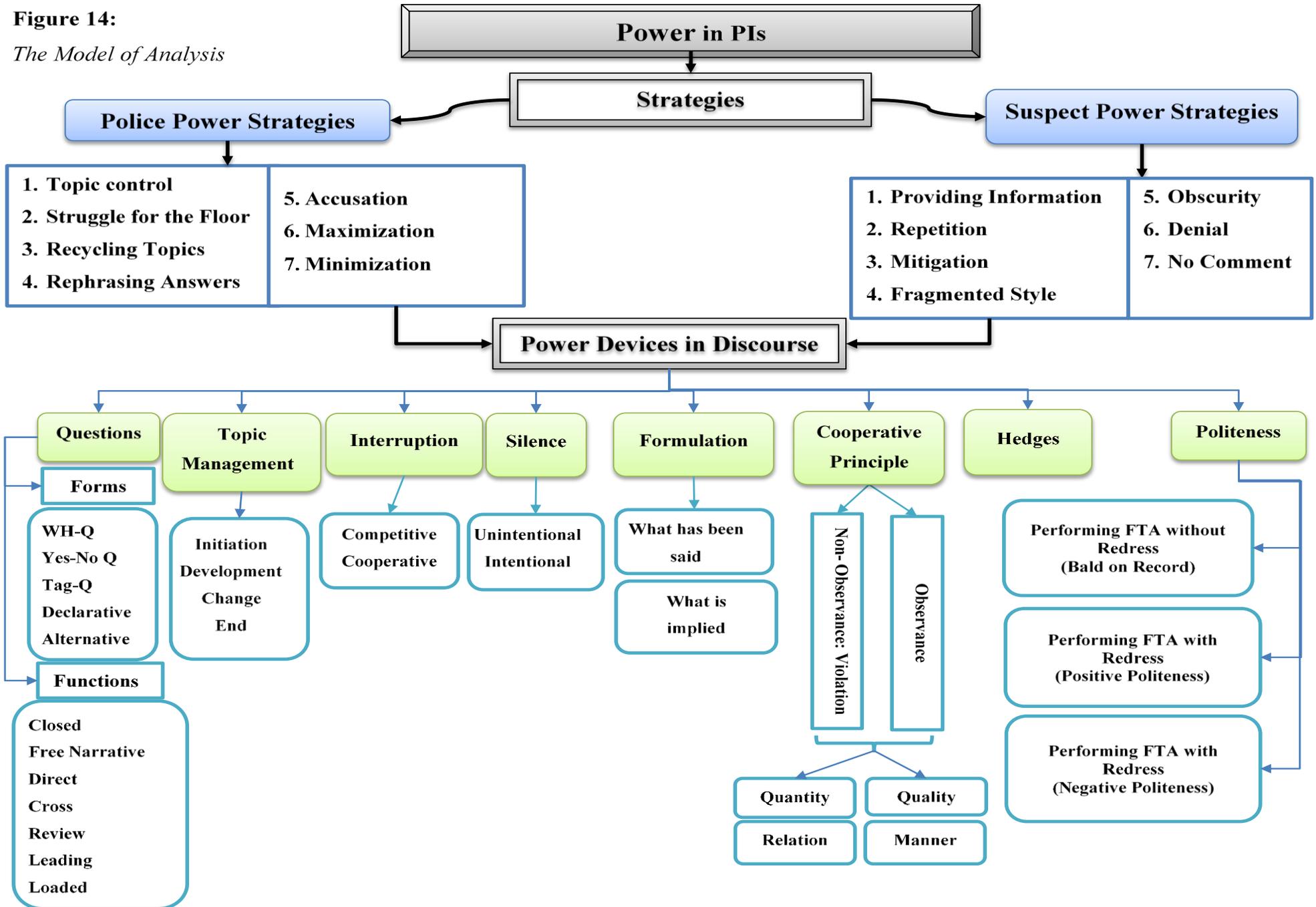
Politeness and power are closely related. Power is a significant dimension of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. They (1987, p. 74) identify three sociopragmatic variables that can determine the seriousness of FTAs: 1) the social distance, 2) relative power, and 3) the absolute ranking of impositions concerning a specific culture. As "an asymmetric social dimension", for them, power refers to "the degree to which H can impose his own plans and his self-evaluation (face) at the expense of S's plans and self-evaluation" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 77). Disagreeing with them, Harris (2003) argues that their definition signifies only one-sided politeness, i.e., powerless participants' politeness. She maintains that, in institutional settings, "relatively powerful institutional members also make extensive use of mitigating forms and other politeness strategies". In other words, powerful members are also polite because their "power derives from the institutional role rather than the individual act" (Harris, 2003, pp.36-7). In this sense, "polite speech is an attempt to gain power" (p.50). Similarly, Victoria (2009, p. 130) insists that, in contrast to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, power is not stable but constantly shifting in several directions. She suggests three findings derived from recent studies on power and politeness:

First, power is not static and uni-directional but dynamic, negotiable and bi-directional; second, that face concerns and politeness go hand in hand with the exercise of power in workplace contexts; and third that linguistic politeness can be deployed not only as a redressive strategy but as a *manipulative resource* to gain compliance and cooperation, mask interactional intent and gain even more power. (p. 130)

Fairclough (2015) observes that politeness strategies in the institutional discourse "have a more coercive motivation" (p. 13). In the same vein, Nakane (2014) highlights the importance of politeness strategies in the whole process of police interviewing. He relates politeness to power and manipulation by asserting that "the power of questions and answers can be manipulated by... politeness strategies" (p.16).

The aforementioned components of the model are schematized in Figure 14 below:

Figure 14:
The Model of Analysis



3.6 Testing the Workability of the Model

In this section, an illustrative example is given to test the workability of the model developed by the present study. The following excerpt is used for this purpose:

“Investigator 1: Where was that?

George Huguely: We went to CNL. Um, and then went out to the bar for a little awhile ...

Investigator 1: What time did you go out to eat?

George Huguely: I would say we left like 5ish, so I we probably back at 7:30 for dinner.

Investigator 1: Okay.

George Huguely: Then went home. Drank a few beers. Went to the bar for a little while.

Investigator 1: Which one?

George Huguely: Heights.

Investigator 1: Oh, Okay.

George Huguely: Then I went over to talk to Yeardley and...

Investigator 1: Who’s Yeardley?

George Huguely: Yeardley is my former girlfriend. But I went over to talk to Yeardley. I was like ‘YEARDLEY’ and she was like already totally freaked out because of what she did this past, like a few days ago, and we haven’t talked since and I was just going to like talk to her. And she was already like ‘ah’; freaking out. Like, you know and I was like ‘I’m just trying to talk to you’. And like she like started to be like, really like, defensive against it. Because the week before she came into my apartment and like attacked, like started striking me and I was like ‘you gotta leave’ and like, my roommates girlfriend had to be like, take her out of there because of this. So like, when I went in to talk to, talk to her, she was already on the defensive edge”.

(Appendix A. Case 1, pp. i-ii)

Prior to this excerpt, the investigator, Lesly, reads George his Miranda rights and questions him about his name, work, and other personal details, constituting the ‘planning and preparation’ stage of the investigation. The discussion then moves to the ‘account’ stage, where the investigator initiates the interview topic. She inquires about George’s recent activities before the murder. George tells her that he went to dinner with his father after playing golf with his parents.

In this excerpt, she proceeds to interrogate George in order to locate the guilty person and elicit a confession. She uses two power strategies to control the suspect: *topic control* and *struggle for the floor*.

1) Topic Control

Topic control is the most effective strategy for the investigator to control the interaction flow in this excerpt. This strategy is exploited four times by the investigator. It manifests itself every time through two powerful devices: *topic management* and *questions*. Firstly, *Topic management*, specifically *topic development*, allows the investigator to expand on the topic until she reaches a comprehensive understanding of the events.

Secondly, the investigator employs four *Wh-direct questions* to put the suspect in the corner and prevent him from providing any further information more than required. The first question is “*Where was that?*” which is employed to ask about the place where George and his father had dinner. As such, it serves as a tool to get accurate and specific information. The second utilized question is “*What time did you go out to eat?*” whereby the investigator keeps questioning George about his routine on the night of the murder. George answers that the probable dinner time was 7:30. After that, he states he went to the bar. The third question, “*Which one?*”, is used by the investigator to inquire about the name of the bar. When George informs the investigator that he went over to speak to his friend afterward, the fourth question, “*Who is Yeardley?*” arises. This question signals the beginning of the investigation since it asks about the victim, Yeardley, George’s ex-girlfriend, who was murdered in her apartment after being brutally beaten.

2) Struggle for the Floor

The struggle for the floor represents another powerful strategy used by the investigator to ensure his control over the process of interaction and limiting the chance of providing any information that might obstruct the course of the investigation. It appears twice in this excerpt and is manifested via *competitive interruption* device. The first occurrence takes place when George tries to complete his turn and provide further explanation about where he went after dinner in, “*Um, and then went out to the bar for a little awhile ...*”. By interrupting the suspect, the investigator reveals his disinterest in the

additional information. Instead, she asks George when he went out to eat. The second occurrence takes place in “*Then I went over to talk to Yeardley and...*”. This time, it reveals the investigator’s interest in the victim’s name as it appears for the first time in the investigation. She interrupts George to ask, “*Who is Yeardley?*”. Table 5 summarizes the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 5

Police Power in the Tested Excerpt

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption
		Form	Function		
Police Power	Topic Control	Wh-Q.	Direct	Development	
	4	4	4		
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive
	2				2

The above police power strategies compel the suspect to *observe the maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner*. As a result, he looks powerless and obedient in his answers as he complies with the expectations of the questions. In “*We Went to CNL,*” he gives his first powerless response, in which he precisely addresses the investigator’s query about where he had dinner. Likewise, when questioned about the bar he went to, he powerlessly responds with “*Heights*”. Despite his powerlessness, he uses three strategies to counter the investigator’s power. They are:

1. Obscurity

George utilizes *obscurity* strategy to hinder the investigator’s keen efforts to follow the sequence of events accurately. When the investigator asks him when he went for dinner, George responds, “*I would say we left like 5ish, so I we probably back at 7:30 for dinner*”. He intends to manipulate and confuse the investigator by leaving the boundaries of his offered response fuzzy and uncertain. *Hedges* and *violation of CP* are two power devices that aid in the manifestation of this strategy and the accomplishment of the suspect’s intention.

First, he uses the three *hedging expressions* highlighted above to enhance the uncertainty of his response. Second, George *violates the manner maxim* by being evasive and ambiguous.

2. Providing Information

George's last turn displays his use of *providing information* strategy to resist the investigator's question regarding who Yeardeley is. Instead of supplying the investigator with the straightforward, accurate, and precise response, "***Yeardeley is my former girlfriend***", he offers extensive details that are not needed. To manifest this strategy, George exploits three power devices: *topic management*, *violation of CP*, and *politeness*. By *topic management*, he seeks to *change the topic* of conversation and shifts the emphasis into what has happened last week concerning his relationship with Yeardeley. Despite the reality that the investigator has not questioned him about what happened last night, he continues explaining the story and defends his behavior by claiming that he just wanted to go over there to talk to Yeardeley, "***But I went over to talk to Yeardeley.***" The second power device that manifests this strategy is the *violation of the quantity maxim* since he is more informative than is required. Finally, as he intensifies interest to the investigator by exaggerating facts and making a good story, he adheres to *positive politeness*. He believes that the story can reassure the investigator that he is both cooperative and his story is real.

3. Repetition

The same turn reveals that George uses *self-repetition* strategy to express the impression that he is cooperative and to highlight strikingly those parts of his events account. *Formulation*, *violation of CP*, and *politeness* are employed to manifest this strategy. First, *formulation* appears when he formulates and repeats his own words to refer to what *has been said* as in:

- "***she was like already totally freaked out ...And she was already like "ah"; freaking***".
- "***really like, defensive against it... she was already on the defensive edge***".
- "***I was just going to like talk to her... I'm just trying to talk to you***".

Second, the above utterances also reflect his *violation of the quantity maxim* because such repetitions are unnecessary. Moreover, he violates the *manner maxim* as he is perceived as being disorderly; he repeats his utterances randomly throughout his turn.

Third, to intensify the sense of cooperativeness and shed light on certain aspects, he adheres to *positive politeness* as a power device that manifests repetition strategy. For instance, the suspect utilizes expressions like “*you know*” to assert a common ground with the investigator, assuming that the investigator can understand him. Table 6 summarizes the suspect’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 6

Suspect Power in the Tested Excerpt

Power D. Power St.		Topic Management	Formulation	Cooperative Principle		Hedges	Politeness
				Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Obscurity				Manner	Hedges 3	
	Providing Information	Change			Quantity		Positive
	Repetition		What has been said		Quantity Manner		Positive
Powerlessness				All maxims			

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.0 Preliminary Remarks

This chapter introduces the practical part of this study. It mainly describes the procedures of analysis and analyzes the targeted data based on the model. Additionally, it introduces the results of the analysis and their discussion.

4.1 Analytical Procedures

The process of analysis encompasses a number of procedures to be followed in accomplishing the current study. These procedures are as follows:

- 1- Finding and selecting the scripts of the three American PIs according to the criteria of data selection (*cf.* 3.2).
- 2- Replaying the video recordings of the PIs several times and comparing them to their scripts as a procedure to reinforce the reliability of the resource and check the accuracy of the scripts.
- 3- Presenting a gist of the contextual factors before analyzing the PIs, such as the setting, participants, and the other elements of the Hymes' SPEAKING model, to get the reader intellectually prepared to understand what is going on.
- 4- Selecting fifteen representative excerpts as samples for analysis and excluding the rest of the scripts from the thesis to avoid redundancy and lengthiness of the analysis. Five excerpts are selected from each PI. The selection of the excerpts is based on their richness with the strategies and devices outlined in the model, and their representativeness to meet the requirements of the analysis rather than the length of the excerpts or the number of turns. The researcher aims to guarantee that each strategy appears at least twice in the chosen excerpts in the whole chapter.
- 5- Depending on the date of the PIs, the excerpts are numbered from (1) to (15) and arranged chronologically from the earliest to the latest (see Table 2).
- 6- Analyzing the data in terms of the model described in Chapter Three (*cf.* 3.5). As it has been mentioned earlier, the data analysis of the present study will be both

qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative analysis of each excerpt is summarized in two tables to clarify the utilized strategies: the first schematizes police power strategies while the second shows suspect power strategies, along with their manifestations.

- 7- Conducting a quantitative analysis by the SPSS program to figure out occurrences and frequencies of power strategies on the police's part on the one hand and the suspects' on the other hand. Moreover, SPSS is employed to find out the most frequent strategy and whether the frequency is of significance or not.
- 8- Finally, discussing results, drawing conclusions, suggesting recommendations and suggestions for further research.

It is worth highlighting that the researcher has added the category 'powerlessness' to the qualitative analysis of excerpts due to the significance of observing suspect's powerless responses (if any) to equate them with police power. However, since this category is not included in the components of the model, it is ignored in the overall quantitative analysis.

4.2 The Qualitative Analysis

4.2.1 Contextual Analysis

The common contextual factors for all PIs are specified in Table 7 below. However, only setting and participants vary from one case to another and will be described in more detail before each PI.

Table 7

The Contextual Factors of the Selected PIs

Contextual Factors	Description
Setting and Scene	The time (date) ranges between 2010 to 2017. The place is a private interrogation room in a police station; yet, the location of the station is not precisely identified in the description of the case summary, and it is of little importance for the study.

Participants	There are three suspects, whose names are listed in Table 2 (<i>cf.</i> 3.2.2), in addition to one or two investigators participate in each interview.
Ends	The main goal of the selected PIs is to achieve justice and find the guilty person for a recently committed crime while the outcome is to elicit a confession from the suspect.
Act Sequence	The form of the selected PIs generally appears in question-answer sequences, while the content involves investigating the murder of identifiable victims.
Key	Generally speaking, PIs under study are serious, accusatory, conflictual, and free of any comic instances since they are about real murder crimes.
Instrumentalities	The selected data encompass both video recordings and their written scripts in English. However, the study is limited to the analysis of only the written form. Videos are only consulted to reach the correct interpretations wherever necessary.
Norms	The selected PIs are formal in nature and distinguishable from ordinary conversation. Hence, certain restrictions and conventions are expected to be followed in such a type of institutional discourse (<i>cf.</i> 2.3.2).
Genre	The selected PIs are part of the institutional discourse that falls under the umbrella of forensic texts (<i>cf.</i> 2.3.2).

4.2.2 Analysis of Case 1

The murder of Yeardley Love, George Huguely's ex-girlfriend, is the focus of the ensuing investigation. Yeardley and George were both University of Virginia students. They were also members of the lacrosse team at college. The couple's relationship was turbulent, with frequent fights, excessive alcohol consumption, and domestic abuse.

One week before the assassination, Yeardley supposedly sent George messages, stating that she had sexual relations with another man when she was out of town. After a few days, they found themselves face to face in a bar. Yeardley then aggressively stormed

into George's apartment. Because she was violent, one of his roommate's girlfriends had to evict her. After the last fight, Yeardeley refused to speak to George. However, he attempted to email her several times to talk about what had happened.

On the 2nd of May 2010, after a heavy drinking day, George decided to leave the bar and go to Yeardeley's apartment. Shortly after midnight, he entered Yeardeley's apartment through the front door. After discovering that Yeardeley would not allow him to enter her apartment, he kicked a hole and hit his arm to open the door. He began to argue with Yeardeley about the previous events that had irritated him, though she yelled at him to go out and leave her alone. George said he shook her and wrestled with her in an attempt to calm her down. Then he threw her onto the bed and walked away. When Yeardeley's roommate returned at 2:15 a.m., she found the body and called the cops. On the 30th of August 2012, Hugueley was officially convicted for the second-degree murder conviction for 23 years ("Murder of Yeardeley Love",2021).

In the following PI, the participants are George Hugueley, the suspect, and two police investigators. Throughout the analysis, the investigators' speeches are interpreted as referring to one participant since they relate to police power.

Excerpt 1

"Investigator 1: Okay, what happened next?

George Hugueley: Next she just kept hitting her head on the wall where she was sitting on the bed and I was like [demonstrates grabbing arms] grabbed her and was like 'stop' and I looked at her and was like 'we need to like talk about this'. Like I held her arms and stuff but like I never struck her, never like hit her [demonstrates hitting someone] hit her in the face or anything. I was just like 'we need to talk' and she was like so, like what's the word? [demonstrates violently shaking with his arms and dodging motions] fish out of the water like. So like, all this. All because of what happened last week and I was like 'Listen like, I'm not here to like fight with you or do anything, I'm here to talk to you.' And like 'noooo get away from me'. Like that's what happened. I left and she was in her bed, I think her nose was bleeding a little bit but she was, when I left she was still in her bed. Actually, she may, at one point she was on the floor and we were talkin, we were, and she was like still fighting...Somehow we ended up, somehow I was wrestling her on the floor and I was like 'stop' and I was holding her but I never struck her or anything... That's when her nose started to bleed and her face on the ground and then the conversation was going nowhere and nothing was happening. I left and went back home.

Investigator 1: Okay. Let's kinda start from, you keep talking about something that happened last week. What happened last week?

George Huguely: What happened last week?

Investigator 1: Does it kind set up the...

George Huguely: Well, yeah. That's why I was going over there to talk to her...

Investigator 1: What happened last week? Let's start there.

George Huguely: Last week? Well, a lot of things happened. Basically she came over to my appointment at, on, ...

Investigator 1: Let me stop you, real quick. How long have you been dating?"

(Appendix A. Case 1, p.ii)

This excerpt comes right after the previous one in the section of testing the workability of the model (*cf.* 3.6). It is distinguished by the investigator's constant inquiry into what happened before the murder took place. Then comes a series of questions that are conducted for plotting the murder. The investigator selects three strategies in her attempt to exert power and control over the suspect.

1) Topic Control

Due to the necessity of a sequential account of events and the need to obtain as much accurate information as possible from the suspect, the investigator, Lesly, exploits *topic control* strategy twice.

Firstly, the investigator employs this strategy in "*what happened next?*". She utilizes this strategy with the help of two power devices: *topic management* and *questions*. In other words, she manages the topic via *developing* it. Moreover, she uses the above *Wh-free narrative question* to elicit as much openly and expanded answers from the suspect as possible

Secondly, after a few exchanges between the investigator and the suspect, she re-uses this strategy again in "*Let me stop you, real quick. How long have you been dating?*". This time, she exploits three power devices to manifest *topic control* strategy: *topic management*, *questions*, and *politeness*. To begin, the investigator manages the topic by *changing* the focus from the previous topic, which is about "*What happened last week?*", into asking about the length of the relationship, "*How long have you been dating?*". Additionally, the same question, "*How long have you been dating?*", is considered a *Wh-*

free narrative question as it aids in controlling the topic and keeps the conversation on track by forcing the suspect to provide more information. Finally, when she says, “***Let me stop you, real quick***”, she employs *negative politeness*. She makes an effort to ‘minimize the imposition’ on the suspect’s freedom in order to look as if she is politely seeking permission to question him. In other words, the request represents a threat to the suspect’s face, so the investigator uses FSA to save face and show politeness. It means that the investigator does not want the suspect to continue, but, at the same time, she stops him politely. She does so in order to offer her opinion on what he was saying on the subject being discussed, or maybe there is something critical missed by the suspect and might make the rest of the conversation useless. The use of this device is to manifest the power strategy; if it was not in this situation, it might have led to an offense

2) **Struggle for the Floor**

In order to resume her control over the progress of the questioning process, the investigator grabs the floor back, utilizing *struggle for the floor* strategy. In this excerpt, this strategy is used twice, whereby it manifests itself in both occurrences via *competitive interruptions*.

The first instance is in “***That’s why I was going over there to talk to her...***”, wherein the investigator interrupts George to resist his topic shift and to redirects his attention again to what happened last week.

The second instance is in “***Basically she came over to my appointment at, on, ...***”, in which the investigator seems to be dissatisfied with George’s evasive answer and interrupts him to change the topic into another angle by saying, “***Let me stop you, real quick. How long have you been dating?***”.

3) **Recycling Topics**

By bringing up a topic again and hearing George’s version of the facts another time, the investigator works on constructing the scenario of murder down on record. Hence, she recycles the same topic repeatedly until she gets a consistent and thorough account of events.

This excerpt contains two instances of *recycling topic* strategy. The first instance appears in “*Okay. Let’s kinda start from, you keep talking about something that happened last week. What happened last week?*” whereby three power devices manifest it: *politeness, formulation, and questions*. Initially, the statement “*Let’s kinda start from...*” appears as *positive politeness*; the investigator uses the ‘include both S and H in activity’ strategy to establish a positive relationship with the suspect in order to trick him into confessing. The investigator then employs *formulation* by rewording *what has been said* by George, saying, “*you keep talking about something that happened last week*” to pave the way to the coming *Wh-free narrative question*, “*What happened last week?*”. All these devices work together simultaneously to manifest this strategy.

The second instance of recycling topics strategy appears in “*What happened last week? Let’s start there*” whereby *formulation, questions, and politeness* are also used to manifest this strategy. Formulation involves the investigator’s repetition of his question to refer to *what has been said*. Besides, the same question, “*What happened last week?*” is categorized as *Wh-cross* as it serves as a means to obtain information that has not been answered before. Lastly, the investigator adheres to *positive politeness* in “*Let’s start there*” to implicitly suggest that the investigator and the suspect are cooperative and are both included in the activity of interrogation. Table 8 summarizes the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 8
Police Power in Excerpt No. 1

D. Power Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Topic Control	Wh-Q.	Free Narrative	Development			Negative
	2	2	2	Change			
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive		
	2				2		
	Recycling Topics	Wh-Q.	Free Narrative			What has been said	Positive
	2	2	Cross			2	2

As for the suspect, he chooses to employ three strategies to combat police power:

1. Mitigation

In order to reduce the severity of his offense, George employs *mitigation* strategy. He wants to strip off the guilt and put it on Yeardley, saying, “*she just kept hitting her head on the wall*”. He reports he went to her apartment only to talk to her; however, she repeatedly became defensive, asking him to leave. He describes what happens, saying, “*I was like ‘Listen like, I’m not here to like fight with you or do anything, I’m here to talk to you.’ And like ‘noooo get away from me.’ Like that’s what happened*”. Both *politeness* and *hedges* manifest this strategy.

As clearly evident, George exploits *positive politeness* to assist in manifesting *mitigation* strategy. He accomplishes this by intensifying interest to the investigator via making a good story of what happened that night. Furthermore, he uses the five underlined *hedging expressions* in “*I think her nose was bleeding a little bit but she was, when I left she was still in her bed. Actually, she may, at one point she was on the floor” to soften his situation and offer the appearance that he does not have the malice motive or deliberation to kill.*

2. Denial

George employs *denial* strategy when he declines to confess doing any harm to Yeardley, saying, “*but I never struck her or anything*”. He says that the chat was going nowhere, and nothing happened. Then he went out of there and returned home: “*the conversation was going nowhere and nothing was happening. I left and went back home*”. The *violation of the quality maxim* manifests *denial* strategy since George is not telling the facts.

3. Obscurity

George employs *obscurity* strategy to obstruct the investigator’s meticulous attempts to follow the chain of events precisely. When the investigator asks him, “*What happened last week? Let’s start there*”, he intends to evade the proper answer, saying, “*Well, a lot of things happened. Basically she came over to my appointment at, on, ...*”.

To achieve his intention, George exploits two power devices in the manifestation of *obscurity* strategy: *hedges* and *violation of CP*. That is, he utilizes the three underlined *hedging expressions* to intensify the vagueness of his answer. Besides, by being oblique, George *violates the maxim of manner*. Table 9 shows the suspect's strategies and their manifestations.

Table 9

Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 1

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Hedges	Politeness
		Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Mitigation			Hedges 5	Positive
	Denial		Quality		
	Obscurity		Manner	Hedges 3	

Excerpt 2

Investigator 1: Um, okay. When you left her apartment, did you take anything with you?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Nothing at all?

George Huguely: No. She was in her bed.

Investigator 1: Alright. but her laptop is missing I guess. Did you grab it when you were leaving?

George Huguely: Yeah I did actually.

Investigator 1: Is it at your apartment?

George Huguely: Yeah. Somewhere at my apartment. I can give it to her.

Investigator 1: Why did you take her laptop?

George Huguely: Because I was so pissed that she wouldn't talk to me. I don't know. I took it almost as collateral I guess. It's not reasonable logic. But, I don't know.

Investigator 1: Okay, Did you take anything else besides her laptop?

George Huguely: No

Investigator 1: Nothing?

George Huguely: No”.

(Appendix A. Case 1, p. iv)

Before this excerpt, the investigator attempts to address the suspect’s involvement from a variety of perspectives. In this excerpt, she adds another piece of evidence, Yeardley’s laptop. To gain control over the suspect, the investigator employs three power strategies:

1) **Topic Control**

The investigator has the authority to bring up new topics for further clarification. As a result, she selects the most relevant topic for her purposes; the laptop robbery. In order to get a thorough overview of the laptop issue, she uses the topic control strategy four times.

The first occurrence of topic control takes place in the investigator’s first turn, “*When you left her apartment, did you take anything with you?*”, in which she employs three power devices to manifest this strategy: *topic management, questions, and politeness*. Initially, topic management is crystal evident here via *topic initiation*; the investigator opens up a new topic to the floor after closing the previous one on how long George stayed at the Yeardley’s apartment. Besides, she maintains her control via the *yes-no direct question*, “*did you take anything with you?*”, wherein the investigator seeks specific information. Another point to raise is that the same question implies that the investigator performs a FTA without redress, i.e., *bald on record politeness* as she is direct and clear in her inquiry.

The second instance of topic control appears after accusing George of grabbing the laptop. The investigator uses two power devices. The first device is *topic management*; by *developing* the same topic in order to determine if the laptop is in his apartment or elsewhere. The second device is the *yes-no leading question*, “*Is it at your apartment?*”, in which the investigator attempts to put words in the suspect’s mouth by suggesting a location for the laptop to be hidden.

Later comes the third instance of topic control in which the investigator seeks to find out why George took the laptop in the first place. *Topic control* is manifested again via the *topic management*, particularly *topic development*, and the *Wh-free narrative question*, “**Why did you take her laptop?**”, where she demands a prolonged answer to figure out the real motives behind such an action.

Finally, before moving on to the next topic, the investigator employs this strategy to close up the current one. The first manifestation is *topic management*, more specifically *topic end*, while the second manifestation is the *yes-no review question* where the investigator asks if George has taken something else but the laptop, “**Did you take anything else besides her laptop?**”.

2) Accusation

When George denies taking anything from Yeardeley’s apartment, the investigator resorts to *accusation strategy*. She confronts George with the fact that the victim’s laptop is missing. Then she explicitly inquires if George does so. Two power devices manifest this strategy: *politeness* and *questions*. That is, she adheres to *negative politeness* by using hedges in “**but her laptop is missing I guess**” to be intentionally indirect. Consequently, she paves the way to her direct accusation as manifested in the *yes-no direct question*, “**Did you grab it when you were leaving?**” implying that the suspect must either deny or confess.

3) Recycling Topics

The investigator uses *recycling topic* strategy twice in this excerpt. At first, it appears when the suspect denies taking anything from the victim’s apartment. The investigator recycles the same topic via *the declarative-cross question* “**Nothing at all?**” to check the suspect’s stability on his negative response.

The second time of employing *recycling topics* also follows the suspect’s denial of taking anything besides the laptop. Again, the instigator utilizes the *declarative-cross question*, “**Nothing?**”, which is made up of a single word to ensure that the suspect’s response is consistent. Table 10 shows the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 10
Police Power in Excerpt No. 2

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Politeness
		Form	Function		
Police Power	Topic Control	Yes-no Q. Yes-no Q. Wh-Q. Yes-no Q.	Direct Leading Free Narrative Review	Initiation Development Development End	Bald on Record
	4				
	Accusation	Yes-no Q.	Direct		Negative
	Recycling Topics	Declarative	Cross		
	2	2	2		

As for the suspect, when confronted with the investigator’s blunt accusation, “*but her laptop is missing*”, he is forced to admit, saying, “*Yeah I did actually*”. This response reflects his powerlessness which is manifested via the *observance of all maxims* and *hedges*. In other words, since he finally admits to stealing Yeardley’s laptop, he observes quality, quantity, relation, and manner maxims. Furthermore, his use of the *hedging expression*, “*actually*”, heightens the impression of his powerlessness. Despite the powerless answer described earlier, George uses three power strategies to resist the investigator’s power and escape full admission. These strategies are:

1. Denial

The suspect employs denial four times in this excerpt, making it the most frequently used strategy. So he is recognized as being extremely resistant since he seeks to stifle any confession about his role in the laptop theft.

Following the investigator’s first question, “*did you take anything with you?*”, George gives his first *denial*, as evidenced by his one-word negative answer, “*No*”. Then, when the investigator recycles the same question in “*Nothing at all?*”, he offers his second *denial*, saying, “*No. She was in her bed*”. The third instance of *denial* arises when he denies taking anything else from the apartment, and his response is once again, “*No*”. Eventually, his last “*No*” occurs after recycling the same topic by the investigator in “*Nothing?*”. As a result, he is persistent and stable in his denial. The *violation of the quality maxim* manifests these instances as he intentionally lies to deceive the investigator.

2. Obscurity

When the investigator employs the yes-no leading question “*Is it at your apartment?*”, George switches from denial strategy to *obscurity strategy*. He answers, saying, “*Yeah. Somewhere at my apartment. I can give it to her*”. To manifest *obscurity strategy*, *violation of CP* and *hedges* are employed. He provides a false piece of information because the investigation later reveals that he did not hide the laptop in the apartment, but he threw it in a dumpster somewhere near 14th Street. Therefore, he *violates the quality maxim*. Additionally, he *violates the manner maxim* since he employs the *hedging expression “somewhere”* to increase the vagueness of his response.

3. Fragmented Style

George exploits *fragmented style strategy* when asked to provide a reason for why he took Yeardeley’s laptop. His response incorporates only part of the truth. He says, “*Because I was so pissed that she wouldn’t talk to me. I don’t know. I took it almost as collateral I guess*”. His response involves two power devices that manifest *fragmented style strategy*. The first device is the *violation of the quantity maxim* because he is less informative than is required. He only offers two excuses for his actions, stating that he was enraged by her behavior and that he took the laptop as a guarantee. The next few lines of the interview show his true motivation: he took the laptop because it could contain a proof of threat emails he sent to Yeardeley.

The following reason, “*I took it almost as collateral I guess*” encompasses the second power device represented by the two underlined *hedging expressions* used to express his uncertainty and partial truthfulness. Table 11 demonstrates the suspect’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 11
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 2

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Hedges
		Observance	Violation	
Suspect power	Denial		Quality	
	4		4	

	Obscurity		Manner Quality	Hedges 1
	Fragmented Style		Quantity	Hedges 2
Powerlessness		All maxims		Hedges 1

Excerpt 3

Investigator 1: Okay. She has a pretty good knot on her head. That's why I'm asking. How you could explain how that would have happened?

George Huguely: I mean, I don't even know. A knot?

Investigator 1: On the sided of her head, she's been hit pretty good right there. So I'm just trying to figure out did you hit her with something?

George Huguely: No. I never. Never touched her or struck her or anything...

Investigator 1: Well you touched her. You had your hands on her.

George Huguely: I said I never struck her. Never never at all like ...

Investigator 1: I'm trying to figure out why she has a black eye and why she's got a big lump right there.

George Huguely: I mean, we... were... I mean...

Investigator 1: So you don't know how it happened.

George Huguely: So she's got a black...

Investigator 1: It's fine It's fine. Um, So you. I'm going through this one more time and make sure we're on the same page. You're pretty pissed at her from a week ago for sending those text messages. Do you have those text messages where she said, as you said, 'fucked' somebody?

George Huguely: I actually might have those, yeah."

(Appendix A. Case 1, p. v)

The investigator proceeds to present evidence and inquire about the chain of events until she reaches the core of the case, accusing George of hitting Yeardley for the first time. To achieve her goals, she employs the following five power strategies:

1) Topic Control

The investigator utilizes *topic control* strategy in the first line of this excerpt. To manifest her control, she uses three power devices: *topic management*, *questions*, and

politeness. At first, she manages the topic via *initiating* a new one; she says that Yeardley's head is injured, "***She has a pretty good knot on her head. That's why I'm asking***". She brings up this topic to pave the way towards the impending accusation as she doubts that George is involved in the murder.

After initiating the topic, the investigator uses the second power device to manifest her topic control: the *Wh-free narrative question*, "***How you could explain how that would have happened?***", where she attempts to elicit a lengthy and detailed response from the suspect.

Although the investigator has reservations about George being the murderer in the case at hand, she is not forthright in her topic control. Instead, she uses the third power device, *negative politeness*, to embody her indirectness, as shown by the use of the underlined hedges, "***could***" and "***would***".

2) Accusation

When George persistently denies knowing anything about the victim's head trauma, the investigator resorts to *accusation strategy*, more specifically direct accusation. Her second turn encompasses three power devices to manifest her accusation: *formulation*, *questions*, and *politeness*. At first, she formulates *what has been said* earlier where she answers George's question, "***A knot?***", saying, "***On the sided of her head, she's been hit pretty good right there***".

Afterward, she employs *negative politeness* as a manipulation tool by using the 'minimize imposition' strategy saying, "***I'm just trying to figure out***". In other words, she justifies her questioning and conveys the impression that she takes the suspect's freedom and privacy into consideration.

Lastly, the investigator explicitly asks the suspect to tell the truth by employing the *yes-no direct question*, saying, "***did you hit her with something?***". She utilizes this question to elicit as specific, precise, and brief answers as possible.

3) Struggle for the Floor

The investigator employs *struggle for the floor strategy* four times because the suspect does not respond to the elicitation process. The suspect denies confessing to hitting

the victim's head against the wall and shaking her until she dies from head shock and nose bleeding. Hence, the investigator takes the floor back whenever she is unconvinced of the answers.

The first instance takes place after the suspect's second denial in: "***No. I never. Never touched her or struck her or anything...***", while the second instance occurs after repeating the same denial by the suspect when he answers, "***I said I never struck her. Never never at all like ...***". Both occurrences are manifested via *competitive interruption* since the investigator contradicts the suspect and disagrees with him, saying, "***Well you touched her. You had your hands on her***".

The last two occurrences differ from the previous ones in that *cooperative interruption* is used to manifest them instead of the competitive interruption. First, the investigator interrupts the suspect, not to contradict him but to complete his anticipated answer saying, "***So you don't know how it happened***". Next, when George insists on ignoring anything related to the victim's injury, she interrupts him to express her agreement saying, "***It's fine It's fine***" because she has given up hope of getting a confession.

4) Rephrasing Answers

As seen earlier, after the suspect's second denial, "***No. I never. Never touched her or struck her or anything...***", the investigator interrupts George and employs *rephrasing answers strategy*, saying, "***Well you touched her. You had your hands on her***". Two power devices aid in the manifestation of this strategy: *formulation* and *politeness*. Firstly, the investigator formulates and rephrases the information that George has previously given about what happened on the night of the murder; George has stated that he did touch Yeardley and put his hand on her shoulders. Secondly, the investigator uses *negative politeness* via the hedging expression "***well***" to avert confronting the suspect directly.

Once again, the investigator utilized this strategy in "***So you don't know how it happened***", whereby she uses the *formulation* device 'so' to summarize *what has been said* by George. She aims at obtaining George's ratification on this version of events since the investigation later shows that the reverse is true.

5) Recycling Topics

Recycling topics strategy is employed twice in this excerpt. The first instance occurs after interrupting George’s repetition of his denial when he says, “*I said I never struck her. Never never at all like...*”. The investigator grabs the floor back to recycle the reason behind why Yeardley has a black eyesore and head injury, “*I’m trying to figure out why she has a black eye and why she’s got a big lump right there*”. She employs *formulation* device by providing a gist of what has happened to the victim. Nevertheless, she aims at referring to *what is implied*; George caused those injuries.

The second instance occurs when the investigator loses hope in George’s willingness to confess whether or not he struck the victim in the head. Therefore, she recycles a previously discussed topic and overtly states, “*I’m going through this one more time and make sure we’re on the same page*”. She exploits two power devices to manifest this strategy: *formulation* and *questions*.

Initially, to enforce explicitness, she formulates the suspect’s words by presenting a summary of what *has been said* regarding how George was enraged by Yeardley’s text messages, “*You’re pretty pissed at her from a week ago for sending those text messages*”. Thus, *formulation* this time latches on the suspect’s description of events. Afterward, she uses the *yes-no cross question*, “*Do you have those text messages where she said, as you said, ‘fucked’ somebody?*” wherein she roughly quoted the suspect’s words to ask about the text messages. However, this time, she wants to see those messages by herself. Table 12 shows the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 12

Police Power in Excerpt No. 3

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Topic Control	Wh-Q.	Free Narrative	Initiation			Negative
	Accusation	Yes-no Q.	Direct			What has been said	Negative
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive 2		
	4				Cooperative 2		

	Rephrasing Answers					What has been said	Negative
	2					2	
	Recycling Topics	Yes-no Q.	Cross			What is implied	
	2					What has been said	

Regardless of the strength of the evidence against him, the suspect maintains his position and disagrees with the investigator's proposed accusations. Accordingly, he employs three power strategies to resist admitting his role in Yeardeley's death. His resistance forces the investigator to shift topics or even recycle previous ones to overcome George's headstrong situation. These strategies are:

1. Denial

In this excerpt, the suspect does not ratify the police version of events and utilizes denial strategies twice, stating that he does not know about Yeardeley's injuries. The first instance of denial happens when the investigator asks George how he can justify what happened to the victim. He steadily denies saying, "***I don't even know. A knot?***". Two power devices manifest his denial: *violation of CP* and *questions*. First, he *violates the quality maxim* since he pretends to be ignorant about what happened when, in reality, he is the one who caused the victim's head trauma. Second, to intensify his ignorance and denial, he employs the *declarative-cross question*, "***A knot?***".

