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PROYECCIÓN DE IDENTIDADES Y MANEJO DEL PODER: ANÁLISIS CRÍTICO DE ENTREVISTAS EN LOS MEDIOS

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Resumen

Los medios masivos de comunicación cumplen un rol muy importante en nuestra sociedad, ya que son fuente tanto de información como de entretenimiento. Su presencia en la vida cotidiana de los individuos es tan frecuente e invasiva que se han naturalizado y las audiencias suelen aceptar lo que los medios ofrecen sin cuestionamientos. Este hecho convierte a los actores sociales de los medios en influyentes y dominantes con respecto a lo que las audiencias perciben de las noticias. Si se considera que el acceso a la información es de vital importancia para los ciudadanos, puede entenderse la gran importancia de la influencia que ejercen los periodistas, ya que estos son mediadores entre las audiencias y el conocimiento. Una de las formas más comunes que los periodistas utilizan para acceder a la información es la entrevista, un tipo de interacción particular que constituye el foco de este trabajo, en la cual se explorarán las identidades sociales interaccionales que los periodistas proyectan tanto de sí mismos como de sus entrevistados y de su audiencia. Las identidades se co-construyen y negocian en el fluir de la interacción en contextos sociales; son una especie de subjetividad, un sentido del sí mismo. La hipótesis inicial de esta tesis es que esta proyección de identidades constituye un recurso de poder que los entrevistadores utilizan para controlar los significados en sus interacciones y que es posible detectar estas proyecciones en el análisis de la conducta interaccional y discursiva de los participantes en la entrevista. El objetivo de este trabajo es detectar y describir las identidades proyectadas en entrevistas de radio y televisión, e identificar los exponentes lingüísticos y las estrategias pragmático-discursivas utilizadas para este propósito.

PROJECTION OF IDENTITIES AND POWER: CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MEDIA INTERVIEWS

Abstract

Mass media communication fulfils a very important role in society, as the media are source of information and entertainment. Their presence in everyday life is so pervasive that they have become naturalized and audiences tend to accept the information they offer without questioning. This fact renders social actors in the media dominant and influential with respect to how audiences perceive the news. If we consider the fact that the access to information is of vital importance to citizens, the influence journalists can exercise is even more significant, as they act as mediators between audiences and knowledge. One of the most common ways in which journalists access sources of information is the interview, a particular kind of interaction on which this work will focus, exploring the social interactional identities journalist interviewers project of themselves, of their interviewees and of their audiences. Identities are co-constructed and negotiated in the flow of interaction in social contexts; they are a kind of subjectivity and a sense of self. The initial hypothesis of this dissertation is that this projection of identities constitutes a power resource interviewers use to control the meanings in their interactions and that it is possible to detect these projections in the discursive and interactional behaviour of the participants in the interview. The aim of this work is to detect and describe the identities projected in radio and television interviews, and to identify the linguistic exponents and discourse-pragmatic strategies used for that purpose.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The media

Mass communication media fulfils a very important function in our society, as they are source of both information and entertainment. Their omnipresence in everyday life naturalizes their existence and as a result, audiences tend to accept what the media offer without questioning the veracity and validity of the information consumed. As Allan (2005) holds

> To declare that 'we live in a media-saturated world' is to acknowledge the seemingly all-encompassing array of media discourses that lend shape to so many of our everyday experiences. Our very sense of ourselves as people – our cultural values, beliefs, identities and the like – is actively fashioned anew by our daily engagement with these discourses in a manner at once banal and profound. And yet so intimately embedded are we in this process that we seldom pause to recognize its pull or purchase, let alone call into question the typically subtle ways it works to define the nature of the realities around us. (Allan, 2005, p. ix)

With this in mind, the importance of social actors in the media and the power they have to construct reality through language becomes clear. The relevance of mass media and their social actors has been discussed by several authors. As early as the 1990's, Fowler (1991) held that "news is a *practice*: a discourse which, far from neutrally reflecting social reality and empirical facts, intervenes in […] the social construction of reality" (p. 2, emphasis in the original). Similarly, Fairclough (1995) referred to media power as "[a] signifying power (the power to represent things in particular ways) which is largely a matter of how language is used, …" (p. 2).

If access to information is considered a form of power, the media and their social actors exercise such power, as they turn into expert producers of knowledge who can contact specialized sources of news which ordinary citizens cannot access. Journalists become the link between audiences and knowledge, and audiences resort to and trust the media, and allow them to influence their world view, their cultural and ideological representations. Aware of this reality, media actors strive to keep updated and to reach the sources of the news. In their eagerness to get to their audiences delivering information in a trustworthy way, they attempt to bridge the gap between the public, the institutional and formal environment where news is produced and the private, personal and informal setting in which such information is received.

This 'dual' nature of the media which alternates between the public and the private, the institutional and the personal, entertainment and information, is manifested in the discursive choices social actors make at the moment of transmitting their messages (Fairclough, 1995). The social practices media actors accomplish through

their discourses especially address the private world of the intended recipients. As a result, public speakers may adopt private identities and project themselves as equals with their ultimate addressees, in search of an empathy which will increase credibility. The tension resulting from this duality leads media actors to adopt a variety of roles, ranging from mere news providers to entertainers, from public figures in contact with expert knowledge to ordinary citizens in their homes.

1.2 Interviews

One of the most frequent ways in which media actors access the origin of facts is through interviewing those who, in one way or another, are involved in the news. It seems that, confronted with the elusiveness of the 'truth', the presence of an 'expert' of flesh and bone, who can be heard in an unmediated and spontaneous way, lends messages the highly appreciated 'veracity' media actors claim to offer. Arfuch (2010) refers to this fact when she expresses

> Es que, frente a la pérdida de la realidad como algo inequívoco, a la fragmentación de los sujetos y a las identidades, individuales o colectivas, el cuerpo, la corporeidad, es una especie de anclaje, una materialidad "a salvo". Por eso quizá, en la saturación discursiva a la que somos sometidos cotidianamente, necesitamos apoyarnos en rostros, cuerpos, figuras, que *nos hablen* desde un nombre, una identidad, una voz. (2010, pp. 139-140, emphasis in the original)

Interviews are described as a particular kind of interaction with characteristics which distinguish them from other kinds of verbal encounters. Although they are person-to-person communicative events, they have a communicative goal which transcends the interlocutors, and concerns the recipients, who constitute a powerful, absent, third participant. Interviews in the media are used as sources of information addressing and appealing to an audience who may listen and in so doing, give relevance and sense to what is going on at the television or radio studio. In this kind of interaction, the interviewer – the host of the programme – talks with a guest about a topic decided beforehand and tries to control the interaction. The interviewee is someone worthy of being interviewed because of his/her condition of knowledgeable in the issue at hand. Both interviewer and interviewee jointly construct the discourse, following a usually preconceived agenda that becomes explicit at the moment of the introduction of the news, and in the interviewer's efforts to control the development of the topic (Granato & Parini, 2009).

In a typical interview, both interlocutors claim dominance while acting different roles. The interviewee is the voice of the expert, the consulted source. But it is the interviewer the one that controls the conversation. S/he asks the questions, and in this

way assigns speaker roles and establishes topics. Halperín (2008) describes the interviewer's work behind a good interview in this way:

> Las buenas preguntas dependen de *un generoso conocimiento del personaje, que se obtiene de un trabajo riguroso de archivo.* [...] Ahora bien, hay entrevistas que no requieren investigar previamente al personaje,[...] pero sí el tema para poder diseñar un buen cuestionario (p. 31, emphasis in the original).

Although analysts hold that there is asymmetry in the relationship between addresser and addressee, "both parties contribute to the smooth development of the discourse. Argumentative fragments [...] are handled with consideration and respect for the other's opinion, so that a good atmosphere is created and the principles of reasonable and civilised talk are respected throughout" (Granato & Parini, 2009, p.73). Participants in an interview make efforts to avoid or downplay conflict by means of polite and politic behaviour (Watts, 2003).

In interviews, as in any other kind of interaction, participants enact identities, roles and relationships while they construe ideational meanings through their use of language. Negotiations take place spontaneously in face to face conversation, and participants have to accommodate and adapt to the claims and demands of their interlocutors in every contribution they make. Language analysis can disclose the mechanisms interactants use for these purposes. As meanings are created in the ongoing flow of the interaction, it is of great importance to analyse contributions from a socio-pragmatic perspective, in the context in which they occur, taking into account the conversation as a whole, rather than isolating individual utterances.

1.3 Identities

As already expressed above, media social actors in general – and interviewers in particular – need to adopt various subject positions, roles and identities in the development of the interactions in which they participate in order to cope with the complex environment in which these discourses are produced and received. Besides, in the asymmetrical nature of interviews, interviewers occupy the dominant position, as they control the flow of the interaction, set the topic for discussion and make decisions about the length of the encounters. As mentioned before, it is for the sake of the audience – the ultimate recipients of the message – that interviewers and interviewees interact. Their conversation is more like a staging, a role game in which the one who asks the questions only desires to allow his/her interlocutors to express themselves through their speech.

Roles and identities are the display a person makes of characteristics that signal his/her belonging to a certain category in clear manner. Through his/her discourse, an individual can show his/her belonging to more than one category and

also his/her willingness to be associated with a certain grouping. The projection of an identity is consequential for the ongoing communicative act (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, pp. 2-3). In line with Yus's (2001) definition, this work considers the speaker's interactional identity, a dynamic social category which is adapted and modified along the interaction in every linguistic exchange, according to the positioning adopted by interactants during the discursive practices.