The second instance occurs when the investigator directly accuses George of hitting the victim's head, saying, "***did you hit her with something?***". George again denies his involvement, answering straightforwardly, "***No. I never. Never touched her or struck her or anything***". Two power devices manifest his second *denial: violation of CP* and *formulation*. To begin, he *violates the quality maxim* as he deliberately lies. Then he formulates what *he has said* earlier before this excerpt: he never mistreats the victim.

2. Repetition

To show his stability on his previous denials, George resorts to *repetition strategy* twice. The first occurrence is self-repetition which appears in "***I said I never struck her. Never never at all like ...***", where he uses *formulation* to manifest this strategy by repeating

his own words, what has been said before. Besides, he *violates the quantity maxim* because he is more informative than is required; he randomly repeats the same utterance more than once.

The second occurrence is allo-repetition which appears in “*So she’s got a black...*” which is manifested by *formulation*. George uses the formulation device, ‘so’, to summarize what the investigator has said so far in order to give the appearance that he is entirely unaware of the victim’s situation.

3. Obscurity

The suspect in this excerpt uses *obscurity* as his final power strategy. When the investigator recycles the topic of text messages again, George confirms that he has these messages on his phone. He answers, “*I actually might have those, yeah*”, yet his answer is not definite. He uses two power devices to manifest this strategy: *hedges* and *violation of CP*. The two underlined *hedges* support the ambiguity of his answer. Moreover, he *violates the maxim of manner* as he is opaque in his response. Table 13 demonstrates the suspect’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 13
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 3

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Cooperative Principle		Formulation	Hedges
		Form	Function	Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Denial	Declarative	Cross		Quality	What has been said	
	2				2		
	Repetition				Quantity	What has been said	
	2				2		
Obscurity				Manner		Hedges	
						2	

Excerpt 4

“Investigator 2: We can stop each one of us. I know we touched about what happened last night but sum it up for me. Lead up to it for me, how did you guys break up exactly? Why?”

George Huguely: Why? Well we are, not, as the same we were before and I'm going... well she wants to move to New York and I'm not exactly sure what I'm doing yet but wanna go to San Francisco. And um so we've been like talking about this. Found a text message in my phone from another girl and then we broke up because of that. So like, an ongoing type deal...

Investigator 2: Cause funny that you mention putting your hands around her neck and holding her back that way. Is that another reason you two broke up? And the arguments, any past physical violence?

George Huguely: Um, that happened...

Investigator 2: Keep in mind, before we talked to you we've talked to other people too.

George Huguely: No, I understand that. I mean, that night that she found the text messages in my phone, I was more drunk than I probably have ever been. And she did the same thing like yelling at me and hitting me and I'm drunk. And I actually laid on her, like detained on her kind of, and she ended up leaving but that happened that night...

Investigator 2: How did you detain her?

George Huguely: I mean, sir, like that night I was...

Investigator 2: Did you get off of her yourself or did other people have to get you off of her?

George Huguely: Uh, I, I really don't remember that night...at all.

(Appendix A. Case 1, p. vii)

Prior to this excerpt, the participants, George and the investigators, leave for a few moments before returning to the interviewing room. Lesly, the lead investigator, hands over the investigative platform to her male co-investigator, who continues the questioning utilizing five strategies to exert power.

1) Recycling Topics

As evidenced in “*I know we touched about what happened last night but sum it up for me*”, the investigator employs *recycling topics* strategy to re-open a topic of which he has a limited understanding and anticipates more contributions from the suspect. The investigator’s first turn includes two power devices that help manifest the strategy: *politeness* and *questions*.

At first, he uses positive politeness by assuming that he and the suspect are included in the same activity, and they can stop and interrupt each other if things went undesirable, saying, “*We can stop each one of us*”. By denoting this fake sense of cooperativeness or

equality with the suspect, the investigator tries to manipulate him because simply the right to interrupt is limited to the investigator himself. Second, he exploits *two Wh-questions* that function as a kind of *loaded question* since he inquires into two things: how and why Yeardley and George ended the relationship, saying, “***Lead up to it for me, how did you guys break up exactly? Why?***”.

2) Struggle for the Floor

A milestone proof of the investigator’s power in this excerpt is his right to steer the discussion in whatever direction he wants through the *struggle for the floor strategy*. Whenever he feels that the suspect does not provide the required accurate response, the investigator *competitively interrupts* him to manifest this strategy. All in all, this strategy is exploited four times in these few lines.

Firstly, it occurs when the investigator interrupts George while providing his lengthy yet irrelevant answer to how and why he and Yeardley ended their relationship, “...***then we broke up because of that. So like, an ongoing type deal...***”. Secondly, it re-occurs right after George’s effort to defend himself against the investigator’s accusation in, “***Um, that happened...***”, where George is accused of practicing past physical violence against Yeardley. Thirdly, it appears once more while George is trying to mitigate his actions in “***I actually laid on her, like detained on her kind of, and she ended up leaving but that happened that night...***”. Finally, it occurs while George is trying to answer the investigator’s question of how he detained her, saying, “***I mean, sir, like that night I was...***”. Each of these occurrences obviously reflects the investigator’s disagreement and disapproval of the given responses while also revealing his extreme control and power over the entire interaction process. That is, he restricts and pilots the suspect’s contributions.

3) Accusation

When George uses the strategy of *providing information* to claim fictitious reasons for their breakup, the investigator turns this down and interrupts the suspect to restate the focus of the discussion by using *accusation* strategy, particularly, supported direct accusation. This strategy is manifested via *formulation*, *questions*, and *politeness*.

First, the investigator employs formulation by summarizing what George has said and viewing George's words as direct evidence, saying, "***you mention putting your hands around her neck and holding her back that way***". Second, he explicitly accuses George using the *yes-no loaded question*, "***Is that another reason you two broke up? And the arguments, any past physical violence?***" where the suspect is obliged to answer one of the proposed meanings yet both implicitly denote his violent assault towards Yeardley. Finally, the investigator's adherence to performing a FTA without redress, i.e., *bald on record politeness*, is expressed in the directness of the above accusation and the yes-no loaded question.

4) Maximization

After the above overt allegation, the investigator is seen as more potent because he retakes the floor and uses intimidation and indirect threats via *maximization strategy*. To manifest this strategy, he employs *bald on record politeness* to perform a FTA without redress; that is, as clear and direct as possible, saying, "***Keep in mind, before we talked to you we've talked to other people too***". He exaggerates the strength of the evidence against George by implying that eyewitnesses have testified George's participation in Yeardley's physical abuse.

5) Topic Control

The investigator's last strategy, which he employs twice, is *topic control*. The first instance occurs in "***How did you detain her?***", where the investigator manifests his control through the use of two power devices: *topic management* and *questions*. To begin, the *development* of a piece of information that George previously provides demonstrates topic management; he claims that he detained Yeardley while arguing with her a week before her death. As a result, the investigator inquires about the way George did so. Furthermore, the same question is classified as a *Wh-free narrative* since it requires a long free answer from the suspect.

The Second instance occurs in "***Did you get off of her yourself or did other people have to get you off of her?***". Again, *topic control* is manifested via *topic management* and *questions*. The investigator *develops* the same topic to extract more clarification regarding

how George got off Yeardley. He employs the above *alternative-leading question* because he tries to put words in the suspect's mouth leading him to choose one of the suggested answers. As a consequence, the suspect is limited to the options mentioned. Table 14 shows the investigator's power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 14

Police Power in Excerpt No. 4

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Recycling Topics	Wh-Q. 2	Loaded				Positive
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive		
	4				4		
	Accusation	Yes-no Q.	Loaded			What has been said	Bald on Record
	Maximization						Bald on Record
	Topic Control	Wh-Q. Alternative	Free Narrative Leading	Development			
2			2				

Regarding the suspect, he is deprived of completing his turn and being interrupted by the investigator for four times. His powerlessness is evident in, “*I mean, sir, like that night I was...*”, whereby he uses the *hedging expression* “*I mean*”, and the *negative politeness* strategy ‘give deference’ in “*sir*”. The use of “*sir*” reveals his awareness of the existing power hierarchy in relation to the investigator.

Even so, he utilizes three strategies in three of his turns to resist confessing his domestic harassment of the victim the week before the assassination. These strategies are:

1. Providing Information

The suspect intentionally utilizes *providing information* strategy to signal his cooperation on the one hand and to mislead the investigator by providing him with irrelevant and unnecessary details on the other hand.

Four power devices manifest this strategy: *topic management*, *observance and violation of CP*, and *hedges*. Initially, he *changes the topic* by asserting that they, George

and Yardley, are not the same as they were before, explaining this shift in their relationship by stating that they have decided to travel to different places, “Well we are, not, as the same we were before and I’m going... well she wants to move to New York and I’m not exactly sure what I’m doing yet but wanna go to San Francisco. And um so we’ve been like talking about this”. His answer also represents a *violation of the relation and quality maxims* as he presents unrelated and fake reasons. Moreover, to enhance the tentativeness and fuzziness of his answer, he employs the *three hedging expressions* underlined above. Then, he adds another reason saying, “*Found a text message in my phone from another girl and then we broke up because of that*”, wherein he *observes the maxims of relation and quality* as he tells part of the relevant and appropriate answer,

2. Mitigation

George adheres to *mitigation* strategy to reduce his crime’s seriousness and escape the responsibility of his offense. Although he admits laying on the victim, he attempts to shift the blame away from himself and put it onto Yearley, claiming that she behaved aggressively towards him when she discovered his phone’s text messages. Meanwhile, he was heavily intoxicated.

He exploits *hedges* to assist in the manifestation of this strategy. To avoid commitment to what he says and to enhance the uncertainty of his answer, he uses the six underlined hedging expressions in “*I understand that. I mean, that night that she found the text messages in my phone, I was more drunk than I probably have ever been. And she did the same thing like yelling at me and hitting me and I’m drunk. And I actually laid on her, like detained on her kind of, and she ended up leaving*”.

3. Denial

The suspect’s final exchange, “*I, I really don’t remember that night...at all*”, exemplifies the use of *denial strategy*. His *denial* is manifested via the *violation of the quality maxim* as he protects himself by knowingly providing misleading facts because he remembers that night. Table 15 demonstrates the suspect’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 15

Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 4

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Topic Management	Hedges	Politeness
		Observance	Violation			
Suspect power	Providing Information	Quality Relation	Quality Relation	Change	Hedges 3	
	Mitigation				Hedges 6	
	Denial		Quality			
Powerlessness					Hedges 1	Negative

Excerpt 5

Investigator 1: Okay, so when you toss her back on the bed she's bleeding. You said she was bleeding out her nose and you didn't feel you needed to call rescue?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: After banging her head, and shaking her and blood coming out of her nose on the floor?

George Huguely: No, I mean, it was...

Investigator 1: Let me ask you this, did you um, and you've been honest so far so there's really no reason for you not to, to lie about anything, when you left out of there were you kinda like 'you got what you deserved' and that's why you didn't call 911?

George Huguely: No, no no no no. It wasn't about that for me. It was about going to talk to her. It was nothing about...

Investigator 1: You miss anything you want to ask him about right now?

George Huguely: There's nothing about going to get anything, or going, you know. I don't know. I took the computer and that was irrational but that was like my collateral if you could look at it like that, that's where my logic was at, but that was just ...

Investigator 1: Well I have to tell you something.

Investigator 2: I think I know why you took that computer.

George Huguely: Cause why, do you think?

Investigator 1: She's dead. You killed her George. You killed her.

(Appendix A. Case 1, p. x)

Prior to this excerpt, the suspect has consistently denied striking the victim; but, after a series of lengthy exchanges with the investigators, he offers a partial confession of tossing her on bed and leaving her bleeding from her nose. The first investigator, Lesly, returns to the scene in this excerpt and uses the previously offered information to confront George of Yeardley's death. The investigator employs the following four strategies to exert power:

1) Rephrasing Answers

The investigator uses the *rephrasing answers* strategy twice to compel the suspect to confess his guilt. The first instance emerges during the investigator's first attempt to clarify the suspect's prior partial confession and gain the suspect's pretty apparent affirmation. In this turn, two power devices manifest *rephrasing answers* strategy: *formulation* and *questions*.

At first, she uses 'so' to formulate *what has been said* earlier by George, saying, "***so when you toss her back on the bed she's bleeding***". Then, to get the facts clear as they are presented by the suspect, she employs the *declarative-leading question*, "***You said she was bleeding out her nose and you didn't feel you needed to call rescue?***". She evokes the suspect's tacit guilt for failing to save the victim.

To clarify things further and elicit a more transparent response from the suspect, the investigator re-uses *rephrasing answers* strategy again. This time she also *formulates* George's words to highlight his guilt as he left the victim bleeding after banging and shaking her head. In addition, to fulfill her goal, she employs the *declarative-review question*, "***After banging her head, and shaking her and blood coming out of her nose on the floor?***".

2) Minimization

In an attempt to manipulate the suspect and win his trust, the investigator intelligently exploits *minimization* strategy. She tries to minimize the seriousness and

ugliness of George's crime by flattering him and providing justifications for his actions. It is evident that the investigator uses four power devices to manifest this strategy: *politeness*, *formulation*, *questions*, and *hedges*.

First, she employs *negative politeness* by being 'conventionally indirect' when she says, "***Let me ask you this***", rather than addressing the suspect directly. She gives the impression that she is not limiting this suspect's freedom in any way. She then turns to *positive politeness* by flattering the suspect with the 'exaggerate approval with H' strategy, saying, "***you've been honest so far so there's really no reason for you not to, to lie about anything***". She exaggerates the suspect's honesty and cooperation as if he never lies or denies anything during the interview. Nevertheless, he is persistent and rarely truthful, as seen in the previous excerpts.

Second, she uses formulation when she refers to *what is implied* in "***when you left out of there were you kinda like 'you got what you deserved'***". She provides a gist of the suspect's assumed motive for leaving Yeardley while bleeding. Therefore, the investigator attempts to provide less offensive or aggressive justification for the suspect's actions to tempt him to confess his real intentions.

Third, she employs the *declarative-direct question*, "***that's why you didn't call 911?***", where she seeks confirmation for her suggested justification. Lastly, it is worth mentioning that she utilizes the *hedging expression* "***Kinda***" (kind of) to denote the uncertainty of her suggested justification.

3) Struggle for the Floor

The investigator uses *struggle for the floor* strategy three times, each time manifesting itself by *competitive interruption*. The first instance is when the suspect says, "***No, I mean, it was...***", in response to the investigator's use of the rephrasing answers strategy described earlier. The investigator interrupts George implying her rejection and disagreement with any attempt to reply, but admission. The second instance occurs when the investigator interrupts George as he denies feeling relieved after leaving Yeardley bleeding, defending his conduct by saying, "***It was nothing about...***". Finally, the investigator interrupts George as he attempts to mitigate the severity of his crime by saying,

“that was like my collateral if you could look at it like that, that’s where my logic was at, but that was just ...”.

4) Accusation

This excerpt incorporates the first time whereby George is expressly accused of murdering Yeardley. *Accusation* strategy appears in the investigators’ last three exchanges, wherein it is manifested via *politeness*. Initially, Lesly, the first investigator, adheres to *negative politeness* by using the underlined hedges so that she can be as indirect as possible, saying, “Well I have to tell you something”. Then, the co-investigator also uses *negative politeness* by hedges to be indirect when he says that he believes he can tell the reason for the computer robbery, “I think I know why you took that computer”, implicitly suggesting George’s involvement. Eventually, Lesly utilizes *bald on record* politeness to explicitly accuse George saying, “*She’s dead. You killed her George. You killed her*”. Table 16 shows the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 16

Police Power in Excerpt No. 5

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Interruption	Formulation	Hedges	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Rephrasing answers	Declarative	Leading Review		What has been said		
	2	2					
	Minimization	Declarative	Direct		What is implied	Hedges 1	Negative Positive
	Struggle for the Floor			Competitive			
	3			3			
	Accusation						Negative 2 Bald on Record

This excerpt shows the suspect’s few chances to defend himself as his own words are rephrased by the investigator to be used as direct evidence of his involvement. Despite being interrupted three times, George exploits two strategies to resist the investigator’s eminent power.

1. Denial

George resorts to *denial strategy* when he is trapped by the investigator's power strategy of minimization whereby she presumes a reason for George's actions regarding leaving Yeardley bleeding. He insistently says, "**No, no no no no**".

His denial is manifested via *the violation of the quality maxim* as he intentionally lies. Besides, repeating the same negative response five times represents a *violation of the quantity maxim* as he is more informative than is required.

2. Mitigation

To defend and justify himself, George employs *mitigation strategy* to persuade the investigator that he never intended to attack Yardley, saying, "***It wasn't about that for me. It was about going to talk to her***". *Mitigation* is manifested via *politeness, formulation, and hedges*.

First, the suspect employs *positive politeness* when he 'presupposes common ground' with the investigator to establish rapport with him using the phrase "***you know***" in, "***There's nothing about going to get anything, or going, you know***", in an effort to persuade the investigator to believe him. Second, the suspect employs *formulation* when summarizing *what has been said* earlier about the victim's computer theft, describing his actions as irrational but never intending to assault Yeardley, "***I took the computer and that was irrational, but that was like my collateral***", he says. Finally, in "***if you could look at it like that, that's where my logic was at***", the suspect uses the underlined *hedging expression* to soften and moderate his attitude by implying a hypothetical situation in which the investigator would understand him if she looked at it from George's perspective. Table 17 demonstrates the suspect's strategies and their manifestations.

Table 17
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 5

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Formulation	Hedges	Politeness
		Observance	Violation			
Suspect power	Denial		Quality Quantity			
	Mitigation			What has been said	Hedges 1	Positive

4.2.3 Analysis of Case 2

In the Shelby Park neighborhood of Louisville, Jodie Cecil and Bryan Greenwell were convicted of murdering a woman and leaving her husband badly wounded. The victims were Derrell Wilson and Jennifer Cain, who were Jodie and Bryan's neighbors.

On May 13, 2016, Jennifer Cain had several gunshot wounds and died due to her injuries. Meanwhile, Derrell Wilson was rescued from certain death and played a vital role in the suspects' confession. According to police reports, Derrell Wilson, who was still hospitalized and in poor health, claimed that Jodie and Bryan were both actively involved in the assault.

During the PI, the suspects were shown a recording of Derrell Wilson and a police officer. Once confronted with the victim's audio recording of the allegation, Bryan and Jodie claimed that their neighbors were involved in a domestic violence incident, and they rushed to help. Rather than calming down the situation, as they presumably intended, Derrell and Jennifer ended up being shot by Bryan. Jodie stated that there was a fight over the gun, whereas Bryan said he freaked out and did not realize what had happened (Lee, 2019a).

The participants of the following PI are the suspect, Bryan Greenwell, and the investigator. The aim is to identify the guilty person and to obtain a confession from Bryan.

Excerpt 6

“Investigator: And it really doesn't matter for me. I'm just curious because everyone says 'Lala' and I'm like, 'last time someone was named 'LaLa' was on a kids T.V. show' [laughter] Alright. Let me take you back to that apartment on Shelby. How long did ya'll stay there?”

Bryan Greenwell: Man, I can't, I just got out of jail. I don't know if she had that before I went in, or before right before I got out, or what. I think I was only there a couple weeks, maybe? Something like that. Maybe a little longer. I know it was like between two, two weeks. Two to three weeks. Something like that.

Investigator: And you guys never went back to that apartment?

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah, we went back.

Investigator: *You did?*

Bryan Greenwell: *Yeah.* We went back and *got some of our stuff.* *I mean,* we've seen the landlord and *nothing was ever said.* We've seen cops sitting there and *nothing was ever said* to us. And *I was thinking 'well,* this aint got nothing to do with us, *I hope'*

Investigator: *Did you know those neighbors? You'll never, you ever seen them before?*

Bryan Greenwell: *Yeah,* we've seen them in passing...”

(Appendix B. Case 2, p. xv)

Prior to this excerpt, the investigator has accomplished the ‘planning and preparation’ stage of the PI whereby Miranda rights are read, the right to remain silent and consult a lawyer. Then he transfers the conversation to the ‘account’ stage, wherein the investigator opens up the interview topic asking Bryan about his apartment on Shelby Street. For a while, Bryan has denied his acknowledgment of anything pertaining to that apartment. Then, he has expressed his powerless and reluctant response to be unexpectedly interrupted by the investigator.

In this excerpt, the PI is still at the ‘account’ stage since new topics are opened and the old ones are repeated until the investigator sufficiently covers all issues. To practice power over Bryan, the investigator employs three strategies:

1) Recycling Topics

The investigator utilizes this strategy because Bryan’s answer in the lines before this excerpt is inconsistent and irrelevant. As a kind of exercising power over the suspect and the whole process of interaction, the investigator recycles the same topic repeatedly.

The *recycling topic* strategy is utilized twice; the first occurrence takes place in the investigator’s first turn. Two power devices aid in the manifestation of the strategy: *politeness* and *questions*. At the very beginning, the investigator tries to build up rapport and friendship with the suspect using the *positive politeness* strategy, ‘jokes’, when he inquires in the lines prior to the current excerpt about who Lala is, then he says, “*last time someone was named ‘LaLa’ was on a kids T.V. show*” [laughter]”. Then, when he says, “*Let me take you back to that apartment on Shelby*”, he uses *negative politeness* by attempting to ‘minimize the imposition’ on the suspect’s liberty in order to seem as though

he is respectfully requesting permission to question the suspect. Finally, the detective exploits the *Wh-free narrative question*, . **“How long did ya’ll stay there?”**, in recycling the same topic to get a more expanded answer.

The second occurrence of the strategy is manifested via two power devices, *formulation* and *questions*; both of which appear in:

- **“And you guys never went back to that apartment?”**

Formulation refers to the rewording of *what has been said* by Bryan to check the consistency. Previously, Bryan has denied going to the apartment and has claimed that he has been in prison for approximately two weeks.

Questions are evident in the *declarative-cross* question. Such a question aims at obtaining information that has not been answered before by the suspect. In addition, it provides the investigator with the power to oblige the suspect to agree with the proposed statement.

2) Topic Control

Topic control occurs twice in this excerpt. The first occurrence appears in **“You did?”** whereby *topic control* is manifested via two devices: *questions* and *politeness*. On the one hand, questions are represented by the use of the above *declarative-review question*, which expresses the investigator’s astonishment towards Bryan’s change of answers; Bryan denies going to the apartment first, then he confesses it. On the other hand, politeness involves the performance of a *FTA without redress*, i.e., *bald on record politeness*, because the investigator is direct and seeks confirmation.

Two power devices manifest the second occurrence of topic control. The first device is *topic management*, more precisely *topic change*, which is used to ask Bryan whether he has seen the victims before or not. The second device is *questions* whereby two question forms are used: the *yes-no question*, **“Did you know those neighbors?”**, and the *declarative question*, **“you ever seen them before?”**. Both questions constitute a kind of *loaded questions* utilized to force the suspect to observe the maxims and restrict his freedom in telling his part of the narrative.

3) Struggle for the Floor

When Bryan tries to answer the previous loaded questions, saying, “*Yeah, we’ve seen them in passing...*”, the investigator again practices power through *the struggle for the floor* strategy. This strategy is manifested by the *competitive interruption* device since the investigator re-takes the floor and acts aggressively against Bryan to demand more information. Table 18 demonstrates the investigator’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 18

Police Power in Excerpt No. 6

D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Recycling Topics 2	Declarative Wh-Q.	Cross Free Narrative			What has been said	Positive Negative
	Topic Control 2	Declarative	Review				Bald on Record
	2	Yes-no Q. Declarative	Loaded	Change			
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive		

Concerning the suspect, he is obliged to admit going back to the mentioned apartment. Thus, he responds to the investigator’s first declarative-cross question, “*And you guys never went back to that apartment?*”, by saying: “*Yeah, we went back*”. He is *powerless* in this specific turn because he *observes quantity, quality, relation, and manner maxims*.

Nevertheless, Bryan resists the investigator’s power and utilizes four power strategies. These strategies are:

1. Denial

The suspect’s first utilized strategy in this excerpt is *denial*. He uses it when the investigator recycles the topic of Bryan’s apartment by asking, “*How long did ya’ll stay there?*”. The suspect rejects providing an answer claiming that he does not know because

he was at the jail and recently released, stating, ***“Man, I can’t, I just got out of jail. I don’t know if she had that before I went in”.***

Two power devices assist in the manifestation of his denial: *politeness* and *violation of CP*. The suspect adheres to *positive politeness* using the ‘in-group identity marker’, ***“Man”***, to claim common ground with the investigator in an attempt to be perceived as friendly and cooperative. He also *violates the quality maxim* because he lies to mislead the investigator; the investigation later reveals his awareness of the exact period he stayed in the mentioned apartment.

2. Obscurity

Immediately after denying how long he lived at the apartment in question, Bryan shifts to *obscurity strategy* and answers: ***“I think I was only there a couple weeks, maybe? Something like that. Maybe a little longer. I know it was like between two, two weeks. Two to three weeks. Something like that”.***

Obscurity is manifested by two power devices: *violation of CP* and *hedges*. First, he *violates the manner maxim* because he uses ambiguous language. Second, he exploits the *ten underlined hedges* to express uncertainty and enhance the vagueness of his reply. Besides, *hedges* serve as a tool of deception and manipulation; Bryan’s answer is not precise.

3. Fragmented Style

When asked to affirm the investigator’s question, ***“You did?”***, Bryan resists the investigator’s power and utilizes *fragmented style* strategy by revealing only part of the truth. Thus, his answer is not as satisfactory as needed. This strategy is manifested via two devices: *violation of CP* and *hedges*. First, he *violates quantity maxim* because he is less informative than is required and *quality maxims* as he provides false information. He says that the reason behind their return was to get some of their staff where they accidentally saw cops sitting in there but the truth is the opposite.

Second, he uses five *hedging* expressions, including ***“some of”***, ***“I mean”***, ***“I was thinking”***, ***“well”***, and ***“I hope”*** to express untruthfulness and insincerity.

4. Repetition

Bryan's same turn, "*Yeah. We went back and got some of our stuff..., I hope*", encompasses another strategy: *repetition*. He utilizes self-repetition as he repeats his exact utterance two times "*nothing was ever said*". *Repetition* strategy is manifested by two power devices: *formulation* and *violation of CP*. First, repetition is one of the formulation devices whereby the suspect exactly repeats *what has been said*. Second, repetition involves the *violation* of *quality* and *manner maxims* because the suspect is not brief. Table 19 demonstrates the suspect's strategies and their manifestations.

Table 19

Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 6

Power D. Power St.		Formulation	Cooperative Principle		Hedges	Politeness
			Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Denial			Quality		Positive
	Obscurity			Manner	Hedges	
					10	
	Fragmented Style			Quantity Quality	Hedges	
5						
Repetition	What has been said		Quantity Manner			
Powerlessness			All maxims			

Excerpt 7

Investigator: Mm-Hm. It was strip clubs, you're right. Alright, um, what do you actually know about what happened over there? What have you heard? What do you know?

Bryan Greenwell: I just heard that somebody got shot, somebody got killed or something like that. Then we stayed away for a couple days because that's when I found out that supposedly they were there for her, and us, you know what I'm saying? It was supposed to be us. I was like, you know, um, we made the decision to stay away for a couple of days because hell, somebody wanted to talk to her they, the landlord knew her phone number, her cell phone number, knew her name, everything else. Nobody ever tried to contact us. At least, as far as I know, nobody ever tried to contact us. Which I mean the house, the apartment wasn't even, it was her apartment, wasn't in my name, or nothing like that.

Investigator: Right. Alright. Did you know that there were two victims there? Did you know that?

Bryan Greenwell: No.

Investigator: *Both of those two people I showed you.*

Bryan Greenwell: *No, they told me it was just the... uh... lady.*

Investigator: *Well, both of them were shot. And uh, this is what I want to show you.*

(Appendix B. Case 2, p. xvi)

This excerpt is the core of ‘account’ stage since it includes confronting the suspect with the evidence and indirectly accusing him. In this excerpt, the investigator utilizes three power strategies as follows:

1) Rephrasing Answers

The investigator’s first turn encompasses the utilization of *rephrasing answers* strategy which is manifested by *formulation*. He formulates the suspect’s words in “***It was strip clubs, you’re right***”. Before this turn, Bryan explains that the only time he had interaction with the victims was while he was walking in the hallways in front of the strip clubs. Here, the investigator agrees upon the same information and confirms Bryan’s words by presenting a gist of *what has been said*.

2) Topic Control

The same turn embraces another power strategy; *topic control*. It is manifested by three power devices: *topic management*, *questions*, and *politeness*.

The first device occurs when the investigator *changes* the topic by asking Bryan about what he knows regarding the murder. *Changing* topics designates a high degree of power and coerciveness because the investigator chooses whatever topics he desires.

Three *Wh-free narrative questions* constitute the second device, as the investigator can direct the number of questions he wants. These questions are:

- “***what do you actually know about what happened over there?***”
- “***What have you heard?***”
- “***What do you know?***”

The questions mentioned require the suspect’s provision of his viewpoint and his version of events.

Politeness represents the third power device that reflects topic control because the utilization of topic change and Wh-narrative-loaded questions denotes a *bald on record politeness*. Accordingly, the investigator performs a FTA directly and without redress.

3) Accusation

Accusation is the third power strategy employed by the investigator. It takes place gradually and develops in three turns. In the first turn, it appears implicitly through the use of *two yes-no-direct questions*:

- ***“Did you know that there were two victims there?”***
- ***“Did you know that?”***

The investigator indirectly accuses Bryan of being involved in the crime. Also, he avoids the employment of Wh-free narrative questions because he demands specific and accurate answers.

In the second turn, accusation is more explicit as it involves a direct reference to the victims ***“Both of those two people I showed you”***. Accusation is manifested by *formulation* device as the investigator rephrases *what he has said* when he showed Bryan the victims’ pictures.

Lastly, accusation develops in the third turn wherein the investigator accuses Bryan by using evidence strategy in ***“this is what I want to show you”***. He plays Derrell Wilson’s recording in which a police officer asks Derrell about whether his neighbors (Bryan and Jodie) are involved in the crime or not. The *accusation* strategy, in this turn, is manifested by *politeness* device; more precisely, *negative politeness* since the investigator employs the hedging expression ***“well”*** and passive structure ***“both of them were shot”*** to avoid the overt confrontation with the suspect. Table 20 demonstrates the investigator’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 20
Police Power in Excerpt No. 7

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function			
Police Power	Rephrasing Answers				What has been said	

	Topic Control	Wh-Q. 3	Free Narrative Loaded	Change		Bald on Record
	Accusation	Yes-no Q. 2	Direct 2		What has been said	Negative

This excerpt covers three turns in relation to the suspect's part. Each turn implicates the utilization of certain power strateg(ies). The first turn involves two strategies: *obscurity* and *providing information*. The second turn includes *denial* strategy, whereas the last turn incorporates the use of *fragmented style* strategy. All in all, to resist the investigator's power, the suspect employs four power strategies:

1. Obscurity

When asked about what he has heard regarding the night of the murder, Bryan pretends to be ignorant "***I just heard that somebody got shot, somebody got killed or something like that***". In this line, he uses *obscurity* strategy as manifested by two power devices: *hedges* and *violation of CP*. First, to increase the ambiguity of his answer, he uses the above underlined three *hedging expressions*. Second, by being obscure and vague, Bryan *violates the maxim of manner*.

2. Providing Information

Within the first turn, *providing information* is the second power strategy employed by the suspect to escape confessing the crime and resist the investigator's control. This strategy is manifested through three power devices: *topic management*, *violation of CP*, and *politeness*.

Firstly, *topic management* is apparent in the *topic change* device wherein Bryan shifts again to talk about the dope issue. He tries to gear the conversation in another direction so as to avoid the investigator's demand for more accurate and direct information.

Secondly, *violation of CP* is manifested as he deliberately *violates the maxim of relation* when he talks about an unrelated topic and provides additional and unrequired information. The *maxim of a quantity* is also violated since Bryan repeats certain utterances more than once and more than needed only to sound cooperative. For instance, "***we stayed***

away for a couple days... to stay away for a couple of days her”; “*phone number, her cell phone number*”; “*Nobody ever tried to contact us... nobody ever tried to contact us*”. Finally, he *violates the manner maxim* because he is neither brief nor orderly in presenting his account of events.

Lastly, Bryan uses *positive politeness* when he asserts a common ground with the investigator using the expression “*you know what I’m saying?*”. He does so to convey the idea that he is cooperative.

3. Denial

By answering the investigator’s question in “*Did you know that there were two victims there?*” with only one word, “*No*”, Bryan utilizes *denial* strategy to resist the investigator’s power. This strategy is realized by the *violation of quality maxim* because he lies when he denies knowing the victims.

4. Fragmented Style

Bryan moves from the previous strategy of denial to another one, the strategy of *fragmented style*, as he claims that he knows only about the lady rather than both victims, saying, “*No, they told me it was just the... uh... lady*”. *Fragmented style* is manifested by *the violation of quantity maxims* because he is less informative than is required.

It worth mentioning that this excerpt demonstrates the suspect as resistant since no signs of powerlessness are detected. The suspect’s strategies and their manifestations are shown in Table 21 below.

Table 21
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 7

Power D. Power St.		Topic Management	Cooperative Principle		Hedges	Politeness
			Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Obscurity			Manner	Hedges 3	
	Providing Information	Change		Relation Quantity Manner		Positive
	Denial			Quality		
	Fragmented Style			Quantity		

Excerpt 8

“Investigator: I can give you the, I can give you the details of, I guess the general of what she’s said. Is that, and he goes on to say that, they were involved in a domestic situation. Then apparently, he may have been getting the best of her, and she came over for help. You guys go back to their apartment, it happened inside their apartment, you guys intervened on the good side of this to start with, trying to help her out. And things went bad from there. Does that sound, is that a fair statement of how things may have occurred?”

Bryan Greenwell: No. I mean...

Investigator: It’s not?

Bryan Greenwell: No. I had no. Yeah, I know these people. I don’t know them personally. You know what I’m saying? I know them from that apartment. And yes, we did go over there. But, that’s it. I mean hell, if you finger print the place you can find my fingerprints on a couple things because where I walked in the room. I kind of picked some stuff up, you know, because it was laying everywhere so I was like [noises from cuffs on table while he demonstrates moving stuff over] I mean, other than that.

Investigator: Alright. I know right now you’re trying to figure out where to go with this. Because I don’t want you to start digging yourself a hole.

Bryan Greenwell: I know what you want me to do is to commit, you know, say...

Investigator: Oh, I don’t need you to, I don’t need you to. I got, you know, I’ve got Jodie’s statement. I have enough to walk out of this room right now. What I’m trying to do is try to give you an opportunity to do the same thing she just did which is go at it with the angle ‘we were trying to help and things just went bad’. That’s a whole lot better than just not making a statement and me just going off him. I mean, you think I put a guy who’s paralyzed from the neck down on a ventilator with an interview like this up to twelve people on a jury that they’re not going to sympathize with him instead of you? I’ll take that all day long, twice on Sunday.”

(Appendix B. Case 2, p. xvii)

Before this excerpt, the investigator informs Bryan that he has shown the recording to Jodie, and she has confessed. Bryan insists on understanding what she said. In this excerpt, the investigator explains Jodie’s part of the story and advises Bryan to confess.

The investigator practices power through four strategies:

1) Accusation

In his first turn, the investigator utilizes *accusation* strategy when he confronts Bryan with the second piece of evidence; Jodie's confession. Accusation strategy, more precisely, supported direct accusation, is manifested by three power devices: *formulation*, *questions*, and *politeness*.

Formulation occurs in "***I can give you the details of, I guess the general of what she's said***", whereby the investigator uses the reported speech as a formulation device to summarize *what she has said*. He reports that there was a domestic situation in which she sought assistance, but things went disastrously wrong.

Questions are represented by using the *yes-no-leading* question in "***Does that sound, is that a fair statement of how things may have occurred?***" wherein the investigator attempts to put words into Bryan's mouth and leads him to agree with the proposed story.

Politeness occurs when the investigator uses *negative politeness* to manipulate the suspect and makes him feel a false sense of freedom. He does so by the use of three hedging expressions within the same utterances above: "***I guess***", "***sound***", and "***may have occurred***".

2) Struggle for the Floor

The *struggle for the floor* strategy is utilized twice in this excerpt. Both are manifested by *competitive interruption*. The first time takes place when Bryan denies the accusation mentioned above in "***No. I mean...***", while the second time occurs when Bryan refuses to cooperate and tries to defend himself in "***I know what you want me to do is to commit, you know, say...***". These interruptions reflect the disagreement of the investigator and his demand for more clarification.

3) Topic Control

Topic control strategy appears in the investigator's second turn, "***It's not?***". It is manifested by two power devices: *topic management* and *questions*.

After interrupting the suspect, the investigator returns to the same topic to develop it and to obtain more information. Thus, *topic management*, particularly *topic development*, is employed.

The same turn, “*It’s not?*”, is also categorized as a *declarative-direct question* because it is a brief question used to check the suspect’s consistency. Besides, this question reveals that the investigator does not believe Bryan’s denial.

4) Maximization

When the suspect resists confessing the crime, the investigator utilizes *maximization* strategy two times. The first time is in the third turn, where the investigator frightens the suspect by exaggerating the consequences and comparing the situation to digging a hole, saying, “*Because I don’t want you to start digging yourself a hole.*” This strategy is manifested by *politeness*, specifically *positive politeness*. That is, the investigator adheres to *positive politeness* because he expresses his interest and concern in Bryan’s difficult situation using ‘exaggerate interest with H’ strategy.

The second instance of *maximization* occurs in the fourth turn, where the investigator exaggerates Derrell and Jodie’s evidence, claiming that it is so powerful that he can arrest Bryan without a confession. As a consequence, *maximization* implies implicit intimidation. This maximization is manifested by *politeness*. That is, the investigator intensifies and exaggerates facts via *positive politeness strategy* ‘intensify interest to H by exaggerating facts’, saying, “*I’ve got Jodie’s statement. I have enough to walk out of this room right now*”. Besides, he is pessimistic towards Bryan’s dilemma by using *negative politeness strategy* ‘be pessimistic’ in, “*you think I put a guy who’s paralyzed from the neck down on a ventilator with an interview like this up to twelve people on a jury that they’re not going to sympathize with him instead of you?*”. Table 22 illustrates the investigator’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 22

Police Power in Excerpt No. 8

Power D. Power St.	Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Politeness
	Form	Function				

Police Power	Accusation	Yes-no Q.	Leading			What has been said	Negative
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive		
	2				2		
	Topic Control	Declarative	Direct	Development			
	Maximization						Positive
	2						2
							Negative

In terms of the suspect, he utilizes two power strategies to resist the investigator's accusation of Jodie's evidence. These strategies are:

1. Denial

Bryan utilizes *denial* strategy because he refuses to agree with Jodie's confession, saying, "**No. I had no**". The *violation of the quality maxim* manifests *denial* strategy since Bryan does not tell the truth.

2. Fragmented Style

In the same turn, Bryan shifts from denial to *fragmented style* strategy, saying, "**Yeah, I know these people. I don't know them personally...I know them from that apartment. And yes, we did go over there. But, that's it**". Two devices manifest this strategy: *violation of CP* and *hedges*. First, he *violates quantity maxim* since he is not as informative as expected, and he only presents part of the story. Second, he uses *hedges* to intensify the vagueness of his incomplete answer. He employs five *hedging expressions*: "**I mean**", "**can**", "**a couple things**", "**I kind of**", "**some stuff**". Table 23 demonstrates the suspect's strategies and their manifestations.

Table 23

Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 8

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Hedges
		Observance	Violation	
Suspect power	Denial		Quality	
	Fragmented Style		Quantity	Hedges

Excerpt 9

[Investigator and Greenwell return]

Investigator: Shoot it to me, I want to hear it. You know, I've talked to some other people, I know it's been bothering you. Everybody has said that you have been acting different. It's really been bothering you. So it's been noticeable to other people. Take that weight off, throw it on me. Get it off your shoulders, man.