Interviews are inherently interactional, and as such, co-constructed by the participants. This co-construction, as Jacoby and Ochs (1995) hold, refers to "*the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful reality*" (p. 171, italics in the original). Identities are one of the several aspects co-constructed in discourse, so when participants in an interaction project a certain identity they rely on their interlocutor's acceptance and understanding of this category. These authors also refer to social interaction as "an exquisite accomplishment", and they state that along interaction "actions are accomplished and utterances understood crucially because others are filling in common-sense understandings entailed in the situation at hand. That is, sense making is an interactional affair" (p. 174). So when a speaker projects a certain identity, s/he generates some common-sense logic under which only certain meanings and understandings are possible. In this way, this mechanism of identity projection can become a powerful resource that speakers may use to control the kinds of meanings exchanged and their interpretation.

1.4 Aims and outline of this work

It is the understanding of the projection of identities as a resource to exercise power that constitutes the central topic of this work. The initial hypothesis is that the projection of identities on the part of interviewers constitutes a power resource they use to control the meanings negotiated in their interactions and that it is possible to detect these projections and power-work in the discursive and interactional behaviour of the participants in the interview.

Having worked with oral discourse in English for some time, I am interested in observing the meaning expressed by social actors in the media, through their verbal activity in Spanish. The focus has been placed on the discursive mechanisms interviewers use along the interactions, including phonological choices, as the means through which identities are projected. The aim is to identify the identities interviewers project of themselves, of their interlocutors and of their audiences; the linguistic, discursive and pragmatic features through which they are realized; and the discursive mechanisms through which power is enacted. I hope this research can contribute to

the systematic study of interviews from a discourse-pragmatic perspective and that it can add to the characterization of this kind of interaction so pervasive in the media that it constitutes an invaluable resource for the creation of content in the news, especially in radio and television. (Arfuch, 2010, p.19).

This dissertation is organized in six chapters. In addition to the current introduction (Chapter 1), which introduces the topics to be dealt with, Chapter 2 presents the theoretical foundations on which this work is based. The literature review traces the concepts of 'identity' and 'power' from a multidisciplinary perspective, and the theoretical approaches underpinning the discourse-pragmatic analysis carried out. The description of the corpus, its selection and transcription, together with the methodology of analysis are the topics of chapter 3. Here, the way the corpus is analysed is explained as well as the methods for validating the final analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 show the results from the analysis of the interviewers' projected identities and the relationship between identity projections and power, respectively. The final results of this work are summarized and discussed in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 2: STATE OF THE ART AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Identity in oral interactions

2.1.1. Conceptualizing identity

An important amount of research on identity is based on the early work of the sociologist Erving Goffman (1959, 1967, 1975, 1981), who developed an account of the self as a social construction. He re-conceptualized "how 'other' and society are related to one another and how both are related to the self. Other/society and self are interdependent because the complementary needs of each are satisfied by the other" (Schiffrin, 2006, p. 105). Some of the ground-breaking concepts he developed were, on the one hand, the concept of 'line' (Goffman, 1967, p. 5), as a person's "pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this, his evaluation of the participants, especially himself". On the other hand he referred to 'face', as "the positive social value a person claims for himself by the line he presents in social encounters" (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). Besides, his deep understanding of human interaction as socially situated gave rise to his description of 'frame' as a definition of a situation which is built up in accordance with principles of organization governing events and the participants' subjective involvement in them (Goffman, 1974, pp. 10-11) and in relation to this, the development of the notion of 'footing', which he explained in this way:

> A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events. [...]
> [C]hange in footing is very commonly language-linked; if not that, then at least one can claim that the paralinguistic markers of language will figure. (Goffman, 1981, p. 128)

Much has been said about 'identity' and its definition; so much indeed that the concept has even been claimed to have become meaningless (Jenkins, 2008). The point is that 'identity work' or 'who we are' is a very complex issue which is at the heart of human interaction, and it can be described and analysed from many different perspectives. The following account is based on authors and their concepts that form the theoretical background of this work.

From a sociological perspective, Jenkins (2008, p. 19) stated that "[t]o insist that identity is not fixed, immutable or primordial, that it is utterly sociocultural in its origins, and that it is somewhat negotiable and flexible, is the right place to begin if we are to understand how identification works". A person's identity is a set of characteristics that

makes him/her unique and different from any other person. That set of characteristics is made up of human features, many of which are social, shared with other members of the community s/he belongs to. It is the combination of features that makes every individual unique. So 'identity' is a combination of difference and similarity, individuality and social belonging: "knowing who's who involves processes of classification and signification that necessarily invoke criteria of similarity and difference" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 23).

A person's identity is his/her belonging to a feature-rich category. The display of certain features indexes a certain identity and the projection of a certain identity implies certain characteristics. As Antaki and Widdicombe (1998) explained, an individual can be described under a multitude of categories at the same time. To address the complexity of the issue, Jenkins (2008, p. 39) referred to the human world being composed of three 'orders':

- o *the individual order*, about individuals and "what-goes-on-in-their-heads"
- o *the interaction order,* about relationships between individuals and "what-goes-on-between-people"
- o *the institutional order*, about patterns and organizations and "established-ways-of-doing-things"

These orders are socially constructed and they allow us to show the complexity of our identity. On an individual order, selfhood entails self-definitions and definitions of oneself offered by others, embodied identities which are established early in life such as gender, kinship and ethnicity. On an interaction order, identity is never unilateral, it is defined in terms of what we say we are and what others say we are, an internal-external dialectic between self-image and public image. In Jenkins' terms, "[i]dentification by others has *consequences*. It is the capacity to generate those consequences and make them stick which matters" (emphasis in the original, 2008, p. 43). Finally, on an institutional order, identities depend on 'the way things are done', established by institutions. People are *classified* in positions and categories according to what they do. This classification is negotiated. Again in Jenkins' terms, "[i]dentities exist and are acquired, claimed and allocated within power relations" (2008, p. 45).

From a sociolinguistic point of view, Edwards (2009) referred to the importance of language in determining a person's identity, as the way someone speaks – his/her idiolect – has characteristics that bind this person to particular speech communities or social groupings around features such as gender, age, occupation, club membership, profession, political affiliation and so on (2009, p. 21).

In the same line of reasoning, Coupland (2007) referred to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) use of the term 'projection' when addressing the construction of identities. Other terms commonly used are 'launching' or 'deploying' identities in social interaction. All these terms suggest a *'partly controlled process of outward-directed self-representation through some mode of styling'* (Coupland, 2007, p. 111). It is a 'partly controlled process', as speakers' identity projections are not necessarily conscious. This fact was signalled by Goffman (1959) and his use of the expressions 'give' and 'give off' to indicate that individuals control the identities they project to some extent and thus 'give' self-identities when they have strategic control, and 'give off' expressions of identity when these 'leak' from individuals' behaviour.

Coupland (2007) referred to the process of making acts of identity as *targeting* a participant, either a speaker or a listener, or even a third party. Language can index these targets and add social meanings to them. Then he described Goffman's (1974) concept of *framing*, which is crucially involved in determining how particular identities are made relevant in discourse. Coupland explained

> The potential metaphorical transfer through which a linguistic feature comes to stand for or to mean something social has to be occasioned in a discourse. The identificational value and impact of linguistic features depends on which discursive frame is in place. That is, when we approach linguistic variation as a meaningful resource, we can expect that particular discursive frames will present specific affordances and constraints for interactants at specific moments of their talk. (2007, p. 112)

Three different kinds of framing were distinguished in his work: *socio-cultural framing*, related to socio-linguistic 'speech communities', where acts of identity position participants in a pre-understood social ecology; *genre framing*, related to the contextual type or genre of the talk, where acts of identity are made in relation, for example, to participant roles; and *interpersonal framing*, related to how participants position themselves relative to one another in their relational histories, where interlocutors can style themselves as more or less powerful within the relationship, or feature a more intimate or less intimate relationship (Coupland, 2007, p. 113).

From a socio-pragmatic perspective, it is in the observation of their interactive behaviour that the analyst perceives the features indexing participants into particular identities. "The interest for analysts is to see which of those identifications folk actually use, what features those identifications seem to carry, and to what end they are put." (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 2). Besides, rather than being fixed and stable, identities are dynamic and in constant flux. In the words of Benwell and Stokoe (2006), "[w]ho we

are to each other, then, is accomplished, disputed, ascribed, resisted, managed and negotiated in discourse" (p. 4). In other words, an important part of a person's identity is constructed and manifested in his/her discourse. The way of speaking, the particular choice of some wordings or even the topics addressed position an individual with respect to his/her interlocutors. Through his/her contributions, a participant in an interaction orients to particular identities for specific purposes.

Antaki and Widdicombe (1998, p. 3) summarized the basic principles for the analysis of identities in interaction. These are:

- o having an identity means "being cast into a *category with associated characteristics or features*"; this belonging to a category may be claimed by a participant or ascribed to him/her by others;
- o this categorization is "*indexical and occasioned*". Identity acts cannot be interpreted outside the interactional context in which they happen;
- o this identity category needs to be "*made relevant*" in the interaction, and participants 'orient to' categories in their conversational behaviour;
- o "the force of 'having an identity' is in its *consequentiality* in the interaction", as categories are linked to expectations of action;
- o the "*structures of conversation*" reveal the category-bound activities of a certain category. The structures of talk-in-interaction "set a scene for the next turn at talk".

Zimmerman (1998) described three kinds of identity in interaction: *discourse, situational* and *transportable* identities. The first of these is related to the discourse function of participants' contributions, the 'who-is-doing-what'. In this way, there are *speakers* and *hearers*, *callers* and *answerers*, *story-tellers* and *recipients*. These identities are interactionally contingent. *Situational* identities are bound to particular generic agendas. They are related to the kind of interaction at hand. Thus, if the interaction is an interview, the categories 'interviewer' and 'interviewee' are situated identities. The last set, *transportable* identities, refers to "latent identities that 'tag along' with individuals as they move through their daily routines [...], assignable or claimable on the basis of physically or culturally based insignia" (Auer, 2007, p. 10). This author linked this last set with what other approaches call 'social identities'.