Bryan Greenwell: I mean, ya'll, aren't going to try to hit me with no fucking death penalty or nothing

Investigator: No, there's no aggravated circumstances.

Bryan Greenwell: Well, try to get this done as quick as possible. Cause I'll be honest with ya, I can't sit in that jail.

Investigator: I understand.

Bryan Greenwell: Jodie didn't have nothing to do with it. She did try to get help for her, I mean I even did try but ... She went back inside and he grabbed ahold of her or something like that. Jodie was like, you know, 'you gotta help her'. Cause I guess her or something like that. So I walked in there and I separated them and this and that. That's when, to be honest with you, I don't even, I can't even remember how the gun came into play, for real. Well, we started, kind of wrestling around and the gun went off. And then it went off again.

Investigator: How many times do you think it went off?

Bryan Greenwell: Honestly man, I don't even know. I mean, I was... blacked out or something like that. I don't know. Man, it's like... I'm guessing two or three times, three. Something like that. I remember hearing three gunshots.

Investigator: Do you remember which one you shot first?

Bryan Greenwell: No, honestly. I don't. I freaked out. And I was like 'man, what the fuck. I came over here to help somebody this shit happens.' I think... I know it went off once... I mean, I went over there, like you said, there was no intentions of going over there malice intended or nothing like that, you know?"

(Appendix B. Case 2, p. xix)

After being confronted with Jodie's recording, Bryan has collapsed and requested some time to relax and smoke a cigarette. In this excerpt, the investigator and Bryan return to the questioning room to resume the investigation.

To extract the confession and maintain control of the situation, the investigator employs two power strategies.

1) Minimization

To manipulate the suspect and win his trust, the investigator cleverly employs *minimization* strategy. He seeks to minimize the seriousness of the offense by saying, “*there’s no aggravated circumstances*”. Even when he says, “*I understand*”, he feigns compassion and empathy to mislead the suspect and give him a false sense of security. The real purpose of his sympathetic words is to persuade the suspect to confess the murderer, saying, “*Shoot it to me, I want to hear it.*”

Two power devices assist in the manifestation of *minimization* strategy: *politeness* and *formulation*. *Politeness* is apparent in three instances. First, in “*you know*”, whereby the investigator exploits *positive politeness* to presuppose a common ground with the suspect. The second instance of *positive politeness* is in “*Take that weight off, throw it on me. Get it off your shoulders, man*” in which the investigator exaggerates interest in the suspect’s challenging situation and asks him to get rid of that burden. Moreover, to highlight the fake claimed common ground with the suspect, the investigator ends his turn by the group-identity marker, “*man*”, which is the third instance of *positive politeness*.

The investigator employs *formulation* as the second minimization device. He formulates his words by repeating the same utterances to intensify sympathy and refer to *what is implied*; the heavy sense of guilt bothers Bryan and makes him look different. He says:

- “*I know it’s been bothering you.... It’s really been bothering you*”.
- “*Everybody has said that you have been acting different...So it’s been noticeable to other people*”.

2) Recycling Topics

Because Bryan’s answers are often inarticulate, confused, and sometimes inconsistent or contradictory with one another, the investigator frequently refers to the same topics over and over again via *recycling topic* strategy. In this excerpt, the investigator asks Bryan saying, “*How many times do you think it went off?*”. This question comes immediately after Bryan’s first confession of the crime. It is crystal clear that the above-mentioned *Wh-cross question* manifests recycling topic strategy. That is, despite

Bryan's admission that he has shot the victims twice, saying, "*Well, we started, kind of wrestling around and the gun went off. And then it went off again*", the investigator redirects this question in order to verify Bryan's truthfulness and obtain an accurate answer.

3) Topic Control

The investigator applies *topic control* strategy to build up the whole story of events. This strategy is manifested via two power devices: *topic management* and *questions*. First, to manage the topic and fill up the gaps, the investigator uses *topic development* device. So he inquires about who was shot first. Second, to achieve this aim, he uses the *yes-no-direct* question "*Do you remember which one you shot first?*" to demand a minimum and precise response rather than a long narrative one. Table 24 shows the investigator's power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 24

Police Power in Excerpt No. 9

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function			
Police Power	Minimization				What is implied	Positive 3
	Recycling Topics	Wh-Q.	Cross			
	Topic Control	Yes-no Q.	Direct	Development		

In terms of the suspect, he provides a partial admission of what has happened. Nevertheless, he resists police power via three strategies:

1. Obscurity

After being tempted to confess via the investigator's minimization strategy, Bryan admits his involvement in the murder. He explains that Jodie was not involved. Jodie tried to help Jennifer (the victim) because Derrell (the victim's husband) was beating her. Bryan also wanted to help. So he went in and split them. He says that when they were struggling, the gun accidentally went off. After that it went off once more. Still, this admission is vague and partial. He resists providing a direct, complete, and honest confession by using

obscurity strategy. The obscurity of his language stems from two power devices: *hedges* and *violation of CP*.

First, he *violates the maxim of manner* by being oblique and disorganized in his account of events. Also, he *violates quantity maxim* as he is not as informative as he should be.

Second, he employs five *hedging expressions* to increase the fuzziness and vagueness of his response. These are:

- “*I mean I even did try...*”
- “*he grabbed ahold of her or something like that...*”
- “*Cause I guess her...*”
- “*Well, we started, kind of wrestling ...*”

Besides, when asked to provide an exact number of how many times he shot the victims, Bryan utilizes *obscurity strategy* again in “*I mean, I was... blacked out or something like that. I don’t know. Man, it’s like... I’m guessing two or three times, three. Something like that.*” Again, the *violation of quantity and manner maxims* and the underlined four *hedges* assist in this strategy’s manifestation.

2. Denial

Bryan utilizes *denial strategy* twice. The first denial strategy occurs when he is highly unresponsive to the investigator’s question regarding how many times the gun went off. He responds, saying, “*I don’t even know*”. This line incorporates the *violation of CP*, which assists in the manifestation of the denial strategy. Bryan violates the *quality maxim* because he intentionally lies to deceive the investigator.

The second denial strategy occurs after the investigator’s question, “*Do you remember which one you shot first?*”, wherein Bryan denies, saying, “*No, honestly. I don’t*”. Again, the *violation of a quality maxim* manifests denial strategy.

3. Mitigation

Bryan attempts to mitigate his crime as he tells his side of the story. To absolve himself of responsibility, he defends his motives as moral and humane. He claims he went there for assistance, saying, “*man, what the fuck. I came over here to help somebody this shit happens. I think... I know it went off once.... I mean, I went over there, like you*

said, there was no intentions of going over there malice intended or nothing like that, you know?”.

In these lines, two power devices, *hedges* and *politeness*, aid in manifesting *mitigation* strategy. Bryan uses hedging expressions like “*somebody; I think; I mean*” to moderate his situation and give the impression that he does not have the malicious intention or the premeditation to kill.

He also employs *positive politeness* to establish rapport with the investigator. *Positive politeness* can be seen in “*man*”, the group identity marker, and “*you know*”, where he assumes that he and the investigator share a common ground and understanding. Table 25 demonstrates the suspect’s strategies and their manifestations

Table 25
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 9

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Hedges	Politeness
		Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Obscurity		Manner/ Quantity	Hedges	
	2		2	9	
	Denial		Quality		
	2		2		
	Mitigation			Hedges	Positive
				3	

Excerpt 10

Investigator: What happened with the gun? What did you do with the gun?

Bryan Greenwell: Destroyed it. Melted it down.

Investigator: Melted it down? How did you do that? That takes a lot of heat.

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah, I know. Well, actually the gun didn't get melted down it got took apart and got melted down. And I was like, ‘man, I don’t know an’d I gave the gun back to the person that owned it. You know what I’m saying? He just let me borrow it. And I can’t tell you his name because I don’t want to get him...’

Investigator: So did you destroy it or did you give it back to the guy?

Bryan Greenwell: No, I took it apart. Most of the gun went back.

Investigator: *I mean, don't bullshit me. I mean, it's not, this is not a, that's not a big issue there. My big thing honestly is, well, yeah I would like to recover it but I just want to make sure you didn't just toss it somewhere and some kid got to it, that's more what I'm worried about.*

Bryan Greenwell: *No No I made sure, yeah, I made sure there wasn't no kid or no innocent bystander or nothing like that was gonna pick it up.*

Investigator: *What model was it?*

Bryan Greenwell: *[silence]*

(Appendix B. Case 2, p. xix)

In lines previous to this excerpt, Bryan describes the situation and how he has freaked out. Then, the investigator interrupts Bryan in an attempt to limit his opportunity to narrate his part. In this excerpt, the investigator employs three power strategies in order to practice power and obtain a thorough description of what has happened.

1) Topic Control

After interrupting Bryan, the investigator uses *topic control* strategy to exercise power. The investigator's first turn encompasses three power devices that aid in the manifestation of *topic control* strategy. The first device is *topic management* which demonstrates that the investigator controls the interaction stream when he *changes the topic* into another. He asks Bryan about the crime weapon and how he got rid of it.

Two *Wh-free narrative questions* represent the second device of topic control manifestation. These questions are used to elicit an extra explanation and to reconstruct the missing information. They are:

- *“What happened with the gun?”*
- *“What did you do with the gun?”*

The third device entails performing a *FTA without redress*, i.e., *bald on record politeness*, because the investigator is straightforward and to the point when he asks the above *Wh-free narrative questions*.

Topic control is utilized again by the investigator in *“What model was it?”* wherein it is manifested via *topic management* and *questions*. That is, the investigator *develops* the same topic by using the earlier *Wh-free narrative question*.

2) Recycling Topics

The topic of the crime weapon is recycled three times in this excerpt because the investigator is not getting an account from Bryan that is consistent with his knowledge of the relevant facts. The investigator's first employment of *recycling topic* strategy occurs after Bryan's answer that he has melted the gun down. The investigator exploits two *questions* to recycle the topic. The first question is the *declarative-cross* question, "**Melted it down?**", while the second is the *Wh-free narrative* question, "**How did you do that?**". The former is used to seek Bryan's confirmation, whereas the latter is used to ask Bryan how he did so since it needs much heat.

The second employment of *recycling topics* strategy occurs after interrupting Bryan to highlight the contradictions in Bryan's plot and to cast doubt on either his current or previous account. Bryan previously stated that he melted down the gun and now claims to have given it back to the man. Two power devices manifest this strategy: *formulation* and *questions* as apparent in: "**So did you destroy it or did you give it back to the guy?**". First, the investigator formulates what *has been said* by the suspect using the formulation device 'so'. Second, he employs the *alternative-leading* question so that Bryan is obliged to choose one answer.

The third employment takes place as the investigator recycles the same topic explaining his insistence on knowing where the gun is to ensure that no kids will use it. To manifest this strategy, he exploits the *negative politeness* strategy, 'minimize imposition'; he justifies his actions and gives the impression that he does not force Bryan to confess, saying, "**I would like to recover it but I just want to make sure you didn't just toss it somewhere and some kid got to it, that's more what I'm worried about**".

3) Struggle for the Floor

The investigator employs the *struggle for the floor* strategy, manifested by *competitively interrupting* the suspect in the middle of his response. Even when Bryan appears to be invited to narrate his plot, this narration is not genuine; the investigator offers Bryan the opportunity to explain how he melted down the gun, but he interrupts him. This interruption not only halts Bryan's answers mid-stream, but it questions Bryan's honesty

on the one hand and serves as a sign for the investigator's disagreement on the other hand. Table 26 shows the investigator's power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 26
Police Power in Excerpt No. 10

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Topic Control	Wh-Q.	Free Narrative	Change Development			Bald on Record
	2	3	3				
	Recycling Topics	Declarative Wh-Q.	Cross Free Narrative Leading			What has been said	Negative
	3	Alternative					
Struggle for the Floor				Competitive			

Regarding the suspect, he is almost powerless in this excerpt. However, he utilizes two power strategies to resist:

1. Fragmented Style

Bryan attempts to hold information and resists the investigator's question about what he did with the crime weapon. Thus, he exploits *fragmented style* strategy twice. First, it occurs when he responds, saying, "***Destroyed it. Melted it down***". This answer is only part of the truth because later, when the investigator recycles the same topic, Bryan admits that he only melted part of the gun and not all of it. Second, it occurs when Bryan says that he gave the gun back to a guy. He refuses to tell his name in "***I can't tell you his name***". The *violation of CP* manifests both occurrences of this strategy since Bryan violates *quantity maxim*; he provides partial admission.

2. No Comment

Bryan employs *no comment* strategy for the first time in this excerpt. He deliberately acts uncooperatively towards the investigator's question in "***What model was it?***" by keeping silent. As such, he uses the power device of *silence*, particularly *intentional silence*, to manifest his *no comment* strategy.

Despite the earlier mentioned strategies, Bryan is perceived as powerless in, *“Yeah, I know. Well, actually the gun didn’t get melted down it got took apart and got melted down”* and in, *“No, I took it apart. Most of the gun went back”*. His powerlessness is realized by *observing quantity, quality, relation and manner* maxims and using the *hedging* expression *“well”*. These lines indicate that he shifts from the previous fragmented style strategy to the full admission of the truth. Moreover, when the investigator wonders if Bryan might toss the gun somewhere so some kid could pick it up, Bryan powerlessly answers, saying, *“No I made sure, yeah, I made sure there wasn’t no kid or no innocent bystander or nothing like that was gonna pick it up”*. Table 27 demonstrates the suspect’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 27
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 10

Power D. Power St.		Silence	Cooperative Principle		Hedges
			Observance	Violation	
Suspect power	Fragmented Style			Quantity	
	2			2	
	No Comment	Intentional			
Powerlessness			All maxims		Hedges 1

4.2.4 Analysis of Case 3

The murder of Savannah Gold on August 2, 2017, is the focus of the subsequent investigation. Rodarte worked as a chef and manager at the Bone Fish restaurant when he slew 21-year-old Savannah, a waitress there, in his car in the parking lot. Though he dated other women, Rodarte was known to have an off-and-and-on relationship with Savannah. Immediately after the murder, he sent the victim’s brother and mother misspelled text messages saying she was traveling with a boyfriend.

Security cameras captured the incident, but investigators were unable to see what happened inside the car. When questioned by police, Lee initially denied any information, but three days later, he confessed that he cut off her tire and killed her. Then he directed

the police to her corpse in a Westside pond. The medical examiner could not determine the exact cause of Savannah's assassination, but he labeled it as violent murder. Later, Lee was captured and charged with assassination. He was sentenced to 24 years in prison for second-degree murder in February of 2021(Lee, 2019b).

In the following PI, the participants are Lee Rodarte, the suspect, and two police detectives, Reeves and Sally. The detectives' speeches are perceived as referring to one participant in the analysis because both deal with police power.

Excerpt 11

“Detective 2: When was that?”

Lee Rodarte: Um, it was probably a couple, two or three weeks ago.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Sometime in July.

Detective 1: Right right. Yeah, I think that was one of the things you said was that was the last time that you had contact with her as far as, and I don't want to put words in your mouth so you correct me if I'm wrong.

Lee Rodarte: That's the last time that I text her.

Detective 1: Text or phone call or messenger or any like that is two to three weeks?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay. And um, the last time... When was the last time you saw her?

Lee Rodarte: This is what I was up with. I didn't tell you the truth when we talked. The last time I saw her was Wednesday afternoon.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um. I heard that she has been, basically telling a lot people at work that, um, we hooked up a bunch like a couple days before that and that she was going to like, tell about the whole situation and try to get me fired...

Detective 1: Why, why would that get you fired?

Lee Rodarte: Well, I'm a manager and she's an employee. So ...

Detective 1: Okay, so you guys aren't supposed to fraternize?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.”

Prior to this excerpt, the two detectives read Lee his Miranda rights in the ‘planning and preparation stage’. Then they turn to the ‘engage and explain stage’ whereby they explain the reason behind this interview, saying that they have interviewed other people, waiters, and other staff members about the missing waitress, Savannah, and now it comes to Lee to be interviewed. They ask him some questions about his name, education, phone number, and other personal information. It is worth mentioning the day before this interview, Reeves (detective 1) previously met Lee for a casual procedure to investigate the missing girl. Earlier, Lee declined to know anything about the disappearance of Savannah, saying he never contacted her. Yet, when the detectives move the PI to the ‘account’ stage and question him again, Lee reveals that he has written to her several times.

This excerpt includes more questions about when and where Lee saw Savannah. The detectives continue with questioning procedures employing four strategies to exert power over the suspect.

1) Topic Control

Prior to the detective’s utilization of *topic control* strategy, Lee has extensively provided additional information that the detectives have not specifically invited. His friendship with his girlfriend Savannah is a topic he explores. In order to better understand the circumstances in his relationship with Savannah, Lee reports background information. That is, he describes the state of affairs in the months that lead to their separation instead of describing what happened on the day of Savannah’s disappearance. Lee says they hanged out a few times, drank beers, watched movies, and other stuff. However, when she brought drugs over again, he wanted to end his relationship and ordered her not to contact him anymore.

The detectives seize the floor back again and use the power strategy of *topic control* twice in this excerpt to guide the investigation and monitor the interaction flow. In the first instance, Detective Sally employs two power devices to manifest the strategy: *topic management* and *questions*. Initially, she manages the topic by *developing* one particular point, what time Lee texted the victim, and ignores all other information that Lee has given

before. Besides, she uses the *Wh-free narrative question*, “***When was that?***”, to achieve her goal.

Detective Reeves uses the second instance of topic control. He employs three power devices: *topic management*, *politeness*, and *questions* to manifest this strategy. First, he *changes* the current topic under discussion and shifts the investigation stream into another angle by asking Lee about when he last saw Savannah. Second, he does that directly and vividly without any attempt to minimize his directness; thus, he performs a FTA without redress, i.e., *bald on record politeness*. Lastly, his question, “***When was the last time you saw her?***”, is considered a *Wh-free narrative* since he demands an expanded and free answer.

2) Rephrasing Answers

Detective Reeves utilizes *rephrasing answers* strategy twice. The first time occurs after Lee’s evasive answer concerning the last time he texted Savannah. The detective resorts to this strategy, saying, “***I think that was one of the things you said was that was the last time that you had contact with her as far as, and I don’t want to put words in your mouth so you correct me if I’m wrong***”. To manifest this strategy, he employs two power devices: *formulation* and *politeness*. By presenting a summary of *what has been said* by Lee, the detective enforces explicitness on the proposed account of events and compels the suspect to agree with him. Furthermore, the detective cleverly employs *negative politeness* while rephrasing previous responses, using the underlined hedging expressions. He gives the impression that he avoids confrontation with the suspect and everything that could jeopardize the suspect’s liberty.

The second time occurs when the detective asks Lee, saying, “***so you guys aren’t supposed to fraternize?***”. This time, the strategy of *rephrasing answers* is realized by *formulation* and *questions*. The detective summarizes *what has been said* by offering a conclusion for the suspect’s words on why he has broken up with Savannah: he is a boss, while she is a waitress, and therefore they are not allowed to have an affair. The above question is also considered as a *declarative-review question* since it brings the discussion to a close.

3) Recycling Topics

Due to the importance of certain pieces of information, the detective brings them to the discussion platform again by utilizing *recycling topic* strategy. Accordingly, this strategy is utilized twice in this excerpt. First, it occurs when the detective asks Lee saying, **“Text or phone call or messenger or any like that is two to three weeks?”**. He uses *formulation* and *questions* to manifest this strategy. That is, he hints at *what is implied* by suggesting that all types of contact, whether texting, calling, or using messenger, were before two or three weeks of the victim’s disappearance. Moreover, the same question is categorized as an *alternative-loaded question* as it encompasses a range of options that are intended to be agreed upon by the suspect.

The second instance of *recycling topics* occurs where the detective interrupts the suspect’s answer to re-ask specifically about why they would be fired if they (Lee and Savannah) had an affair. The detective uses two power devices to manifest this strategy: *formulation* and *questions*. He exploits *formulation* by repeating *what has been said* in advance by Lee to wonder about why he would be dismissed, saying, **“Why, why would that get you fired?”**. Besides, the question is categorized as a *Wh-cross question* as it refers to a previously mentioned piece of information to elaborate it further.

4) Struggle for the Floor

The detective employs *struggle for the floor strategy* for two times in this excerpt. The first instance is manifested via the *competitive interruption* device. It takes place when the detective stops Lee in his mid-answer while he is providing extra and unnecessary information to talk about how Savannah told many people at work that they (Lee and Savannah) were having an affair, which might lead to his dismissal, **“tell about the whole situation and try to get me fired...”**. The detective interrupts him in pursuit of a particular point, which says, **“Why, why would that get you fired?”**.

The second instance emerges as Lee attempts to respond to the above question by saying, **“Well, I’m a manager and she’s an employee. So ...”**, where the detective is uninterested in hearing any more details. As a result, he uses *cooperative interruption* to

finish Lee’s anticipated statement and bring the suspect’s words to a close, saying, “*Okay, so you guys aren’t supposed to fraternize?*”. Table 28 shows the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 28
Police Power in Excerpt No. 11

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Topic Control	Wh-Q.	Free Narrative	Development Change			Bald on Record
	2	2	2				
	Rephrasing Answers	Declarative	Review			What has been said	Negative
	2					2	
	Recycling Topics	Alternative Wh-Q.	Loaded Cross			What is implied	
	2					What has been said	
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive		
2				Cooperative			

Regarding the suspect, he tries to resist the detective’s power and escape telling the truth by utilizing two power strategies:

1. Obscurity

Lee resorts to *obscurity* strategy to cover up the real time he texted Savannah, claiming, “*it was probably a couple, two or three weeks ago...Sometime in July*”. His answer encompasses two power devices that help manifest this strategy: *violation of CP* and *hedges*. By being opaque and uncertain, he *violates manner maxim* as he moves around the bush without giving a definite response. Besides, he employs the three underlined *hedges* to enhance the opacity of his delivered answer.

2. Providing Information

Rather than giving a brief response to the detective’s question, “*When was the last time you saw her?*”, Lee gives more details and does not stop at “*I saw her was Wednesday afternoon*”. As a result, he employs *providing information strategy* in, “*I heard that she*

has been, basically telling a lot people at work that, ... and try to get me fired...". This strategy is manifested by *topic management* and *violation of CP*. First, the suspect uses *topic change* as he transfers the focus to Savannah and how she caused him problems that could lead to his dismissal from the restaurant. Second, Lee *violates the relation maxim* by providing irrelevant information. He also *violates the quantity maxim* since he is more informative than he should be.

Despite the early mentioned strategies, the suspect is perceived as powerless in four responses. First, when he confirms the detective's rephrased statement regarding the last time Lee texted Savannah, saying, "*That's the last time that I text her*", where he positively agrees with the detective. Second, when the detective recycles the same topic concerning their last contact via text, phone call, or messenger, Lee also responds powerlessly with the affirmative "*Yeah*", agreeing to all question elements. Third, Lee is being compelled to give additional information that had been withheld until this point; he admits that he met Savannah on the same day she mysteriously disappeared, saying, "*This is what I was up with. I didn't tell you the truth when we talked. The last time I saw her was Wednesday afternoon*". The final powerless response occurs when the detective interrupts Lee saying, "*so you guys aren't supposed to fraternize?*", wherein Lee responds again with "*Yeah*". In all his powerless responses, he *observes quantity, quality, relation, and manner maxims*. Table 29 demonstrates the suspect's strategies and their manifestations.

Table 29
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 11

Power D. Power St.		Topic Management	Cooperative Principle		Hedges
			Observance	Violation	
Suspect power	Obscurity			Manner	Hedges 3
	Providing Information	Change		Quantity Relation	
Powerlessness			All maxims		
4					

Excerpt 12

Detective 1: Okay. What's the warrant for?

Lee Rodarte: Uh, I didn't go to a court date for a ticket.

Detective 1: Okay. Okay. But I talked to you last night and I didn't have handcuffs, I wasn't threatening in any way...

Lee Rodarte: Definitely not but I mean...

Detective 1: And I left so what were you, what were you, if you were worried you were going to get arrested then it would have happened.

Lee Rodarte: Well, that's another reason that uh, my, Chelsea called me, and I said "you know, I told them I didn't know anything, what do I do now, you know, I already..."

Detective 1: When did you tell Chelsea that? When did you talk to her?

Lee Rodarte: Um, about...

Detective 1: It had to be after last night so was it today?

Lee Rodarte: No. I didn't talk to her today.

Detective 1: Okay, so how was I up there talking to you at about 11 o'clock but you talked to her after?

Lee Rodarte: I'm sorry, it was earlier in the day. I, cause, obviously I told her what happened, the day that it happened. Um, and told her that I was going to tell Savannah to leave me alone."

(Appendix C. Case 3, p. xxxi)

Prior to this excerpt, the detective emphasizes that Lee has been treated without being threatened during the previous investigation. However, Lee keeps quiet and denies meeting Savannah on the day she went missing. He justifies his actions by claiming that he was the last person to see her at the Bone Fish restaurant, so he was afraid of being convicted. Moreover, he claims that he freaked out because he already had a warrant.

In this excerpt, the detective first enquires about the above warrant and then leads the discussion stream to Lee's conceal of the truth. In his effort to elicit an honest confession, the detective uses three power strategies.

1) Topic Control

The detective has the authority to guide the flow of questioning toward whatever topics pique his interest. Thus he employs *topic control* strategy three times in this excerpt. The first occurrence takes place when the detective asks about the purpose of the warrant,

saying, “*What’s the warrant for?*”. The strategy is realized via two power devices: *topic management* and *questions*. Initially, he *develops* this piece of information to elaborate it further. Also, he accomplishes this using the above *Wh-direct question*.

After Lee’s partial confession of calling Chelsea, “*Well, that’s another reason that uh, my, Chelsea called me...*”, the second occurrence takes place. The detective interrupts him first and then uses *topic management* and *questions* to manifest his control. In other words, he *develops* a topic initiated by Lee and exploits two *Wh-free narrative questions*:

- “*When did you tell Chelsea that?*”
- “*When did you talk to her?*”

The last occurrence appears in, “*It had to be after last night so was it today?*”, whereby the detective uses *topic management*, *politeness*, and *questions* to realize this strategy. This time, he *ends the topic* by introducing a conclusion and assuming the expected timeline, thus, preventing Lee from elaborating on this point freely. His assumption is also direct, clear, and concise; therefore, he performs a FTA without redress, i.e., *bald on record politeness*. Furthermore, since he puts words in the suspect’s mouth and seeks clarification on the probable timeline, his presumption takes the form of a *yes-no leading question* rather than a declaration. This illustrates that the detective participates effectively in the reconstruction of the case description.

2) Recycling Topics

The detective resorts to this strategy twice. It first emerges when the detective spots the light again on Lee’s previous concealment of the truth about meeting Savannah on Wednesday afternoon, saying: “*But I talked to you last night and I didn’t have handcuffs, I wasn’t threatening in any way*”. He blames Lee, suggesting that his fear of being arrested as a result of the warrant is irrational because the detective has approached him without handcuffs or any intimidation. His strategy is manifested by *formulation* and *politeness*. Here, he sums up *what has been said* two days ago. Further to that, in order to enhance Lee’s sense of remorse and to obtain more clarity, the detective adheres to *positive politeness* using ‘asks for reasons’ strategy, saying, “*And I left so what were you, what were you, if you were worried you were going to get arrested then it would have*

happened”. He wants to know Lee’s real motive because if Lee’s justifications were objective, then he would have been arrested.

Recycling Topics occurs again after Lee’s denial in, “*No. I didn’t talk to her today*”. To reconstruct the authentic account of events, the detective recycles the same topic saying, “*Okay, so how was I up there talking to you at about 11 o’clock but you talked to her after?*”. This time, he uses *formulation*, *questions*, and *politeness* to manifest the strategy. He hints at *what is implied* to highlight the discrepancy in Lee’s previous answers; if Lee is honest, then the succession of events is illogical. The above question also is categorized as *declarative-leading* because he puts words into the suspect’s mouth. Finally, he uses *bald on record politeness* as he explicitly confronts Lee with the contradiction and gaps in his seemingly incorrect and inconsistent answers.

3) Struggle for the Floor

The detective uses the strategy three times, demonstrating his power and aggression against Lee. First, it occurs when Lee attempts to explain why he hid the meeting by saying, “*Definitely not but I mean...*”, but the detective refuses to let him finish his turn. Second, it is applied again by the detective while Lee offers the second reason claiming that he called Chelsea because he was freaked out, “*Well, that’s another reason ..., I already...*”. Lastly, it appears in, “*Um, about...*”, wherein Lee is trying to answer the detective’s question, “*When did you talk to her?*”; Lee is stopped at once and prevented from resuming his role back. In all occurrences, *competitive interruption* is employed to manifest the strategy. Table 30 shows the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 30
Police Power in Excerpt No. 12

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Topic Control	Wh-Q.	Free Narrative	Development			Bald on Record
		3	2	2			
		Direct	End				
3	Yes-no Q.	Leading					

	Recycling Topics	Declarative	Leading			What has been said	Positive
	2					What is implied	Bald on Record
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive		
	3				3		

Regarding the suspect, he utilizes two strategies to resist the detective's power as much as possible.

1. Fragmented Style

Lee's first strategy to resist revealing his true motives for concealing his encounter with Savannah is *fragmented style*. To manifest it, he uses *violation of CP*, *politeness*, and *hedges*.

That is, he *violates the quantity maxim* because his confession is partial even if he gives a second explanation for his conceal, saying, "**Well, that's another reason that uh, my, Chelsea called me...**". As a result, he is not forthcoming as required; the primary motive is that he murdered Savannah and disposed of her body in a lake. Lee also uses *positive politeness* by making a good story about his conversation with Chelsea using 'intensify interest to H' strategy. Since he already hides the reason, the *hedging expression* "**well**" is used to indicate a low level of collaboration and cooperativeness.

2. Denial

In answer to the detective's question, "**It had to be after last night so was it today?**", Lee resorts to denial strategy and responds negatively by saying, "**No. I didn't talk to her today**". He stubbornly refuses to accept the detective's version of events, and he flatly rejects the proposed time of the call. Hence, in order to mislead the detective, he knowingly *violates the quality maxim* since, after just a few lines, he agrees with the suggested proposition.

In spite of the strategies mentioned above, the suspect is viewed as powerless in two turns. Firstly, he responds powerlessly to the detective's question, "**What's the warrant**

for?”, when he says, “*I didn’t go to a court date for a ticket*”. He *observes quality, quantity, relation, and manner maxims*. The second powerless response occurs in, “*I’m sorry, it was earlier in the day... I was going to tell Savannah to leave me alone*”, wherein he uses the *negative politeness* strategy ‘apologize’. Previously, he denies calling Chelsea the same day Savannah went missing, but he now admits contacting her and informing her of his intentions to meet the victim. Therefore, in addition to *negative politeness*, he *observes all the Gricean maxims* in his confession. Table 31 demonstrates the suspect’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 31
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 12

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Hedges	Politeness
		Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Fragmented Style		Quantity	Hedges	Positive
	Denial		Quality	1	
Powerlessness		All maxims			Negative
2					

Excerpt 13

“Detective 1: So, tell me how I go from nice guy, never met you, you seem like a nice guy, I come up and talk to you, again, you know, you agreed there was nothing threatening or anything about our conversation. Just asking you for some simple basic things. Where we just talked for a few minutes. And you, um, didn’t tell me this story. I’m not going to say the truth because I think there’s holes in this story too.

Lee Rodarte: Okay.

Detective 1: Um, so you don’t tell me this story and then today we’re talking again because I brought you down to talk to you because I found holes in that story that didn’t match up and now you’re telling me another story that has holes that does not match up. So, where’s Savannah?

Lee Rodarte: I don’t know.

Detective 2: Why were you being hesitant about Chelsea being at your house? First you said that you were by yourself, you ate alone

Lee Rodarte: Yes, I ate dinner alone. Yes.

Detective 2: Right, but that’s not true either because you ordered Pa Pa Johns for you and Chelsea.

Lee Rodarte: *I ate, I ate corndogs earlier in the evening and when Chelsea got there, she was hungry, so I said...*

Detective 2: *But you clearly said you were alone.*

Lee Rodarte: *When I ate the corndogs, yeah.*

(Appendix C. Case 3, p. xxxiii)

Before this excerpt, the detectives have asked the suspect, both directly and indirectly, if he knows where Savannah is or if he has any knowledge about what happened on the day she reported missing. The suspect has consistently issued denials and ignorance of anything related to Savannah. This excerpt depicts the detectives asking a series of questions in order to elicit details about the victim's whereabouts. They use four different power strategies:

1) Minimization

Following Lee's adamant defiance, detective Reeves employs *minimization strategy* by flattering the suspect, "*I go from nice guy, never met you, you seem like a nice guy*", and downplaying his crime of concealing his encounter with Savannah. To manifest this strategy, the detective uses *politeness*, *hedges*, and *formulation*.

He employs *positive politeness* when he 'presupposes common ground' with the suspect to maintain intimacy and trust with him using the phrase "*you know*", in, "*I come up and talk to you, again, you know, you ...*". Furthermore, he rephrases *what has been said* previously by summing up what occurred earlier when he asked Lee simple questions and they spoke for a while. However, Lee told him a different scenario: "*Just asking you for some simple basic things. Where we just talked for a few minutes. And you, um, didn't tell me this story*". Eventually, to prevent overt conflict with the suspect because his account of events is filled with contradictions and to eliminate any threat to Lee, the detective uses *hedges* in: "*I think there's holes in this story too*".

2) Rephrasing Answers

Rephrasing answers is the detective's second strategy, which he employs twice in this excerpt. It first appears in the detective's second turn, as he says, "*so you ... that does not match up*", whereby he uses *formulation* and *politeness* to manifest it. Initially, the

detective exploits ‘so’, saying, “*so you don’t tell me this story and then today we’re talking again because I brought you down to talk to you*”, to briefly summarize *what has been said*; how Lee does not tell the truth and shifts the story when countered again by the detectives. Then, the detective adheres to *positive politeness* while confronting Lee with the inconsistencies between his previous and current stories by using ‘give answers’ strategy. In other words, the detective justifies his decision to bring Lee back to investigate him by stating, “*because I found holes in that story that didn’t match up and now you’re telling me another story that has holes that does not match up.*”

Second, it appears in, “*But you clearly said you were alone*”, where the detective attempts to draw a response from the suspect by inviting him to prove his prior statement’s truthfulness. The detective manifests this strategy by *formulating what has been said* earlier by Lee, who insists on concealing that Chelsea was at his house and claims to have eaten dinner alone.

3) Recycling Topics

In this excerpt, the strategy of *recycling topics* appears three times. Firstly, the last two power strategies, minimization and rephrasing answers, lead up to the most critical question, “*So, where’s Savannah?*”. This question represents the prime objective of the whole PI. Here, the strategy is manifested via *questions* because the above question is classified as a *Wh-cross question* since the suspect has never answered it before. Therefore, the detective brings it up to the floor to gather more details.

Secondly, *recycling topic* occurs after Lee’s denial of knowing where Savannah is. Detective Sally grabs the floor and assumes the task of recycling a previously discussed but unsatisfactorily examined topic; she inquires about Lee’s reluctance to reveal that Chelsea was present at his home. This time, *recycling topics* is manifested via *questions* and *formulation*. Detective Sally uses the *Wh-cross question*, “*Why were you being hesitant about Chelsea being at your house?*”, in addition to rewording *what has been said* by Lee in, “*First you said that you were by yourself, you ate alone*”. She tries to highlight the gaps in Lee’s story because he said he ate all by himself beforehand, but the evidence suggests he is lying.

Thirdly, it occurs after Lee’s insistence that he ate dinner alone rather than with Chelsea. The strategy is realized via *politeness* and *formulation*. Detective Sally adheres to *bald on record politeness* as she directly confronts Lee with the fact that he is lying, saying, “*but that’s not true*”. she Then rewords *what is implied* as she offers an explanation for Lee’s act saying “*either because you ordered Pa Pa Johns for you and Chelsea*”.

4) Struggle for the Floor

Detective Sally uses *struggle for the floor strategy* to convey her disagreement with Lee’s explanation of how he ate alone at the beginning and then with Chelsea. She *competitively interrupts* Lee while he says, “*I ate, I ate corndogs earlier in the evening and when Chelsea got there, she was hungry, so I said...*”. Her interruption exposes that she is entirely unconvinced, saying, “*But you clearly said you were alone*”. Table 32 shows the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 32
Police Power in Excerpt No. 13

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management	Interruption	Formulation	Hedges	Politeness
		Form	Function					
Police Power	Minimization					What has been said	Hedges 1	Positive
	Rephrasing Answers					What has been said		Positive
	2					2		
	Recycling Topics	Wh-Q.	Cross			What has been said		Bald on Record
	3	2	2			What is implied		
	Struggle for the Floor				Competitive			

This excerpt also shows Lee’s stubborn resistance and persistent attempt to escape confessing anything related to Savannah. The suspect exploits three strategies to resist the detectives’ power.

1. Denial

The suspect's response, "*I don't know*", exemplifies an explicit *denial* to the detective's question, "*So, where's Savannah?*". To manifest his *denial*, he *violates the quality maxim* as he consciously lies to deceive the detective; Lee knows where Savannah is, but he hides this piece of information.

2. Fragmented Style

Lee resorts to *fragmented style* strategy in, "*Yes, I ate dinner alone. Yes*", when Detective Sally asks Lee why he keeps the fact that Chelsea was at his house hidden as he previously has said that he ate alone. True, he agrees to the detective's proposal in order to appear cooperative, but the fact is that he only gives a partial confession because he later admits that he ate with Chelsea and that she was present at his apartment. The *violation of quantity maxim* manifests this strategy because he is not informative as required.

3. Repetition

Lee utilizes *self-repetition strategy* in "*When I ate the corndogs, yeah*", wherein he repeats his own words. He repeatedly insists on his previous confession that he ate alone, yet he adds only one modification to his answer: he ate Corndogs alone, but when Chelsea came in, he ordered food again. His repetition is realized by *formulation*, i.e., by repeating *what has been said* earlier. Table 33 demonstrates the suspect's strategies and their manifestations.

Table 33
Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 13

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Formulation
		Observance	Violation	
Suspect power	Denial		Quality	
	Fragmented Style		Quantity	
	Repetition			What has been said

Excerpt 14

Detective 1: Okay so, one day when you have kids, you, what beyond certainty is, is whatever kind of person she is, and I'm not about to say what kind of person she is, um, because I'm not making any judgements. I'm saying, this human being, if she's alive, then I want to find her. I need

to make sure she's okay because it's been several days now, she hasn't been around. Some, things that happen to the human body and some people can't stand a lot of things that can transpire. But the other thing is if she's not alive this family deserves better than this. This family deserves better than somebody who works with her and who has knowledge but won't tell the police because they're worried about their own ass. Because that's pretty cheap. I'm going to be honest with you.

Lee Rodarte: I agree

Detective 1: Your feelings in it? I don't really care about your feelings. What I care about finding her. So, where is she?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know where she is.

Detective 1: Where is Savannah?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 1: I need to know Savannah is so I can let her family is.

Lee Rodarte: I don't know where she is.

Detective 1: You don't know because you had something done with her and you weren't involved with that part? I don't know. Tell me something. What can I work with?

Lee Rodarte: I told you the last time I saw her.

Detective 2: That's not true because we have proof. We have proof. And that's why we're sitting here, Lee. At this point where we need this for her. I mean, I look at that little girl and I think of my little girl. My little girl that's her age. That's who I think about. If that was my little girl, I couldn't imagine. I don't care what she said about you or whatever. But my little girl is that age.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

(Appendix C. Case 3, p. xxxiv)

This excerpt exhibits the detectives' tireless efforts to elicit more details that could aid in the victim's finding. Hence, they use three power strategies:

1) Maximization

The excerpt begins with the detective's utilization of *maximization strategy* in his first turn. Detective Reeves tries to frighten Lee by magnifying the consequences of his actions as he never admits what happened to Savannah. To manifest his *maximization*, the detective exploits *politeness* several times. Initially, he implicitly intimidates Lee in "*one day when you have kids, you, what beyond certainty is*". This utterance has a menacing undertone that alludes to the possible repercussions for the suspect's behavior if he continues his denial; he will be imprisoned and unable to marry or have children. His

implicit intimidation is realized by using the *negative politeness* strategy, ‘be pessimistic’, since he highlights the possible dire consequences of the suspect’s actions. Then, to maximize the possible harm that might occur to Savannah as she was missing for several days, he uses the *negative politeness* strategy, ‘state the FTA as a general rule’, whereby he says, **“Some, things that happen to the human body and some people can’t stand a lot of things that can transpire”**. Additionally, he continues his exaggeration of the damaging effects of Lee’s crime, yet this time he sheds light on how the victim’s family will suffer as they deserve to know their daughter’s fate. This time the detective uses *negative politeness* strategy, ‘impersonalize S and H’, because he refers to Lee using **“somebody”** rather than directly pointing at his involvement, saying, **“This family deserves better than somebody who works with her and who has knowledge but won’t tell the police”**. Lastly, the detective shifts to performing a FTA without redress, i.e., *bold on record politeness* because he openly describes Lee’s action of hiding where Savannah as cheap, saying, **“that’s pretty cheap. I’m going to be honest with you”**.

2) Recycling Topics

Due to the vital importance of finding Savannah, the detective utilizes *recycling topics strategy* three times. Firstly, he manifests the strategy using *formulation* and *questions*. He outlines *what has already been said*, stating, **“What I care about finding her”**. Additionally, he exploits the *Wh-cross question*, **“So, where is she?”**. Secondly, he recycles this very same topic by asking the same *Wh-cross question*, **“Where is Savannah?”**. Thirdly, after Lee’s refusal to confess, he recycles it again using *formulation*. **“I need to know Savannah is so I can let her family is”**, the detective says, summing up *what has been said* in the previous turn.

3) Accusation

The detective’s previous strategies, minimization and recycling topics, have not resulted in a voluntary confession about where Savannah is. As a result, he resorts to *accusation strategy*, particularly direct accusation, twice since he bluntly questions Lee about his guilt.

At first, he directly accuses Lee of doing something to Savannah and concealing this part of the story. His accusation is realized via *questions* and *politeness*. To begin, he uses the *declarative-leading question*, “***you had something done with her and you weren’t involved with that part?***”. Moreover, he exploits *bald on record politeness* because the accusation is straightforward and clear. Additionally, he demands further clarity using the *Wh-free narrative question*, “***Tell me something. What can I work with?***”.

Following the suspect’s repetition of his denial in, “***I told you the last time I saw her***”, detective Sally re-uses accusation strategy once more, but this time it is based on the physical evidence and is realized by *politeness*. Using evidence to negotiate competing versions of events while accusing the suspect is evident in, “***That’s not true because we have proof. We have proof. And that’s why we’re sitting here, Lee***”. It is crystal obvious that she exploits *bald on record politeness* to manifest her accusation as she overtly confronts Lee with the fact that they have proof for which they bring up him in the current PI.

4) **Minimization**

Immediately after her blunt accusation, she resorts to *minimization strategy* as she uses emotional appeal towards the suspect’s conscience. To manifest the strategy, she exploits *positive politeness* by using ‘intensify interest to H by exaggerating facts’ strategy; she compares the victim to her daughter: “***I look at that little girl and I think of my little girl***”. Moreover, she asks for help to trace the victim and return her to her family as she is a little girl. Therefore, any assistance the suspect may provide will be greatly appreciated. To pique interest even further, she offers a hypothetical situation, saying, “***If that was my little girl, I couldn’t imagine***”. The use of *minimization* via *positive politeness* right after the accusation reflects the detective’s attempt to soften the directness of her former accusation by claiming a relatively common ground or understanding with the suspect since she assumes that he is sensitive enough to understand the need to find the missing girl. Table 34 shows the investigator’s power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 34
Police Power in Excerpt No. 14

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Formulation	Politeness
		Form	Function		
Police Power	Maximization				Negative 3 Bald on Record
	Recycling Topics	Wh-Q.	Cross	What has been said	
	3	2	2	2	
	Accusation	Declarative Wh-Q.	Leading Free Narrative		Bald on Record 2
	2				
	Minimization				Positive

When it comes to the suspect, he agrees with the detective's description, "*that's pretty cheap*", regarding concealing Savannah's whereabouts. However, he adds nothing and never admits his guilt. Accordingly, he exploits three strategies to resist the detective's power.

1. Denial

The suspect does not respond to the detective except with *denials*; he repeatedly denies, saying, "*I don't know where she is*". In order to manifest his *denial*, Lee violates *the quality maxim* by deliberately lying to mislead the detective. Lee is aware of Savannah's place, but he keeps it a secret.

2. Repetition

The suspect uses *repetition strategy* three times, each of which is labeled as a self-repetition since he repeats his own denials. First, he says, "*I don't know*", in response to the detective's question of where Savannah is. Again when the detective recycles the same topic, Lee repeats his denial saying, "*I don't know where she is*". Lastly, when the detective asks Lee: "*Tell me something. What can I work with?*", Lee insistently answers: "*I told you the last time I saw her*". Again he takes up his turn and comfortably repeats the same thing. The three occurrences of *repetition* are manifested via *formulation*, more precisely, repeating *what has been said*.

3. No Comment

The suspect's last turn in this excerpt entails his refrain from reacting to the detective's accusation; therefore, he uses *no comment strategy*. That is, he neither agrees nor defends himself; instead, he makes use of his right to remain silent. The *intentional silence* device manifests the strategy because he purposefully refuses to provide an answer. Table 35 demonstrates the suspect's strategies and their manifestations.

Table 35

Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 14

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Silence	Formulation
		Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Denial		Quality		
	Repetition				What has been said
	3				3
	No Comment			Intentional	

Excerpt 15

“Detective 2: Okay, well so tell us when you left with her in the car, that is what is shown, we can't make up that. We can't falsify video camera, Lee. I'm not lying to you. Because you know I'm telling the truth because you know what's on the video. How else would I know that? I don't unless I have the video. Where did you go with her?”

Lee Rodarte: I didn't go anywhere with her.

Detective 2: You did.

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 2: You did. So, the video cameras lie?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know this, I mean...

Detective 2: Well, I'm telling you, A 28-year-old man, that first says you haven't seen her, you didn't see her that day, to now the roles have reversed a little bit, because we have been doing our background okay? And now you're saying that she was sitting in your car, which all lines up with the video, actually, I'm glad you said you got in the back seat with her, all that lines up. You know what doesn't line up? That passenger door comes open, and shuts, opens and shuts. She never gets out of that car. And you drive off. She never gets out of that car. There is no green truck. And that's not right to her. We are fact finders, Lee. We don't have anything personal against you.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 1: No, no. Not at all. It's over. Just tell us what happened. Where is she?

Detective 2: We're fact finders, just doing our job.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

[Rodarte shakes head 'no']

Detective 2: No, no, no. Where did you go with her? Where did you go with her, Lee. You're human, you're human, you're a man. Where did you go with her? I know you're not that cruel inside. Seriously, where did you go with her?

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 1: Maybe, maybe you don't know where she is now. Where did go with her?

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]"

(Appendix C. Case 3, p. xxxv)

The following excerpt represents the center of the 'account stage' whereby the conflict of versions becomes apparent between Lee's story and the detectives' account of events; therefore, they challenge him straightforwardly with proofs. To practice power over the suspect, the detectives employ five strategies:

1) **Accusation**

Detective Sally employs accusation strategy thrice. First, she directly accuses Lee of lying: he lies despite the fact that the police have a surveillance camera that demonstrates his role in the crime. Her accusation is a potent 'supported direct accusation' because she openly accuses him using camera evidence as support. To manifest her accusation, she employs two power devices: *politeness* and *questions*. To start, she clearly and concisely makes the allegation that Lee was the last who left with Savannah, saying, "***so tell us when you left with her in the car, that is what is shown, we can't make up that. We can't falsify video camera, Lee***". Accordingly, she performs a FTA without redress, i.e., *bald on record politeness*. She then uses the *Wh-direct question*, "***Where did you go with her?***", to demand more clarity of where they (Savannah and Lee) went. Since her accusation is evidence-based, she is pretty sure that they were together. Therefore, her question is direct and requires a specific answer.

When detective Sally gets an unresponsive answer from Lee as represented by his stubborn denial, "***I didn't go anywhere with her***", she reuses accusations strategy again in

“You did”, in which she employs *formulation* by making hints at *what is implied*: his inevitable involvement in the assaults.

Additionally, she utilizes accusation strategy for the third time after Lee’s denial, **“No”**. She restates the accusation without change to the basics of the contents. Here, she employs *formulation* by repeating what *she has said* earlier, **“You did”**. Besides, she uses the *declarative-cross question*, **“So, the video cameras lie?”**, highlighting the perceived deficiency in the suspect’s version of events as it is the reverse of the evidence.

2) Struggle for the Floor

Detective Sally utilizes *struggle for the floor* strategy once in this excerpt, which she manifests by *competitive interruption*. She interrupts Lee when he denies taking Savannah anywhere and refuses to admit his guilt in, **“I don’t know this, I mean...”**.

3) Maximization

To magnify the strength of evidence and inconsistencies between Lee’s and the detective’s versions of events., detective Sally exploits *maximization* strategy. She uses *politeness, formulation, and questions* in the manifestation of the strategy. When she refers to Lee as **“A 28-year-old man”**, she employs the *negative politeness* strategy ‘impersonalize H’.

Then, she uses *formulation* to summarize *what has already been said*, stating, **“that first says you haven’t seen her... now you’re saying that she was sitting in your car”**. She draws attention to the discrepancies in the suspect’s present narrative and the one he told before this excerpt; he says he has not seen Savannah but now admits to sitting in his car with her. Since the second portion of the tale coincides with the video camera, *formulation* aids in exaggerating the intensity of the proof.

The detective then switches to the *declarative-leading question*, **“You know what doesn’t line up?”**. To emphasize the intensity of the evidence even more, she uses *bald on record politeness* by directly threatening him with the contents of the video to show that he is lying: **“That passenger door comes open, and shuts, opens and shuts. She never gets out of that car...There is no green truck”**.

4) Recycling Topics

Because of Lee's use of *no comment* strategy, the detectives resort to *recycling topics* strategy thrice in an attempt to extract a confession. *Politeness* and *questions* assist in the manifestation of the first occurrence of this strategy. Detective Reeves uses *bald on record politeness* to order Lee to tell the truth, **"It's over. Just tell us what happened"**. Then he utilizes the *Wh-cross question* **"Where is she?"** to recycle the same topic.

Recycling topics strategy is utilized again yet by Detective Sally, this time as she uses the *Wh-cross question*, **"Where did you go with her?"** to manifest her strategy. The third time is employed by Detective Reeves where he uses the same *Wh-cross question*, **"Where did go with her?"**.

5) Minimization

Minimization appears twice in this excerpt. Firstly, Detective Sally resorts to *minimization* strategy to decrease the suspect's resistance to confession by flattering the suspect and emotionally appealing to his consciences. To manifest her *minimization*, she uses the *positive politeness* strategy, 'exaggerate approval with H', by describing the suspect as **"You're human, you're human, you're a man... I know you're not that cruel inside"**.

Secondly, Detective Reeves utilizes *minimization* strategy again to reduce the suspect's hand in the crime and mitigate the offense's seriousness so as to elicit a voluntary confession. To manifest the strategy, the detective uses the *hedging expression* **"maybe"** in, **"maybe you don't know where she is now"**; he offers possible justifications for Lee. Table 36 shows the investigator's power strategies and their manifestations.

Table 36
Police Power in Excerpt No. 15

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Interruption	Formulation	Hedges	Politeness
		Form	Function				
Police Power	Accusation	Wh-Q. Declarative	Direct Cross		What is implied What has been said		Bald on Record
	3 Struggle for the Floor			Competitive			

	Maximization	Declarative	Leading		What has been said		Negative Bald on Record
	Recycling Topics	Wh-Q.	Cross				Bald on Record
	3	3	3				
	Minimization					Hedges	Positive
	2					1	

In this excerpt, the suspect is observed as a powerful figure who stubbornly refuses to admit his guilt. He utilizes two power strategies:

1. Denial

According to police reports, Savannah was seen on camera getting out of her car at 5:31 p.m. She approached Lee's car and spoke with him through the driver's rolled-down window. She got into his car 14 minutes later. The doors incessantly swung open and closed in what seemed to be an effort by Savannah to get out, signaling a fight between the two. Lee later got out of his car and took something from Savannah's vehicle before returning to cut her tire. At around 6.04 p.m., he departed in his own car. Savannah was never seen getting out of his vehicle. The only pictures of her alive were on that tape.

Despite the above strong evidence, Lee insistently rejects the detective's previous accusation and denies having any part in the woman's disappearance. Accordingly, he utilizes *denial strategy* three times in this excerpt. "***I didn't go anywhere with her***" is the first denial. Once again, Lee denies the detective's emphatic accusation in "***You did***", answering with "***No***". Lastly, he denies the detective's third allegation, saying, "***I don't know this***". This time, though, Lee attempts to comment on his denial, but he is deprived of this opportunity when the detective reclaims the floor and violently stops him before completing his turn. Since Lee knowingly lies to deceive the detective, the three denials are realized by *violating the quality maxim*.

2. No Comment

Lee does not agree to ratify the detectives' version of events. His refusal this time is represented by the restoration to *no comment strategy* four times. He uses this strategy as part of his Miranda rights; he takes advantage of his legal right to remain silent. *No*

comment strategy occurs first after detective Sally’s use of maximization strategy. The detectives are thus forced to reclaim the floor due to the lack of the suspect’s turn in:

- **Detective 1: “No, no. Not at all. It’s over. Just tell us what happened. Where is she?”**
- **Detective 2: “We’re fact finders, just doing our job”.**

However, their efforts are futile because he employs *no comment* for the second time; Lee does nothing other than being silent and shaking his head. Furthermore, as detective Sally employs the previously described minimization strategy, Lee remains silent for the third time. Finally, when detective Reeves asks the same question, “*Where did go with her?*”, Lee is silent once more, utilizing this strategy once more.

Silence device, more specifically *intentional silence*, manifests the four occurrences of *no comment* strategy because the suspect deliberately practices his right to remain silent. To conclude, Lee’s silence indicates his stubbornness, resistance, and uncooperativeness. Subsequently, the detectives’ former power strategies have not generated a response from the suspect, and their attempts have failed to elicit an answer other than denial and silence from the suspect. Table 37 demonstrates the suspect’s strategies and their manifestations.

Table 37

Suspect Power in Excerpt No. 15

Power D. Power St.		Cooperative Principle		Silence	Formulation
		Observance	Violation		
Suspect power	Denial		Quality		
	3		3		
	No Comment			Intentional	
	4			4	

4.3 The Quantitative Analysis

After conducting the qualitative analysis of the data under scrutiny, now comes the role of the quantitative analysis that supports the findings of the former analysis and confirms or refutes the hypotheses presented in Chapter One.

The following section is divided into two parts. The first part presents a detailed quantitative analysis of power strategies in individual PIs; then, it introduces a comparison of the findings of the overall analysis. The second part deals with the analysis of the devices that manifest these strategies in discourse. For comparing the results, the SPSS program is used and two types of statistics are utilized. Firstly, the frequency and percentage of occurrences for each strategy and device are calculated by using the following formula:

$$\text{Percentage of occurrence} = \frac{\text{Number of occurrence}}{\text{Total number of strategies or devices}} \times 100$$

Secondly, the tool of One-Way ANOVA is employed to determine whether there are any statistically significant differences between the means of the different power strategies in the data under consideration. Then, the overall results are tabulated to include frequencies (abbreviated as Fr.) and percentages (abbreviated as Pr.). Some tables contain also the computed One-Way ANOVA (F) value of the strategies to be compared with the tabulated value. In addition, specific tables are clarified by figures to conceptualize the results and analyses vividly.

4.3.1 Power Strategies

4.3.1.1 Individual Case Analysis of Power Strategies

For the sake of answering the first and the second questions of the current study (*cf.* 1.3), the detailed findings of power strategies in each case are displayed by using frequencies and percentages.

I. Case 1

The results of analyzing Case 1, George Hugueuly's PI, are shown in two tables: Table 38 demonstrates the analysis of police power strategies (henceforth PPS) while Table 39 shows the analysis of suspect power strategies (henceforth SUPS).

Table 38

Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in Case 1

Case 1		
Strategy	Fr.	Pr.
Topic Control	82	30.48%
Struggle for the Floor	61	22.67%
Recycling Topics	44	16.35%
Rephrasing Answers	33	12.27%
Accusation	24	8.93%
Minimization	13	4.84%
Maximization	12	4.46%
Total	269	100.00%

Table 39

Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in Case 1

Case 1		
Strategy	Fr.	Pr.
Denial	55	34.80%
Repetition	50	31.65%
Obscurity	20	12.66%
Mitigation	13	8.23%
Fragmented Style	10	6.33%
Providing Information	10	6.33%
No Comment	0	0%
Total	158	100.00%

As displayed in Table 38, the results of the quantitative analysis of PPS support the qualitative analysis because the POIs in Case 1 apply all of the strategies specified in the model (*cf.*3.5.1). Table 39, in contrast, shows that the suspect has not used all of the SUPS strategies: *no comment* is absent and is never used while other strategies are employed. Thus, these findings answer the first question of the study which reads “*what are the police interviewers’ strategies for practicing power and the suspects’ strategies (if any) for resisting such power in the data under scrutiny*”.

As demonstrated in Table 38, the results indicate that POIs depend on their power to apply all strategies, though with varying degrees of focus. In other words, POIs use *topic control* more often than other strategies. Consequently, *topic control* occupies the first rank

on the scale and amounts up to 82 times with a percentage of 30.48%. This outcome could be attributed the POIs' use of their legitimate power that provides them with the authority to govern the flow of interaction and control the discussion of topics. Depending on the POIs' goals, other strategies gain subsequent ranks that range between 13 times (4.84%) up to 61 times (22.67%). However, it is observed that *maximization* occupies the lowest rank on the scale and records 12 times (4.46%). Using *maximization* less than other strategies may be explained by the fact that the ethics of police investigation may urge the POIs to avoid violent confrontations and vivid intimidations as much as possible.

Regarding the use of SUPS, Table 39 shows that *denial*, among other strategies, is the most frequently utilized as it registers 55 times (34.81%). This outcome is consistent with the qualitative analysis since the suspect is perceived as being highly adamant in his refusal to confess the crime; he strives tirelessly in order not to admit. Varying in percentage according to the requirement of the situation, other strategies range from 10 times (6.33%) up to 50 times (31.65%). Surprisingly, the results show that the suspect never uses *no comment* strategy because it records no occurrence. In other words, the suspect does not use his Miranda right to remain silent. Though difficult to explain, this result might be related to his headstrong attitude that he always defends himself by utilizing other power strategies. These results answer the second question of this study which reads "*what role does power play in influencing the interaction in each police interview*".

II. Case 2

The results of analyzing Case 2, Bryan Greenwell's PI, are shown in tables 40 and 41. The analysis, similar to Case 1, reveals that all PPS are proved to be utilized in this PI. This again enhances the qualitative analysis. In terms of SUPS, the analysis reveals that Bryan, unlike George, consistently employs all of the previously outlined strategies in his attempt to resist POI's power. This finding again answers the first question of the study.

Table 40

Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in Case 2

Case 1		
Strategy	Fr.	Pr.
Topic Control	28	29.17%
Struggle for the Floor	18	18.75%
Minimization	17	17.71%
Recycling Topics	14	14.58%
Rephrasing Answers	8	8.33%
Maximization	7	7.29%
Accusation	4	4.17%
Total	96	100.00%

Table 41

Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in Case 2

Case 1		
Strategy	Fr.	Pr.
Denial	12	22.64%
Obscurity	12	22.64%
Fragmented Style	10	18.87%
Repetition	7	13.21%
Providing Information	6	11.32%
Mitigation	5	9.43%
No Comment	1	1.89%
Total	53	100.00%

Concerning the role of power in the selection of PPS, the analysis reveals that, similar to Case 1, the POI utilizes all strategies but with a specific emphasis on *topic control*; hence it comes to be the most frequently used strategy and amounts up to 28 times (29.17%). A possible explanation of this result is that the POI makes use of his institutional position to practice power by guiding the investigation and monitoring the interaction flow. Depending on the situation, other strategies vary in percentage and range between 7 times (7.29%) up to 18 times (18.75%). The analysis also reveals that, unlike Case 1, *accusation* rather than *maximization* ranks last on the scale as it records 4 times (4.17%) (see Table 40). This result may be attributed to the absence of direct and tangible evidence that proves Bryan's involvement in the crime. As such, the POI utilizes this strategy less than others.

As for the SUPS, Table 41 displays that *denial* and *obscurity* are the most dominant strategies since they equally amount up to 12 times (22.64%). This may be interpreted in terms of Bryan's observable power as he intentionally selects these strategies to cover up his predetermination to commit the crime of killing his neighbors. He, on the one hand, denies his involvement in the crime and uses vague language so that the POI cannot precisely follow the chain of events, on the other. Other strategies range in use from 5 to 10 times with 9.43% and 18.87% respectively, depending on the situation. However, the

no comment strategy occupies the last rank and records one single use with the least percentage of 1.89%. One probable reason for using this strategy only once is because Bryan is recalcitrant; thus, he takes extra time to think of an explanation and his responses seem to be well prepared and planned. Similar to Case 1, these findings answer the second question of the study.

III. Case 3

The results of analyzing Case 3, Lee Rodarte's PI, as tables 42 and 43 below show, go in line with Case 1 and Case 2 because all PPS are used by the POIs. In the same vein, SUPS are all employed by the suspect in his consistent resistance to the POIs' power. Again, this outcome enhances the qualitative analysis and answers the first question of this study.

Table 42

Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in Case 3

Case 1		
Strategy	Fr.	Pr.
Topic Control	107	33.54%
Recycling Topics	68	21.32%
Struggle for the Floor	43	13.48%
Rephrasing Answers	33	10.34%
Minimization	29	9.09%
Accusation	20	6.27%
Maximization	19	5.96%
Total	319	100.00%

Table 43

Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in Case 3

Case 1		
Strategy	Fr.	Pr.
Denial	39	23.08%
Repetition	28	16.57%
Providing Information	25	14.78%
Obscurity	22	13.02%
Fragmented Style	22	13.02%
No Comment	18	10.65%
Mitigation	15	8.88%
Total	169	100.00%

Reflecting on the role of power in the selection and use of PPS, the analysis indicates that the POIs use *topic control* more frequently than other strategies since it amounts up to 107 times (33.54%). POIs' focus and frequent use of this strategy might be justified by the fact that their legitimate power enables them to control the whole process of investigation.

Other strategies range in use from 20 (6.27%) to 68 times (21.32%), depending on the situation. The analysis also reveals that, similar to Case 1, *maximization* occupies the lowest rank and records 19 times (5.69%) (see Table 42). A possible explanation is that the POIs avoid using *maximization* strategy as it correlates with direct intimidations; they try to be friendly and sympathetic with the suspect to involve him into a false sense of security.

Regarding the SUPS, the suspect appeals to *denial* strategy more often than any other strategies as it amounts up to 39 times (23.08%) which is higher than its percentage in Case 1 and Case2. This result can be ascribed to Lee's powerful attitude as he insists on denying his involvement in the crime until the end of the PI. Therefore, he is perceived as extremely resistant. Other strategies rank subsequently in accordance with the situation and vary from 18 times (10.65%) to 28 times (16.57). Contrary to the previous two cases, *mitigation* ranks at the lowest scale of SUPS rather than *no comment*; it records 18 times (10.65%), whereas *no comment* registers 15 times (8.88%) (see Table 43). The analysis shows how the suspect stubbornly invokes his right to remain silent. As a result, the POIs are obliged to move on to a different facet of the event in question instead of pursuing an answer to the same specific point. A possible explanation is that *no comment* strategy reflects Lee's power as he vividly avoids answering the questions directed by the POIs and resorts to silence. By comparison, *mitigation* ranks last because he denies committing the crime in the first place. Therefore, the few detected examples of *mitigation* in the analysis are related to blaming the victim and justifying his encounter with her in Bonefish Park. Like those of Cases 1 and 2, these findings answer the second question of the study.

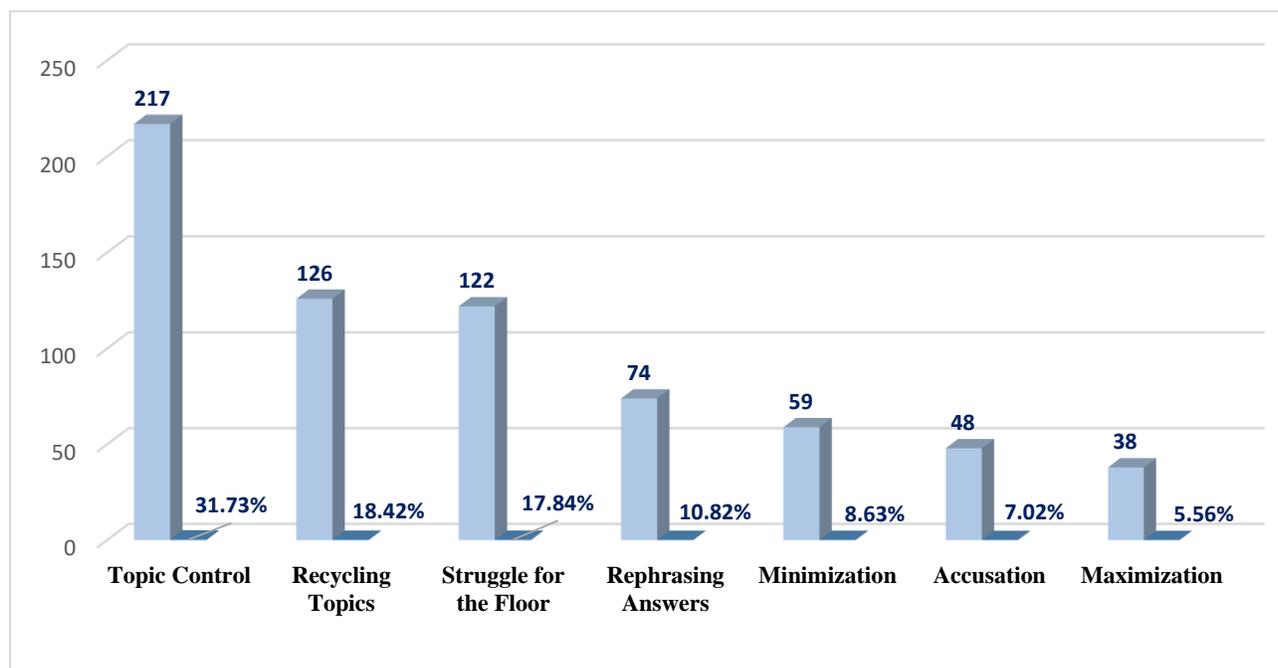
4.3.1.2 Overall Analysis of Power Strategies

To answer the third question of the study that reads, "*what are the most and the least exploited power strategies by both police interviewers and suspects?*", the frequency and percentage of power strategies in all the cases above are displayed in tables 44 and 45 and figures 15 and 16 below:

Table 44
Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in All PIs

No.	Strategy	Fr.	Pr.
1.	Topic Control	217	31.73%
2.	Recycling Topics	126	18.42%
3.	Struggle for the Floor	122	17.84%
4.	Rephrasing Answers	74	10.82%
5.	Minimization	59	8.63%
6.	Accusation	48	7.02%
7.	Maximization	38	5.56%
Total		684	100%

Figure 15
Frequencies and Percentages of PPS in All PIs



In respect to PPS, the overall results exhibit an obvious preponderance of *topic control* over other strategies. *Topic control* is the most dominant strategy in the data since it amounts up to 217 times (31.73%). *Maximization*, in contrast, is the least frequent strategy as it records only 38 times (5.56%). These findings are illustrated in Table 44 and Figure 15. One possible explanation is that the POIs' powerful position has helped them to dominate and control topics. They obviously have the ability to start any topic that serves their legal aims, continue the topic at hand, resist any topic change or terminate and end the topic at any point they want. As such, they can forbid suspects' elaboration of any topic if it does not serve their purposes. Alternatively, they lessen the use of *maximization* due to their ethics, lack of proof, or to appear friendly and empathetic.

Table 45

Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in All PIs

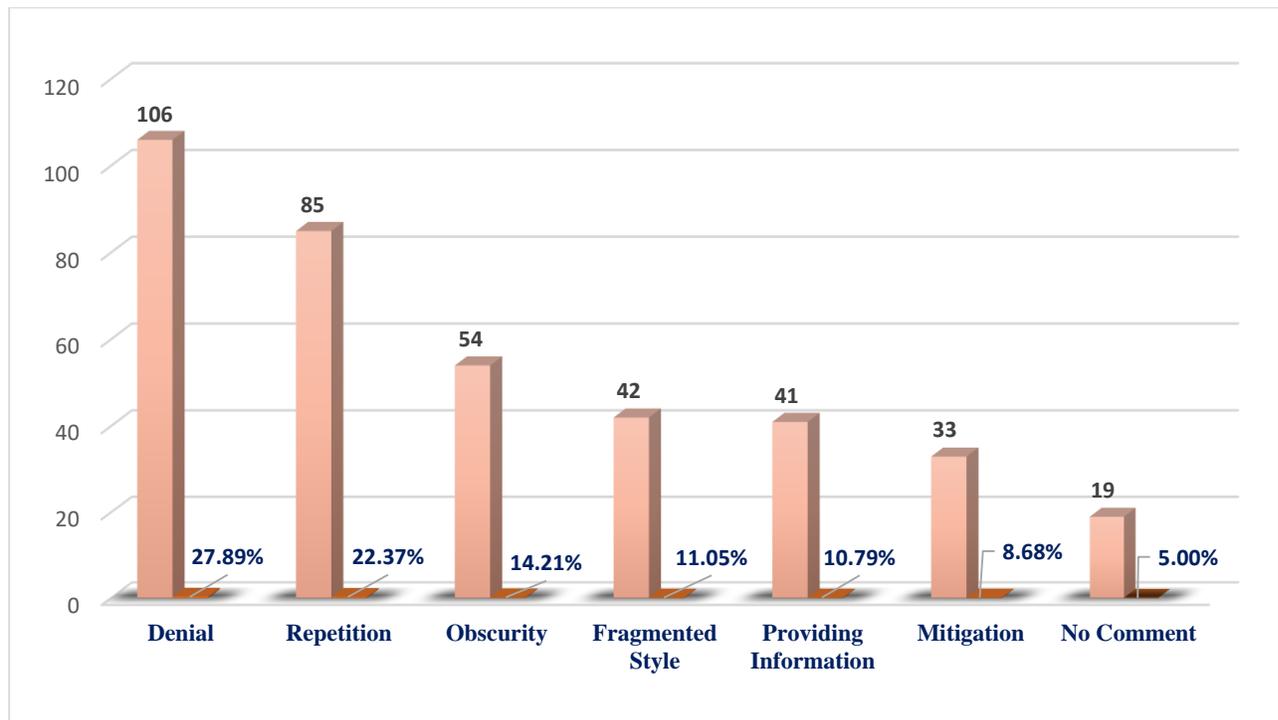
No.	Strategy	Fr.	Pr.
1.	Denial	106	27.89%
2.	Repetition	85	22.37%
3.	Obscurity	54	14.21%
4.	Fragmented Style	42	11.05%
5.	Providing Information	41	10.79%
6.	Mitigation	33	8.68%
7.	No Comment	19	5.00%
Total		380	100%

In regards to SUPS, the overall results show that *denial* strategy outnumbers other strategies. Table 45 displays that *denial* is the most prevalent strategy in the data recording 106 times (27.89 %). *No comment* strategy, on the contrary, is the least used, as it only

records 19 times (5 %). This result is congruent with the qualitative analysis because the suspects are realized to be obstinate and elusive in their refusal to confess the murder; they fight tirelessly to avoid confession and hide their prearranged plan to murder. Meanwhile, they are less likely to use *no comment* strategy, possibly because they do not want to be perceived as uncooperative; as a silent response to a question requesting information can be interpreted as a refusal to cooperate, or because they prefer to make denials using pre-prepared statements to defend themselves. For more clarification, the percentages are charted in Figure 16

Figure 16

Frequencies and Percentages of SUPS in All PIs



To answer the fourth question of the study, “*can any differences in using the various power strategies be discovered?*”, the statistical tool of One-Way ANOVA is employed to examine both PPS and SUPS.

Table 46 is a descriptive table that presents the mean of the overall analysis of PPS along with their minimum and maximum occurrences. It shows that the results coincide with and support the previous analysis, (see Table 43), since *topic control* records the highest mean of occurrences (72.33) while *maximization* achieves the lowest mean (12.67). The means of other strategies vary between 42–16. This table is used to calculate One-Way ANOVA statistics.

Table 46
Descriptive Analysis of PPS

Descriptive				
Strategy	Sample	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Topic Control	3	72.33	28	107
Recycling Topics	3	42.00	14	68
Struggle for the Floor	3	40.67	18	61
Rephrasing Answers	3	24.67	8	33
Minimization	3	19.67	13	29
Accusation	3	16.00	4	24
Maximization	3	12.67	7	19
Total	21	32.57	4	107

Table 47
Difference Analysis of PPS

One Way ANOVA						
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F		P. value
				Calculated	Tabulated	
Between Groups	3785.143	6	630.857	1.69	2.51	0.195
Within Groups	5216.667	14	372.619			
Total	9001.810	20				

As illustrated in Table 47, the calculated value of (F) for the strategies is 1.69, which is smaller than the tabulated value of 2.51 at two degrees of freedom 20,7. Meanwhile, the P. value amounts up to 0.195, which is greater than the significance level of 0.05, indicating that there are no statistically significant differences between PPS in impact.

The results reveal that all PPS can be effectively exploited by POIs to practice power. This finding conforms to the qualitative analysis since POIs use various strategies and switch from one to the next in their consistent attempts to exert power over suspects and extract a confession. Consequently, the analysis shows the vast variance of using different strategies rather than relying on one strategy.

In terms of SUPS, Table 48 below displays the mean of the overall analysis of these strategies and their minimum and maximum occurrences. It reveals that *denial* has the highest mean of occurrences (35.33) and *no comment* has the lowest mean of occurrences (6.33); as such, the results are consistent with and support the prior analysis (see Table 45).

Table 48

Descriptive Analysis of SUPS

Descriptive				
Strategy	N	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Denial	3	35.33	12	55
Repetition	3	28.33	7	50
Obscurity	3	18.00	12	22
Mitigation	3	11.00	5	15
Fragmented	3	14.00	10	22
Providing Information	3	13.67	6	25
No Comment	3	6.33	0	18
Total	21	18.10	0	55

Table 49
Difference Analysis of SUPS

One Way ANOVA						
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F		P. value
				Calculated	Tabulated	
Between Groups	1881.143	6	313.524	1.76	2.51	0.178
Within Groups	2482.667	14	177.333			
Total	4363.810	20				

The findings, shown in Table 49, indicate the calculated value of (F) for the strategies is 1.76, which is smaller than the tabulated value of 2.51 at two degrees of freedom 20,7. At the same time, the P. value amounts up to 0.178, which is greater than the significance level of 0.05, signifying that there are no statistically significant differences between SUPS in impact.

The findings show that the suspects can effectively leverage all SUPS to counteract and resist the POIs' power. This finding agrees with the qualitative analysis, as the suspects employ a variety of strategies rather than relying on a single strategy. In other words, they transition from one to the next in their ongoing attempts to avoid admitting guilt.

4.3.2 The Devices of Power Strategies

This section discusses the results of analyzing the devices that manifest power strategies, and thus it answers the fifth question of the study, "*how can each power strategy be manifested in discourse?*". It is divided into three sub-sections as follows:

4.3.2.1 Police Interviewers

This sub-section exhibits the analysis of the devices that manifest PPS. The frequency of occurrence and percentage of these devices are introduced in Appendix D, wherein a separate table displays the analysis of each strategy.

1- Topic Control

Topic control is manifested via three devices, namely *questions*, which have the highest frequency of 230 times (43.65%), *topic management*, and *politeness*, which record 206 times (39.08%) and 91 times (17.27%) respectively. These devices are to be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs (see Table D1).

Questions (henceforth *Q.*) are analyzed according to their form and function. By form, *Wh-Q.* register the highest rate (102 times, 44.43%). Other types can be sorted by their use ratio from top to bottom as follows: *Yes-no Q.* (63 times, 27.40%), *declarative Q.* (49 times, 21.30%), *alternative Q.* (15 times, 6.53%), and finally *tag Q.* achieves the lowest rate (1 time, 0.34%). By function, *direct Q.* register the highest rate (72 times, 31.30%). Other types can be arranged from top to bottom by their use ratio: *free narrative Q.* (69 times, 30%), *leading Q.* (33 times, 14.35%), *closed Q.* (28 times, 12.18%), *loaded Q.* (15 times, 6.53%), *review Q.* (7 times, 3.04%), and finally *cross Q.* record the lowest rate (6 times, 2.60%).

As for *topic management*, it includes using *initiation* (29 times, 14.08%), *development* (114 times, 55.34%), *change* (49 times, 23.79%), and *end* (14 times, 6.79%). It is observed that *development* records the highest rate whereas *end* registers the lowest.

Regarding *politeness*, it comprises *bald on record*, which has the highest frequency and records 46 times (50.54%), *negative*, and *positive* which come next and record 25 times (27.48%) and 20 times (21.98%) respectively.

2- Recycling Topics

Recycling topics is manifested through three devices, namely *questions*, which are the most prevalent recording 115 times (43.23%), *formulation*, and *politeness*, which come next and record 94 times (35.34%) and 57 times (21.43%) respectively. These devices are to be discussed thoroughly in the following paragraphs (see Table D2).

Questions are examined according to their form and function. In terms of form, *declarative Q.* record the highest rate (55times, 47.83%). Other types can be sorted by their use ratio from top to bottom as follows: *Wh-Q.* (38 times, 33.04%), *Yes-no Q.* (16 times,

13.92%), and lastly, *alternative Q.* (6 times, 5.21%). It is noted that *tag Q.* are not used and thus achieve zero presence. In terms of function, *cross Q.* register the highest rate (60 times, 52.18%). Other types can be ranked by their use ratio from top to bottom: *leading Q.* (18 times, 15.66%), *free narrative Q.* (12 times, 10.44%), *review Q.* (8 times, 6.95%), *direct Q.* (6 times, 5.21%), *loaded Q.* (6 times, 5.21%), and finally *closed Q.* record the lowest rate (5 times, 4.35%).

Regarding *formulation*, it involves two types: *what has been said* and *what is implied*. The former has the highest rate (61 times, 64.89%), while the latter has the lowest (33 times, 35.11%).

As for *politeness*, it embraces three strategies: *negative politeness* is the most prevalent (24 times, 42.11%), followed by *bald on record politeness* (18 times, 31.57%), and *positive politeness* (15 times, 26.32%).

3- Struggle for the Floor

Struggle for the floor is manifested by *interruption*, which falls into two types: *competitive interruption* and *cooperative interruption*. The former achieves the highest rate as it records 81 times (66.4%), whereas the latter comes next and registers 41 times (33.6%) (see Table D3).

4- Rephrasing Answers

Table D4 indicates that three devices manifest *rephrasing answers* in discourse: *questions*, *formulation*, and *politeness*. Notably, *formulation* is the most dominant recording 56 times (46.66%), followed by *questions* and *politeness* recording 34 times (28.34%) and 30 times (25%) respectively. These devices are to be illustrated thoroughly in the following paragraphs.