In a similar vein but from a Conversation Analysis perspective, Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) following Sacks, distinguished between 'turn-generated categories', equivalent to Zimmerman's 'discourse identities', and 'members categories', similar to

'situational identities'. The first set is said to be sequential, depending on the organization of the talk. The second set refers to the identity of a participant in terms of the role s/he is having in the interaction. In their research about the flow of identity in radio phone-in programmes, these authors showed how these two sets of categories functioned together and affected one another. So while considering the sequence 'question/answer', the role of questioner was turn-generated and this questioner would also be oriented to his/her belonging to the member identity s/he represented. Thus, "the person producing such an utterance is not only occupying a sequential position, but also an interactional environment imbued with associated predicates and potentially realizable forms of predication" (2002, p. 582). Again following Sacks, these authors described 'omni-relevant' categories, which they defined as 'institutional' categories that organized the interactional event in terms of who was doing what along the discourse. In the case of phone-in radio programmes they analysed, the categories "host" and "caller" were described as 'omni-relevant'. These categories were not "always operationally relevant, but the participants may invoke them at any time, and within the programme the categories have actions attributable to them" (2002, p. 584).

From a discoursal point of view, Grad and Martín Rojo (2008) made it clear that discourse studies may contribute to the debate on identity by elucidating the mechanisms of production and use of the concept. "Identities sometimes are developed through processes of imposition and resistance in discourse, on which critical approaches in discourse studies are mainly focused" (2008, p. 4). Participants in an interaction are social actors and they address one another from a particular perspective, a particular positioning in society. A person's identity constitutes the point of departure for his/her message, the frame of reference, the particular logic of common sense within which his/her meanings are understood. Contributions in an interaction are continuously evaluated by the interactants in terms of their 'common sense', "and it is crucial to participants having a sense of belonging and shared identity" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 40). Projecting a certain identity means providing your interlocutors with a frame within which certain meanings are at risk and not others. Recognizing an identity in an interlocutor makes it possible to activate a certain schema for understanding some meanings and blocking some others. In this way, a projected identity functions in a similar way as context for the messages, limiting the possible interpretations and supporting the intended ones. Zimmerman (1998, p. 88) referred to identity-as-context in this way "[...] the notion of identity-as-context refers to the way in which the articulation/alignment of discourse and

situated identities furnishes for the participants a continuously evolving framework within which their actions, vocal or otherwise, assume a particular meaning, import and interactional consequentiality."

The co-constituting model of communication understands that "[c]onversations are inter-actional events during which participants incrementally co-constitute a sequence of actions in which each new action is contingent on past and possibly future actions of other participants" (Arundale, 1999, p. 125). Within this frame, identities are seen as co-constructed along the interaction. Participants project and negotiate a particular identity with their interlocutors and this identity can be accepted or rejected. In Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) words,

> [i]dentities are also joint productions. [...] The general point is that in communicative interaction people do not represent the world abstractly but in the course of, and for the purposes of their social relations with others and their construction of social identities" (p. 41).

From the perspective of social psychology, Davies and Harré (1990), van Langenhove and Harré (1999) and Bamberg (2003) defined the concept of 'positioning', which refers to the discursive process through which participants are located in conversations in relation to other participants and in relation to what is being said, constructing coherent, jointly produced story lines (Davies and Harré, 1990 p. 48). Participants can position themselves or be positioned as powerful or powerless, confident or apologetic, dominant or submissive, definitive or tentative, and so on. "A 'position' can be specified by reference to how a speaker's contributions are hearable with respect to these and other polarities of character, and sometimes even a role" (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 17). The notion of positioning is a valuable theoretical construct for analysing identity.

2.1.2. Different approaches to the study of identity

In their introduction to *Discourse and Identity*, De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg (2006) presented an account of the most important and widely accepted current approaches to the study of identities and discourse.

The first perspective they described is *social constructionism*, a perspective that considers identity as a dynamic process which materializes in interaction, where individuals display '*constellations of identities*' that are negotiated in their discourse and are eminently social (2006, p. 2). Identities are worked out within social practices, in which discourse practices are crucial. From a social perspective, Fairclough (1992, p. 64) stated

that discourse contributes to the construction of social identities and subject positions for social subjects, and it helps to construct social relationships between people.

The next research trend De Fina et al. described is the *Membership Categorization Analysis* movement developed by Antaki and Widdicombe (1998). Following the work by Sacks on category bound activities, these scholars considered that identity construction is related to categories which display typical activities and routines. They emphasized the fact that these categories are '*locally-occasioned, fluid and ever-changing*', and that identity claims are '*"acts" through which people create new definitions of who they are*' (2006, p.3). In this way, identities are seen as performed in the discourse through a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic means. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, p. 14 in Coupland, 2007, p. 108) talked about 'linguistic behaviour as a series of *acts of identity* in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles'.

The third trend mentioned is the '*anti-essentialist vision of the 'self'* ', which started with gender studies. This approach rejects the idea that the self is something that people possess as '*a kind of core essence*'; instead scholars within this approach understand that people can display '*polyphonous'* identity categories and that identities can be '*performed*', thus rejecting the idea of 'natural' belongings to categories or groups (2006, p. 3).

Lastly, De Fina et al. referred to the "processes of indexicality in the creation, performance and attribution of identity" (2006, p. 3) as central to every perspective. The fact that linguistic signs index an extra-linguistic reality, pointing at aspects of the social context, has been an important focus of attention in linguistics and anthropology. Indexicality, a layered, creative, interactive process, lies at the heart of the symbolic power of language. Linguistic expressions have the capacity to evoke and relate to complex systems of meaning, shared conceptualizations and social representations about group membership, social roles and attributes (2006, p. 4)

Later on, De Fina et al. (2006, p. 5) also pointed out that regarding methodology and theoretical issues, scholars of identity can be divided roughly into two extremes: those who work within the frame of Conversation Analysis (CA) and those who do so within the frame of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Their main differences concern their point of view as regards identity work in discourse. Researchers within the extreme of the CA framework look for categories of identities which are relevant and consequential for the interaction at hand and resort to the local context to understand the emergence of identities. At the other extreme, critical discourse analysts consider that identities are often imposed on individuals through dominant discourse practices. Thus, these researchers

analyse wider political and ideological contexts in the formation of identities, and observe how these are represented in the discourse.

2.2. Power and identity

2.2.1. Conceptualizing power and identity work

Every verbal interaction presupposes relations of power, which are manifested in dominant behaviours realized through linguistic and non-linguistic resources available to the participants. As Kress (1985, in Eggins & Slade, 1997, p. 60) put it:

> Because of the constant unity of language and other social matters, language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: it indexes power, expresses power, and language is involved wherever there is contention over and challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language may be used to challenge power, to subvert it, and to alter distributions of power in the short or in the longer term.

Powerful participants are those who have the potential to influence other people's actions, decisions and thoughts (Linell et al. 1988, Fairclough, 1992). The difference between powerful and non-powerful participants can be explained in terms of differences in the rights and the obligations they have within social practices. Very often, power is tied to the role social actors play during an interaction, thus for example, in institutional interactions such as doctor-patient, or teacher-student, the representative of the institution is the one expected to assume a powerful stance, given his/her social identity membership. At the moment of interacting, powerful participants have more options available in terms of linguistic behaviour than the non-powerful ones. They can choose whether or not to show their membership and make their power explicit by means of linguistically dominant behaviours.

Given the complexity of the notion of power, which entails underlying socio-cultural conventions and structures which regulate social relations, it is not possible to draw a one-to-one correspondence between this concept and linguistically dominant behaviour. In fact, powerful participants very often do not need to resort to linguistically dominant behaviour to secure their role, and frequently it is those with relatively little power who finally select dominant options to make themselves heard.

From the Systemic Functional Linguistics perspective, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) stated that in any verbal interaction a "speaker adopts for himself a particular speech role, and in so doing assigns to the listener a complementary role which he wishes him to adopt in his turn" (p. 134). The authors recognized two fundamental types of speech role related to the commodity to be exchanged. These roles consist of giving or demanding

goods-&-services or information (p. 135). At the level of the clause, role relations are enacted through patterns of mood, with the associated systems of polarity and modality, systems which realise the interpersonal function of language (Eggins & Slade, 1997).

Eggins and Slade (1997), also within Systemic Functional Linguistics, defined the roles interactants take in casual conversation according to the kind of clause in which they word their messages. Thus, speakers encoding their messages in declaratives take on an active initiatory role, putting forward material for discussion. The use of full wh-interrogatives may also have an initiatory role, and speakers who resort to them repeatedly may appear to take the role of an interrogator (pp. 85, 87).

From a discoursal view, Linell et al. (1988) proposed that dominance in dialogue could be analysed according to different perspectives. To be dominant is to control the matters at risk in a negotiation, to have at one's disposal more of the goods and services or information available in the interaction. These authors proposed to distinguish three dimensions of dominance: quantitative dominance, topical dominance and interactional dominance (1988, p. 415). According to this classification, someone displaying quantitative dominance enjoys more and longer turns in the interaction; somebody exercising topical dominance introduces a greater number of topics and contributes to them incorporating content elements; and the participant controlling the interaction is someone who directs and influences the interactional behaviour of others in the conversation, and avoids being controlled.

Dominant behaviours can be more easily perceived when observing institutional conversations with a clear pragmatic goal, in which roles are defined a priori by the context of interaction and by the position the interlocutors occupy. In these exchanges, the relationship between the participants is asymmetrical, in terms of the imbalance in the participatory rights and distribution of interactional features concerned with questioning, topic control, amount of talk, among others, as described by Itakura (2001) on the basis of her study of Japanese L1 and English L2 conversations between male and female speakers of Japanese. In contrast, in casual conversation, the absence of pre assigned institutional roles suggests symmetry in the relationship with "an assumption that participatory rights and interactional features will be equally distributed among the participants" (2001, p. 1860).