Regarding *formulation*, it involves two types: *what has been said* and *what is implied*. The analysis exhibits that only the former is used as it records 56 times (100%), while the latter records zero presence.

Questions are investigated in terms of form and function. By form, *declarative Q.* have the highest rate (18 times, 52.94%). Other types can be arranged by their percentage

from top to bottom: *alternative Q.* (6 times, 17.65%), *Yes-no Q.* (5 times, 14.70%), *Wh-Q.* (4 times, 11.77%), and *tag Q.*, which are used only once making 2.94%. By function, *review Q.* register the highest rate and records 23 times (67.65%). Other types can be listed from top to bottom based on their percentages as follows: *loaded Q.* (5 times, 14.71%), *leading Q.* (3 times, 8.82%), *cross*, (2 times, 5.88%), *free narrative Q.* (1 time, 2.94%), and finally, *closed* and *direct Q.* are not used at all.

As for *politeness*, it involves three strategies: *bald on record politeness* is the most dominant (24 times, 46.67%), followed by *negative politeness* (10 times, 33.33%), and *positive politeness* (6 times, 20%).

5- Minimization

As displayed in Table D5, the analysis shows that *minimization* is manifested in discourse via four devices, including *hedges*, *politeness*, *formulation*, and *questions*.

Hedges represent the most dominant device recording 78 times (42.39%). As for *politeness*, it records the second rate (60 times, 32.61%). It involves three strategies: *positive politeness* as the most dominant (48 times, 80%), followed by *negative politeness* (11 times, 18.33%), and *bald on record politeness* (1 time, 1.67%).

Formulation records the third rate (34 times, 18.47%). It involves two types: *what has been said* and *what is implied*. The highest rate goes to the former, which records 22 times (64.70%), whereas the lowest rate goes to the latter recording 12 times (35.30%).

Questions achieve the last rate (12 times, 6.53%). They are investigated in terms of form and function. By form, *Yes-no Q.* have the maximum rate (7 times, 58.33%) followed by *Wh-Q.* (4 times, 33.34%) and *declarative Q.* (1 time, 8.33%). Both *alternative* and *tag Q.* are not used. By function, *leading Q.* register the highest rate (6 times, 50%) followed by *cross, Q.* (4 times, 33.34%) while *closed*, *review*, and *free narrative Q.* are not used at all.

6- Accusation

According to Table D6, three devices manifest *accusation* strategy in discourse: *questions*, *formulation*, and *politeness*. Interestingly, the rates illustrate that *politeness* is

the most dominant recording 52 times (42.62%) while *questions* and *formulation* are equally used recording 35 times (28.69%) for each. These devices are to be clarified thoroughly in the following paragraphs.

Politeness includes three strategies: *bald on record politeness* which is the most frequent (29 times, 55.77%), followed by *negative politeness* (22 times, 42.30%), and *positive politeness* (1 time, 1.93%).

Questions are examined according to form and function. Regarding form, *Yes-no Q.* has the maximum rate (16 times, 45.72%). Other types can be ranked from the highest to lowest by their percentage: *declarative Q.* (9 times, 25.37%) and *Wh-Q.* (8 times, 22.85%). It is noticed that *alternative Q.* and *tag Q.* are equally used recording 1 time (2.85%). When it comes to function, *leading Q.* achieve the highest rate (19 times, 54.29%) followed by *direct Q.* (8 times, 22.85%) and *free narrative Q.* (4 times, 11.43%). *Cross* and *loaded Q.* record equal rates (2 times, 5.71%) while *review* and *closed Q.* and are not used at all.

Formulation includes two types: *what has been said* and *what is implied*. The first has the highest rate (20 times, 57.15%), while the second has the lowest rate (15 times, 42.85%).

7- Maximization

The analysis demonstrates that *maximization* is manifested in discourse through four devices, including *politeness*, *formulation*, *hedges*, and *questions*, as shown in Table D7.

Politeness represents the most dominant device recording 49 times (49%). It involves three strategies: *bald on record politeness* as the most dominant (26 times, 53.07%), followed by *negative politeness* (13 times, 26.53%), and *positive politeness* (10 times, 20.40%).

Formulation achieves the second rate (27 times, 27%). It involves two types: *what has been said* and *what is implied*. The use of the two types is almost identical; the former records 14 times (51.86%) whereas the latter registers 13 times (48.14%).

Hedges record the third rate with (14 times, 14%). Finally, *questions* achieve the last rate (10 times, 10%). They are investigated in terms of form and function. By form,

declarative Q have the maximum rate (4 times, 40%) followed by *Wh-Q*. and *Yes-no Q*. at the same rate (3 times, 30%). Both *alternative* and *tag Q*. are not used. By function, *leading Q*. register the highest rate (8 times, 80%) followed by *cross, Q*. (2 times, 20%). Other types are not used.

4.3.2.2 Suspects

The following sub-section presents the analysis of the devices that are used to manifest SUPS. The frequency of occurrence and percentage of these devices are introduced in Appendix E, wherein the analysis of each strategy is displayed by a separate table.

1. Denial

Table E1 demonstrates that *denial* is manifested in discourse through four devices, including *violation of CP, formulation, politeness, and questions*.

Violation of CP represents the most prominent device recording 111 times (73.02%). It comprises four maxims: *quality* as the most dominant (98 times, 88.22%), followed by *quantity* (10 times, 9%), and *relation* (3 times, 2.71%); *manner* has no occurrences.

Formulation achieves the second rate (26 times, 17.11%). It involves two types: *what has been said* and *what is implied*. The former is only used recording 26 times (100%), whereas the latter registers zero occurrences.

Politeness is ranked third recording 9 times (5.93%). It includes three strategies: *positive politeness* as the most frequent (7 times, 77.78%), followed by *bald on record politeness* (2 times, 22.22%); *negative politeness* is not used.

Finally, *questions* achieve the last rate (6 times, 3.94%). It is observed that only *declarative-cross Q*. are employed; other types are not used.

2. Repetition

Repetition is manifested through three devices: *formulation, violation of CP, and politeness*, as shown in Table E2. *Formulation* achieves the highest rate (85 times,

46.45%). It involves two types: *what has been said* and *what is implied*. The former is only used recording 85 times (100%), whereas the latter registers zero occurrences. *Violation of CP* records the second rate (81 times, 44.27%). It comprises four maxims: *quantity* as the most prevalent (65 times, 80.24%), followed by *manner* (16 times, 19.76%); *quality* and *relation* have no occurrences. Lastly, *politeness* comes in third rank recording 17 times (9.28%). It embraces three strategies: *positive politeness* as the most dominant (16 times, 14.11%), followed by *negative politeness* (1 time, 5.88%); *bald on record politeness* is not utilized.

3. Obscurity

Obscurity is manifested via three devices: *hedges*, *violation of CP*, and *politeness*, as displayed in Table E3. *Hedges* record the highest rate with 176 times (73.94%). *Violation of CP* records the second rate with 61 times (25.63%). It embraces four maxims: *manner* as the most prevalent (55 times, 90.16%), followed by *quality* (6 times, 9.84%); *quantity* and *relation* have no occurrences. Lastly, *politeness* comes in the third rank, recording only 1 time (0.43%) using *positive politeness*. *Negative* and *bald on record politeness* are not exploited.

4. Fragmented Style

As seen in Table E4, *fragmented style* is manifested through three devices: *violation of CP*, *hedges*, and *politeness*. *Violation of CP* records the highest rate with 37 times (50.69%). It embraces four maxims: *quantity* as the most dominant (24 times, 64.86%), followed by *quality* (13 times, 35.14%); *relation* and *manner* have no occurrences. *Hedges* record the second rate with 30 times (41.09%). *Politeness* ranks last recording 6 times (8.22%) by using *positive politeness* (4 times, 66.67%) and *negative politeness* (2 times, 33.33%); *bald on record politeness* is not exploited.

5. Providing Information

Table E5 displays that *providing information* is manifested through four devices: *the observance* and *violation of CP*, *hedges*, *topic management*, and *politeness*. As for *CP*,

it achieves the highest rate recording 76 times (51.91%); observance amounts up to 9 times (11.84%) whereas *violation* amounts up to 67 times (88.16%). *Hedges* record the second rate with 30 times (21.27%). *Topic management* ranks third and amounts up to 23 times (16.31%) using only *change*. Finally, *politeness* ranks last recording 12 times (8.51%) using only *positive politeness*; *negative* and *bald on record politeness* are not used.

6. Mitigation

As for *mitigation*, Table E6 exhibits that *it* is manifested through three devices: *hedges*, *formulation*, and *politeness*. *Hedges* rank first with 54 times (51.93%). *Formulation* ranks second recording 25 times (24.03%). It includes two types: *what has been said* and *what is implied*; only the former is employed. *Politeness* is equal to *formulation* recording 25 times (24.03%). It involves using only *positive politeness* and *negative politeness* with 22 times (88%) and 3 times (12%) respectively.

7. No Comment

No comment strategy is manifested in discourse via *silence* device, primarily *intentional silence* since it records 19 times (100%) in contrast to *unintentional silence*, which has zero presence in the data (see Table E7).

4.3.2.3 Comparison of Results

The analyses of the fourteen strategies in the previous two sub-sections (*cf.* 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.2.2) exhibit the prominent devices of each strategy. The following sub-section draws a comparison between these analyses using tables 50-53 below.

Table 50

Overall Analysis of Devices in PPS

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management		Interruption		Formulation		Hedges		Politeness	
		Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.
Police Power	Topic Control	230	52.76%	206	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	91	26.85%
	Struggle for the Floor	0	0%	0	0%	122	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Recycling Topics	115	26.37%	0	0%	0	0%	94	38.21%	0	0%	57	16.81%
	Rephrasing Answers	34	7.79%	0	0%	0	0%	56	22.77%	0	0%	30	8.85%
	Accusation	35	8.03%	0	0%	0	0%	35	14.22%	0	0%	52	15.34%
	Minimization	12	2.75%	0	0%	0	0%	34	13.83%	78	84.79%	60	17.69%
	Maximization	10	2.30%	0	0%	0	0%	27	10.97%	14	15.21%	49	14.46%
	Total		100.00%	206	100.00%	122	100.00%	246	100.00%	92	100.00%	339	100.00%

Table 51

Overall Analysis of Devices in SUPS

Power D. Power St.		Questions		Topic Management		Silence		Formulation		Cooperative Principle		Hedges		Politeness	
		Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.	Fr.	Pr.
Suspect Power	Denial	6	100%	0	0%	0	0%	26	19.12%	111	30.33%	0	0%	9	12.85%
	Providing Information	0	0%	23	100%	0	0%	0	0%	76	20.77%	30	10.35%	12	17.14%
	Repetition	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	85	62.51%	81	22.13%	0	0%	17	24.29%
	Mitigation	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	25	18.37%	0	0%	54	18.62%	25	35.71%
	Fragmented Style	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	37	10.11%	30	10.35%	6	8.58%
	Obscurity	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	61	16.66%	176	60.68%	1	1.43%
	No Comment	0	0%	0	0%	19	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Total	6	100.00%	23	100.00%	19	100.00%	136	100.00%	366	100.00%	290	100.00%	70	100.00%

Table 52*The Devices of PPS*

No.	Power D.	Fr.	Pr.
1	Questions	436	30.25%
2	Politeness	339	23.52%
3	Formulation	246	17.09%
4	Topic Management	206	14.30%
5	Interruption	122	8.46%
6	Hedges	92	6.38%
7	Silence	0	0%
8	Cooperative Principle	0	0%
Total		1441	100.00%

Table 53*The Devices of SUPS*

No.	Power D.	Fr.	Pr.
1	Cooperative Principle	399	42.31%
2	Hedges	290	30.76%
3	Formulation	136	14.43%
4	Politeness	70	7.42%
5	Topic Management	23	2.44%
6	Silence	19	2.01%
7	Questions	6	0.63%
8	Interruption	0	0%
Total		943	100.00%

The analysis reveals the following results:

1. *Questions* occupy the first rank on the scale; they represent the most frequently utilized device to manifest PPS as they amount up to 436 times (30.25%) (see Table 52). *Questions* are used to manifest all PPS except for *struggle for the floor*. This outcome could be attributed to the fact that the source of power in PIs stems from POIs' pre-allocated right to ask questions and to assess whether an answer is satisfactory or not.

Table 50 demonstrates that the highest rate of using *questions* goes to *topic control* since questions are employed for 230 times making 52.76%. In contrast, the least rate goes to *maximization* as *questions* are exploited for 10 times, making 2.30%. Depending on the multiple goals of POIs, other strategies vary in using *questions* from 12 times (2.75%) up to 115 times (26.37%).

Questions, in contrast, occupy the lowest rank in manifesting SUPS; they are used only to manifest *denial* and record 6 times (0.63%) (see Tables 50 and 53). This result is attributable mainly to the suspects' pre-outlined role as respondents rather than interrogators, i.e., they do not have the right or authority to ask questions.

Additionally, it is remarkably noticed that the same question form can be used to fulfill different functions according to the requirement of the situation. Generally speaking, *free narrative Q.* provide the POIs with the power to elicit long answers from the suspects. These questions also seem to provide the suspects with a degree of control to reflect their feelings and opinions through long details to be viewed as cooperative rather than guilty. *Closed Q.* help POIs in exercising their power over the suspects by limiting suspects' opportunity to expand or elaborate their answers. *Cross Q.* are used to verify any (in)consistency of the suspects' previous answers, check the degree of the accuracy and clarification of the long-detailed information they have provided, and to get any more information that might not be mentioned or elaborated before. *Direct Q.* are deployed to get precise and specific answers but usually simply worded and brief. *Review Q.* are used to summarize any previously mentioned information, to get more information, or to obtain the suspects' confirmation. POIs use such questions to end or terminate the current topic before moving to another one. *Leading Q.* grant POIs maximum control over the suspects' answers; the POIs use these questions to lead and force the suspects to think in a certain way and pushing them to agree and confirm whatever propositions. Finally, *loaded Q.* are very powerful and coercive weapons that POIs to control the suspects and their minds. The nature of the complexity of such questions makes them reasonable and full with propositions that help POIs assign accusations that direct misleading conclusions.

2. ***Politeness*** occupies the second-highest rank on the scale in manifesting PPS as it amounts up to 339 times (23.52%) (see Table 52). Similar to *questions*, it is employed to manifest all PPS except for *struggle for the floor*. Table 50 demonstrates that the highest rate of using *politeness* goes to *topic control* since it is used for 91 times making 26.85%. Conversely, the least rate goes to *rephrasing answers* as *politeness* is exploited for 30 times, making 8.85%. Depending on the POIs' various goals, other strategies differ in the use of *politeness* from 49 times (14.46%) up to 60 times (17.69%).

The results indicate that POIs employ the three politeness strategies to manifest their power strategies. First, *bald on record* politeness is employed for intimidation and

coercion. As a result, it embodies the most explicit and threatening strategy where the POI is straight to the point. Second, *positive politeness* is used to establish common ground with suspects and show sympathy towards them, for instance, when the POIs explicitly express their approval of the suspects' behavior. Lastly, *negative politeness* is utilized to avoid restricting suspects' freedom and to minimize imposition.

Tables 51 and 53 above also show that *politeness* occupies the fourth rank in manifesting SUPS since it records 70 times (7.42%). It is used to manifest all SUPS except for *no comment*. The highest rate of using *politeness* goes to *mitigation* since *politeness* is employed for 25 times making 35.71%. By comparison, the least rate goes to *obscurity* as *politeness* is exploited only 1 times, making 1.43%. Other strategies vary in using *politeness* from 6 times (8.58%) up to 17 times (24.29%), depending on the suspects' aims.

The analysis shows that the majority of instances of using *politeness* by the suspects fall under *positive politeness*. The suspects mainly try to create a good relationship with the POIs in an attempt to create a mutual understanding. In contrast, *negative politeness* is used much lesser and primarily to express respect and deference so as to manipulate and resist POIs and be perceived as friendly and cooperative as possible. *Bald on record politeness* is the least employed, maybe because the suspects try to avoid direct confrontation with the POIs while defending themselves (*cf.* 4.3.2.2).

3. **Formulation** is ranked third on the scale in terms of manifesting PPS, with 246 times (17.09 %) as indicated in Table 52. It is utilized to manifest five strategies, beginning with *topic control* (91 times, 26.85%) and ending with *rephrasing answers* (30 times, 8.85%) in accordance with the POIs' aims.

The results suggest that POIs generally use *formulation* to construct their preferred version of events and lead suspects to accept it, thereby limiting suspects' contributions. Furthermore, POIs utilize it to prove that suspects' versions of events are inadequate and portray suspects as unreliable criminals. The findings also suggest that both types of *formulations*, *what has been said* and *what is implied*, are used, but the former is used more frequently than the latter. One possible explanation is that the POIs primarily rely on the

suspect's earlier statements when accusing them rather than proposing new explanations about what happened.

Formulation is employed in a parallel way in manifesting SUPS. The rates illustrate that it also occupies the third rank on the scale recording 136 times (14.43%) (see Table53). It used to manifest three SUPS, namely, *repetition* (85 times, 62.51%), *denial* (26 times, 19.12%), and *mitigation* (25 times, 18.37%) (see Table51). Similar to POIs, the suspects also use formulation to build up their version of events while resisting the POIs' power. However, the results show that only *what has been said* is utilized, mostly because suspects insist on repeating their own statements to resist POIs' power.

4. **Topic management**, as shown in Table 52, is rated fourth on the scale in reference to manifesting PPS and records 206 times (14.30 %). It manifests one strategy: *topic control*. This result may be explained by the fact that a prominent feature of *topic control* is the POIs' right to initiate, develop, change, and end the topic discussed during the investigation. Consequently, *topic initiation, development, change, and end* are deployed. It is noticed that *development* has the highest rate, while *end* has the lowest (*cf.* 4.3.2.1). This result could be because most topics are left open since the suspects refuse to answer the questions, causing the POIs to develop or shift to another topic.

The analysis unexpectedly reveals that this right is not limited to POIs; suspects can also use this device to manifest *providing information* strategy by changing the current topic to another in order to resist POIs' power and evade confession. As such, it occupies the fifth rank among the devices of SUPS and amounts up to 23 times (2.44%) (see Tables 50, 51, 53).

5. **Interruption** is rated fifth on the scale in terms of manifesting PPS as it records 122 times (8.46%). It is used to manifest one strategy: *struggle for the floor*. According to the findings, *interruption* is exclusively used by POIs and does not occur in the manifestation of SUPS. This finding could be explained by the fact that POIs have the authority and are

in a more powerful legal position to interrupt suspects; hence *interruption* substantially correlates with POIs' efforts to stay in control and seize the floor.

Interruption involves two types: *competitive* and *cooperative*. The analysis shows that the former is more frequently used than the latter relying POIs' purposes after using interruption. On the one hand, they may use *competitive interruption* for different reasons, such as resisting any change of the topic during the interaction, returning to a previous topic, and preventing suspects from providing irrelevant information. Additionally, they employ it to resume their role back, expose their disagreement and dissatisfaction with the provided answers, and bring the suspects' words to an end. On the other hand, they sometimes deploy *cooperative interruption* not to contradict suspects but to complete suspects' anticipated answers, encourage them to continue, or show agreement and satisfaction. It can be noticed that the nature of PIs dictates the utilization of the former more frequently than the latter.

6. **Hedges** represent the least utilized device to manifest PPS and occupy the lowest rank. They amount up to 92 times (6.38%) and are used to manifest two strategies: *minimization* (78 times, 84.79%) and *maximization* (14 times, 15.21%).

Hedges, on the contrary, are vital for manifesting SUPS; they rank second (290 times, 30.76 %) of all devices. They assist in manifesting four strategies as arranged by percentage from the highest to lowest as follows: *obscurity* (176 times, 60.68%), *mitigation* (54 times, 18.62%), *providing information* (30 times, 10.35%), and *fragmented style* (30 times, 10.35%) (see Tables 50-53).

A possible reason for this outcome is that the use of hedges generally correlates with less powerful participants. That is, hedges are deployed less frequently by POIs than by suspects because the nature of PIs dictates power disparity between the two. POIs, on the one hand, are in a powerful position that does not necessitate extensive usage of hedges. Moreover, POIs usually use hedges to manipulate suspects to obtain a voluntary confession and mitigate the direct threat as much as possible. Suspects, on the other hand, resort to use hedges mainly to elude confession, mitigate their responsibility, increase the fuzziness and

vagueness of their responses, evade commitment to what they say, moderate the situation, and finally give the impression that they do not have the premeditation to kill.

7. *Cooperative Principle and Its Maxims:*

As mentioned earlier (*cf.* 3.1.2.6.2), the analysis of the observance or non-observance of the conversational maxims is limited to suspects because POIs have the inherent power to ask questions, change topics, and break the maxims. As such, adherence to these maxims is required on the part of the suspects. Their typical role is to observe the maxims and respond accurately to the POIs' questions. In other words, the default requirement for the suspects is to provide accurate answers to the questions by satisfying all maxims adequately.

However, the analysis implies that if the suspects refuse the adherence to the maxims and choose to violate them, then they practice one of the resistance strategies that designates power. The analysis suggests that observing these maxims is urged by the goal to be viewed as cooperative, whereas violating them is mainly motivated by the need to construct preferred versions of events. Accordingly, CP occupies the first rank among other devices and records 399 times (42.31%). It aids in manifesting all SUPS except for *mitigation* and *no comment* (see Tables 51, 53).

8. *Silence:*

Since *no comment* strategy is limited to suspects as part of their Miranda rights, *silence* as a device is only employed by suspects; POIs do not use it. It occupies the penultimate rank as it records 19 times (2.01%). Although there are two types of silence, *intentional* and *unintentional*, only the former is used while the latter has zero occurrences because the suspects deliberately remain silent.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Preliminary Remarks

This chapter comprises three sections. The first section presents the conclusions of the findings arrived at in the analysis of the selected data. The second section is concerned with presenting some recommendations founded on the outcomes of the study. Finally, the third section offers suggestions for further future studies.

5.2 Conclusions

In the light of the of the mixed, i.e. qualitative and quantitative, analysis of the selected data, the present study has arrived at the following conclusions:

- 1- The two parties involved in the PIs adopt a set of different power strategies; while the POIs employ strategies to exert power, the suspects employ strategies to resist such power.
- 2- All PPS are always found and utilized by the POIs. This result accords with the quantitative analysis. Regarding SUPS, they are found in all cases except for *no comment* strategy, which has been absent in George Huguely's PI. This verifies hypothesis **No.1** that reads: "*each police interview involves unique strategies for power practice and power resistance*".
- 3- Power plays a significant role in the choice of the PPS and the degree of focus in using on one strategy more than others. Hence, POIs' legal and institutional rights have given them a great advantage of accessing the different power strategies with specific emphasis on using *topic control* strategy. In other words, the inherently authoritative position of the POIs provides them with institutionally guaranteed right of choosing, changing, ending, and controlling and dominating the topics. This grants them control over the suspect and consequently over the whole process of interaction.

- 4- In the same vein, power plays a role in the choice and use of SUPS by the suspects. The suspects, accordingly, have used almost all SUPS but with a special focus on *denial* strategy. They have been realized to be stubborn and evasive in their resistance to confess the crime; they work persistently to avoid admission and conceal their predetermined intention to kill.
- 5- Nevertheless, both POIs and suspects use other strategies differently and utilize them with various degree of focus. Furthermore, each strategy proves to have a unique function to help both the POIs and the suspects to maintain their positions and win the struggle for power.

According to the conclusions in 3 – 5 above, hypothesis **No.2**, “*power influences the choice of the strategies utilized by both the police interviewers and suspects*”, is verified.

- 6- The strategy of *topic control*, but not that of *recycling topic*, has been the most frequently used whereas *maximization* has been the least used. This conclusion proves the invalidity of the first part of hypothesis **No.3** which reads “*recycling topics is the most frequently used strategy by police interviewers, while minimization is the least utilized*”.
- 7- The study has shown that *denial* is the most dominant strategy used by suspects. Additionally, it is the *no comment* rather than *mitigation* strategy which has been the least frequently used. Hence, the second part of hypothesis **No. 3** which reads, “*denial is the most dominant strategy used by suspects, whereas mitigation is the least used*”, is partially valid.

As such, Hypothesis **No.3** is partially verified.

- 8- Contrary to expectations, the findings have shown that there are no statistically significant differences between power strategies in impact. This suggests that all power strategies are employed interchangeably, and they complete each other. The POIs resort to using a new strategy whenever the current one is useless and futile in extracting a confession. The suspects, by comparison, shift between their strategies to resist POIs’ power as much as possible and escape confessing the crime. As such, all the strategies are of equal importance, and the difference in frequencies and percentages is a matter

of *focus*. So, hypothesis **No.4** reading: “*significant differences can be noticed among the various power strategies used by both the police interviewers and suspects*”, has been refuted.

9- The PPS and SUPS are manifested in discourse through certain devices. The devices realizing the PPS has been found to include:

- *Topic control* is manifested by *questions, topic management, and politeness*.
- *Recycling topics* is manifested through *questions, formulation, and politeness*.
- *Struggle for the floor* is manifested by *interruption*.
- *Rephrasing answers* is manifested by *questions, formulation, and politeness*.
- *Minimization* is manifested via *hedges, politeness, formulation, and questions*.
- *Accusation* is manifested via *questions, formulation, and politeness*.
- *Maximization* is manifested through *politeness, formulation, hedges, and questions*.

Besides, the devices of SUPS include:

- *Denial* is manifested through *violation of CP, formulation, politeness, and questions*.
- *Repetition* is manifested through *formulation, violation of CP, and politeness*.
- *Obscurity* is manifested via *hedges, violation of CP, and politeness*.
- *Fragmented style* is manifested by *violation of CP, hedges, and politeness*.
- *Providing information* is manifested by the *observance and violation of CP, hedges, topic management, and politeness*.
- *Mitigation* is manifested through *hedges, formulation, and politeness*.
- *No comment* is manifested via *silence*.

However, out of these different devices, five devices are mutually deployed by both parties, POIs and suspects, including *questions, politeness, formulation, topic management, and hedges*. Meanwhile, *interruption* is limited to POIs, *silence* to suspects, and *CP* is limited to the analysis of suspects' turns. Thereupon, hypothesis **No.5**, which

states that “*each power strategy is manifested in discourse by specific device, such as questions and politeness*” has been obviously verified.

5.3 Recommendations

In the light of the above conclusions, the following pedagogical recommendations can be put forward:

1. Teachers and students of English need to be acquainted, aware, and familiar with power strategies in legal contexts such as PIs.
2. Language instructors need to draw more attention to the effect of power on the selection of speech strategies particularly in forensic texts such as PIs and CIs.
3. Language instructors need to shed light on the manifestations of power strategies in discourse which can be useful for students to enable them identifying these strategies easily.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

The present study has provided the reader with a sociopragmatic analysis of power in selected American PIs, and in the light of this study, a number of suggestions can be introduced for the researchers to conduct further research:

- 1- A sociopragmatic analysis can be conducted to investigate the suspects’ powerlessness in American PIs.
- 2- A contrastive study is well worth studying to examine power in both American and Iraqi PIs.
- 3- A sociopragmatic study can be conducted to analyze power in political interviews.
- 4- A pragma-dialectic analysis of power in PIs is worthy of investigating.
- 5- A pragmatic analysis can also be conducted to examine maneuvering in PIs.
- 6- A comparative study of power strategies between British and American PIs can be conducted.
- 7- Further research is required to investigate the applicability of the speech act theory, the presupposition theory, and even the applicability of the stylistic analysis on PIs.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: George Huguely Police Interview

<https://criminalwords.net/2019/09/09/george-huguely-police-interrogation/>

Investigator: I'm just saying, um, I don't have any arrest warrants for you. Okay?

George Huguely: Okay.

Investigator 1: However, I am investigating a case and you are being detained. Which means right now you are not free to leave.

George Huguely: Okay.

Investigator 1: So, I want to talk to you about this to find out you know what I'm saying? So, before I want to talk to you, I have to make sure you do understand your rights. Okay, now that I've explained to you what is going on with that and stuff. You understand that?

George Huguely: Yes.

Investigator 1: Okay. Today's date is May 3rd, 2010. The current time is 7:52.

Investigator 1: What's that?

Investigator 2: I thought it was two.

Investigator 1: So your first name is George? G-E-

George Huguely: O-R-G-E

Investigator 1: And your middle name?

George Huguely: Is Wesley.

Investigator 1: How do you spell that?

George Huguely: W-E-S-L-E-Y

Investigator 1: And spell your last name

George Huguely: H-U-G-U-E-L-Y

Investigator 1: I'm Lesly and this is also a detective with.

George Huguely: Yeah.

Investigator 1: This is just something I have to ask you. Can you read and write?

George Huguely: Yes.

Investigator 1: Have any threats or promises been made to you by police or the attorney's office?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Before we ask you any questions you must understand your rights. You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can be used against you in court. You have the right to talk to a lawyer before questioning or have one present during questioning. If you cannot afford a lawyer one will be provided for you. And if you are willing to talk to us now you have the right to stop at any time. Got it?

George Huguely: Yup.

Investigator 1: Awesome. Need your signature there, that you understand your rights and are willing to talk to us. And the time now is 7:53. First I want to do a background on you if that's okay? How long have you been a student?

George Huguely: It's my fourth year.

Investigator 1: Fourth year? Oh, okay. Long time then, huh? How long have you lived where you live right now?

George Huguely: Two years

Investigator 1: Two years? Okay. And you play lacrosse?

George Huguely: Yeah.

Investigator 1: How long have you been playing that?

George Huguely: Since I was very young. At school for four years.

Investigator 1: Alright. Um, do you work anywhere?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: No? Where do you get your support from? Family? Um, Let's kind of start, I want to kind of ask you some questions and I'll explain some things a little later, um, tell me about your day yesterday.

George Huguely: Played golf with my parents, father-son and then ...

Investigator 1: Where was that at?

George Huguely: Um, wintergreen.

Investigator 1: Wintergreen? Okay.

George Huguely: And I went to dinner with my dad with two buddies.

Investigator 1: Where was that?

George Huguely: We went to CNL. Um, and then went out to the bar for a little awhile ...

Investigator 1: What time did you go out to eat?

George Huguely: I would say we left like 5ish, so I was probably back at 7:30 for dinner.

Investigator 1: Okay.

George Huguely: Then went home. Drank a few beers. Went to the bar for a little while.

Investigator 1: Which one?

George Huguely: heights.

Investigator 1: Oh, Okay.

George Huguely: Then I went over to talk to Yeardeley and...

Investigator 1: Who's Yeardeley?

George Huguely: Yeardeley is my former girlfriend. But I went over to talk to Yeardeley. I was like "YEARDLEY" and she was like already totally freaked out because of what she did this past, like a few days ago, and we haven't talked since and I was just going to like talk to her. And she was already like "ah"; freaking out. Like, you know and I was like "I'm just trying to talk to you". And like she like started to be like, really like, defensive against it. Because the week before she came into my apartment and like attacked, like started striking me and I was like "you gotta leave" and like, my roommate's girlfriend had to be like, take her out of there because of this. So like, when I went in to talk to, talk to her, she was already on the defensive edge. I was like "I'm not here to like, I'm just here to talk to you" and she got all like, sat up. Like against the wall, like if it was in this corner she was up against the wall and I was like, we were sitting there talking and she started getting like, all like aggressive like after this so I was like "chill out" and shook her a little bit and she started being like, freaking out. And I was like "Listen, I'm not here to do anything, I'm here to talk to you about everything that ensued in the last week." And She was like, started being like "no no no " hitting her head [pretends to hit head on wall] like "stop it" I was like "Yeardeley what the hell, like, we were just going to talk". It was not at all a good conversation because like, she was already like, freaking out just seeing me, just even seeing me there.

Investigator 1: Okay, what happened next?

George Huguely: Next she just kept hitting her head on the wall where she was sitting on the bed and I was like [demonstrates grabbing arms] grabbed her and was like "stop" and I looked at her and was like "we need to like talk about this". Like I held her arms and stuff but like I never struck her, never like hit her [demonstrates hitting someone] hit her in the face or anything. I was just like "we need to talk" and she was like so, like what's the word? [demonstrates violently shaking with his arms and dodging motions] fish out of the water like. So like, all this. All because of what happened last week and I was like "Listen like, I'm not here to like fight with you or do anything, I'm here to talk to you." And like "noooo get away from me". Like that's what happened. I left and she was in her bed, I think her nose was bleeding a little bit but she was, when I left she was still in her bed. Actually, she may, at one point she was on the floor and we were talkin, we were, and she was like still fighting. Actually no, she was running to her desk where her desk is and she was like "you have to leave, you have to leave, you have to leave, you have to leave" like all this stuff. I was like "alright, but I want to talk to you after all of this." I was a little persistent because of the situation. Like, my former girlfriend who, what happened last week, you know, alright like talk and everything. Somehow we ended up, somehow I was wrestling her on the floor and I was like "stop" and I was holding her but I never struck her or anything. And I think that might have been when her nose started to bleed, actually. When I was holding her on the floor being like "Listen like, I wanted to talk to her about everything because I got like, whatever, text messages from her and all this stuff. That's when I was like holding her, not like forcefully. That's when her nose started to bleed and her face on the ground and then the conversation was going nowhere and nothing was happening . I left and went back home.

Investigator 1: Okay. Let's kinda start from, you keep talking about something that happened last week. What happened last week?

George Huguely: What happened last week?

Investigator 1: Does it kind set up the...

George Huguely: Well, yeah. That's why I was going over there to talk to her...

Investigator 1: What happened last week? Let's start there.

George Huguely: Last week? Well, a lot of things happened. Basically she came over to my appointment at, on, ...

Investigator 1: Let me stop you, real quick. How long have you been dating?

George Huguely: Two years.

Investigator 1: Two years? Okay.

George Huguely: Yeah, two and a half years.

Investigator 1: Okay, alright. Now start from the last week.

George Huguely: We broke up like a month ago but we have been talking and hanging out and stuff.

Investigator 1: When do you break up?

George Huguely: We broke up because she wanted to. 'Cause she wasn't real sure about all of this because we're both like graduating and she wants to move to New York and I want to move to like San Francisco. So she was like "we don't really know" and she was like, sort of unsure about all of this so we broke, so she was like, sorta broke it off like slightly over a period of time. Like "we shouldn't hang out anymore" but we were still hanging out and everything. And then, come a week ago she went down to Carolina. I don't really know what happened, she told me what happened, which was she sent me some text messages like "oh I'm so glad I like, I [stutters] fucked so and so." So I didn't respond to that. I was like "whatever" ...

Investigator 1: She said she "fucked" somebody? Is that what you just said?

George Huguely: Hooked up, fucked, same thing. So I didn't respond to that. Those were like text messages. So I was like look at this, this is fucked up but didn't respond. So I went to the bar. Saw her at the bar, actually, and she's all like fucked up. So I was talking to a buddy and uh, and she comes over. My buddy like, didn't even bother. And then I get home like on my sofa and she comes in the door, like this. With the same buddies I was with earlier and two girls that were visiting deciding if they wanted to come here to school or not. And she walks to the door and comes over and started hitting me in the face and I was like "ah stop, get off of me, leave me alone, like you can't be doing this" and my roommate's girlfriend, I was calling her from the kitchen like "get her out of here" like never touched her or struck her. Like "Listen, you have to like stop hitting me" and she wouldn't stop. She kept coming. So that happened. So I was going over there to talk to her, last night, on Saturday. That's the reason I was going over there to talk to her. I never like hit her, or struck her, like nothing ...

Investigator 1: Okay, so you go over there. Knock on the door?

George Huguely: Her front door was open. Her room door was closed and I knocked like this [knocks on wall] "Yeardley". Like she heard me, open the door and went...

Investigator 1: Went where?

George Huguely: To her room.

Investigator 1: Straight to her bedroom?

George Huguely: Well, yeah, I mean...

Investigator 1: How did you get through the door?

George Huguely: Her door? Front door?

Investigator 1: Her door.

George Huguely: Actually, it might have been locked.

Investigator 1: Mhm. It was.

George Huguely: Yeah. Actually.

Investigator 1: Just be honest.

George Huguely: Yeah, actually it was locked because I think I put a hole. Pretty sure it was locked now that you said that.

Investigator 1: Why would you do that?

George Huguely: Because I wanted to talk to her. She's been sending me like emails.

Investigator 1: Was she telling you to leave?

George Huguely: Well I guess, once I was in her room. She was like, very, like: I don't want to talk to you and all stuff and ...

Investigator 1: What was she wearing?

George Huguely: She was, what was she wearing? She was in her bed. A tee-shirt?

Investigator 1: Okay. So she was in her bed in a tee-shirt. Light on, light off?

George Huguely: Light off. I'm pretty sure this was around 12:45 ish. So she like, probably, either asleep or, you know, doing something. So I went in there to talk to her and she was very on edge. "I don't want to talk; I don't want to talk". And I was like "what you told last week was outrageous, I just want to talk to you."

Investigator 2: Why did you push her doing that?

George Huguely: Because I want to talk to her.

Investigator 1: Continue on. It's fine. Continue on. So you want to talk to her and she doesn't want to talk to you.

George Huguely: Not really. I mean, we talked though. There were parts where we were talking and then ...

Investigator 1: Do you know what you were talking about?

George Huguely: I mean, about so many different things.

Investigator 1: Okay. Like what?

George Huguely: Like what she did last week. Like, how she attacked me. You know. Like she went to Carolina Sunday. I still want to figure out things. She came over and attacked me on Tuesday. I was sitting like, I was over there to talk, like this is outrageous. I mean, and, because I was trying to be everything better. Then like, you know. Then all of this happens. And then she comes and attacks me. It's to the point where my roommates have to take her out of there...

Investigator 1: Okay. Let's go back to you're in her room tonight.

George Huguely: Last night. Yeah. And so she's like in the corner. If her bed was pushed all the way back in the corner. And she, I'm pretty sure she was very defensive because she knew how sad I was because I've told her through emails how sad I was about what she did and about Tuesday night and coming in and striking me. And so I was like "Listen like, I want to talk to you, what you did was bullshit. That's not like, okay..."

Investigator 1: So you were pretty upset, pretty angry.

George Huguely: Um, yeah, I mean, I was more emotional than angry.

Investigator 1: Okay. You were hurt in.

George Huguely: She was like sort of pushing everything she did to the back burner and talking about, like try to put everything she did... wasn't important. And we talked. She kept saying things like "well, I don't trust you" stuff like that. It kept going to the point where I was like "Yeardley, we have to figure out what's going on", and she was like "I don't want to talk about it" and she like pushed me like "get out of here" like "go" and I was like "no" like "we have to talk". Like ...

Investigator 1: Where are you holding on her?

George Huguely: On her arms.

Investigator 1: Up here?

George Huguely: Like shoulders. Yeah like, Yeah. Never struck her, if I could like show you like...

Investigator 1: No, I'm sorry. Stay on her arms?

George Huguely: Come on like. She was like wiggling and like hide in the corner, really like defensively almost. And then like wrestled on the ground the same way. Her nose started bleeding. Then she ended up back in bed. Then I left. I was like not going anywhere ...

Investigator 1: How did she get back in bed?

George Huguely: Ummm... We were like wrestling and we stood up and I tossed her like pushed her onto the bed like "go to bed, I'll talk to you later". I didn't like throw her. We were like standing at this point after we wrestled on the ground. She had like a bloody nose. Like "go to bed".

Investigator 1: So you kinda like tossed her on the bed and left.

George Huguely: Yeah.

Investigator 1: Did you go back to check on her at any point?

George Huguely: No I did not.

Investigator 1: Did you touch her neck area at all? Choke her at one point?

George Huguely: Uh... I may have grabbed her a little bit by the neck but I never like, strangled her. Yeah I mean, during the whole commotion. I may have grabbed her neck but I was never like, strangling her.

Investigator 1: Alright, I have to check on something real quick, then I will be right back.

George Huguely: Mind if I use the restroom?

Investigator 1: Um, actually if I can have one second.