Itakura (2001) also referred to dominant patterns accounted for in previous research on conversational dominance and pointed out its multi-dimensional nature and its complexity. She mentioned three interrelated macro dimensions: *sequential, participatory*

and *quantitative* dominance, in which she encompassed – respectively – the control of the direction of the conversation in terms of topic and the distribution of initiatory and responsive roles, the manipulation of turn-taking rules – interruptions and overlaps –, and finally the amount of talk, measured in terms of number of words uttered.

2.3. A discourse-pragmatic analysis

The analysis of the interviews in this work was carried out from a discourse-pragmatic perspective, drawing on the following theoretical approaches:

o Language Pragmatics

In words of Sanders (2005, p. 17), "Language Pragmatics takes as axiomatic that when people speak, *what* is said (sentence meaning) is a factor in, but not determinant of, the speaker's meaning". That is to say, wordings are only a means to an end, they are words uttered by someone to particular others in particular circumstances, for social or practical reasons. In this way, pragmatics stresses the functionality of language.

o Conversation Analysis (CA)

This approach considers the analysis of talk-in-interaction, following the work of Sacks and his colleagues, Jefferson and Schegloff (in Drew, 2005). Drew (2005) described four basic concepts underpinning CA practices: turns at talk; turn design; social action; and sequence organization. The first one refers to the fact that in conversation participants take turns to speak. Each turn consists of identifiable units, turn constructional units (TCUs), which can include single words, clauses or phrases put together to do interactional work. Turn design refers to what goes in a turn, and that depends on the action the turn is intended to do and the wordings used to accomplish that action. The third concept, social action, refers to the fact that when people talk they do more than just use language. They perform social actions such as inviting, accusing, joking, offering, etc. To study conversation means to investigate the actions and activities through which social life is conducted. The way in which participants design their turns show their understanding of the prior speaker's action. "CA investigates the analyses participants make of one another's talk, specifically the actions performed or managed in that talk. But also CA research is focused on how those analyses or understandings were arrived at" (Drew, 2005, pp. 88-89). The last concept, sequence organization, concerns the patterns which some successions of turns exhibit. "Turns are connected with one another in systematically organized patterns of sequences of turns" (Drew, 2005, p. 89). The most basic sequence organization is the

adjacency pair. It consists of a pair of actions in which one speaker does the initial action of a certain type and the recipient speaker is expected to respond with an action paired with that first one. So, if a first speaker's action is to ask a question, the recipient's action in turn should be to answer. Second pair parts can be classified according to preference organization into preferred or dispreferred responses depending on whether they "build or enhance social solidarity" or not. Dispreferred pair parts have particular design features – such as delays, mitigations, or accounts for the dispreferred act – which are not present in preferred parts (Drew, 2005, p. 90).

o   Systemic Functional Grammar

Having a discourse-pragmatic approach to analysis involves the analysis of language. An appropriate framework for an analysis of language as social interaction is the one proposed by Halliday and his followers, as it consists of a model of language in its social context. For systemic-functional linguists, language is a stratified semiotic system which functions within a context with which it establishes systematic relationships. The process of using language is a process of making meanings by choosing options from the linguistic system. Linguistic choices are analysed in terms of their function within a certain social context to achieve various cultural goals. What follows reflects concepts expressed by Benwell & Stockoe (2007); Eggins (2004); Halliday & Matthiessen (2014); Lavid et al. (2010) and their comparison of Spanish; and Martin & Rose (2007).

The different strata of the language system, from the more abstract to the more specific, are: the context of culture, the context of situation, the discourse semantics, the lexico-grammar and the expression. These strata relate to one another as 'realizations'. The context of culture provides the communicative purpose of the language used, the *genre*. Genres are staged, goal-oriented activities within a culture. The context of situation, the *register*, impacts on language use along three dimensions of the situations: the variables of mode (the amount of feedback and role of language), tenor (role relations of power and solidarity) and field (topic and focus of the activity).

Within the language component of the system, *discourse-semantics* consists of the meanings language makes, which are divided into three metafunctions, corresponding to the three variables of register: the textual metafunction, which refers to the ways texts are organized; the interpersonal metafunction, which expresses the relationships between participants in the interaction; and the ideational metafunction, which refers to how experience is represented. This discourse-semantic stratum is realized in the *lexico-*

grammar stratum. This is the realm of lexis and grammar structures which are divided into three systems corresponding to the three meta-functions mentioned. In this way, textual meanings are realized in the system of theme and information structure; interpersonal meanings in mood and modality; and ideational meanings in the system of transitivity. These lexico-grammatical wordings are realized one stratum below, at the level of *expression*, which refers to phonology (sounds) and graphology (letters).

The textual, interpersonal and ideational metafunctions mentioned operate simultaneously in texts. Ideational meanings are divided into two sub-categories: experiential meanings, which refer to the way the world is represented, and logical meanings, which are about how clauses are connected to one another in logico-semantic relations. The system of transitivity which realizes these meanings involves kinds of processes and their related participants and circumstances. The logico-semantic relations are realized in the system of taxis (hypotactic or paratactic relations) and of logico-semantic type (projection: of locution or ideas, and expansion: elaboration, extension or enhancement).

Interpersonal meanings are realized in the grammar systems of mood and modality. Mood signals different types of interaction between interlocutors in an exchange according to the following parameters: the function of the exchange – to obtain or give something; the object involved in the exchange – information or goods and services; the structural function of the utterance in the exchange – the kind of move; and the sense of the responding move – whether it is the expected response or a discretionary alternative. Together with the system of mood is the system of polarity, which expresses the speaker's assessment of the validity of the clause content. This system consists of the basic opposition between positive and negative. The system of modality refers to expressions of commitment to truth and obligation. It is a resource which sets up a space between yes and no, the positive and negative poles. Modal meanings can be classified into four categories: probability and usuality for the exchanging of information (modalization), and willingness and obligation for the exchanging of goods and services (modulation).

Textual meanings are realized in the systems of theme-rheme and information structure (given-new). The thematic organization of a text is concerned with the construction of the message as a communicative event consisting of a thematic peak of prominence. This prominence is achieved by foregrounding some clausal material as the point of departure for the message – its theme – which becomes that with which the clause is concerned. Themes can be unmarked, when they are the expected clause element, or

marked, when they are not, and thus acquire greater textual prominence. The information structure of the message refers to whether the information is given (retrievable) or new (non-retrievable) and relevant (focal) or not (non-focal).

Another important system of interpersonal meanings is the system of appraisal. It is "concerned with evaluation, the kinds of attitudes negotiated in a text, the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned" (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 25). The appraisal system consists of three simultaneous sub-systems: attitudes, graduation (amplifying and focalizing) and engagement (attributing evaluation to sources). The three main types of attitude are *affect*, concerning feelings; *judgement*, concerning the evaluation of character; and *appreciation*, about valuing the worth of things. Attitudes can be amplified or focalized, making up the system of graduation. The system of engagement concerns whether the evaluation is produced by one voice (monogloss) or more than one voice (heterogloss). In this last case, this heterogloss can be the result of projection, modality or concession. Appraisal resources establish the tone or mood of a discourse. They may form a prosody of attitude running through the text, building the stance or voice of the appraiser.

o   Analysis of oral interaction: Phonological realizations

As the texts in the corpus for this paper consist of oral interactions, the prosodic/ paralinguistic realizations speakers choose at the moment of interacting are integrated in the analysis, especially when these choices contribute to the projection or imposition of identities. The interactional approach taken for the analysis of samples in this paper integrates the analysis of prosody. Selting and Couper-Kuhlen (1996) explained the interactional approach to the study of prosody in this way:

> It attempts to reconstruct prosodic categories 'from within' as participant categories, showing how speakers use prosody as a resource for the management and negotiation of interactive meaning. The demonstration that participants do indeed orient to the prosodic features in question is used as a warrant for the analytic decisions made. This procedure, which seeks evidence for its claims in the observable treatment of prosody by participants themselves, frees analysts from the need to rely on intuitions or pre-constructed theories. (1996, p. 3)

The general theoretical framework for this analysis considers the contribution of the Discourse Intonation approach proposed by Brazil, Coulthard and Johns (1980) and Brazil (1997) for English and Granato's (2005) adaptation of this theory for Argentinian Spanish as well as the Systemic Functional Linguistics approach to intonation in the works of Halliday and Greaves (2008) and Tench (1996), also for the English language.

The SFL approach to the study of intonation proposes three systems of meanings: Tonality, Tonicity and Tone. The phonological choices available for the speaker in these systems refer respectively to the division into tone units, the assignment of tonic prominence and the choice of pitch levels and movements. In general terms, the systems of Tonality and Tonicity affect textual meanings (Halliday & Greaves, 2008, pp. 97-108). They organize "the flow of the discourse". Tonality choices show how the discourse unfolds as a succession of units of information, which constitute focus domains. Each of these units is internally organized in configurations of Given and New information. "The information unit is the speaker's resource for *managing* the cline of familiarity, as a balanced alternation between what is familiar and what is news" (Halliday & Greaves, 2008, p. 101). The placing of the tonic concerns the system of Tonicity, and it shows the end of the New, the end of the focused material.

The system of Tone affects interpersonal meanings, and this theory proposes neutral tone realizations for the different speech functions in English (for example, statements, commands and information questions are associated with falling tones, polar interrogatives with rising tones and so on). SFL also proposes neutral realizations for modality options. In this case, high value modals take falling tones and low value modals take falling-rising tones.

The Discourse Intonation approach describes four systems of meaning: the systems of prominence, key, termination and tone. The system of prominence considers the choice a speaker makes as regards what are the words that s/he makes prominent through stressing. The systems of key and termination consider pitch height on the first and last prominence respectively. Choices in key affect the relationship between the utterance spoken and the previous one, and choices in termination show expectations as regards the forthcoming utterance. The last of the systems, the system of tone, gives information with respect to whether the message is presented as new or shared, and whether it reflects a divergent or convergent stance on the part of the speaker.

In 2005, Granato proposed an adaptation of the system of tone to Spanish. In this research, she considered a corpus of 70 telephone interviews broadcasted in different Argentinian radios in Buenos Aires, and carried on a discourse-pragmatic analysis starting from the principles of the intonation of discourse (Brazil, 1995), and analysing the value of utterances in their context. She made a distinction between telling and asking exchanges within the interaction. Then, she referred to the communicative value of intonation patterns for asking utterances, considering whether the speaker was genuinely asking for

information or whether s/he wanted to confirm information s/he already had. As regards telling utterances, Granato referred to intonation patterns that signalled the speaker's assessment of the importance of the information exchanged, whether it was presented as new or given, or whether this message was advancing the negotiation or just showing that important information was about to come. The charts below show the results of her research.

100	APORTES DE LA ENTONACIÓN AL SIGNIFICADO DEL DISCURSO

Tabla 1

EMISIONES DE ELICITACIÓN			
TONO		NIVEL TONAL	
Ascendente Ascendente / descendente	Descendente	Medio y bajo	Alto
Señala búsqueda de información que no se posee	Señala búsqueda de confirmación de información que se posee	Señala búsqueda de confirmación de información que se posee	Señala búsqueda de información que no se posee

(Granato, 2005, p. 100)

106	APORTES DE LA ENTONACIÓN AL SIGNIFICADO DEL DISCURSO

Tabla 2

EMISIONES CON FUNCIÓN INFORMATIVA			
	TONO	SIGNIFICADO DE LA EMISIÓN	ESTRUCTURA DEL DISCURSO
DISCURSO	Descendente	Información fundamental/ nueva	Avance en el proceso de comunicación
INTERACTIVO	Ascendente	Información no fundamental/ dada	Sin avance sustancial en el proceso de comunicación
DISCURSO NO INTE-RACTIVO	Sostenido		Organización del discurso

(Granato, 2005, p. 106)

o   Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis regards language as a social practice (Fairclough, 1992) and considers the context of language in use as a crucial element for analysis. The relationship between language and power is a central concern for critical discourse studies, which focus particularly on institutional, political, gender and media discourses. CD analysts understand that social inequality is expressed, constituted, legitimized and signalled in

language use (Wodak, 2001). Some basic assumptions of CDA as summarized by Wodak (2001, p. 6) are the following: (a) language is a social phenomenon, (b) language expresses in a systematic way specific meanings and values transmitted by individuals and social groupings, (c) texts constitute relevant units of language in communication, (d) readers and hearers are active participants when they relate to texts. In Fairclough's words (1992, p. 64) "[d]iscourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning". He states that discourse contributes to the construction of 'social identities' and 'social subjects'; it helps to construct social relationships between people, and it contributes to build systems of knowledge and belief.

For CDA, identity is a representation in language, which is reflected in the transitivity system, the use of vocabulary and metaphors. Identity is also a position in discourse, it is the way in which participants choose to relate to one another, and it can be traced in the mood system, the use of pronouns and terms of address, and the presuppositions which encode ways of positioning the addressee. Identity can also be traced in the 'expressive' dimension of language, which, in Fairclough's words, "... has to do with how people word things in ways that show their feelings about them, or attitudes towards them" (1992, p. 167); it can be analysed by attention to modality, attitudinal vocabulary and collocations (Benwell & Stokoe, 2007, p. 116).

Some concepts Fairclough (1992, pp. 152-166) described for the analysis of identity and social relations, especially in institutional interactions, are the following:

(a) interactional control features, which refer to the distribution of turn, selection and change of topics, opening and closing interactions, and so on. These conventions embody specific claims about social and power relations between participants (1992, p. 152).

(b) turn taking, which refers to how turns are distributed in the interaction, stating that it is powerful participants who can self-select or assign speaker-roles;

(c) exchange structure, which refers to the fact that powerful participants produce first pair parts or initiating moves, restricting the action of their interlocutors;

(d) topic control and the setting and policing of agendas, which refers to how powerful participants decide on topics and use mechanisms to impose what is being talked about and to restrict other participants' contributions to fit that pre-set agenda;

(e) formulation, a concept taken from Sacks who described it as follows:

> A member may treat some part of the conversation as an occasion to describe that conversation, to explain it, to characterize it, to explicate, or translate, or summarize, or furnish the gist of it, or take note of its accordance with rules, or remark on its departure from rules (1972, p. 338, in Fairclough, 1992, p. 157)

In this sense, formulation may be a way of policing agendas, a way of forcing one's interlocutor out of ambivalence, a rewording that provides a different version of what is being said for different purposes;

(f) modality, which is the degree of 'affinity' a language user has with his proposition. Modality is carried out through modal verbs, tense, modal adverbs, hedges that show vagueness. Modality can be subjective if the subjective basis of the proposition is made explicit, or objective where the subjective basis is left implicit and the perspective taken is universal;

(g) politeness, understanding that particular politeness conventions embody, and their use implicitly acknowledges, particular social and power relations.

2.4. Brief state of the art

The language in the mass media has been a prolific source of studies. Many research papers have been written about language use in different media from different perspectives and with different intentions. Following a critical discourse analysis approach, Fairclough (1992, 1995a, 1995b), Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), Fowler (1991), among others, produced valuable research on the language of British newspapers. In a similar vein, Verón (1995) and Wolton (1995) studied the language of the French press. Considering oral language in the media, Gregori Signes (2000) analysed the language of tabloid talkshows in the US television. Following a CA approach, she explored the interactions in the context of the show to describe and characterize this genre. In the same line of research, combining CA with membership category analysis (MCA), Fitzgerald and Housley (2002) studied the flow and build of identity in radio phone-in shows in British BBC Radio 4.

Considering the analysis of interviews in Spanish, Albelda Marco (2007) followed a pragmatic approach in the study of interviews to Spanish celebrities in the Spanish media (in printed magazines and on Spanish television). She explored the features that constitute the accepted public image in Spain. Hidalgo Downing (2009) analysed interviews to Spanish politicians on Spanish television to observe different deviations in the question-reply pairs. With a similar corpus, Brenes Peña (2014) studied the mechanisms politicians

used to restore their public image when they were interviewed on television, after the interviewer had threatened their face.

As regards the analysis of interviews in Argentinian media, Arfuch (2010) characterized interviews as a particular genre, without delving into a linguistic analysis. Granato (1998) analysed phone interviews on the radio, following a sociopragmatic approach. She described the structure of the interactions analysed, Following a discourse analysis methodology, Massi (2013) analysed autobiographical television interviews to observe the development of the self and the other in the discourse.

To my knowledge, there have not been papers analysing interviews in Argentinian media from the perspective adopted in this work.

CHAPTER 3: METHOD AND CORPUS DESCRIPTION

In order to observe and analyse the social identities projected by interviewers of themselves and those imposed on their interviewees and their audience, several methodological steps were followed:

3.1 Corpus

3.1.1. Selection and gathering

As a first step, the media where to record the samples from was chosen. Mainstream media radio and television channels were selected, channels which broadcast their programmes from Buenos Aires and reach the whole country. Recordings were made from "Radio Continental" and "TN" TV channel, broadcasting companies which belonged to the same media group - "Grupo Clarín"-; "Radio 10" and TV channel 9, which were also, at the time of the recording, part of the group "Infobae"; "Radio Rivadavia", and "America TV". These channels were chosen as they are massively viewed and listened to, and the way social actors behave in these media is very often taken as a model to imitate in local radio and TV stations in the different provinces of the country.

The radio and television programmes chosen dealt with general interest and/or newsworthy topics and they addressed an adult audience. Around 60 different radio and TV interviews were randomly recorded between the years 2005 and 2008, and from this set, 24 were randomly selected to make up the corpus of this work. The interviews, twelve recorded from radios and twelve from TV, took place within a studio, with interviewees physically present or accessed live over the telephone. The interviewers were all well-known journalists in Argentina, with a recognized professional background and authority.

3.1.2. Transcription of the samples

All the interviews were listened to in detail and transcribed in ordinary spelling. The transcription shows the words uttered, including the dysfluencies typical of oral language, such as false starts and hesitation noises. Cases of overlap and interruption were also marked in the texts.

3.1.3. The texts

Radio interviews:

Text 1R	Interviewers:	Interviewee:	Media:	Year:
	Carlos Monti, Claudia Medic	Carlos Blumberg	Radio 10	2005
	General Topic: The interviewee's son had been kidnapped and killed. Blumberg started a campaign to raise awareness in the public and in the politicians about this social problem. At the time of the interview, he was organizing a mass to commemorate the first anniversary of his son's death.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about the details of this mass.			
Text 2R	Interviewer:	Interviewee:	Media:	Year:
	Samuel (Chiche) Gelblung	Doctor Eduardo López	Radio 10	2005
	General Topic: Gelblung gave his opinion about compulsory medical tests required by law before marriage and consulted a specialist about the topic.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience about these requirements.			
Text 3R	Interviewer:	Interviewee:	Media:	Year:
	Antonio Carrizo	Horacio González	Radio Rivadavia	2006
	General Topic: Carrizo talked to González about the latter's work at the National Library in Buenos Aires and about some criticism González had received in the media concerning the change in authorities.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience.			
Text 4R	Interviewer:	Interviewee:	Media:	Year:
	Diego Valenzuela	Eduardo Buzzi	Radio Continental	2008
	General Topic: The interviewer referred to a strike farmers were carrying out and interviewed Buzzi, one of the organizers of such strike.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience.			
Text 5R	Interviewer:	Interviewee:	Media:	Year:
	Diego Valenzuela	Susana Andrada	Radio Continental	2008
	General Topic: The interviewer gave the official figure of inflation and asked a specialist, Susana Andrada, about prices of basic food products in local markets.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about inflation and prices.			
Text 6R	Interviewers: a team of journalists led by Magdalena Ruiz Guiñazú	Interviewee: Luis Juez	Media: Radio Continental	Year: 2007
	General Topic: The interviewee, a candidate for governor of Córdoba, had lost the democratic provincial elections and was organizing a public rally to denounce fraud.			
	General Function of the text: to inform and to generate opinion in the audience about these events.			