George Huguely: I'm sorry I had to take that call. I apologize. You said you got there at 12:45? Around that area.

Investigator 1: Why do you think it was that time?

George Huguely: Because I went to dinner 7:30 I think. Went to the bar for a little bit. That's just my...

Investigator 1: Estimate. Did you call her to let her know you were coming or text her?

George Huguely: No because she says she lost her phone the night she came in my apartment. She says it's in my apartment but it's not. So she doesn't have a phone so I did not call her or text her.

Investigator 1: How long do you think you were at her apartment when you were there?

George Huguely: Like between, around like 8 minutes...

Investigator 1: Okay. Not long

George Huguely: I mean like, 8-10 minutes.

Investigator 1: Was anybody else there? Just the two of you?

George Huguely: No. Her roommates weren't there actually.

Investigator 1: Um, okay. When you left her apartment, did you take anything with you?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Nothing at all?

George Huguely: No. She was in her bed.

Investigator 1: Alright. but her laptop is missing I guess. Did you grab it when you were leaving?

George Huguely: Yeah I did actually.

Investigator 1: Is it at your apartment?

George Huguely: Yeah. Somewhere at my apartment. I can give it to her.

Investigator 1: Why did you take her laptop?

George Huguely: Because I was so pissed that she wouldn't talk to me. I don't know. I took it almost as collateral I guess. It's not reasonable logic. But, I don't know.

Investigator 1: Okay. Did you take anything else besides her laptop?

George Huguely: No

Investigator 1: Nothing?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Alright. So when you left out of there you saw she was bleeding out her nose. Did you try to call rescue or anything to make sure she was alright?

George Huguely: No, I did not...

Investigator 1: Why?

George Huguely: Uh... I didn't think it was like, I didn't think she was like in need of going to the emergency room. She had like, a bloody

Investigator 1: Why did you think that?

George Huguely: I don't know. I mean ...

Investigator 1: Did you say and correct me if I'm wrong, when you were shaking her and her head was hitting the wall?

George Huguely: Well that was the beginning. Initially, like, she was up in the corner like [demonstrates], "get out of here" this, but ...

Investigator 1: At any time when you were shaking her, did her head bang the wall? You already said you didn't hit her.

George Huguely: I mean I wasn't like throwing her into the wall. We were sitting on the bed against the wall and I was like "Yeardley" like. I mean maybe? We were against the wall and she's like sitting there in the corner. Like if we were like this and I was like "Yeardley" like "what the fuck was that about, like that was bullshit that you would do that." Like possibly. I was like... such a bullshit move. "Why you're doing like that?... ["audible]

Investigator 1: Okay. She has a pretty good knot on her head. That's why I'm asking. How you could explain how that would have happened?

George Huguely: I mean, I don't even know. A knot?

Investigator 1: On the sided of her head, she's been hit pretty good right there. So I'm just trying to figure out did you hit her with something?

George Huguely: No. I never. Never touched her or struck her or anything...

Investigator 1: Well you touched her. You had your hands on her.

George Huguely: I said I never struck her. Never never at all like ...

Investigator 1: I'm trying to figure out why she has a black eye and why she's got a big lump right there.

George Huguely: I mean, we... were... I mean...

Investigator 1: So you don't know how it happened.

George Huguely: So she's got a black...

Investigator 1: It's fine It's fine. Um, So you. I'm going through this one more time and make sure we're on the same page. You're pretty pissed at her from a week ago for sending those text messages. Do you have those text messages where she said, as you said, "fucked" somebody?

George Huguely: I actually might have those, yeah.

Investigator 1: Alright, you got your phone with you?

George Huguely: Yeah.

Investigator 1: Let's pull that out so we can see those.

George Huguely: They were like, guess what you would call, one of these, which is, like an ongoing conversation with instant message.

Investigator 1: Okay. Alright. [moves his phone to the middle of table]

George Huguely: I'm sure there's emails that said she hooked up with somebody. I'm not lying about that...

Investigator 1: Do you own a home computer or laptop?

George Huguely: Yeah.

Investigator 1: Is that where all the emails are? Can you get to them on that? [gestures to phone]

George Huguely: Actually they're deleted off here. I can get to them though.

Investigator 1: That's fine. Um, so last week. You kinda broke up a while ago but are still talking. Last week you get pissed because she sends you that text so last night you went over there because you wanted to talk. So let's talk about how you...

George Huguely: Entered?

Investigator 1: Entered, yeah.

George Huguely: Yeah, I mean...

Investigator 1: Cause to put your fist through the door.

George Huguely: No. it was my leg.

Investigator 1: Your leg?

George Huguely: Leg I'm pretty sure. [he shows investigator his leg] kicked it

Investigator 1: You're right it is your leg. How'd you get the bruises on your hand then?

George Huguely: This is all from lacrosse. This is all...

Investigator 1: That seems pretty fresh right there [gestures to his arm/hand]

George Huguely: This is all from lacrosse game on Saturday. You can see where my arm pads are. Right here, my gloves right here...

Investigator 1: Right there? I thought you wore those padded gloves?

George Huguely: [showing bruises on arms] This is all defense, this is all from lacrosse, one hundred percent. This is where my arm pads are, and my gloves end here. This is all tanned because that's where gets sun, compared to like my legs [shows leg] the difference in color and that's, I got whacked. I remember one hundred percent. Got whacked when I was trying to ...

Investigator 1: When you had her and shaking her did she scratch you in anyway?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: No? She's a little girl, she's tiny.

George Huguely: No. She didn't scratch me.

Investigator 1: Hit you or anything like that?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Okay, so you kick in the door.

George Huguely: Yeah, that's how I got in, yeah, yeah, and then I stuck my arm through and unlocked it. And then in there. Everything else is clear.

Investigator 1: What was she saying while you were kicking the door? Did you just go straight kick or did you knock first?

George Huguely: No, I knocked first. I was like "Yearley, let me in". And I think she said something like, that was like, I remember, that was like, I just don't remember exactly what, I remember her saying something or whispering some shit or like, I don't know. And I was like, Alright well. She knew, because I sent her emails. Like six emails that were like "we need to talk, I'm coming over to talk to you" and like, and she actually did respond to those. Actually She did respond to those. She was like "fuck you, I'm not talking to you" like something along those lines.

Investigator 1: Alright. How much have you had to drink tonight? Or last night?

George Huguely: Um, I had probably four or five beers on the golf course...

Investigator 1: That was earlier. Right?

George Huguely: That was earlier in the day. And I had two glasses of wine at dinner, and like three more beers afterwards. And like, four, three, afterwards I probably, after dinner I probably had like five beers combined.

Investigator 1: Okay, um. Did you smoke any weed?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Any other drugs?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: What were you wearing last night?

George Huguely: I was wearing shorts and a tee shirt.

Investigator 1: That?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: What did the shorts and tee shirt look like?

George Huguely: They are on the floor in my room. They are cargo shorts and a tee shirt.

Investigator 1: Okay. What color are the cargo shorts?

George Huguely: Blue.

Investigator 1: And the tee shirt?

George Huguely: I think white. Yeah, I mean uh, a white tee shirt.

Investigator 1: Alright. We been through what all happened. When did you leave? Right after you went out the front door?

George Huguely: Yeah.

Investigator 1: Where did you go?

George Huguely: Home.

Investigator 1: Straight home?

George Huguely: Yeah.

Investigator 1: Talk to anybody?

George Huguely: No

Investigator 1: Call anybody?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Call, you said she doesn't have a phone.

George Huguely: No, she does not have a phone.

Investigator 1: Her phone at your house?

George Huguely: I believe, everybody looked for her phone, my roommate's girlfriend looked for her phone, we have not, it's not at our apartment.

Investigator 1: Okay. So, but you picked up her computer on the way out of her apartment.

George Huguely: Yeah.

Investigator 1: Anything else?

George Huguely: No no.

Investigator 1: Where are we going to find that computer at?

George Huguely: The computer is at... the dumpster maybe.

Investigator 1: So you threw her computer in the dumpster?

George Huguely: Yeah. The one right by 14th street. Wait no no, not the one by 14th street. It is the one right by the point.

Investigator 1: By the point?

George Huguely: There's an apartment complex [investigator 2 exiting door] On the way home I just tossed it in there...

Investigator 1: Okay

George Huguely: That's where the computer is...

Investigator 1: Alright. Did you toss anything else in there?

George Huguely: No no no.

Investigator 1: Okay. So what did you do when you got home?

George Huguely: I just went to bed.

Investigator 1: Anybody else home?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: No?

George Huguely: No no no.

Investigator 1: Then you just went to bed?

Investigator 1: You didn't take a shower or anything like that?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: No?

George Huguely: No. No at all.

Investigator 1: Did you happen to look at the clock before you lay down?

George Huguely: Nah, I did not. I mean I'm sorry. I went tired. I was...

Investigator 1: Alright, right. Okay. I'm going to let one of the detectives take you to the bathroom right quick. You want to take him to the bathroom?

Investigator 2: Not yet.

Investigator 1: Not yet. [investigators leave room]. They enter the room.

Investigator 1: Okay, yeah, Okay yeah. He's got some couple more questions for you.

Investigator 2: We can stop each one of us. I know we touched about what happened last night but sum it up for me. Lead up to it for me, how did you guys break up exactly? Why?

George Huguely: Why? Well we are, not, as the same we were before and I'm going... well she wants to move to New York and I'm not exactly sure what I'm doing yet but wanna go to San Francisco. And um so we've been like talking about this. Found a text message in my phone from another girl and then we broke up because of that. So like, an ongoing type deal...

Investigator 2: Cause funny that you mention putting your hands around her neck and holding her back that way. Is that another reason you two broke up? And the arguments, any past physical violence?

George Huguely: Um, that happened...

Investigator 2: Keep in mind, before we talked to you we've talked to other people too.

George Huguely: No, I understand that. I mean, that night that she found the text messages in my phone, I was more drunk than I probably have ever been. And she did the same thing like yelling at me and hitting me and I'm drunk. And I actually laid on her, like detained on her kind of, and she ended up leaving but that happened that night...

Investigator 2: How did you detain her?

George Huguely: I mean, sir, like that night I was...

Investigator 2: Did you get off of her yourself or did other people have to get you off of her?

George Huguely: Uh, I, I really don't remember that night...at all.

Investigator 2: Never?

George Huguely: No at all.

Investigator 2: may be you smashed her that night. May be choked her a little bit?

George Huguely: Nah, I don't think I choked her. She never said I choked her. She said I laid on her and held her. And ...

Investigator 2: How did you lay down on her?

George Huguely: She said I literally like laid on her.

Investigator 2: Was she face down or face up?

George Huguely: I don't even know. Like, we've hung out since that night. A bunch of times. Like actually, probably a dozen times since that night and we haven't really talked about that. But since that night, like she's never said that like I was choking her or anything. She said I literally like laid on her and like that way...

Investigator 2: She's about what? 105-110 lbs isn't it? soaking wet? You're almost double her size.

George Huguely: Yeah. Probably.

Investigator 2: What? you don't think would maybe be enough to take the breath out of her if you're laying down on top of her?

George Huguely: I mean, I never thought about it like that. I never like hurt, never like hurt her...

Investigator 2: We never mentioned anything about her in the face and you constantly say you didn't punch her in the face. We haven't even asked you that question.

George Huguely: I know ...

Investigator 2: Did you smack her like "snap out of it?". Like that ...

George Huguely: No no. I did not.

Investigator 2: Not like that?

George Huguely: No. I never. I'm in here for assault charges that's why I assumed...

Investigator 1: No, I never told you we had any warrants on you. I said you were detained.

George Huguely: I know but someone said "you're here for an assault investigation". So I have mixed ...

Investigator 2: Have you ever threatened any harm to her?

George Huguely: No, no...

Investigator 2: Why'd you take her computer?

George Huguely: I don't know

Investigator 2: Maybe because there's evidence on the computer of emails you sent?

George Huguely: No. You can find, you can read all of the emails back and forth. Like...

Investigator 2: There's no threats or anything on the computer if we bring forensically one. They came from George "Hey, you know what, I found out you're cheating on me"?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 2: Nothing like that?

George Huguely: No, No, nothing, nothing.

Investigator 2: Why'd you take that computer then?

George Huguely: I, you could look at my computer and see emails that are on my computer that are on her computer. Emails are It's not like her email account is erased because I took her computer. I have no idea why I took the computer. Probably because she was like not talking to me, and not like, she's did like all this stuff and I just walked out of there with her computer.

Investigator 2: Why would this little girl just for no reason start attacking you out of the blue?

George Huguely: You could ask my friends I was with that night...

Investigator 2: yeah that night?

George Huguely: Um, you can, I wish, I have four, three eye witnesses for that one. She walked in and started punching me in the face, hitting me with her purse, hitting me with her cellphone. And literally when I stood up and backed away it was like, to the other, “you got to stop, get away from me, get away from me” she came, she kept coming back for more.

Investigator 2: Okay. No violence. Right?

George Huguely: No, sir. I’m not lying. Like, you can look through all the emails. You can look at everything.

Investigator 2: So would you break that door down?

George Huguely: Because I wanted to, I said it...

Investigator 2: No. It’s more than that man, that’s rage, the way that door is kicked in. That was pure rage. You must have been seriously mad.

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: You’ve told us everything else. You were mad.

George Huguely: I’ve told you guys everything. I’m not hiding anything. I’ve told you everything.

Investigator 2: Then why kick the door in? That’s just pure rage.

George Huguely: I wanted to talk to her, I wanted to talk to her, I wanted to talk to her...

Investigator 1: Have you always been that way with her? As far as if she didn’t want to do something it was kind of your way or the highway type of thing?

George Huguely: No, no.

Investigator 1: No?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 2: I understand you had a lot of alcohol in you last night, okay? Do you think that maybe could have lead you to, why you, fed your emotions to kick in that door?

George Huguely: That that may have have have made me rationalize kicking in the door to open it up. But it was all strictly to go in there and talk to her. I wanted to talk to her. I told her, I sent emails, you can see the emails, you can see everything. Said “we need to talk about this”, I sent like three emails like “I want to come talk to you” then like “fuck yourself”. I should not have gone over there when like, when I was drinking. But like that, that made me emotional so I wanted to go talk to her. That’s why I kicked to the door. That’s why I was trying. I wanted to talk to her.

Investigator 2: I know you mentioned you fell on her a week ago, right? When you were laying on her.

George Huguely: No. That was, that was ...

Investigator 2: a month ago?

George Huguely: a month ago

Investigator 2: When you detained her, right? Did you detain last night at all?

George Huguely: No ...

Investigator 2: Did you fall down on top of her wrestling?

George Huguely: We were wrestling on the ground for a little bit...

Investigator 2: Did you wrestle on the bed at all?

George Huguely: Nah, nah, never like, nah, never like. Maybe I shook her?

Investigator 2: No I mean like hold her down until she calmed down a bit?

George Huguely: No, if anything if anything it would be more...

Investigator 2: I’m sure you didn’t want to hurt her. That way if you were restraining her she wouldn’t be able to hurt herself as much.

George Huguely: I never laid on her or any of that. Like, when we were on the floor, when her nose started bleeding, like wrestled around, that’s when her nose started bleeding.

Investigator 2: Was it pretty noisy when you guys were wrestling around?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Was she screaming?

George Huguely: No. No. No. She was, no. She was not screaming, actually.

Investigator 2: If I’m cracking my head in the wall, I’m going to be saying ow.

George Huguely: Yeah. No, I mean she was not screaming. She should have been. Probably, I mean maybe, I don’t know.

Investigator 1: Why do you think she should have been?

George Huguely: I don’t know. I mean, well, she was screaming when I first ,like, came in the room. She was like “no, I’m not talking to you. Get the fuck out of here” and all that. But like, that was it.

Investigator 1: When um, at any point before you said you, and this was your words, you tossed her on the bed and then you left.

George Huguely: Yeah

Investigator 1: At any point before that, did she lose consciousness?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: Okay. What happened after you tossed her on the bed? Did she move? Talk about, say something?

George Huguely: I mean, I literally tossed her on the bed and turned around...

Investigator 1: Tossed her on the bed or tossed her on the floor?

George Huguely: On the bed and walked out the door.

Investigator 1: Did she have on, did she still have her tee-shirt on at that point?

George Huguely: Uh, yeah. Uh. She, yeah, I mean she never, she only had her tee shirt on the entire time. She never had, she never was not, unclothed.

Investigator 1: So you didn't sexually assault her or anything?

George Huguely: No, no no no, no!

Investigator 1: Okay. I have to ask.

George Huguely: I'm sorry I'm sorry I apologize.

Investigator 1: When you tossed her on her bed was she on her back or her stomach?

George Huguely: I mean, I think she was on her back I'm not sure. I mean I was like, you know...

Investigator 1: I asked you earlier about the light. 'Cause if she's kinda in bed maybe the lights were off. Were the lights on? Did you turn them on?

George Huguely: The lights were...

Investigator 1: For you to be able to see?

George Huguely: The lights were not on.

Investigator 1: How did you see the blood and stuff coming out her nose?

George Huguely: Because she has a big bay window by her room and there's lights from the parking lot. And I mean, it's not hard, it's easy to see.

Investigator 1: Okay, so when you toss her back on the bed she's bleeding. You said she was bleeding out her nose and you didn't feel you needed to call rescue?

George Huguely: No.

Investigator 1: After banging her head, and shaking her and blood coming out of her nose on the floor?

George Huguely: No, I mean, it was...

Investigator 1: Let me ask you this, did you um, and you've been honest so far so there's really no reason for you not to, to lie about anything, when you left out of there were you kinda like "you got what you deserved" and that's why you didn't call 911?

George Huguely: No, no no no no. It wasn't about that for me. It was about going to talk to her. It was nothing about...

Investigator 1: You miss anything you want to ask him about right now?

George Huguely: There's nothing about going to get anything, or going, you know. I don't know. I took the computer and that was irrational but that was like my collateral if you could look at it like that, that's where my logic was at, but that was just...

Investigator 1: Well I have to tell you something.

Investigator 2: I think I know why you took that computer.

George Huguely: Cause why, do you think?

Investigator 1: She's dead. You killed her George. You killed her.

George Huguely: She's dead?

Investigator 1: I think you knew that already.

George Huguely: No, I did not. She's dead? How the fuck is she dead?

Investigator 1: Because you killed her.

George Huguely: How the fuck is she dead?

Investigator 1: 'Cause you killed her George.

George Huguely: Oh my god.

Investigator 2: We're not here for any reason, George.

George Huguely: [Head down pulling hair] She's dead?

Investigator 1: Yes.

George Huguely: She's dead?

Investigator 1: Yes.

George Huguely: She's dead?

Investigator 1: She's dead.

George Huguely: How? How?

Investigator 1: I already told you how and you already told us how as well.

George Huguely: How she died?

Investigator 1: You just told us.

George Huguely: How is she dead? How is she dead? I didn't strangle her, I didn't do any, I didn't fucking hit her. [whispers "how the fuck is she dead"] I don't even know. I don't. She's dead?

Investigator 2: Yes.

George Huguely: How the fuck is she dead? Oh my god.

Investigator 2: We're serious George. That's why you took the computer, isn't it?

George Huguely: No!

Investigator 2: Because you had threats to kill her on that from a past email because she hooked up with a player from UNC.

George Huguely: I never, I said that, I never, that was just like the heat of the moment, it was heat of the moment. Yeah...

Investigator 2: Last night was heat of the moment too, wasn't it? You went in there to talk with her and it got out of control. Right George? The alcohol got ahold of you? You kicked in her door, she started to fight with you, you punched her in the head or you cracked her head in the window or in the wall.

George Huguely: She's not dead, She's not dead.

Investigator 2: She is, I aint B.S.ing you. Right now it's serious.

George Huguely: I want to see, I want to see her. She's not dead.

Investigator 1: George, She. Is. Dead.

Investigator 2: You're not here to dance with us. You're here because she's dead. The alcohol has...

George Huguely: I don't believe it, I don't believe it. I didn't, I didn't, I didn't, I didn't hurt her.

Investigator 2: Listen to me, listen to me, listen to me. You probably didn't mean to hurt her.

George Huguely: I didn't hurt her.

Investigator 2: You went in there, you kicked the door, she got a little feisty, you either punched her or smacked her head into the concrete and then you held her down under a pillow because that's...

George Huguely: No, I didn't hold her under a pillow I was never on the bed.

Investigator 2: Okay then.

George Huguely: I never held her down, I never, I never suffocated her, I never did anything. I don't believe that she's dead. I don't believe that she's dead. I don't believe that she's dead.

Investigator 2: Did you punch her did you...

George Huguely: How, there's no way that she's dead. She's not dead. I never did anything that she could be dead.

Investigator 2: Listen to me listen to me, listen to me. Did you punch her or...?

George Huguely: No. I never, I never, No.

Investigator 2: Did you hold her head into the wall? Did you crack it?

George Huguely: No. Is her head cracked?!

Investigator 2: Did you smack her head into the wall?

George Huguely: No, she's not dead, she's not dead. You guys said she had a black eye and a bump on her head.

Investigator 1: She has those things.

George Huguely: But she's, she's, she's not dead. I didn't, I didn't, I didn't, I did not...

Investigator 1: Let's calm down.

George Huguely: I did not like hurt her. Like, She's not dead.

Investigator 1: Calm down there, George, okay?

George Huguely: Tell me she's not dead. Tell me she's not dead. Tell me she's not dead.

Investigator 1: I want you to calm down right now, okay?

George Huguely: I don't believe it, I don't believe it. I never did anything that could do that to her...

Investigator 1: Let's calm down, okay

George Huguely: I never did anything that could do this to her I swear to God. Never did anything that could do that to her. I never, no. I refuse to believe that she's dead. There's no way that anything that happened last night could kill her.

Investigator 2: Okay. Well, just out of protocol I need you to stand up for me and put your hands behind your back.

George Huguely: [stands up and puts arms behind back, handcuffs put on]

Investigator 1: Relax

Investigator 2: Relax, it will be fine.

George Huguely: Tell me she's not dead, tell me she's not dead, no, please. Will you tell me she's not dead?

Investigator 1: Relax

George Huguely: Please will you tell me she's not dead?

Investigator 1: You know what, I wish I could tell you that George. Twenty two years old. Twenty two and her life is done.

George Huguely: Oh my god. Kill me.

George Huguely: anything that could do that. I did not do anything that could have killed her.

Investigator 1: You do realize you are under arrest?

George Huguely: I realize that.

Investigator 1: Alright. We're going to contact the commonwealth attorney on the proper charge but it's going to be related to her death.

George Huguely: She's dead? How? There's no way. Oh my god. There's no way she would be dead. There's no way, oh my God, there's no way. There's no way, there's no way, there's no way. I don't believe it.

Investigator 2: It's true.

George Huguely: I don't believe it. How?

Investigator 2: Help us understand what happened last night, George. Start over from the beginning.

George Huguely: I'm not lying to you. Everything I said to you was so true. I'm not lying to you about anything.

Investigator 2: She had a tee shirt on?

George Huguely: Yeah. I am most confident I think, I'm pretty sure, yeah. Was her tee-shirt not on when...

Investigator 1: We're not going to tell you that

Investigator 2: Help us understand what happened last night, George. Go over it again.

George Huguely: I told you everything. I told you everything. I, I, I don't, I don't even believe it yet. I do not believe it. I do not believe it. I don't believe it.

Investigator 2: Okay.

Investigator 1: Just a second [stands up and leaves]

George Huguely: But there's no way. There's no way sir. Sir, there's no way she's dead. There's no way. There's no way, there's no way.

Investigator 2: It's true, George.

George Huguely: How? How? There's no. There's no way. There's no way she could be dead.

Investigator 2: Why do you think you're sitting here in hand cuffs?

George Huguely: For, for, for, maybe what you guys said were assault charges?

Investigator 2: She's dead, Okay. I'm not lying to you.

George Huguely: You would have said murder charges if you were lying, if you were honest you would have said murder charges.

Investigator 2: She was assaulted.

George Huguely: You would have said murder charges.

Investigator 2: That resulted in her death.

George Huguely: You would have said I murdered her. You would have said I murdered. Did she die this morning? Afterwards?

Investigator 2: I can't tell you that.

George Huguely: I know but listen I didn't murder her [stomps foot] I didn't murder her. I didn't. I know she's not dead. I know she's not dead, I know she's not dead, I know she's not dead, I know she's not dead. There's no way she's dead.

Investigator 2: Calm down, George.

George Huguely: There's no way she's dead. There's no way. There can't be any way she's dead from any, there can't be any way she's dead. I'm telling you, there's no way she's dead. You have to be lying to me. Tell me you're lying to me, tell me you're lying to me, tell me you're lying to me. How's she dead?

Investigator 2: I'm not lying to you.

George Huguely: How is she dead? How is she dead? How? What did she die from?

Investigator 2: Well, we're going to find out.

George Huguely: What did she die from?

Investigator 2: We're going to find out. I can't make that determination.

George Huguely: Sir, Sir...

Investigator 2: Either head trauma or asphyxiation.

George Huguely: There was no asphyxiation.

Investigator 1: Okay.

George Huguely: Oh my God, oh my God, oh my God.

Investigator 2: And I know you told me the truth but I think there are some part you're leaving out.

George Huguely: Nah, sir.

Investigator 2: How did she get all of that head trauma?

George Huguely: From banging.

Investigator 2: I don't believe that. I don't believe she banged her own head in the wall.

George Huguely: When we were wrestling, I don't believe she's dead. I don't believe she's dead. There's no way she's dead. There's no way she's dead. She has to be alive, she has to be alive, she has to. There's no way. She wasn't. There's no way. There's no way. The last I saw her she was not dead, she was not dead.

Investigator 2: What was she doing the last time you saw her?

George Huguely: She was like, she was like standing up with me. She was standing up with me. She was standing up with me, looking at me.

Investigator 2: Was she standing or were you holding her?

George Huguely: She was standing up looking at me. I don't believe it, I do not believe it. I don't believe it, I don't believe it. Sir, I don't believe it. Sir, Sir, please tell me you're lying.

Investigator 2: I'm not lying. She's dead.

George Huguely: How is she dead? How? How? How?

Investigator 2: That's what I wanted you to clarify.

George Huguely: How? How?

Investigator 2: You know how.

George Huguely: No, I didn't know. No, no, no. No, I didn't know. No, no, no.

Investigator 2: Why didn't you know?

George Huguely: She's not dead, she's not dead. She's not dead, I know she's not dead. [cries with head down] She isn't dead.

Investigator 2: I know it got out of control last night, George.

George Huguely: She's not dead. She's not dead. She's not dead. I know one hundred [crying] I didn't [crying] She cannot be dead. You're not lying to me either, are you? You're not lying to me. She's dead? Oh my God.

Investigator 2: I know it got out of hand, George.

George Huguely: It didn't, it didn't, it didn't, it didn't, it didn't, it didn't, it did not, it didn't, it didn't, I...

Investigator 2: Then what happened?

George Huguely: I didn't kill her. I did not kill her. I did not kill her. I did not. I did not. I did not kill her.

Investigator 2: Did you smack her head one time too hard?

George Huguely: I never hit her, no. I laid her on the ground.

Investigator 2: Did you smack her head then lay her on the bed so she could kind of relax?

George Huguely: No, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no...

Investigator 2: Well you didn't punch her because I don't think you would have done that.

George Huguely: No, no, no, no. I still do not believe it. Sir, I don't believe it, I don't believe it, I don't believe it. You came in and said you were filing an assault charge and that makes sense but that doesn't even make sense. That doesn't even make sense.

Investigator 2: She was assaulted and she died.

George Huguely: No way, no way, no way, no way, no way.

Investigator 2: And you were there, this happened while you were there. This is the time to man up, George. Tell me what happened.

George Huguely: I told you what happened, I told you what happened, I told you what happened.

Investigator 2: Then what happened again?

George Huguely: I told you what happened, I told you what happened.

Investigator 1: It got out of control.

George Huguely: It didn't. I told you what happened. It didn't get out of control. She's not dead, she's not dead, she's not dead. There's no way she's dead. There's no way! I didn't do! No way! There's no way!

Appendix B: Bryan Greenwell Police Interview

<https://criminalwords.net/2019/09/11/bryan-greenwell-interrogation-transcript/>

[door slams]

Investigator: Hey Bryan, what's happenin' man?

Bryan Greenwell: What's happenin'?

Investigator: My name is detective Royce. Sorry it took me a little while to get over here.

Investigator: Talking to Jodie.

Bryan Greenwell: Jodie?

Investigator: Mm-hm.

Bryan Greenwell: How she been doing?

Investigator: She's a little upset.

Bryan Greenwell: About what?

Investigator: Well, that's what we're here to talk about. She's a little upset, um... I want to tell you that she, I'm trying to remember her exact words but it was more along the lines of "I don't want to tell him, I don't want him to be scared, and uh, to talk to us." Anything else along that. "Cause I want to, I want to go talk to him", I said "I can't let you do that, I may be able to let you do a recorded statement or write a note but"

Bryan Greenwell: So she wrote one down?

Investigator: I have a recording. Also, I have another recording that I would like you to review as well but I can't ask you any questions yet because you're in custody for something else. I don't know. I know it's some kind of dope charge, I know you did some stuff there. So before I actually ask you anything, tell you or show you anything, I have to read you your rights. You've had those read before, correct?

Bryan Greenwell: No.

Investigator: You've never had your rights read?!

Bryan Greenwell: No. I mean, when I was younger, yeah.

Investigator: Alright so you know what I'm talking about.

Bryan Greenwell: I know what you're talking about, yeah.

Investigator: Well, I'm going to go through this, and I brought a picture of your kiddos. [places photo of children on table in front of Greenwell] I gave her a picture of them, too. Alright before we ask you any questions you must understand your rights. You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can and will be used against you in court of law. Right to talk to a lawyer prior to questioning or making any statements, have them present with you while being questioned. Can't afford to hire a lawyer, one will be appointed by the court to represent you before any questions if you desire one. You may stop the questioning or making statements at any time by refusing to answer further or requesting to consult with an attorney prior to continuing questioning or making statements. Those are your rights. And the second part of this form is just a waiver of your rights and basically says that "I read the statement of rights or had them read to me. I understand what my rights are and I'm willing to make a statement and answer some questions. I don't want a lawyer at this time and I understand what I am doing. No promises or threats have been made, no pressure or coercion of any kind. You understand what coercion means, correct? [Greenwell nods] Okay, um. And I'm guessing you might have an idea what [Greenwell shakes head "no"] You don't have an idea of what you might want to talk to me about?

Bryan Greenwell: No.

Investigator: Or what I want to talk to you about? Okay. And it has to do with the apartment you guys used to live at over on Shelby Street.

Bryan Greenwell: Oh, well, yeah....

Investigator: Does that ring a bell? That incident?

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah.

Investigator: What do you know about that incident?

Bryan Greenwell: As far as I know, that was supposed to been us, as far as my understanding. Just the guy, Terry Payne [spelling?] that uh, he was supposed to send somebody over to talk to us or something like that. I don't know, 'cause they said, well I know the guy too you know, they said something like that. And I'm not even sure if it's him, you know what I'm sayin'? I'm just going off of what I've heard. That he got ripped off for some dope a few times. He got upset about it and the only reason why he wouldn't come confront her by herself was because of me. Well, she never ripped him off for no dope anyways. It wasn't her, it was...

Investigator: So this was geared towards Jodie, is that what you're telling me?

Bryan Greenwell: Yes. And as far as I know somebody was supposed to send some people from Chicago, some black dudes. Said it's not about the money now, it's not about the dope, it's about the principle. And he, Terry Payne [spelling?] told me this, and I told him I said "you better go back and tell them got no principle it seems like I'm just fucking around with my fiancée and it pulls me, you know what I'm saying? I'm involved. And he said "sorry, too late, the call's been made and that uh, people from .. what'd he say? New Orleans or something like that, up in luisiana up here looking for her. That's when I noticed we started getting followed. And I'm like "hold up, you know maybe this shit is true". I've been thinking it's all, you know how people talkin' just trying to scare somebody. And I kept noticing people following me and kept noticing people following me. And I'm like "hold the fuck up" you know? So I made a phone call and was like "dude, what the fucks going on?" He said "man" he said "I told you I would try to go talk to them". I said "dude, you already tried to go talk to them and for the past, I don't know, month and a half, something like that, every time I walked out the door I was being followed". And for the life of me, nobody believed me. And I mean, I told everybody. I said "man, somebody is following us. Somebody is following me or somebody is following you. Somebody." Then I got locked up.

Investigator: What happened with that, a little.

Bryan Greenwell: That ...

Investigator: I'm not the dope police.

Bryan Greenwell: I mean not one time did nobody ever say "police", nobody said, I mean the whole time I told everybody I was being followed. I mean, I had people run up on me, I'd take off. Nobody ever said "cops" you know? So I don't know if it's the cops or if it was them or whoever, whatever. You know what I'm saying? I'm like "shit", so I done what I do. What I know best- protect myself and get the hell out of that situation for a moment. But that situation it was same thing. Two cars whipped up on me, then once I took off, yeah, he hit his lights. I'm like "I got a set of lights, which I do. You know what I'm saying? I got a flashlight that turns. You know what I'm saying? You click it one time and it starts flashing, you know what I mean, red, white, red, blue, the lights. You know what I'm saying? So I'm like "no one's ever said 'stop, police, this is the local, feds" whoever. You know what I'm saying? So I didn't stop. Even when we got back to the house we were staying at, not one time did anybody say "police", "this is the police", the whoever, blah blah. They just told me to get the fuck down or they would blow my damn brains out. I'm like "well uh" there's a chance I got to take. Either they're the police, and then once they started all coming up on me I noticed it was the police because all the equipment and shit like that. And I was like "well, maybe this is the cops" so I got down.

Investigator: Who all did you get arrested with that night?

Bryan Greenwell: Me, Jodie, Lala, and Chris.

Investigator: Does Lala have a real name? Everybody keeps saying Lala. Cause I'm not the dope police, I'm just curious

Bryan Greenwell: It's uh, Laura. It's Laura. I don't know her last name.

Investigator: And it really doesn't matter for me. I'm just curious because everyone says "Lala" and I'm like, "last time someone was named 'LaLa' was on a kids T.V. show" [laughter] Alright. Let me take you back to that apartment on Shelby. How long did ya'll stay there?

Bryan Greenwell: Man, I can't, I just got out of jail. I don't know if she had that before I went in, or before right before I got out, or what. I think I was only there a couple weeks, maybe? Something like that. Maybe a little longer. I know it was like between two, two weeks. Two to three weeks. Something like that.

Investigator: And you guys never went back to that apartment?

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah, we went back.

Investigator: You did?

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah. We went back and got some of our stuff. I mean, we've seen the landlord and nothing was ever said. We've seen cops sitting there and nothing was ever said to us. And I was thinking "well, this aint got nothing to do with us, I hope"

Investigator: Did you know those neighbors? Ya'll never, you ever seen them before?

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah, we've seen them in passing....

Investigator: If I showed you a picture of them, would you know who they are?

Bryan Greenwell: Pretty sure I would be.

Investigator: [shows photos]

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah, yeah, that was her. Now the guy?

Investigator: Now this is a little older picture. I think he had probably just got done. His hair may have been a lot longer.

Bryan Greenwell: Hm, yeah. If you put long hair on him it looks like him.

Investigator: So you all didn't have any interaction with them?

Bryan Greenwell: Nah, other than I mean, passing in the hallways or, it was just, I think it was what? One, two, two [crosstalk] yeah. Because it was the front room, it was like a little storage or something like that. The back room was supposedly where he stored all his stuff for, I guess, the strip clubs that he owned or something. I don't know.

Investigator: Mm-Hm. It was strip clubs, you're right. Alright, um, what do you actually know about what happened over there? What have you heard? What do you know?

Bryan Greenwell: I just heard that somebody got shot, somebody got killed or something like that. Then we stayed away for a couple days because that's when I found out that supposedly they were there for her, and us, you know what I'm saying? It was supposed to be us. I was like, you know, um, we made the decision to stay away for a couple of days because hell, somebody wanted to talk to her they, the landlord knew her phone number, her cell phone number, knew her name, everything else. Nobody ever tried to contact us. At least, as far as I know, nobody ever tried to contact us. Which I mean the house, the apartment wasn't even, it was her apartment, wasn't in my name, or nothing like that.

Investigator: Right. Alright. Did you know that there were two victims there? Did you know that?

Bryan Greenwell: No.

Investigator: Both of those two people I showed you.

Bryan Greenwell: No, they told me it was just the.. uh.. lady.

Investigator: Well, both of them were shot. And uh, this is what I want to show you.

[Investigator moves laptop over to Greenwell and moves his chair closer]

Investigator: He didn't die.

Voice on recording: Do you remember; do you know your neighbors next door? Did you know who they were? If I showed you pictures of your neighbors would you know who they were? Where your neighbors involved in any of this? You recognize her? That Jodie? Your Neighbor?

Investigator: So. That's just the start of it but

Bryan Greenwell: Okay, well let's finish it.

Investigator: No, I got a, I got a couple follow ups here.

Bryan Greenwell: Okay.

Investigator: When I showed Jodie this, she lost it.

Bryan Greenwell: She lost it like?

Investigator: Bawling crying, broke down.

Bryan Greenwell: Let me guess, said that we done it.

Investigator: She did.

Bryan Greenwell: Well...

Investigator: And before you know, I am going to tell her the same thing I told her, I said "ya'll have some important things in front of you." I said, "bad things happen to good people. Sometimes people get put into situations and shit didn't go as planned." Um, I believe that's what happened here. I don't think there was malicious intent going in. I think things escalated and went bad. I told her I wanted to help her try to get to the good side of this and to not paint her into a negative light on it. And I said, I told her, I said I will give you that same opportunity and tell you the same things that I have told you both the exact same things. And that's how I want to present it. I don't bullshit people, I'll tell you what I've got. I mean...

Bryan Greenwell: Fair enough.

Investigator: I mean, I got a living victim that puts you there. I've got Jodie who says you were there. Now I want to hear from you, what in the world happened. Like I said, I think something went wrong, I don't think you got there on

Bryan Greenwell: I want to hear the rest of it. What Jodie had to say.

Investigator: What Jodie had to say? I don't have Jodie on video.

Bryan Greenwell: I thought you said you had her on

Investigator: I have it on an audio recording. I just did it. I don't have it on a disk yet. I still have it on an actual recorder.

Bryan Greenwell: Can I hear it?

Investigator: Let me see if I can do that. I don't even know if I can do that. It's on this recorder that's in my pocket right now. The same one I have on right now.

Bryan Greenwell: Well, lets find out if we can do that because, I mean...

Investigator: Is that going to change...

Bryan Greenwell: Nah man, I want to

Investigator: I'm not going to play it word for word for you so you can hear her story.

Bryan Greenwell: No no no.

Investigator: I've been doing this a little longer than that.

Bryan Greenwell: I don't I don't expect you to do that either but I would like to know what she's saying...

Investigator: I can give you the, I can give you the details of, I guess the general of what she's said. Is that, and he goes on to say that, they were involved in a domestic situation. Then apparently, he may have been getting the best of her, and she came over for help. You guys go back to their apartment, it happened inside their apartment, you guys intervened on the good side of this to start with, trying to help her out. And things went bad from there. Does that sound, is that a fair statement of how things may have occurred?

Bryan Greenwell: No. I mean...

Investigator: It's not?

Bryan Greenwell: No. I had no. Yeah, I know these people. I don't know them personally. You know what I'm saying? I know them from that apartment. And yes, we did go over there. But, that's it. I mean hell, if you finger print the place you can find my fingerprints on a couple things because where I walked in the room. I kind of picked some stuff up, you know, because it was laying everywhere so I was like [noises from cuffs on table while he demonstrates moving stuff over] I mean, other than that.

Investigator: Alright. I know right now you're trying to figure out where to go with this. Because I don't want you to start digging yourself a hole.

Bryan Greenwell: I know what you want me to do is to commit, you know, say...