Text 7R	Interviewer: Marcelo Pinto	Interviewee: Doctor Marta Contrini	Media: Radio Continental	Year: 2007
	General Topic: Pinto informed about a three-year-old child who had died victim of haemolytic uremic syndrome, and interviewed a doctor, Marta Contrini, about the illness symptoms and precautions to avoid it.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about this illness and about ways to prevent it.			
Text 8R	Interviewer: a team of journalists led by Magdalena Ruiz Guiñazú	Interviewee: Minister Aníbal Fernández	Media: Radio Continental	Year: 2008
	General Topic: The interviewee was asked about security measures the government was about to take by registering cellular phones, and about a law to decriminalize drug consumption.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about these topics.			
Text 9R	Interviewer: Néstor Sclauzero	Interviewee: Doctor Máximo Ravena	Media: Radio Rivadavia	Year: 2007
	General Topic: Dieting and how to compensate weight gain after Christmas and New Year celebrations.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about this general interest topic.			
Text 10R	Interviewer: Víctor Hugo Morales	Interviewee: José M. de la Sota	Media: Radio Continental	Year: 2008
	General Topic: Political conflicts between the national government and farmers. The interviewee was asked about his opinion on the conflict and he criticized the government.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience about this topic.			
Text 11R	Interviewer: Mariano Grandi	Interviewee: Carlos Wagner	Media: Radio Continental	Year: 2007
	General Topic: The interviewer presented information with respect to the particular work situation of builders in Argentina at the time of the interview, and consulted the president of the builders association in Argentina about the topic.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about this topic.			
Text 12R	Interviewer: José Luis Braga	Interviewee: Humberto Moretti	Media: Radio Rivadavia	Year: 2007
	General Topic: To announce an increment in taxi fares in Buenos Aires.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about the increment.			

TV Interviews:

Text 1TV	**Interviewer:** Samuel (Chiche) Gelblung	**Interviewee:** Sergio Iribarren	**Media:** Canal 9	**Year:** 2007
	General Topic: Gelblung introduced the interviewee as a 'dieting guru' and asked him about the treatment he provides in his clinic.			
	General Function of the text: to inform and to generate opinion in the audience about dieting methods.			
Text 2TV	**Interviewer:** Gustavo Silvestre	**Interviewee:** Minister of Education, Daniel Filmus	**Media:** TN	**Year:** 2007
	General Topic: Politics. The interviewee was asked about a new education law and about his political plans with respect to his candidature to future Mayor of Buenos Aires city.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about these political issues and about the candidate's opinion on current social issues.			
Text 3TV	**Interviewer:** Luis Majul	**Interviewee:** Jorge Rial	**Media:** America TV	**Year:** 2005
	General Topic: Majul led a conversation with Rial, asking him about his opinion on current political issues in the news.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience about these topics.			
Text 4TV	**Interviewer:** Luis Majul	**Interviewee:** Nicolás Gallo	**Media:** América TV	**Year:** 2005
	General Topic: The interviewee, an ex-secretary from a previous government, phoned Majul's programme after the broadcasting of some news involving his functions. The politician wanted to deny what had been claimed about him.			
	General Function of the text: to inform and generate opinion in the audience about these topics.			
Text 5TV	**Interviewers:** Ernesto Tenembaum and Marcelo Zlotogwiazda	**Interviewee:** Parliamentarian Felipe Solá	**Media:** TN	**Year:** 2008
	General Topic: The interviewers asked the interviewee his opinion about the government and a controversial law.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience.			
Text 6TV	**Interviewer:** María Laura Santillán	**Interviewee:** Monsignor José Casaretto	**Media:** TN	**Year:** 2008
	General Topic: Poverty, the Catholic Church and government policies to help the poor.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience.			
Text 7TV	**Interviewer:** News reader	**Interviewee:** Omar Luis Daer	**Media:** TN	**Year:** 2008
	General Topic: The news reader interviewed the lawyer who was representing ex-president Carlos Ménem about the latter's refusal to attend the court summons for trial.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about this issue.			

Text 8TV	Interviewer: Mariano Grondona	Interviewee: Carlos Blumberg	Media: Canal 9	Year: 2005
	General Topic: Security problems and the interviewee's actions to raise awareness of this problem in the general public and in the politicians, after his son's death.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience.			
Text 9TV	Interviewer: Nelson Castro	Interviewee: César Sivo	Media: TN	Year: 2007
	General Topic: Castro asked the lawyer César Sivo about the situation of a person, his client, who had been kidnapped and released after a few days. This was an important issue in the news at the moment, as the victim had been suspected of self-kidnapping.			
	General Function of the text: to inform and generate opinion in the audience about these topics.			
Text 10TV	Interviewer: Joaquín Morales Solá	Interviewee: Mayor of Buenos Aires city, Mauricio Macri	Media: TN	Year: 2008
	General Topic: Morales Solá asked Macri about his projects for the city and his relationship with the national government, who were political opponents.			
	General Function of the text: to generate opinion in the audience.			
Text 11TV	Interviewer: Marcelo Longobardi	Interviewee: Minister Alberto Fernández	Media: Canal 9	Year: 2004
	General Topic: the recent dismissal of the Minister of Justice. The interviewee gave the official accounts and explanations of the events that had happened.			
	General Function of the text: to inform and generate opinion in the audience.			
Text 12TV	Interviewer: Newsreaders	Interviewee: Economist Manuel Solanet	Media: TN	Year: 2008
	General Topic: the newsreaders interviewed the economist who gave the latest news about the world's economic crisis, the behaviour of the markets and the impact on Argentinian economy.			
	General Function of the text: to inform the audience about this issue.			

3.2 The Analysis

3.2.1. Theoretical and methodological analysis

A discourse-pragmatic analysis of the corpus was carried out. The questions that guided the analysis were the following: What social identities / roles / subject positions do interviewers project of themselves? What social identities / roles / subject positions do interviewers project of their interviewees and of their audiences? What are the linguistic / interactional exponents that realize these projections? What are the linguistic and pragmatic resources interviewers use to impose a particular identity on their interlocutors?

And what linguistic and pragmatic resources do interviewees use that show the acceptance or resistance to those impositions?

This research started in the social world, within an institutional site. The steps followed, as suggested by Frey and Cissna (2009), were the taping, the transcription and the analysis of naturally occurring interactions. The analysis was qualitative and combined macro and micro approaches. The discourse analysis (DA) perspective of corpus samples, which took some elements from critical discourse analysis (CDA), implied that "specific forms of language use were seen to construct different versions of reality" (Litosseliti, 2010, p. 124).

Each of the samples was analysed within its situational and cultural contexts. Data were interpreted and explained, with the aim of showing how conventionalized patterns of language, constructed by characteristic stylistic features, helped to build different accounts of social reality, as Litosseliti holds (2010, p. 133). In the second and more descriptive part of the study, conversation analysis (CA) tools and techniques served the purpose of observing the step by step of the interaction, from a more micro-analytic approach, and to give linguistic evidence of the participants' orientations to roles and identities.

The first, more macro analysis of the interviews focused on the subject positions displayed by the journalist interviewers. The samples were interpreted and the positionings the interviewers projected with respect to their interlocutors and addressees and with respect to the topics developed were singled out and named. Social roles and relations were observed in order to determine, as Van Dijk (1997) describes, if interviewers represented "friend or foe, powerful or powerless, dominant or dominated" (1997, p. 11). The participant categories proposed were the result of the common-sense understanding of context, as "people *adapt* what they say – and how they say it, and how they interpret what others say – to at least some of their roles or identities, and to the roles of other participants" (1997, p.12, emphasis in the original). These are *grounded* categories (Freeman, 1998, p. 100), i.e. they resulted from the analysis of the data. Once the categories were named, the second step in the analysis followed.

In this part, the micro analysis was oriented to detect the lexico-grammatical and phonological choices interviewers made that allowed them to project and impose a particular identity of themselves, their interviewees and/or their audiences, paying particular attention to the pragmatic, linguistic and interactional behaviour of the addressees, who accepted or resisted these projections. The following resources, among others, were considered:

- interactional mechanisms: turn-taking; assignment of speaker roles; adjacency pairs structure; establishing and policing agendas; initiation, development and closing of topics; interruptions and overlaps; politeness
- lexico-grammatical resources: use of pronouns; kind of lexis (specific, vague, formal, informal, etc); use of mood; use of modality (modalization and modulation); figures of speech (metaphors, similes, irony, etc); appraisal
- discursive and textual resources: intertextual relations; discursive dominance; theme-rheme oppositions
- phonological features: tonality, tonicity and tone; pitch level (key and termination); prominences

Representative examples from the corpus were selected to illustrate the identity categories and the power resources interviewers used to impose those identities. Examples were interpreted and explained, taking into account linguistic evidence from every linguistic stratum: the semantic and pragmatic meaning, the lexico-grammatical exponents and the level of expression.

As regards intonational choices, an auditory perceptive analysis of some expressions was carried out and these perceptions were checked against an acoustic analysis for which the software for speech analysis *Praat* was used. Images from this software were taken and displayed where relevant, to illustrate this aspect of the oral realization of the expressions discussed. On the top half of the graphic, the images show the sound waves and on the bottom half, the spectrogram. The latter exhibits vowel formants produced by vocal fold vibration, and it shows the frequency of sound waves in hertz. The spectrogram window in the graphic was especially set to show the first formant, which corresponds to the fundamental frequency (F0) and the pitch line. Tiers were added to show words as they are represented in the graphics. The following image exemplifies and explains these graphics.
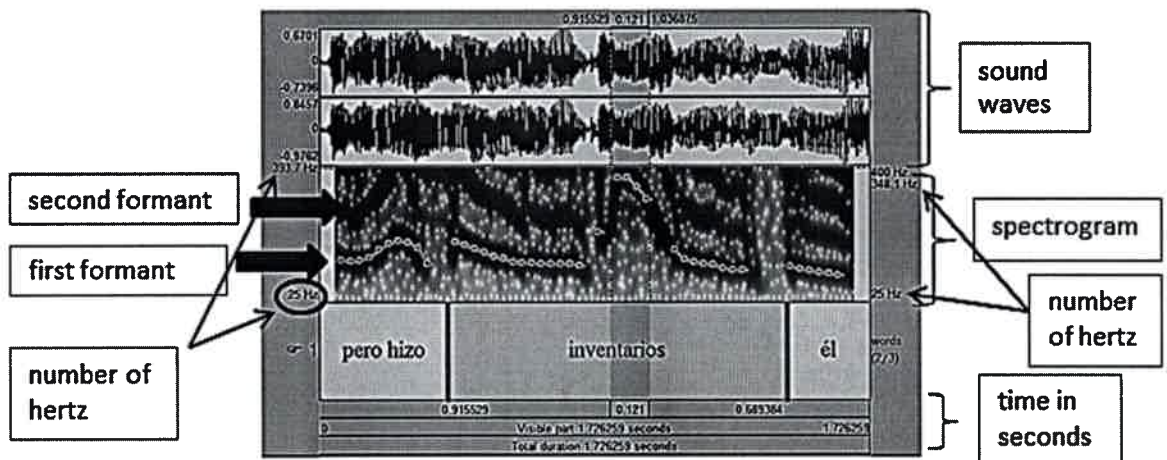
3.2.2. The Surveys

To validate the results of the linguistic analysis, extracts of each of the twenty-four interviews were prepared and distributed among 20 voluntary informants, who were supposed to watch and listen to them and answer general questions about the function of the interviews, the ways in which participants spoke and addressed one another, and the kind of audience projected. The participants were adults within an age range of 20 to 60 years; they were university students or professionals who did not have any explicit knowledge about linguistics or discourse analysis. Instructions in the survey introduced the research being done in very general terms, indicating that it was an investigation about journalist interviewers on radio and on TV. Informants were asked to watch or listen to the interviews and answer questions spontaneously and briefly. The general questions made did not address the issue of identity or power directly, in order not to bias the responses given (see survey in appendix 1). The answers provided were set out in tables (see a sample of some answers in appendix 2), and were used as a parameter to compare with the conclusions reached through the linguistic analysis, taking into consideration that these answers had been produced by individuals who are part of the intended audience addressed by the TV or radio interviews under analysis.

The questions in the surveys were meant to be general and broad. Participants were free to expose their feelings and opinions as regards the interviews as a whole and as regards the interactants. The answers provided were worded in every day language, as they were not produced by linguists. These were interpreted without isolating answers but rather considering the complete contribution of each participant in the context of each extract. Later on, the participants' sayings were semantically matched to the categories

resulting from the discourse-pragmatic analysis carried out on the samples, and there appeared to be significant coincidences. This fact gives greater validity to the research results.

CHAPTER 4: PROJECTING THE SELF AND OTHERS

Meanings in conversation are interactively co-constructed, and identities are culturally meaningful realities jointly created by interactants (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995, p. 171). In the interviews analysed, interviewers projected different identities for themselves and imposed others on their interviewees, and on their audiences. These projections were negotiated in the interaction and accepted by the participants. Apart from the discourse identities, which are turn-generated and sequential and correspond to the particular stage along the interaction, interviewers projected their situational identities, defined by the generic configuration of the social practice they were involved in. In this way, the categories 'interviewer' and 'interviewee' were considered 'omni-relevant' identities (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002), which the speakers resorted to whenever they felt the need along the interaction. The account that follows focuses especially on social identities, or what Zimmerman (1998) called 'transportable' identities, those which are constructed and indexed in the discourse. It describes some of the social identity positions found in the corpus and the discursive means through which identity work was carried out.

The set of interview fragments taken and discussed is by no means exhaustive, but rather a representative sample. Each of the analyses is closed by "informants' observations", which display non-specialist opinions on the identities described. As explained in chapter 3, questions in the surveys did not address the topic of identities explicitly, so the quotes chosen for each analysis constitute those answers which are relevant to the example in question. As it can be observed, most of the informants' appreciations coincide with the conclusions arrived at through the discoursal analysis presented. At the end of some of the sections, a table includes other examples from the corpus, projecting the identities described.

4.1 Interviewers

i. Well informed and public

Data analysis shows that the public nature of the media where these interactions occurred, and the institutional world order, with established-ways-of-doing-things (Jenkins, 2008), led interviewers to show themselves as professionally knowledgeable and interested in the public lives of their interlocutors. Thus they often focused their attention on their interviewees' public and professional activities, turning these into one of the topics of discussion. In this way, interviewers provided a discursive frame (Goffman, 1974) which

allowed for "specific affordances and constraints for interactants at specific moments of their talk" (Coupland, 2007, p. 112). Through this 'public' framing, meanings concerning the interviewees' public lives came into play and could be negotiated, and not others. Besides, an important function of the interviews analysed was to generate opinion in the audience, so very often the interviewers showed their professionalism by expressing their (informed) opinions on the public issues at hand and by requiring their interviewees' opinions on such matters as well.

Evidence from the corpus also showed that linguistically, interviewers realized this identity by means of different interpersonal resources, such as naming their interviewees by their full names or by their surnames, making their professional roles explicit; mentioning their activities and characterizing them by means of appraising items; and explicitly asking for opinions, using modalizing hedges that indicate their subjective point of view. On occasions, interviewers showed their knowledge and expertise by questioning their interviewee's sayings or demanding further explanations.

Excerpts from the corpus
• **Text 1R**: Carlos Monti and Claudia Medic interviewing Carlos Blumberg
Monti started the interview naming his interviewee by his surname and referring to a religious event that the latter is organizing as a public commemoration, giving him room to specify details such as time, date, etc. (lines 7-8).

> Monti   *bueno, Blumberg, van a hacer la misa por el primer aniversario de de Axel, ¿verdad?*

In this way, the interviewer showed his knowledge about the topic, and his interest in this public event organized by the interviewer.
Informants' observations
[The function of this interview]

- "*Informar sobre la misa de aniversario – actualizar al público sobre el estado del movimiento iniciado por Blumberg.*" (Informant Nº 7)
- "*La entrevista sirve para publicitar una misa para recordar la muerte de Axel Blumberg, con la intención de que vaya gente y concientizarla para que luche en contra de la inseguridad.*" (Informant Nº 4)
- "*Informar de una misa en memoria del aniversario de la muerte de Axel.*" (Informant Nº 13)

[The interviewer]

- "*Lo hace teniendo en cuenta que existe un cierto conocimiento compartido de lo que se esta hablando.*" (Informant N° 17)

Later, Medic asked Blumberg about his public actions with respect to measures against crime, framing her question with opinion and positive evaluation (lines 21-24).

Medic   *Buenos días. Eh, la pregunta es la siguiente, usted eh ha comenzado **una lucha incesante**, a partir de lo que ha sucedido con con su hijo y **ha apoyado mucho** a las familias de de las víctimas, ¿no? ¿Qué es **lo que usted cree que** ha **mejorado**, a partir de esta lucha, y qué es lo que falta, todavía?*

The opinion given by the interviewer, in this case positive, denotes an informed speaker, and it is seen in the characterization of the interviewee's actions as a "*lucha incesante*" and as "*apoyo*" to victims' families, and in the wording of the question ("*qué es lo que ha mejorado*") that presupposes the positive proposition "something has improved". This positive characterization positioned, in van Langenhove and Harré's (1999) terms, the interviewee along a positive storyline which would affect his answer to the question, a demand of opinion, marked by the modalizing hedge "*lo que usted cree que.*"

Informants' observations

[The interviewer]

- "Habla tomando partido a favor de las ideas y acciones del entrevistado." (Informant N° 1)

- **Text 1TV**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Sergio Iribarren

In this text, Gelblung demanded answers from his interviewee about the latter's public activities, showing in his wording that he knows about the interviewee's work and reputation (lines 1-2).