Investigator: Oh, I don't need you to, I don't need you to. I got, you know, I've got Jodie's statement. I have enough to walk out of this room right now. What I'm trying to do is try to give you an opportunity to do the same thing she just did which is go at it with the angle "we were trying to help and things just went bad". That's a whole lot better than just not making a statement and me just going off him. I mean, you think I put a guy who's paralyzed from the neck down on a ventilator with an interview like this up to twelve people on a jury that they're not going to sympathize with him instead of you? I'll take that all day long, twice on Sunday.

Bryan Greenwell: Well, you know I'm looking at it too, I'm like "yeah as it stands right now, I mean, regardless of what I say right now, I'm fucked in this situation.

Investigator: And I'm trying to say there's a little bit of an out right here to make it better on you to not make it look like... I don't believe you're a cold blooded killer. You know? I don't believe that at all. Nothing suggests that to me. I think you're a smart guy that got involved with a situation you probably shouldn't have. Not saying that you shouldn't help somebody out but I'm saying shit went bad real quick. And I don't think anybody should be judged on one thing alone, there should be a whole series of events that happened here that get to basically where we are right now. And I just want you to think about a lot of different things. And I know I've thrown a lot at you at one time, you know. And I, I, and I can't say I understand where you're at right now because I haven't been there but I can sympathize with you.

Bryan Greenwell: I do this every time.

Investigator: What do you mean you do this every time?

Bryan Greenwell: I always try to protect everybody. You get that recorder off for a minute so I can ask you a question?

Investigator: This? Yeah. [shuts laptop]

Bryan Greenwell: And the one in there.

[turns off recorder in pocket and shows Greenwell]

Bryan Greenwell: Nothing else recording, right?

Investigator: I don't know about this room, this is the corrections room so I would have to say, well, I don't know.

Bryan Greenwell: What happens if I go with, I mean 'cause I know the story here, you know what I'm saying? I know the whole thing, what happened
[electronic beep]

Bryan Greenwell: What was that?

Investigator: I'm guessing I just got an email 'cause this is my actual work computer.

Bryan Greenwell: Well, look, how do I get Jodie off of all of this?

Investigator: I mean, I think, I think she's the least copiable of anything that happened. You know, I think she was just there. Um, and what he says and what she says really jive in line with the support, they support each other in their statements. Um, but I mean honestly it's just going through the story, and I think I know the story. If I tell you the story, would it sound anything like what I started it off as. A domestic thing that you guys got involved in, you end up in a fight, with them with a gun and it goes off, and I can't tell you any more than that because, you know. By any chance, does that seem like a story that, of what may have happened?

Bryan Greenwell: Yep.

Investigator: You see; we can work with that because the beginning part of it. Because there's a big difference between you going in and saying "I'm going to f*** kill somebody" and you going in "I'm trying to help somebody" and then shit goes bad. There's, That's way different things there that we're talking about. And one's a whole lot

better than the other. I mean, the end result was that people lost their lives, yes. But it's a whole lot different when it comes to juries, when talking about charges. You know, those types of things. It's a night and day situation.

Bryan Greenwell: I would say. Yeah. Like you say, ya'll would paint me out to be the fucking, wow. I mean, as it stands right now, which is those two saying that shit, you all got enough to convict me on anything...

Investigator: And that's what I'm saying. I'm not going to bullshit you. I told you that. I got enough right now, I could walk out of the room but that's not what I want to do because I believe in getting everybody a fair shot at this. Minimum is 18 years. You know, I don't bullshit when I talk to people. I don't play that whole mind game or running in circles and we talk for six hours. That's how you run a guy. I tell you what I got, I tell you how good, I'm not going to lie if I got something that's weak. I'm gonna be like "Hey, this is what I got, here's your chances, fifty fifty." This is not a fifty fifty chance kinda thing right here, I tell you that.

Bryan Greenwell: No it's a "screwed me all the way around"

Investigator: That's why I'm trying to give you, I want you to see how I'm trying to let you get out in front of it. Tell your part of the story on it.

Bryan Greenwell: Is there any way I could smoke a cigarette?

Investigator: I think we could probably make that happen. We let everybody, everybody else smoke one in the basement. When we come back, finish up the story? I think we could do that. Sit back for a minute. See what we could do for you.

Bryan Greenwell: Uh, regardless of what happens you all can't ... never mind.

Investigator: I think I know what you're trying to get out and you don't want anything to happen to Jodie on this. Does that sound about right?

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah.

Investigator: And I really think that's going to depend on a lot about what we talk about, what you tell me on this. I think we can minimize her involvement

Investigator: Well, I mean like, she is there. I mean, have you ever heard of about, uh, doing a bank robbery.

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah.

Investigator: You're the robber, you go in and rob the store. I'm just the driver. We both get in a car chase and get caught down the way. What charge do I get?

Bryan Greenwell: Accessory

Investigator: What charge do you get? It's a robbery.

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah.

Investigator: I mean, she's there with you. So she is a complicit, she's complicit in this. And not including that, there's nothing done on her behalf to help, or stay, or call or anything. So that's her little bit of a problem but her involvement is minimal.

Bryan Greenwell: Its, she did try to.

Investigator: What did she try to do?

Bryan Greenwell: Tried to help.

Investigator: After they were shot? What did she try to do? I mean, this helps her.

Bryan Greenwell: We'll talk, we'll talk about it all here in a second. Let me calm down.

Investigator: Okay. Okay. I'll give you some time, you know, get your stuff in order. See if I can set up that cigarette.

Bryan Greenwell: I appreciate it, thanks.

Investigator: Alright.

[Investigator opens door and talking with someone else]

Bryan Greenwell: A glass of water or somethin',

Investigator: Yeah.

[Investigator returns to room]

Investigator: Alright, we're gonna...

Bryan Greenwell: Hey, is Jodie still down there?

Investigator: No, they already took her back to CCC.

Other person: Is there like a count or something they need to do at a certain time or something? I don't know.

Investigator: We're going to go, soon as he comes back here, we're going to go down, downstairs. We're not going to talk about anything we talked about in here. Just going to be for you to smoke, get your thoughts together, okay? then we'll come back in here and talk some more, some questions.

[Investigator and Greenwell leave room- brief conversation with other person]

[Investigator and Greenwell return]

Investigator: Shoot it to me, I want to hear it. You know, I've talked to some other people, I know it's been bothering you. Everybody has said that you have been acting different. It's really been bothering you. So it's been noticeable to other people. Take that weight off, throw it on me. Get it off your shoulders, man.

Bryan Greenwell: I mean, ya'll, aren't going to try to hit me with no fucking death penalty or nothing

Investigator: No, there's no aggravated circumstances.

Bryan Greenwell: Well, try to get this done as quick as possible. Cause I'll be honest with ya, I can't sit in that jail.

Investigator: I understand.

Bryan Greenwell: Jodie didn't have nothing to do with it. She did try to get help for her, I mean I even did try but ... She comes over there and says he's over there beatin' on her. So we walked over there. We didn't even walk in the apartment at first. I was like, you know, "what's going on?" Jodie didn't even go over there at first. She was like "you go over there and see what". Said "yeah". Dude was over there throwing shit, breaking shit, cussing her. All three of us were standing outside, even the girl was standing outside, you know what I'm saying, and I was like "look, just leave or come over here, something", you know what I'm saying, "or I'm gonna call the cops". She went back inside and he grabbed ahold of her or something like that. Jodie was like, you know, "you gotta help her". Cause I guess her or something like that. So I walked in there and I separated them and this and that. That's when, to be honest with you, I don't even, I can't even remember how the gun came into play, for real. Well, we started, kind of wrestling around and the gun went off. And then it went off again.

Investigator: How many times do you think it went off?

Bryan Greenwell: Honestly man, I don't even know. I mean, I was... blacked out or something like that. I don't know. Man, it's like... I'm guessing two or three times, three. Something like that. I remember hearing three gunshots.

Investigator: Do you remember which one you shot first?

Bryan Greenwell: No, honestly. I don't. I freaked out. And I was like "man, what the fuck. I came over here to help somebody this shit happens." I think... I know it went off once. I think she got hit first, I'm not for sure. I mean was still struggling and it went off again. I do remember that. And that's when he fell on the bed. And I didn't, I mean, I didn't know what to do. I mean, I went over there, like you said, there was no intentions of going over there malice intended or nothing like that, you know?

Investigator: You remember about what time, I know this happened Friday the 13th, is when we were there and it was later in the afternoon when we got there. When do you think this might have happened? Was it on that Friday? If I'm not mistaken she was supposed to start that new job on Friday at noon, does that sound right? Do you know that? Jodie knew that, that's why

Bryan Greenwell: I don't know.

Investigator: Okay.

Bryan Greenwell: I mean, after it was all done and everything I might have heard Jodie say something she was supposed to start a job today or something like that. It was like "what the fuck man, now what am I supposed to do?" You know, we were both like that, like "what do we do?" Neither one of us knew what to do. She was like "listen, call the cops" cause like you said we went over there with the intentions of helping not hurting somebody, you know? And she never, Jodie never, was near that apartment, what-so-ever, as far as I know of...

Investigator: She told me that she did. She didn't go into the room that you guys were in which is the back bedroom. But she said she made it into part of it. You said she tried to help them afterwards, so

Bryan Greenwell: I mean, she was like...

Investigator: I mean; it doesn't matter to me. If she came in If she came in it's fine. That doesn't get you in trouble that makes you a normal human being that wants to come in and maybe try to help.

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah, I mean, we was both you know saying, she was like saying, well actually I was standing there then turned around and looked at her at the door and I was like "what do I do?" You know what I'm saying? I didn't know. And I still, to this day, I still can't tell you exactly, from start to finish, what happened, you know what I'm saying? I just know that I was the one standing in the room when both of them were laying there. Jordie was like "are they still breathing" whatever, you know what I'm saying. I was like "I don't know?" I mean what, what, I mean, how do you check if somebody is...

Investigator: Never been in that situation before.

Bryan Greenwell: And I do know that, I'm not for sure if the landlord called or if Jodie called the landlord or what, I'm not for sure, but I do remember hearing her say the landlord called or the landlord's wife or something like that saying about you the cops dope from them or something. look like we went in there to rob them or something which wasn't the case. Nothing was took, nothing like that. And I was like man, I didn't know what to do. You know what I mean? I still don't know what to do. I mean, I don't know...

Investigator: What happened with the gun? What did you do with the gun?

Bryan Greenwell: Destroyed it. Melted it down.

Investigator: Melted it down? How did you do that? That takes a lot of heat.

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah, I know. Well, actually the gun didn't get melted down it got took apart and got melted down. And I was like, "man, I don't know" and I gave the gun back to the person that owned it. You know what I'm saying? He just let me borrow it. And I can't tell you his name because I don't want to get him...

Investigator: So did you destroy it or did you give it back to the guy?

Bryan Greenwell: No, I took it apart Most of the gun went back.

Investigator: I mean, don't bullshit me. I mean, it's not, this is not a, that's not a big issue there. My big thing honestly is, well, yeah I would like to recover it but I just want to make sure you didn't just toss it somewhere and some kid got to it, that's more what I'm worried about.

Bryan Greenwell: No No I made sure, yeah, I made sure there wasn't no kid or no innocent bystander or nothing like that was gonna pick it up.

Investigator: What model was it?

Bryan Greenwell: [silence]

Investigator: I know what caliber it was, at this point, wondering what model it was.

Bryan Greenwell: A Taurus, I think. Or... uh, yeah I think it was a Taurus. Pretty sure it was a Taurus.

Investigator: And you know, I know it was a 40, you know. I'm just curious.

Bryan Greenwell: I mean, to be honest with you I tried blocking it out but...

Investigator: You can't block something like that out, man. And if you try to it's eventually going to come back out and it's going to eat and eat and eat. I mean, I can tell how upset you are

Bryan Greenwell: I never meant for none of this to happen. I mean, I don't know what else to say besides that it was me.

Investigator: Is there anybody else there with you guys?

Bryan Greenwell: [shakes head "no"]

Investigator: Nobody else, okay. Did you have the gun on you when you first went over there? Was this a "I went back over there and got it" or did you have it on you when you first went over there?

Bryan Greenwell: Nah, I had it on me because the situation that fuckin' everybody was saying that people was out looking for and this and that so I kept it on me. Just for her protection. I wasn't going to ...

Investigator: I understand. Did you, you said you didn't take anything from the scene at all.

Bryan Greenwell: No.

Investigator: No. Did ya'll leave anything by any chance? Lose anything?

Bryan Greenwell: I don't, honestly I don't know. I mean, I didn't even try fuckin' finding the shells that came out of the gun. I was just like, you know, I was dumbfounded, pretty much.

Investigator: And I know you didn't, this happened in the back bedroom, where they fighting in the back bedroom and you got into the middle of it or did, you know, did you and him get into a fight in the back bedroom? I just want to be clear about it.

Bryan Greenwell: Well they was fighting. Worse than, we was all standing outside in the hallway..

Investigator: And we're talking about physical fighting, not arguing

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah, we're talking about physical fighting. And I was like, you know, that's when Jodie said "you gotta help her". That's when I went in there and everything just happened so fast that ... you know the rest. I mean, she did try to help them. I didn't know what to do to help, I mean, I freaked out. I still freak out.

Investigator: Well, I tell you what. This whole thing, this whole situation, I mean it sucks, I mean I was right. Was I not right from the minute I went in here on the way things went down?

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah.

Investigator: And I still believe bad shit happens to good people all the time but this series of events doesn't paint you out to be a cold calculated "I don't give a fuck" killer. I mean, shit happened, yeah. There's nothing we can do about that now. But the way that we presented it as you coming over to help, and correct me if I'm wrong, would you see there's a big difference between somebody who doesn't give a fuck and coming over there and shooting people opposed to somebody who is there for a purpose and I can confirm that purpose because there was a domestic fight going on, and you go over there and shit goes bad.

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah.

Investigator: There's a big difference there.

Bryan Greenwell: Yeah. There's a big difference. I mean, I shouldn't have went with my gut and just stayed out of it. But I'm not that type of person. If I see somebody needs help, I try to help.

Investigator: I'm going to let you take this picture with you, too. I don't know if you have any with your kids with you. Because I think, because I think the way we talked here tonight, that getting to see them is going to come a whole lot sooner than if would have been if you told me "I'm not talking to you, get out of the room". I mean, I could have

happened either way, and that's why I really.. That's what I was really worried about. That you wouldn't understand how important of a chance I was trying to give you to get out. You were in a hole. And you're still in a hole. It's definitely not as deep as it was with your story out there. And it goes a long way with prosecutors, defense attorneys, and judges and jurors. So we got to look at its a bump in your road. That bump was sitting back at your back side, you hadn't crossed it yet. Now we're across it. Now we are going to figure out from here where to go and you're going to get your life back on track. Does that sound like a good plan, here?

Bryan Greenwell: That's not what I wanted.

Investigator: No? Nothing but future in front of you now. Don't get me wrong. We're going to take a little bit of it here, but it aint all of it. And what you do with the rest of it, is up to you.

Bryan Greenwell: I'll never see daylight again.

Investigator: See people I've talked to heard you say that and I disagree with that. You have to remember where we are. We're tend to be more lenient, more liberal here.

Bryan Greenwell: I hope so.

Investigator: And you've done yourself big time favors here. You've done the best you can for yourself with the situation you're in. I'm going to go out here and talk to the corrections people and make sure they know about everything. Any questions you have for me right now? You have anything? Alright. Sit tight. We'll be back here in a few minutes.

Appendix C: Lee Rodarte Police Interview

<https://criminalwords.net/2019/09/15/lee-rodarte-interrogation-transcript/>

[conversation between investigator and officer about uncuffing Rodarte]

Officer 1: Put your hands on your head, I've got to pat you down.

Lee Rodarte: Yes, sir.

Officer 1: Spread your legs for me. Do you have anything in your pockets?

Lee Rodarte: Nothing. They got it all.

Officer 2: I've got his hat and um in my trunk. I'll go get them.

Officer 1: Okay. I just want to... Just our policy, you know what I mean?

Lee Rodarte: Yes sir. Yes sir.

Officer 1: Could you do me a favor? I'm going to have you take that apron off.

Lee Rodarte: Okay.

Officer 1: You can go ahead and have a seat right there for me. I'll be right back, okay?

Lee Rodarte: Yes sir.

Officer 1: Need a water or anything?

Lee Rodarte: Uh, I'll take some water.

Officer 1: Water? Yup, give me one second.

[Investigator leaves and returns with a bottle of water]

Lee Rodarte: Would it be, uh, possible if I could use the restroom?

Officer 1: Yeah, give me one second. Let me get my partner real quick and we'll walk you there.

Lee Rodarte: Yes sir, no problem.

Officer 1: No problem.

[Officer 1 closes and opens the door]

Officer 1: You can come on.

[Rodarte leaves and returns from bathroom]

Officer 1: I'll be right outside just knock if you need anything, okay? Just give me a couple minutes.

[90 minutes of silence]

Detective 1: Hey man

Lee Rodarte: How are you doin'?

Detective 1: Good good. Do you remember me from the other day? Detective Reeves?

Lee Rodarte: Yes, sir.

Detective 1: Uh, this is my partner, Detective [inaudible]. She was interviewing some of the other folks, waiters and other staff people the other day, so she didn't have the chance to come down at the time. Um, I want to talk to you, well actually, we wanted to... do you want some more water?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah. Actually, would it be alright to use the bathroom one more time?

Detective 1: Yeah, yeah, yeah. I'll walk you out there. Grab, ah, hang on one second, let me grab something.

Lee Rodarte: No problem.

Detective 1: No worries.

[Detective 1 and Rodarte leave to bathroom]

[Detective 1 and Rodarte returns 7 minutes later]

Detective 1: You want some water?

Lee Rodarte: Uh, yes please if that would be alright.

Detective 1: Got a water?

[Detective 1 exits and returns]

Detective 1: Um, like I said, I kind of want to go over some stuff. We talked the other day for just a few minutes, and I had some concerns about a couple things and um, oh okay, um I wanted to talk to you about Savannah. So, I just have a couple of things that came up that I wanted to ask you about specifically that didn't seem to line up. So, I wanted to come down to talk to you. Alright?

Lee Rodarte: Alright.

Detective 1: So, let's get a couple, let's make sure I got your basic information. It's Lee. Tell me how you pronounce your last name.

Lee Rodarte: Rodarte.

Detective 1: Rodarte. And that's R-O-D-A-R-T-E and it's 1081 Halifax Road, Jacksonville. What's the zip?

Lee Rodarte: Uh, 32216.
Detective 1: 32216. Okay. Date of birth is 8/11/88?
Lee Rodarte: Yup.
Detective 1: And you're 5'11"?
Lee Rodarte: Yup.
Detective 1: And what's your approximate weight?
Lee Rodarte: Um... It's been a while since I weighed myself but probably about 163, something like that.
Detective 1: 163? Okay, what color eyes do you have?
Lee Rodarte: Brown.
Detective 1: Brown? Hair is?
Lee Rodarte: Brown.
Detective 1: Brown. And what's your phone number?
Lee Rodarte: 904-452-6094.
Detective 1: Okay. And your social, do you know your social?
Lee Rodarte: Pretty sure I do.
Detective 1: And white male. And how old are you?
Lee Rodarte: Um. I'm 28.
Detective 1: 28? And can you read and write?
Lee Rodarte: Yes.
Detective 1: What's the last school you went to?
Lee Rodarte: Forest High school. Before it was
Detective 1: When did you graduate from there?
Lee Rodarte: Uh, '06.
Detective 1: Okay. 2006. Alright, and you can read and write. Have you had um, have you drank any alcohol today? Any drugs today?
Lee Rodarte: Um, I took an Adderall that my buddy gave me.
Detective 1: Okay.
Lee Rodarte: Because I was there late last night, and I was super tired like here take this.
Detective 1: Alright, Adderall?
Lee Rodarte: Yeah.
Detective 1: And do you normally take that?
Lee Rodarte: Nah, I was, I've taken one long time ago. I wouldn't say high school. A little after high school but it's been years.
Detective 1: Okay, uh, but nothing to drink, alcohol wise?
Lee Rodarte: No.
Detective 1: Okay and how, about what time do you think you took the Adderall?
Lee Rodarte: Uh, it was probably twelve-ish.
Detective 1: Like noon?
Lee Rodarte: Yeah.
Detective 1: Okay. And do you understand what I'm saying though? You able to communicate okay enough? It didn't, you know, make you not be able to...
Lee Rodarte: No.
Detective 1: Okay. And no alcohol. And you said you can read and write?
Lee Rodarte: Yes.
Detective 1: Alright. Perfect, awesome. Okay, I want to ask you some questions, but I want to go over your rights. We are currently at 501 East [street] Street, which is the police memorial building. Today is August the 5th, 2017 and it's approximately 7:15. Make sure about that. Yep. 7:15 p.m. give or take. Um, can you, will you read that? Just that top line for me?
Lee Rodarte: You have the following rights under the United States Constitution.
Detective 1: Perfect. I will read these with you, and you can kind of just follow. Um, you do not have to make a statement or say anything. Anything you say can be used against you in court. You have the right to talk to a lawyer for advice before you make a statement or before any questions are ask of you and to have the lawyer with you during any questioning. If you cannot afford to hire a lawyer, one will be appointed to you before any questioning if you wish. If you do answer questions, you also have the right to stop answering those questions at any time and consult with your attorney or with a lawyer. Do you understand those rights?
Lee Rodarte: Yes sir.

Detective 1: Okay awesome. If you just sign there that you understand that. That isn't admitting or not saying anything, it's just saying that you understand your rights.

Lee Rodarte: Okay.

Detective 1: Perfect. I appreciate it that. Alright so, um, Savannah. You said you knew her, and guys had... Uh, you knew her from work. I mean, just fill me in. How long have you known her...?

Lee Rodarte: Like I said, I have known her obviously since she start, since she started working there. Um, I would say probably about eight months ago or so we started hanging out outside of work. Um, and at the time I had a girlfriend. Um, but we kind of, you know, we kind of connected, me and Savannah. So, we hung out a little bit here and there. Um, got pretty close. Uh, we come from I guess somewhat similar, uh, backgrounds I guess you should say...

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um, she didn't have it the best growing up, neither did I. So, we kind of connected. Hung out for a while. Probably would say a period of two, three months. Um, and then she started using drugs a lot. Now, I used them with her, not the same drugs that she used all the time, um but I did them with her a couple times. And then she started to get heavy into them.

Detective 1: Oh, gotcha.

Lee Rodarte: So, um. I kind of just, uh, try to take a step back and, you know, put things off. Um, and after that, um, me and my ex started kind of chit chatting again

Detective 1: Okay, and who's that? What's her name?

Lee Rodarte: Her name's Chelsea.

Detective 1: Okay, alright.

Lee Rodarte: Um, so, we kind of started chit chatting again, never really hundred percent because obviously she was still kind of upset about me hanging out with Savannah and stuff like that. Um, and then probably a month or so ago, um, I saw Savannah again at work and she looked healthy again. You know, she gained a little bit of weight and uh, just, you know, friendly talk at work. You know, telling her, you know, hope everything has been good and she told me, you know, that I guess she did a lot of drugs and ended up in the hospital. She ended up missing like, I want to say, a couple days, three or four days of work...

Detective 1: Oh okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um, so obviously, you know, me being pretty close to her I was concerned and everything. But after she came back, she looked good. She ended up telling me that, I guess, uh, you know, over those four days she detoxed pretty well. She kind of caught a... new sense into why she should do so much drugs ...

Detective 1: Good for her.

Lee Rodarte: so much. And like I said, she looked good. She started looking healthy so, uh, we were kind of talking here and there and we hung out a couple times. Um, she came over to the house and we just kind of kicked back, drank a couple beers, watched movies, stuff like that. Um, and then as we hung out, you know, after a couple times, she brought drugs over. Um, and I told her, you're doing really good. You can't, you know, you shouldn't be doing it again. You're finally gaining weight. Because when we were together the first time, she was you know, she got really petite and just didn't look well. Which is kind of why I took a step back plus, uh, my father used a lot of drugs growing up, my mother used a lot of drugs growing up. And it was just kind of a hard thing to see, you know, every time that we hung out.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Like I said, we did, uh like we took some pain pills here and there, on occasion, but then she started like bringing heroin over and stuff like that. That's, uh. My mom was addicted to methamphetamines when she was, when I was younger. So those hard, like hard drugs does kind of scare me a little but so that's why I stepped back the first time. Then I felt like she was better as we hung out recently and then she brought drugs over to my house the last time we hung out and uh, we would text here and there. I would ask her how she was doing, you know, hope her day was going good just... because I told her the last time we hung out I was like, you know, you're doing really well, stop doing this, you know, you can do it...

Detective 1: Yeah, yeah. No doubt.

Lee Rodarte: Um, and I heard that she kept, was doing the same thing.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um, so, we texted a couple times and I end up telling her "hey, you know, for one I'm dealing with a lot of personal stuff myself right now as it is. I'm a little depressed. Um, but I think we're moving too fast. I think we should stop talking". Um, and she said "I understand, it's completely fine. No problem", you know. She said "I'll delete your number. I'll never text you again".

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: And I said “same”. And I was like “I’m sorry. Like, I didn’t mean to, you know, try to jump back into things, I just, I think we moved too fast”. Um, and I said I wouldn’t text her either. Just to be, you know, kind of split.

Detective 1: Mutual, yeah.

Lee Rodarte: Um, and that was the last time that we text.

Detective 2: When was that?

Lee Rodarte: Um, it was probably a couple, two or three weeks ago.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Sometime in July.

Detective 1: Right right. Yeah, I think that was one of the things you said was that was the last time that you had contact with her as far as, and I don’t want to put words in your mouth so you correct me if I’m wrong.

Lee Rodarte: That’s the last time that I text her.

Detective 1: Text or phone call or messenger or any like that is two to three weeks?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay. And um, the last time... When was the last time you saw her?

Lee Rodarte: This is what I was up with . I didn’t tell you the truth when we talked . The last time I saw her was Wednesday afternoon.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um. I heard that she has been, basically telling a lot people at work that, um, we hooked up a bunch like a couple days before that and that she was going to like, tell about the whole situation and try to get me fired...

Detective 1: Why, why would that get you fired?

Lee Rodarte: Well, I’m a manager and she’s an employee. So ...

Detective 1: Okay, so you guys aren’t supposed to fraternize?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay, I gotcha.

Lee Rodarte: And she just told people she was out with at work at the restaurant that we were having sex and hooking up and stuff like that. That I was her boyfriend and this and that. Um, so I was a little upset. Obviously, you know, I care about my job. Um...

Detective 1: Sure, how long have you been working there again?

Lee Rodarte: Um, it’ll be five years in December.

Detective 1: Okay, yeah. Right.

Lee Rodarte: So I was a little upset. Um, so. I met her in the parking lot at Bone Fish.

Detective 1: When was this?

Lee Rodarte: Wednesday afternoon.

Detective 1: Okay. Do you know what time or about?

Lee Rodarte: Um, it was about 5:30.

Detective 1: Okay.

Detective 2: When you say you met her, was she meeting you too or...?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I didn’t call her...

Detective 2: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: I just drove up there to see if maybe she was working. I was going to, you know, talk to her and um...

Detective 1: Did you know if she was working that night?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I did.

Detective 1: You did not.

Lee Rodarte: I did.

Detective 1: Oh, you did.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Oh, I’m sorry. So, you knew she was working that night.

Lee Rodarte: So, I drove up there and was hoping I would get the chance to talk to her.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um, I pulled in the parking lot. She pulled in a little bit after me. I parked. And I said “Hey, can I talk to you for a second?” um, and she said “yeah, what’s up?” and I was like “I heard you’ve been saying some things about me and you continuing to hang out and we’re boyfriend and girlfriend and she asked me, she said “Can I come sit in the car because I just did some heroin and I’m a little paranoid”.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: I said, “why are you doing that?” You know, you’ve been doing really well, you shouldn’t be doing that...

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um and, she came and got in the car and I explained to her the situation that, I told her that servers and Bone Fish were coming to me and telling me that you're telling people when you're out that we're having sex and we're boyfriend and girlfriend and I said "I would appreciate, you know, I need you to stop. Because for one this is jeopardizing my job. We agreed to, you know, split. Stop talking mutually and just move on and you know, be cordial or whatever" but um, it was nothing more than that. And she said "I'm going to do what I want, uh, you can believe what you want, I didn't tell anybody anything" and I told her, I said "the girl that you were out with told Chelsea that we were still having sex and that you were just at my house like yesterday, hanging out" and...

Detective 1: That she was out with when?

Lee Rodarte: That Savannah was out with a couple nights prior.

Detective 1: Okay. Gotcha.

Lee Rodarte: I guess at one of the bars

Detective 1: And who's that?

Lee Rodarte: The girl that she...

Detective 1: Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: The girl that she was with? He name was Rachel.

Detective 1: Rachel. Okay. Rachel told Chelsea that...?

Lee Rodarte: Savannah was saying that uh... cause me and Chelsea talk, we are very, you know, friendly at work, you know. We joke back and forth "haha" and uh, um, and Savannah said "Yeah, I did say that", you know, uh "I don't really like Chelsea", you know. And I said "look, you need to stop because for one, like I said, we agreed to go our separate ways, and this is jeopardizing my job and it is making me really upset having to come into work. You know? Or talk to Chelsea and she just constantly, you know, badgering me about stuff that you're saying that isn't true.

Detective 1: Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: Um. And I told her that she needs to stop. Um. At that point...

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: I said "Stop, I'm serious. I don't want to talk to you, it's not good for us, so let's stop" and she just said, "why did you do that?" I said "well, I'm upset" and she said, "fuck you", you know "you're a piece of shit". She said she was going to keep talking, telling lies and stuff about me and everything like that, and I said...

Lee Rodarte: and at that point, uh, she had a phone in her hand, she got out of the car and walked towards the main entrance of San Jose...

Detective 1: So, like if, um.

Lee Rodarte: So, like if this is...

Detective 1: I know Bone Fish is over here, this is San Jose, this is the bank over here in this area. Where were you guys parked?

Lee Rodarte: She was parked here.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um, to the left of the five-star ATM.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: I was parked here.

Detective 1: Okay, alright, so you're like here?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah, um, I was, I was probably three spaces away.

Detective 1: Okay, from her car?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um so.

Detective 1: And what do you drive?

Lee Rodarte: I drive a Chevy Malibu.

Detective 1: Okay. What color is it?

Lee Rodarte: Silver.

Detective 1: Silver Chevy Malibu.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Does it have Colorado tags, Florida tags, Georgia tags?

Lee Rodarte: Florida tags.

Detective 1: Okay. And um, did you, when you got there did you pull into the parking place or did you park sideways, did you...?

Lee Rodarte: I backed in, I backed in.

Detective 1: Okay, you backed in.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: You backed into this parking space over by the bank area um, by the five-star ATM.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: And you're driving a Silver Chevy Malibu with a Florida tag. Okay. And she pulls in over on this side of you?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay, so like, if you're in your car and you're sitting here, she would be on your left, the driver side.

Lee Rodarte: So, if I'm sitting facing forward, yeah, she would be on the driver's side.

Detective 1: Does she back in, does she pull in?

Lee Rodarte: She pulled in.

Detective 1: Okay. Alright. So, when she gets out she's close enough to you and that's when you motioned her over or called her over or said "hey can I talk to you" ...?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah, I said "hey can I talk to you".

Detective 2: Were you by yourself?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 2: Okay. Nobody in the car with you?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Nobody in the car with her?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Okay, alright. What was she wearing?

Lee Rodarte: Um, her uniform.

Detective 1: Her uniform. Okay. Alright. And then she comes over, she says "can I get in the car?" If I say anything wrong, correct me. Okay? I'm going to repeat back but if I don't get something right, I need you to make sure I'm saying the right thing. Okay. Um, you say "hey, can I talk to you" and she walks over, approaches on the driver's side. You in the car or out of the car?

Lee Rodarte: In the car.

Detective 1: Okay. You're sitting in the driver's seat?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay. Um, and she, she asked if she can get in because she just did heroin and she, how does she do it? Does she shoot up, smoke it, snort?

Lee Rodarte: Uh, she snorts it.

Detective 1: Okay. And then...

Lee Rodarte: She's told me she shot up before, but...

Detective 1: Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: Never in front of me.

Detective 1: Okay, and then she comes and gets in the car with you?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Is your car a two door or four door?

Lee Rodarte: Four door.

Detective 1: Four door. Does she get in the front seat, back seat?

Lee Rodarte: She gets in the back and I ask why she got in the back.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um, and she was like "I just don't want anybody to see me", you know.

Detective 2: And when did you get in, too?

Lee Rodarte: Um, she said "you can come back here, and we can talk"

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: So, I got out and got in the back seat.

Detective 1: Okay so you guys are both in the back seat now?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay, gotcha. Alright, alright. I wasn't sure. Um, and then how the conversation went basically you're telling her to leave you alone. Stop harassing you or why are you telling people we're having sex and you guys; um you don't want to jeopardize your job.

Lee Rodarte: I just told her, you know, especially since she was high I was like "we just don't need to have anything to do with each other" and uh, she said "fuck you, I'm going to keep doing this" and whatever. So...

Detective 1: Alright.

Lee Rodarte: So, I got out and...

Detective 1: And then you got back in and then what did you say to her?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I said "you know, could you leave me alone? Like, I'm serious, I don't want to talk to you." And she said, "fuck you, why'd you do that?" And I said, she continued to say that she was going to do whatever she wants and say what she wants no matter what and I knew in my mind it was because she was high.

Detective 1: Yeah, so what did you say to all that? Obviously you got to get pissed.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah, I got aggravated.

Detective 1: I would too.

Lee Rodarte: I got frustrated and I said and then...

Detective 1: Now you

Lee Rodarte: No you go ahead.

Detective 1: Um, we were told that had happened before to her car. Have you heard that?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I didn't hear that her car was vandalized before.

Detective 1: You have?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Okay, so you didn't know about that.

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Okay. Same deal, okay. Alright. Okay, what were you saying something about, the um, you were, did you get back in the car?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: And did you get in the front seat or back seat?

Lee Rodarte: I got in the front seat.

Detective 1: Okay. That time you got in the front seat. Where is she?

Lee Rodarte: She was in the back seat still and at that point I said, you know, "now leave me alone". She responded and she said, "fuck you" you know, "I'll do what I want" and she got out, and it looked like she was either texting or calling somebody.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um, because as she started walking towards the, there's an entrance to the, um, to the plaza...

Detective 1: Okay, closer towards the 295.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: I wouldn't say she was walking along the edge of the plaza, but she was walking maybe towards this way and I would say an older model Ford pickup...

Detective 1: Mm-hm

Lee Rodarte: Green.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Uh, drove past me and around, and she got in.

Detective 1: Okay. So, um, she, had she, when you guys are talking in the car back and forth, she's not, is she calling somebody while you guys are talking back and forth on the phone?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I didn't see, she didn't call anybody, no. She had her phone in her hand.

Detective 1: Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: But um, but I don't think she texts anybody.

Detective 1: So, she gets out of the car with you and starts walking this direction?

Lee Rodarte: I was in the car.

Detective 1: You were in the car, but she got out.

Lee Rodarte: Yes.

Detective 1: Now you're in the front seat. So, she gets out of the back seat and starts walking towards, or in the direction of, not necessarily paralleling San Jose, but she's walking towards 295 or down towards that entrance area, um, and then she has her phone and you thought she was calling somebody.

Lee Rodarte: Um, she was, she had it in her hand and it looked like, I mean, I couldn't tell if she was texting or not or anything...

Detective 1: But she had her phone out.

Lee Rodarte: She had her phone out and she was looking at it. And then, uh, it looked like she was going to put it up to her ear and then the green truck came around ...

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: And

Detective 1: So how long do you think, um, it was between the time she got out and started using her phone and that green truck pulled up?

Lee Rodarte: Um, maybe five minutes.

Detective 1: Okay, so wow. So, if she called somebody, they got there in five minutes to pick her up.

Lee Rodarte: I mean, like I said it looked like she, she was going to call somebody and that's when the green truck came around and she got in.

Detective 1: Okay. Okay. She gets in the truck. What happened at that point?

Lee Rodarte: Um, they drove back around, kind of looped around a little bit

Detective 1: Which way did they drive?

Lee Rodarte: So, she was say, here. The green truck comes here, and then kind of like, loops around, and it looked like, I guess they exited that way and at that point I left.

Detective 2: They exited going which way down?

Lee Rodarte: Um, toward. I guess to leave the, uh...

Detective 1: So, they come out of the back side of this bank, like this way?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Towards Clair and San Jose?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: And then you pull out. Which way do you go?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I go around and then go out the same way.

Detective 1: The same way?

Lee Rodarte: The same way, yeah.

Detective 1: And where do you go from there?

Lee Rodarte: From there, I go home.

Detective 1: Go straight home.

Detective 2: Tell me your route that you went.

Lee Rodarte: Uh, 295 all the way to Peach Blvd, Peach Blvd to Grove Park.

Detective 1: How long does that usually take you? Depending on traffic obviously.

Lee Rodarte: Mmm... I think it usually takes me about 25 minutes or so.

Detective 1: Okay. What happened to your neck?

Lee Rodarte: That was self-inflicted, actually.

Detective 1: Why?

Lee Rodarte: I just been having a hard time, uh, I couldn't...

Detective 2: To your neck?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah and [displays arm]

Detective 2: What did you use?

Lee Rodarte: A knife.

Detective 2: When did you do that?

Lee Rodarte: Um.. sometime in July.

Detective 2: You did that in July and it's still...

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 2: Bloody-ish.

Lee Rodarte: Well, it's, I kind of peel the scab here and there at work. stuff like that. I peeled it last night working. Um, this was coming off a bit today, so I peeled that a little bit.

Detective 1: Okay, let me see.

Lee Rodarte: But this and this was the same night. This one was just a lot worse...

Detective 1: Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: Than this one was.

Detective 1: Okay, and this was in July?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah

Detective 1: Like a few weeks back?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay. Okay. So, who, could you see who the person in the truck was?

Lee Rodarte: Um, the truck had fairly tinted windows. I saw a baseball cap

Detective 1: Yeah. Okay. Guy, girl, white, black?

Lee Rodarte: I couldn't really tell, if it was a guy or a girl. Um, I just remember seeing the truck drive and her get in.

Detective 1: Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: I'm sitting in the front and the truck drives right past me and I saw a baseball cap through the passenger window. Um, but...

Detective 1: So, it seemed like she knew the person?

Lee Rodarte: I mean, she got right in.

Detective 1: Had you ever, um, seen that truck before?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Never?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Have you seen it since then?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Did she say...?

Detective 2: Why... Go ahead.

Lee Rodarte: She was just like "fuck you. I'm going to do what I want."

Detective 1: Did she say anything to you when she got out of the car other than fuck you?

Detective 1: She doesn't say anything other than that? Okay.

Detective 2: Why didn't you mention this before since we've been looking for this girl? I mean, don't you think this information. It's important

Lee Rodarte: I mean it definitely, it definitely does. And I regret not saying anything before. Um, I mean, I talked to Chelsea and she said, "you need to tell them everything you know".

Detective 1: When did you talk to Chelsea? You talked to Chelsea about this? When did you talk to her?

Lee Rodarte: Yes. Um, the day that it happened. Because, I mean, her whole issue was me hanging out with Savannah prior.

Detective 1: Sure, and if Savannah is out of the picture then you guys can be free to have your relationship, be back together.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Yeah, I mean. Savannah is in the way, in essence. She is kind of creaped in, she sounds like an ass to you. If she's out there telling people you guys are having sex, or if you are, um then she's the one pushing your buttons, she's pushing Chelsea...

Lee Rodarte: I mean I told Chelsea I was going to tell her to leave me alone.

Detective 1: You were going to tell Savannah?

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: When did you tell Chelsea that?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I believe it was Tuesday night, maybe.

Detective 1: Tuesday night. Okay. Um, and you, how do you guys talk? Facebook? Text?

Lee Rodarte: Text message.

Detective 1: Okay. And do you have a Facebook?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: You don't have one at all?

Lee Rodarte: Um... I had one. I deactivated it, maybe a month or two ago.

Detective 1: It's still there, just don't use it or you...?

Lee Rodarte: I deactivated it the account.

Detective 1: Okay, so you don't even have one that's out there then.

Lee Rodarte: No. Um, I did have one when Savannah and I first started talking. That was kind of how we talked.

Detective 1: A way for you guys to talk without Chelsea knowing what was going on. I'm not telling Chelsea I'm just...

Lee Rodarte: No no.

Detective 1: So, when I come up and talk to you yesterday, I'm not threatening, I'm talking to everybody up there, what?

Lee Rodarte: I freaked out, to be honest with you.

Detective 1: That this girl is missing?

Lee Rodarte: Yes.

Detective 1: Okay, but you know she's been missing. I mean, you knew from, from essence from day one, that she's been missing. And you um, you freaked out

Lee Rodarte: Obviously you know, you know I was the last one to see her, so I was a little bit scared about that. Um, and...

Detective 1: How do you know, you just said you weren't the last one to see her, you just said somebody in a truck...

Lee Rodarte: Well, I mean, the last one to see her at Bone Fish. Last one she's heard from, had contact that anybody knows of.

Detective 1: Sure.

Lee Rodarte: Um, and I know, thought that I had a warrant out already.

Detective 1: Okay. What's the warrant for?

Lee Rodarte: Uh, I didn't go to a court date for a ticket.

Detective 1: Okay. Okay. But I talked to you last night and I didn't have handcuffs, I wasn't threatening in any way...

Lee Rodarte: Definitely not but I mean...

Detective 1: And I left so what were you, what were you, if you were worried you were going to get arrested then it would have happened.

Lee Rodarte: Well, that's another reason that uh, my, Chelsea called me, and I said "you know, I told them I didn't know anything, what do I do now, you know, I already..."

Detective 1: When did you tell Chelsea that? When did you talk to her?

Lee Rodarte: Um, about...

Detective 1: It had to be after last night so was it today?

Lee Rodarte: No. I didn't talk to her today.

Detective 1: Okay, so how was I up there talking to you at about 11 o'clock but you talked to her after?**Lee Rodarte:** I'm sorry, it was earlier in the day. I, cause, obviously I told her what happened, the day that it happened. Um, and told her that I was going to tell Savannah to leave me alone.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: The day before. And after I told her you know about what happened about me, you know, getting in the car with some guy. Um, she, we talked a little bit just about, you know, how it's kind of crazy, you know what I'm saying. And I said, "you know, she hasn't hung out with the best of people in her past."

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: Um, she asked if I knew who it was. Said "no". Um, just told her it was a green truck. Um, and then everything happened, and her mom and police came up there and everything like that, so we talked Thursday night. And she said, "you need to tell somebody".

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: And I was like, how, I don't know what to do, I'm scared. You know, I don't want to get in trouble for, you know, anything or have anything, you know, be a suspect or anything like that. Which, I mean, was obviously not the right decision to make.

Detective 1: Yeah, yeah.

Lee Rodarte: Because now...

Detective 1: Because we're going to find out that

Detective 2: We could have been three days ahead with this.

Lee Rodarte: Obviously. Obviously now it looks, um...

Detective 1: So, um, so you're saying that there's a green, what kind of truck was it?

Lee Rodarte: It looked like a Ford. Mid-90's.

Detective 1: Mm-hm. Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: It was a two door. Maybe the one with the little third door that you open from the side.

Detective 1: Okay. Um, well, the good thing about that is, um, we should be able to verify all of that, all of this kind of thing, so that won't be a problem at all. Um, yeah, I'm just, I don't know. So you said you told her that you had talked to us, but I don't think, chronologically I don't think that matches up.

Lee Rodarte: We, we talked Thursday and...

Detective 1: Not last night you talked?

Lee Rodarte: No. We talked Thursday after like, her mom and everything was on the news.

Detective 1: Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: And she called me and was like "hey everything is all over the news. Uh, you need to, you need to tell somebody you know. She said "Call the hotline" or something like that.

Detective 2: Did you call the hotline?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I told her I did just because in my head I wasn't, I was scared to call that night.

Detective 2: So, but did you ever call the hotline?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: So, this, you haven't told anyone about this yet, other than Chelsea.

Lee Rodarte: Chelsea is the only person that knows.

Detective 1: Okay. Okay. You ...

Lee Rodarte: Just because I felt like I could, you know, she can be truthful

Detective 1: So how did that conversation go with you and Chelsea, um?

Lee Rodarte: She kept asking me what happened, you know, what happened? And I would tell her and she said it's crazy. Um, and then she told me that, you know, I need to call somebody and let them know that I was talking to her Wednesday, um, before the news said she went missing.

Detective 1: Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: And I said I would.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: And I didn't.

Detective 1: How did, how did the conversation end with you guys?

Lee Rodarte: She was, she told me, she basically said she's not going to, she doesn't want to associate with me because I talked to Savannah on Wednesday.

Detective 1: You already told her you were going to do that.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay, so, here...

Lee Rodarte: See, the thing with, me and Chelsea would argue all the time about me not telling Savannah...

Detective 1: To cut it off or whatever.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah. Yeah.

Detective 1: But you go up, and you meet, Chelsea knows you're going to go meet Savannah Wednesday afternoon.

Lee Rodarte: Yes.

Detective 1: She knows that. Afterwards, do you guys talk about how that conversation went?

Lee Rodarte: Yes.

Detective 1: Okay, so you guys, so she knows how the conversation ended.

Lee Rodarte: Yes.

Detective 1: And you told her that night, Wednesday night, about the truck and about the... Was there ever, you just called her and told her?

Lee Rodarte: No, we spoke first via text.

Detective 1: Okay, um. So, you text her from your phone so that's on your phone?

Lee Rodarte: Yes.

Detective 1: Okay, so that text message is on your phone?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Why not?

Lee Rodarte: You know, they said Savannah was missing, 'cause I freaked out. I was like, holy crap.

Detective 1: Yeah. That sounds like, sounds crazy.

Lee Rodarte: Which is, which is... I mean obviously me sending a picture of one of the things they pointed out on the news kind of, scared me.

Detective 1: Sure, absolutely. Um, so how, how, did you all get together or talk anymore Wednesday night? How, did she do a follow up with you? How did the conversation go? How did the rest of Wednesday go?

Lee Rodarte: Um, we, she called me on my way home. Um, and you know, asked where I was. I told her, I was like "pulling into my neighborhood". Um, and then we just talked about the situation. She asked what I said to Savannah. What Savannah said to me and you know. Because she was texting me while Savannah and I were talking and I didn't reply because we were talking and, you know, we were going back and forth so I didn't text her back. So I told her I'm not ignoring you, we were talking and then ... So she called me and asked me what I was doing, I said I was in my neighborhood, about to go home. Uh, went home. Uh, we texted a little bit more here and there. She asked me what I was doing, told her I was eating. I sent her a picture after I got out of the shower because she was like "oh you haven't gotten any pics" this and that so um as I was getting out of the shower I got the text message and texted her a picture of me getting out of the shower and uh she said she didn't believe I was home or something like that.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: So I sent her a picture. And other than I hung out at the house.

Detective 1: Okay.

Detective 2: By yourself?

Lee Rodarte: No. I have a roommate.

Detective 2: Okay, what's his name?

Lee Rodarte: Aaron. A-A-R-O-N. Bieger. B-I-E-G-E-R.

Detective 2: B-I-E-G-E-R.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah, he's um,...

Detective 1: P or B?

Lee Rodarte: B.

Detective 1: B. Okay, he's what? I'm sorry.

Lee Rodarte: He's who I moved in with.

Detective 1: Okay. So, Wednesday night over at your house it's you and Aaron.

Lee Rodarte: Yeah.

Detective 1: Okay. Okay.

Detective 2: Is Aaron there when you get home?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 2: What time did he get home?

Lee Rodarte: Uh, 11 ish.

Detective 1: Okay.

Lee Rodarte: A little bit after.

Detective 2: So before that you just hung out at the house by yourself and ate?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I ate some dinner, took a shower, Chelsea actually came over Wednesday night, if I'm not mistaken.

Detective 1: Okay.

Detective 2: And what did you all do.

Lee Rodarte: Just hung out, watch movies, drunk a couple beers.

Detective 1: Okay. Um. So where, where, when she's in the car what is she, what does she say to you about what her plans are? So, she's scheduled to work that night. So, she's going to work?

Lee Rodarte: We didn't talk about, uh, I assumed she was going to work. Um, she was in her uniform. But she didn't say, when she got out of the car she doesn't say anything after she gets out of the car.

Detective 1: And she gets in that truck she, let's be honest, we won't even call her she, Savannah, okay. Um, Savannah, again with this picture if we are using it in the same place, from where you're drawing was, they drove over here. You're here, and you, they drive out over here. Do they stop? Does she stop and get out and go to work? Does the truck keep going?

Lee Rodarte: Um, I didn't see once they turned the corner past the ATM. Once she got in and they left, I left. Cause I just...

Detective 1: Did you run into them on the road anywhere?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Okay. Did she call you later on or text you later on?

Lee Rodarte: Savannah? No.

Detective 1: No other contact with her?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: So, where's Savannah right now?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 1: Where would I find her?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 1: That's my prime objective is to find her.

Lee Rodarte: Definitely.

Detective 1: I think time's running out on her and I think that....

Lee Rodarte: I mean, I've, I should have said something to you guys when I talked to you guys.

Detective 1: Oh yeah yeah yeah.

Lee Rodarte: I should have said something Wednesday or when Thursday when it was brought to everyone's attention.

Detective 1: So, tell me how I go from nice guy, never met you, you seem like a nice guy, I come up and talk to you, again, you know, you agreed there was nothing threatening or anything about our conversation. Just asking you for some simple basic things. Where we just talked for a few minutes. And you, um, didn't tell me this story. I'm not going to say the truth because I think there's holes in this story too.

Lee Rodarte: Okay.

Detective 1: Um, so you don't tell me this story and then today we're talking again because I brought you down to talk to you because I found holes in that story that didn't match up and now you're telling me another story that has holes that does not match up. So, where's Savannah?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 2: Why were you being hesitant about Chelsea being at your house? First you said that you were by yourself, you ate alone

Lee Rodarte: Yes, I ate dinner alone. Yes.

Detective 2: Right, but that's not true either because you ordered Pa Pa Johns for you and Chelsea.

Lee Rodarte: I ate, I ate corndogs earlier in the evening and when Chelsea got there, she was hungry, so I said...

Detective 2: But you clearly said you were alone.

Lee Rodarte: When I ate the corndogs, yeah.

Detective 2: Okay, yeah. Well you know what I'm saying.

Lee Rodarte: I remember specifically texting Chelsea "I'm eating corndogs".

Detective 1: And all that is on your phone?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 2: Why would you delete all that?

Detective 1: Just a conversation with you and Chelsea you would delete about "I'm having corndogs"?

Lee Rodarte: That text might be on there.

Detective 1: Okay, but she...

Lee Rodarte: We got to talking about me going up to Bone Fish and everything like that.

Detective 1: Yeah. Yeah.

Lee Rodarte: Chelsea said, you know "don't involve me", you know...

Detective 1: Does Chelsea believe you?

Lee Rodarte: She, I don't know...

Detective 1: Okay. Um, just so you know, Chelsea thinks you're bullshitting. Okay, because we've talked to her. We've talked to a lot of people.

Lee Rodarte: I mean, that's about the gist of, you know, Chelsea's attitude towards me for the most part for the past months. Ever since me and Savannah first ...

Detective 2: Is that because you're a liar? I mean, to her, in the past?

Lee Rodarte: That's pretty much what she labels me as, yeah. Because I ...

Detective 2: Do you lie?

Lee Rodarte: Not about every, no, obviously to her about hanging out with Savannah and stuff like that...

Detective 2: Okay.

Detective 1: And you lied to me, about Savannah.

Lee Rodarte: Yes sir.

Detective 1: Okay. So, I'm just, I'm not trying to say anything...

Lee Rodarte: I understand.

Detective 1: I'm just trying to lay out the facts. I want to find this girl. I need to find her.

Lee Rodarte: I understand.

Detective 1: Here's a couple reasons I need to find her. One is, um, I'm hoping that she is still alive. And that's really, I'm really do, I'm holding out for that, um, and if she's not alive then I think she and her family are due that knowledge. I think they need some closure. Um, because I think the reality is, if somebody you know is dead somewhere a parent would want to know. I think if, do you have kids?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Okay so, one day when you have kids, you, what beyond certainty is, is whatever kind of person she is, and I'm not about to say what kind of person she is, um, because I'm not making any judgements. I'm saying, this human being, if she's alive, then I want to find her. I need to make sure she's okay because it's been several days now, she hasn't been around. Some, things that happen to the human body and some people can't stand a lot of things that can transpire. But the other thing is if she's not alive this family deserves better than this. This family deserves better than somebody who works with her and who has knowledge but won't tell the police because they're worried about their own ass. Because that's pretty cheap. I'm going to be honest with you

Lee Rodarte: I agree

Detective 1: Your feelings in it? I don't really care about your feelings. What I care about finding her. So, where is she?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know where she is.

Detective 1: Where is Savannah?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 1: I need to know Savannah is so I can let her family is.

Lee Rodarte: I don't know where she is.

Detective 1: You don't know because you had something done with her and you weren't involved with that part? I don't know. Tell me something. What can I work with?

Lee Rodarte: I told you the last time I saw her.

Detective 2: That's not true because we have proof. We have proof. And that's why we're sitting here, Lee. At this point where we need this for her. I mean, I look at that little girl and I think of my little girl. My little girl that's her age. That's who I think about. If that was my little girl, I couldn't imagine. I don't care what she said about you or whatever. But my little girl is that age.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 1: Maybe...

Detective 2: And you're not telling the truth.

Detective 1: Maybe something get's out of hand in the car.

Lee Rodarte: I didn't do anything.

Detective 2: Okay, you didn't do anything, but she was in your car. She never got out of your car. She never got out of your car, Lee.

Detective 1: We're not saying you did anything. I'm trying to find her. I didn't say you did anything.

Lee Rodarte: I don't know where she is.

Detective 2: Well, we can prove that you left with her in the car. So please, do, do, do everybody a favor and just tell us.

Detective 1: Where is she?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 1: You got to be able to separate. We're not saying you did anything to her. I don't know, she's on drugs. Maybe she passed out. I don't know. I'm not in that car with you guys. I know that she's in that car with you. I have proof of all of this.

Detective 2: Okay I'm going to ask you Lee, you tell us now if you're being honest, man are you being honest?

Lee Rodarte: Yes.

Detective 2: Okay then let's start being honest. She never got out of your back seat. Lee, she never got out of your back seat. Video cameras don't lie. How do you know, how do you know, how do you think I know this information, Lee? I wasn't there. But a video camera caught it.

Detective 1: Tell me what happened.

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 1: How did, how, what happened to her? Was it an overdose? Is that what happened? I don't know. I'm not in the car with you guys. You just said she was in your car and she had admittedly done heroin. Bodies overdose all the time, is that what happens? Did she overdose?

Detective 2: Okay, well so tell us when you left with her in the car, that is what is shown, we can't make up that. We can't falsify video camera, Lee. I'm not lying to you. Because you know I'm telling the truth because you know what's on the video. How else would I know that? I don't unless I have the video. Where did you go with her?

Lee Rodarte: I didn't go anywhere with her.

Detective 2: You did.

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 2: You did. So, the video cameras lie?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know this, I mean...

Detective 2: Well, I'm telling you, I'm telling you I'm not lying. I'm not making that up. That's why I'm so passionate about this. This is someone child. You might not have kids, but damn it, she's someone's kid. It's not fair to her mom with stage four cancer. When all she wants to know is where her daughter is but have this man sitting over here. A 28-year-old man, that first says you haven't seen her, you didn't see her that day, to now the roles have reversed a little bit, because we have been doing our background okay? And now you're saying that she was sitting in your car, which all lines up with the video, actually, I'm glad you said you got in the back seat with her, all that lines up. You know what doesn't line up? That passenger door comes open, and shuts, opens and shuts. She never gets out of that car. And you drive off. She never gets out of that car. There is no green truck. And that's not right to her. We are fact finders, Lee. We don't have anything personal against you.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 1: No, no. Not at all. It's over. Just tell us what happened. Where is she?

Detective 2: We're fact finders, just doing our job.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

[Rodarte shakes head "no"]

Detective 2: No, no, no. Where did you go with her? Where did you go with her, Lee. You're human, you're human, you're a man. Where did you go with her? I know you're not that cruel inside. Seriously, where did you go with her?

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 1: Maybe, maybe you don't know where she is now. Where did go with her?

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: Please. Please. I'm begging you, Lee. Please. Please tell us.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: Please don't make us waste any more of our time. Just tell us.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: Please tell us, please. I'm begging you; I know you're not evil. Just tell us where she is. I'm begging, please. Please.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: Can you please just tell me? Is that how you want it, people to think. I know you're not an evil person. I don't see that in you. I don't see that in your history. I don't hear that those things about you at work. Please tell us where you went with her. She never got out of your car. Please tell us, please, please. I'm begging you. For her family.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence and shake his head]

Detective 2: Please. Please. She didn't get out of her car and you know that obviously. Please. Please, Lee. I'm begging you as a human.

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 2: You do.

Lee Rodarte: Like

Detective 2: Just please, Lee. Please. Please don't make us do this any longer.

Detective 1: For her, for her, for her family. Just tell us where she is. Where did you go?

Detective 2: Can you, can you just tell us? Where did you go with her then?

Detective 1: Where did you go with her? Can you at least tell us that part?

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: Can you at least tell us that part? Where did you go with her afterwards? She didn't get out of your car and you know that obviously

Detective 1: Yeah that's why we are here. Just tell us where. Where did you go with her? Tell us that. At least put us in that direction. I owe her family. We've been, no one, we are not saying that you intentionally did anything. Just tell us where you went. Please.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: Lee.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence and shake his head]

Detective 1: You've been doing great. You already told us everything we already know.

Detective 2: It's not right, Lee. This isn't right for her family or for anybody. No one should have to go through this. I'm just, I'm just human like you are. She's human. Her family. Everyone has feelings. Please.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: Now's, now's the time to tell us because I don't think you're any kind of evil person and I feel like you are going to tell us the truth. I do, I do believe that you're going to tell us the truth because I believe you do have a conscious. Now's the time. Please.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 1: Where'd you guys go? I think you're a good man, I think you want to do the right thing.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: When you all left out of there you went down Clair lane and made a left on San Jose back to 295 and you get up on 295. Okay. Where else did you go before you went home? I mean I know you eventually went home.

Lee Rodarte: I didn't go anywhere. I went straight home.

Detective 2: Okay, so what did you all do when you got home? Savannah was with you. She was with you. And that's okay at that point but I know that, here does she go from there? Is she still at your house?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 2: Okay. Is she still in your car?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 2: Okay. Well then, where is she?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know where she is.

Detective 2: Okay. Where did you last drop her off at?

Lee Rodarte: I didn't drop her off.

Detective 2: Okay, tell me.

Detective 1: Where did you guys go?

Lee Rodarte: We went to my house, we did some drugs, hung out for a little. Then she said she was going to catch an Uber home.

Detective 2: Okay, and did she call Uber?

Lee Rodarte: She pulled her phone out, looked like she was using it, I wasn't hovering over her. I was pretty high. I wasn't, she told me she was leaving. She walked out the door.

Detective 2: What was going on in the back seat? What was going on in the back seat for the doors to be kicked open? She kicked open that door three times, Lee. She kicked it. We saw it. And you know I'm not making it up because I wouldn't know this, because I wasn't there, I would not know this, unless we had video or it. Correct? Yes. Correct, I'm not trying to trick you. I'm just a fact finder.

Detective 1: We're not going to lie to you.

Detective 2: That door was kicked open three times. Obviously, something went wrong in that back seat. Tell me about that. What happened in the back seat, did she get mad at you?

Lee Rodarte: We got in arguments plenty of times where she said doesn't care what happens or anything like that.

Detective 2: Let's be honest, no one's going to go with some man willingly after all that. No one's going to do it. Please tell me where Savannah is.

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 2: You do know and right now is the time. You're so close and I know, I know you're going to tell me. I know you are because I just, I just know you are 'cause I know you want to do the right thing. You're scared to do the right thing. I get it

Lee Rodarte: Yeah

Detective 2: I do. I'm not...

Lee Rodarte: Can you just tell me what I'm being charged with, please?

Detective 2: Yes.

Detective 1: I want, I want to find her.

Detective 2: I don't know that yet but at least I do know that your, for your arrest for the DWLS

Lee Rodarte: For what?

Detective 2: For the DWLS, I think Where, where is Savannah?

Lee Rodarte: So, what am I being charged with now? Driving with a suspended license?

Detective 2: I don't know yet. I got to talk to the attorney that's sitting out there watching this interview. Where's Savannah?

Lee Rodarte: I don't know.

Detective 2: You do know. So you're going to make me, and our team, and this whole entire sheriff's office and every person in this community to get out there after, you know, we, after they know the truth of who she left with and see's the struggle in the back seat of your car? And you're going to make all of us go and search Jacksonville for her when you could easily tell me where she is? Is that what we're going to put everybody through?

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 1: Think about it. Alright. Sometimes people do wrong things. Alright? Sometimes people make mistakes. It's what you do afterwards. We got a family that needs closure. They're now coming to the reality that she's no longer with us. I need closure for them. When stuff gets out that you guys left together and all that type of stuff, do you want people to remember you as the guy who said "okay, look, I'm going to do the right thing"? Or do you want your family and everybody else to think that you're some evil, heartless person who won't tell us where she is? Why would you put your family through all of that? I don't think you're that kind of guy. I don't think you're evil. Something got out of hand, I get it. What you do after that? Here's what you do, you do the right thing now. Just tell us where she is. Closure for her family.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 2: Lee, we understand. Listen, we understand.

Detective 1: We're not trying to hit you on anything. I'm telling you we are thinking of this girl and her family and your family.

Lee Rodarte: She was...

Detective 1: Please tell me where to go find her. That's how people will remember you.

Lee Rodarte: [Silence]

Detective 1: We can work with that. You got to do the right thing now. You can do this. You can do the right thing.

[20 minutes edited out]

[Both detectives leave]

[Detective 1 Returns]

Detective 1: I just want to clarify something with you real quick? Okay, um when you I appreciate you being honest about everything.

Detective 1: Um, Have a seat over here. You want some more water or anything?

Lee Rodarte: No.

Detective 1: Give me a few minutes to finish go talking to her.

[Detective 1 exits]

Lee Rodarte: [crying]

[Rodarte knocks on door]

Staff 1: Yes sir.

Lee Rodarte: Uh, I just have a question.

Staff 1: Yes, sir.

Lee Rodarte: One, am I going to be able to get a phone call at some time.

Staff 1: Well yes sir. We'll, we'll take you over to the jail and you'll be able to make a call over there. Yes sir. What's your other question?

Lee Rodarte: Uh, never mind. The other question is really... ridiculous.

Staff 1: Oh, okay. Alright. Well if you need anything just knock again and I'll, we'll try to...

Lee Rodarte: You guys don't smoke in here, no?

Staff 1: No sir, unfortunately it's a no smoking building. So, okay.

[staff 1 closes door]

Lee Rodarte: [crying] Damn it, why are you stupid?

Lee Rodarte: Fuck Chelsea. I should have realized she never loved me [cry]. Ah.

[people in another room]

Lee Rodarte: [sigh and grunts]

Lee Rodarte: going to jail. My mom's going to die when I'm in jail. Can't believe. Fucking idiot, Lee. Fucking stupid. Why are you here? Go...Jeez.

Lee Rodarte: [paces room then puts head on wall] Stupid. it's so stupid. I'm fucked. Fucked.

Lee Rodarte: [paces room] [drinks water] [cries] I guess never tell the truth. I never I loved you. This was never meant to be. What Chelsea thinks. Fuck Chelsea and what she thinks. Fuck it. You did the right thing. She was s'cold. I'm so sorry Savannah, I'm so sorry. Stop! Fuckin' get killed in jail.

Lee Rodarte: Oh man. Fuck, you're a piece of shit. Savannah was nice to you. But somebody was a bitch to you. How does that make any sense? Somebody that gave two shits about you. Nice.

Lee Rodarte: [puts on jacket] Last time you get to wear your chef coat. Fuck me. [getting tissues]

Lee Rodarte: It's not supposed to be you. It's not supposed to be you, Lee. Fucking life. God damn it, Chelsea.

Lee Rodarte: Everything. Cold places man. Get it through your fucking head. Could have just told her to leave, no. Should have grabbed her back.

[Staff 1 enters]

Staff 1: Alright. Okay Lee. Stay right there.

Detective 1: I want to thank you again for being truthful. Um, and you're right you did have uh one for the driving, um, so the deal from here is, you'll be booked in tonight. Then you will make a first appearance. Um, tomorrow depending on what time you get in or how full they are. It'll be first thing in the morning or in the afternoon. Probably the afternoon is what I'm thinking. And then at that point you'll uh, get to see the judge and then you'll be assigned an attorney but tonight you should be able to make your phone call. Okay? Um, I was going to ask you but I didn't want to buy you a minute go. I was out there talking to her. One of the

Lee Rodarte: Alright

Appendix D: The Devices of Police Power Strategies

Table D1

The Devices of Topic Control

Topic Control								
Power D.							Fr.	Pr.
Questions	Form	Fr.	Pr.	Function	Fr.	Pr.	230	43.65%
	Wh-Q.	102	44.43%	Closed	28	12.18%		
	Yes-no Q.	63	27.40%	Free Narrative	69	30%		
	Tag Q.	1	0.34%	Direct	72	31.30%		
	Declarative	49	21.30%	Cross	6	2.60%		
	Alternative	15	6.53%	Review	7	3.04%		
			Leading	33	14.35%			
			Loaded	15	6.53%			
Total	230	100.00%	Total	230	100.00%			
Topic Management				Fr.	Pr.			
	Initiation			29	14.08%			
	Development			114	55.34%			
	Change			49	23.79%			
	End			14	6.79%			
Total	206			100.00%			206	39.08%
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.			
	Bald on Record			46	50.54%			
	Positive			20	21.98%			
	Negative			25	27.48%			
	Total	91			100.00%			91
Total							527	100.00%

Table D2

The Devices of Recycling Topics

Recycling Topics								
Power D.							Fr.	Pr.
Questions	Form	Fr.	Pr.	Function	Fr.	Pr.	115	43.23%
	Wh-Q.	38	33.04%	Closed	5	4.35%		
	Yes-no Q.	16	13.92%	Free Narrative	12	10.44%		
	Tag Q.	0	0%	Direct	6	5.21%		
	Declarative	55	47.83%	Cross	60	52.18%		
	Alternative	6	5.21%	Review	8	6.95%		
				Leading	18	15.66%		
			Loaded	6	5.21%			
Total	115	100.00%	Total	115	100.00%			
Formulation				Fr.	Pr.			
	What has been said			61	64.89%			
	What is implied			33	35.11%			
	Total	94			100.00%			94
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.			
	Bald on Record			18	31.57%			
	Positive			15	26.32%			
	Negative			24	42.11%			
	Total	57			100.00%			57
Total							266	100.00%

Table D3

The Devices of Struggle for the Floor

Struggle for the Floor				
Power D.				
Interruption			Fr.	Pr.
	Competitive		81	66.4%
	Cooperative		41	33.6%
Total		122	100.00%	

Table D4

The Devices of Rephrasing Answers

Rephrasing Answers								
Power D.							Fr.	Pr.
Questions	Form	Fr.	Pr.	Function	Fr.	Pr.	34	28.34%
	Wh-Q.	4	11.77%	Closed	0	0%		
	Yes-no Q.	5	14.70%	Free Narrative	1	2.94%		
	Tag Q.	1	2.94%	Direct	0	0%		
	Declarative	18	52.94%	Cross	2	5.88%		
	Alternative	6	17.65%	Review	23	67.65%		
				Leading	3	8.82%		
			Loaded	5	14.71%			
Total	34	100.00%	Total	34	100.00%			
Formulation				Fr.	Pr.	56	46.66%	
	What has been said			56	100%			
	What is implied			0	0%			
Total			56	100%				
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.	30	25%	
	Bald on Record			14	46.67%			
	Positive			6	20%			
	Negative			10	33.33%			
Total			30	100.00%				
Total							120	100.00%

Table D5

The Devices of Minimization

Minimization								
Power D.							Fr.	Pr.
Questions	Form	Fr.	Pr.	Function	Fr.	Pr.	12	6.53%
	Wh-Q.	4	33.34%	Closed	0	0%		
	Yes-no Q.	7	58.33%	Free Narrative	0	0%		
	Tag Q.	0	0%	Direct	1	8.33%		
	Declarative	1	8.33%	Cross	4	33.34%		
	Alternative	0	0%	Review	0	0%		
				Leading	6	50%		
			Loaded	1	8.33%			
Total	12	100.00%	Total	12	100.00%			
Formulation				Fr.	Pr.	34	18.47%	
	What has been said			22	64.70%			
	What is implied			12	35.30%			
Total			34	100.00%				
Hedges	////////////////////////////////////						78	42.39%
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.	60	32.61%	
	Bald on Record			1	1.67%			
Positive			48	80%				

	Negative	11	18.33%		
	Total	60	100.00%		
Total				184	100.00%

Table D6

The Devices of Accusation

Accusation								
Power D.							Fr.	Pr.
Questions	Form	Fr.	Pr.	Function	Fr.	Pr.	35	28.69%
	Wh-Q.	8	22.85%	Closed	0	0%		
	Yes-no Q.	16	45.72%	Free Narrative	4	11.43%		
	Tag Q.	1	2.85%	Direct	8	22.85%		
	Declarative	9	25.37%	Cross	2	5.72%		
	Alternative	1	2.85%	Review	0	0%		
				Leading	19	54.29%		
			Loaded	2	5.71%			
Total	35	100.00%	Total	35	100.00%			
Formulation				Fr.	Pr.			
	What has been said			20	57.15%	35 28.69%		
	What is implied			15	42.85%			
	Total			35	100.00%			
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.			
	Bald on Record			29	55.77%	52 42.62%		
	Positive			1	1.93%			
	Negative			22	42.30%			
	Total			52	100.00%			
Total							122	100.00%

Table D7

The Devices of Maximization

Maximization								
Power D.							Fr.	Pr.
Questions	Form	Fr.	Pr.	Function	Fr.	Pr.	10	10%
	Wh-Q.	3	30%	Closed	0	0%		
	Yes-no Q.	3	30%	Free Narrative	0	0%		
	Tag Q.	0	0%	Direct	0	0%		
	Declarative	4	40%	Cross	2	20%		
	Alternative	0	0%	Review	0	0%		
				Leading	8	80%		
			Loaded	0	0%			
Total	10	100.00%	Total	10	100.00%			
Formulation				Fr.	Pr.			
	What has been said			14	51.86%	27 27%		
	What is implied			13	48.14%			
	Total			27	100.00%			
Hedges	////////////////////////////////////						14	14%
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.			
	Bald on Record			26	53.07%	49 49%		
	Positive			10	20.40%			
	Negative			13	26.53%			
	Total			49	100.00%			
Total							100	100.00%

Appendix E: The Devices of Suspect Power Strategies

Table E1

The Devices of Denial

Denial								
Power D.							Fr.	Pr.
Questions	Form	Fr.	Pr.	Function	Fr.	Pr.	6	3.94%
	Wh-Q.	0		Closed	0	0%		
	Yes-no Q.	0		Free Narrative	0	0%		
	Tag Q.	0		Direct	0	0%		
	Declarative	6	100%	Cross	6	100%		
	Alternative	0		Review	0	0%		
				Leading	0	0%		
			Loaded	0	0%			
	Total	6	100%	Total	6	100%		
Formulation				Fr.	Pr.	26	17.11%	
	What has been said			26	100%			
	What is implied			0	0%			
			Total	26	100%			
Violation of CP				Fr.	Pr.	111	73.02%	
	Quantity			10	9%			
	Quality			98	88.29%			
	Relation			3	2.71%			
	Manner			0	0%			
			Total	111	100.00%			
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.	9	5.93%	
	Bald on Record			2	22.22%			
	Positive			7	77.78%			
	Negative			0	0%			
			Total	9	100.00%			
Total							152	100.00%

Table E2

The Devices of Repetition

Repetition							
Power D.					Fr.	Pr.	
Formulation				Fr.	Pr.	85	46.45%
	What has been said			85	100%		
	What is implied			0	0%		
			Total	85	100%		
Violation of CP				Fr.	Pr.	81	44.27%
	Quantity			65	80.24%		
	Quality			0	0%		
	Relation			0	0%		
	Manner			16	19.76%		
			Total	81	100.00%		
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.	17	9.28%
	Bald on Record			0	0%		
	Positive			16	94.11%		
	Negative			1	5.88%		
			Total	17	100.00%		
Total					183	100.00%	

Table E3
The Devices of Obscurity

Obscurity					
Power D.				Fr.	Pr.
Violation of CP		Fr.	Pr.	61	25.63%
	Quantity	0	0%		
	Quality	6	9.84%		
	Relation	0	0%		
	Manner	55	90.16%		
	Total	61	100.00%		
Hedges	////////////////////////////////////			176	73.94%
Politeness		Fr.	Pr.	1	0.43%
	Bald on Record	0	0%		
	Positive	1	100%		
	Negative	0	0%		
	Total	1	100%		
Total				238	100.00%

Table E4
The Devices of Fragmented Style

Fragmented Style					
Power D.				Fr.	Pr.
Violation of CP		Fr.	Pr.	37	50.69%
	Quantity	24	64.86%		
	Quality	13	35.14%		
	Relation	0	0%		
	Manner	0	0%		
	Total	37	100.00%		
Hedges	////////////////////////////////////			30	41.09%
Politeness		Fr.	Pr.	6	8.22%
	Bald on Record	0	0%		
	Positive	4	66.67%		
	Negative	2	33.33%		
	Total	6	100%		
Total				73	100.00%

Table E5
The Devices of Providing Information

Providing Information					
Power D.				Fr.	Pr.
Topic Management		Fr.	Pr.	23	16.31%
	Initiation	0	0%		
	Development	0	0%		
	Change	23	100%		
	End	0	0%		
		23	100%		

Cooperative Principle	Observance	Fr.	Pr.		Fr.	Pr.	76	53.91%
	Quantity	0	0%	Quantity	22	32.84%		
	Quality	1	11.11%	Quality	10	14.93%		
	Relation	8	88.89%	Relation	33	49.25%		
	Manner	0	0%	Manner	2	2.98%		
Total	9	100.00%	Total	67	100.00%			
			11.84%				88.16%	
Hedges	////////////////////////////////////						30	21.27%
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.			
	Bald on Record			0	0%			
	Positive			12	100%			
	Negative			0	0%			
Total			12	100%				
Total							141	100.00%

Table E6
The Devices of Mitigation

Mitigation								
Power D.				Fr.	Pr.			
Formulation				Fr.	Pr.	25	24.03%	
	What has been said			25	100%			
	What is implied			0	0%			
	Total			25	100%			
Hedges	////////////////////////////////////						54	51.94%
Politeness				Fr.	Pr.			
	Bald on Record			0	0%			
	Positive			22	88%			
	Negative			3	12%			
Total			25	100%	25	24.03%		
Total							104	100.00%

Table E7
The Devices of No Comment

No Comment				
Power D.				
Silence			Frequency	Percentage
	Unintentional		0	0%
	Intentional		19	100%
Total		19	100%	

المستخلص

إنّ المسألة الأساسية التي تبحثها الدراسة هي القوة بوصفها متغيراً اجتماعياً مؤثراً في ثلاث مقابلات مختارة مع الشرطة الأمريكية. وقد تم فحص القوة في الخطاب المستعمل في الفصول الدراسيَّة والخطب السياسيَّة وقاعات المحاكم وغير ذلك من أنواع الخطاب، وإن الدراسات السابقة لم تتمكن من دراسة القوة بشكل مستوعب المقابلات، ولا سيما من المنظور التداولي الاجتماعي، فجاءت هذه الدراسة لسد هذه الثغرة من خلال تحديد استراتيجيات القوة ومظاهرها في المقابلات.

إن الهدف الأساس التي تتوخاه هذه الدراسة تحديد استراتيجيات ممارسة القوة ومقاومتها، وتأثير القوة على التفاعل، واستراتيجيات القوة الأكثر والأقل استعمالاً من قبل رجال الشرطة والمشتبه بهم، والاختلافات بين استراتيجيات القوة المختلفة، والوسائل التي تعبر عن كل استراتيجية، حيث حددت الدراسة خمس فرضيات: تتضمن كل مقابلة مع الشرطة استراتيجيات خاصة لممارسة ومقاومة القوة، تؤثر القوة على اختيار تلك الاستراتيجيات، استراتيجية إعادة تدوير المواضيع هي الأكثر استخداماً من قبل رجال الشرطة في حين ان استراتيجية *التقليل* هي الأقل استخداماً، وفي المقابل، يعد *الإنكار* الأكثر استعمالاً من قبل المشتبه بهم مقارنة *بالتخفيف* فهو الأقل استخداماً، كما يمكن ملاحظة فروقات واضحة بين مختلف استراتيجيات القوة، وتظهر كل استراتيجية قوة في الخطاب من خلال وسائل محددة. وطورت الدراسة نموذجاً تحليلياً يتألف من مستويين. يتكون المستوى الأوّل من استراتيجيات القوة التي تعمل كمظلة للانموذج. أما المستوى الثاني فهو يعتمد على نماذج فيركلوف (Fairclough, 1992, 2015) وكوتريل (Cotterill, 2003) والتي تتألف بدورها من الوسائل التي تساعد على ظهور استراتيجيات القوة في الخطاب. كما وتستخدم الدراسة نهج الطريقة المختلطة (النوعية والكمية) في تحليل البيانات عن طريق البرنامج الإحصائي للعلوم الاجتماعية (SPSS).

واستنادا على النتائج المتحصلة، فقد توصلت الدراسة الى الاستنتاجات التالية: (1) جميع استراتيجيات القوة تستخدم في المقابلات المختارة، باستثناء استراتيجية لا تعليق فهي غير مستعملة في مقابلة جورج هوغولي، (2) تلعب القوة دوراً مهماً في اختيار هذه الاستراتيجيات ودرجة التركيز على استراتيجية واحدة أكثر من غيرها ، (3) سجلت استراتيجية التحكم في الموضوع أعلى مستوى بينما جاءت التعظيم في المستوى الاخير من حيث استراتيجيات القوة للشرطة ، وعلى النقيض من ذلك ، يعتبر الإنكار الاستراتيجية الأكثر هيمنة بين الاستراتيجيات المتعلقة بالقوة للمشتبه بهم في حين أن استراتيجية لا تعليق هي الأقل،(4) لا توجد فروقات ذات دلالة إحصائية بين استراتيجيات القوة في التأثير ، مما يشير إلى فاعلية جميع استراتيجيات القوة، و (5) يتم استخدام خمس وسائل بشكل متبادل من قبل كل من رجال الشرطة والمشتبه بهم لإظهار استراتيجياتهم و يتضمن ذلك الأسئلة والتهديب والصياغة وإدارة الموضوع والتحوطات . وبذلك توصل البحث الى اثبات جميع الفرضيات باستثناء الثالثة فهي صحيحة جزئياً، والرابعة أثبتنا بطلانها. تنتهي الدراسة ببعض التوصيات والمقترحات لمزيد من الدراسات.



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قسم اللغة الانجليزية

دراسة تداولية اجتماعية للقوة في مقابلات مختارة للشرطة الامريكية

رسالة مقدمة
الى
مجلس كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية - جامعة كربلاء لنيل شهادة الماجستير في اللغة
الانكليزية وعلم اللغة

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