G.   *Contame un poco tu historia y por qué **hacés bajar de peso vos**... Y **por qué dicen que** sos el nuevo gurú de las dietas*

With this introduction, the interviewer established a particular footing (Goffman, 1981), an alignment initially resisted by the interviewee (see chapter 5 on this), along which he was expected to provide explanations about his public activities. Later on, Gelblung reinforced this footing, questioning Iribarren's answers and sayings while projecting the identity of someone who had the knowledge about the topic that granted him the authority to evaluate the specialist's sayings and to demand further explanations:

Lines 4-15

    I.   *[...] lo encaro con un equipo que está constituido por médicos*

    G.   *como tod... **pero todo el mundo encara así***

    I.   *sí, pero básicamente, quizás la diferencia es que nosotros lo tratamos como una adicción, sin ceder ni un poquito a la adicción, es decir lo tratamos [a ver] básicamente como una adicción*

    G.   ***A ver qué es** sin ceder un poquito a la adicción*

    I.   *sin ceder un poquito a la adicción... significa que eh... nosotros partimos de la base que la persona que viene*

    G.   *|**o sea** el el el gordo es un adicto [pero es un adicto... es un] a una droga que es la comida*

    I.   *|No. Es un adicto no a la droga que es la comida sino al exceso de comida*

Lines 19-24

    I.   *[...] es decir que lo que nosotros tenemos que tratar primero es una adicción [sí] que quiere decir es como si nosotros tuviésemos a alguien*

    G.   *|**o sea que** en vez de darle primero una dieta tenés que corregirle la cabeza*

    I.   *No. Primero hay que ponerlo lúcido, sobrio.*

The first exchange showed a categorical assertive generalization from the interviewer which questioned the originality of the interviewee's methods from a knowledgeable position ("*pero todo el mundo encara así*").

Gelblung's following intervention echoed part of his interlocutor's contribution in an explicit demand of explanation, framed by the informal expression "*a ver*" which expressed his willingness to know more about it. The last two quotes of Gelblung's interventions formulated (Fairclough, 1992) Iribarren's sayings and elicited confirmation of this interpretation from the specialist, showing the interviewer's interest in discussing the professional activities of the interviewee. The lines quoted show a dominant interviewer, who exercised power to impose his own identity and that of his interviewee. The analysis of these power resources is the focus of the following chapter.

Informants' observations

[The function of this interview]

- "*Informar a la audiencia sobre un nuevo método para bajar de peso.*" (Informant Nº 17)

- "*La función de la entrevista es parecer que se trata un problema de salud de muchas personas (la obesidad) dando a conocer a un supuesto gurú de la dieta, con la intención/finalidad de publicitarlo y de postularlo*" (Informant Nº 10)

[The interviewer]

- *"Como si esta* [la audiencia] *también desconociera el tema, pero lo hace con el propósito de que el entrevistado contribuya con información."* (Informant N° 17)
- *"En parte lo disminuye o menosprecia… [al entrevistado]."* (Informant N° 1)
- *"El entrevistador tiene una posición de incredulidad frente al entrevistado."* (Informant N° 4)
- *"Encara la entrevista de manera informal, incluso asume una actitud desafiante o irreverente con el entrevistado, como dudando de la veracidad o respetabilidad de lo que dice."* (Informant N° 7)

- **Text 2R**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Eduardo López

The interviewer began the interaction by introducing his interlocutor in a formal way, referring to the interviewee's professional degrees and place of work.

> G.   *Presentar al **doctor Eduardo López**, que es **médico infectólogo** y **profesor de infectología pediátrica** en la **Universidad del Salvador**. Doctor López, buenas noches, ¿cómo le va?*

Later on, he set the topic to be discussed by means of an elicitation seeking the interviewee's confirmation (lines 5-7).

> G.   *Le dejo nomás planteada la pregunta, porque tengo que ir a las noticias [L: bárbaro] pero, el tema es así, eh… en el certificado prenupcial no se hace el examen de HIV.*
>
> L.   *No, no es mandatorio.*

Although the co-text (*"Le dejo planteada la pregunta"*) set this categorical declarative as an elicitation in function, it was realized in the lexico-grammar and in the expression at the level of phonology as if it had been an assertion. This could be confirmed by the reaction of the addressee, who seemed to be waiting for the question to come, producing a pause of 1.34 seconds before answering. Phonologically, the falling tone on '*HIV*' and the rather low pitch level on the tonic —as can be seen in the graphic below- clearly show that the interviewer was willing to confirm information that he already possessed (Granato 2005).

| en el certificado pre-nup cial | no se hace el examen | de HIV | 1.34 sec silence | No | no es manda-torio | words (4/6) |

The graphic shows the descending pitch line on the question, that has the highest point on the first accented syllable "certifiCAdo" at 268 hz, and the last prominence, a low falling tone on "hiV", which falls from approximately 110 hz to 75 hz. The period of silence can also be seen in the diagram, followed by the interviewee's answer.

This was the first of the only 4 questions produced in the whole of the interview. The rest of the interviewer's turns (12 out of 16) performed functions such as greetings, evaluative comments and opinion in the form of declaratives. The elicitations mentioned only demanded confirmation on the part of the expert:

Lines 9-11

>G.   *[...] quiero que me diga entonces para qué sirve el certificado prenupcial. Digo, **me parece** que ahí hay un punto que que **falla**. [...]*

Lines 29-30

>G.   ***O sea que**... pero digo... el el el examen prenupcial es **nada más** para determinar si hay sífilis*

Line 33

>G.   *pero digo, si hubiera sífilis, ¿no autoriza el casamiento?*

The first two quotes already presupposed a response. In the case of the first one, this response was made explicit in the following declarative, which constituted an opinion on the matter (negative in this case) marked linguistically by means of the modalizing hedge "*me parece que*", and the appraising verb "*falla*". The second quote anticipated the answer by means of the hedge "*o sea que*", which showed the speaker was drawing a conclusion, and the quantifier expression "*nada más*". It was interesting to notice the negative positioning Gelblung took and imposed on his interviewee.

The fact that the interview was carried out in this way built the interviewer's identity of knowledgeable, of someone in control of the topic at hand, who was only willing to confirm or validate his knowledge with the voice of an expert.

<u>Informants' observations</u>

[The interviewer]

- "*Como un superado de la vida, no solo frente al entrevistado, también frente a la audiencia. Él es el que se la sabe todas y el resto somos unos giles.*" (Informant N° 5)

- "*Arrogante, sobrador. Irónico. Habla al entrevistador de modo arrogante.*" (Informant N° 15)

- **Text 2TV**: Gustavo Silvestre interviewing Daniel Filmus

The interviewer in text 2TV also projected himself as knowledgeable about the topics introduced for debate. Most of his contributions (12 out of 15 not counting greetings) consisted of elicitations of opinion on a given fact, in the form of yes-no interrogatives or declaratives, or information interrogatives that started with "*cómo ve...*" or "*por qué...*". These enquiries of opinion were about information which was presented in a non-arguable way by means of being presupposed or through categorical modality:

Lines 31-32

    S.   *¿se supone que el andamiaje político va a ser el Frente para la Victoria de la Capital Federal, pero abierto a otras eh... opciones políticas?*

Line 68

    S.   *¿por qué Filmus y no Tellerman en el apoyo presidencial, cree usted?*

Line 176

    S.   *¿Cómo se ve... acompañado en la fórmula por María Laura Leguizamón?*

The frequent use of grammatical metaphors in systemic functional terms or nominalizations in traditional grammar terms, which encapsulate information about the processes that form them, also contributed to the presentation of information as non-negotiable:

Line 15

    S.   *¿lo esperaba, digo, **este respaldo** [...]?*

Line 90

    S.   *[...] Digo, ¿hay **un plan** conjunto?*

Lines 201-202

    S.   *[...] ¿cómo ve estas dos **desapariciones** [...]?*

Besides, several of Silvestre's questions referred to inferences made about the near future. These questions projected an interviewer in control of the topic, someone updated with the most recent information about the current political situation and with the capacity to foresee future tendencies and to make predictions:

Lines 31-32

    S.   *Claro, porque se supone que el andamiaje político **va a ser** el Frente para la Victoria de la capital federal pero abierto a otras eh... opciones políticas*

Lines 50-51

    S.   *Ibarra, Heller, Bonasso que han conformado un espacio ¿**podrían estar** acompañándolo en su candidatura?*

Lines 86-90

    S.   *Puede, digamos, entre su candidatura y la de Daniel Scioli eh... a gobernador de la provincia de Buenos Aires, digo ¿**va a funcionar** una especie de tándem? [...]"*

Informants' observations

[The function of the interview]

- *"Informar a la gente. Dar a conocer ideas y posturas del entrevistado."* (Informant N° 14)
- *"Es una entrevista da bajada de línea del gobierno, oficialista, previa a las elecciones de Jefe de Gobierno en Capital Federal."* (Informant N° 11)

[The interviewer]

- *"Es una entrevista "arreglada", con las preguntas y respuestas previamente acordadas."* (Informant N° 11)

The table that follows shows similar examples taken from other texts in the corpus, through which interviewers projected a similar identity.

Well informed and public			
Linguistic resources		**Text**	**Examples**
Wordings	Naming interlocutors by full names and professional roles	8R	M. *... humanos. Cómo le va **ministro**, buen día.* (line 1)
		10R	V.H.M. *Está en línea el **ex gobernador de Córdoba el Dr José Manuel de la Sota**. Buenos días, ¿cómo le va?* (lines 1-2)

		11R	G. [...] estamos en contacto ahora con el **presidente de la cámara argentina de la construcción**, seguramente muchos no quieren esteh… hacer ese tipo de tareas. **Carlos Enrique Wagner**, Mariano Grandi lo saluda en radio Continental, ¿cómo le va? (lines 6-9)
		12R	J.B. Muy bien, estoy ahora en contacto con el **titular de la federación nacional de propietarios de taxis, Humberto Moretti** (lines 1-2)
		4TV	M. Tenemos una comunicación telefónica. El **ex secretario general de la presidencia, el ingeniero Nicolás Gallo**, eh llamó al programa La Cornisa, seguramente estaba viendo el programa,*[...]* (lines 1-3)
		6TV	MLS Eh… tenemos el lujo de tener como invitado, como primer invitado de hoy a **Monseñor Jorge Casaretto**, que es el **segundo obispo de la diócesis de San Isidro**, y que durante dos períodos fue presidente de Cáritas Nacional y actualmente ocupa el cargo de presidente de la Comisión Episcopal de Pastoral Social. (lines 15-19)
		7TV	P. [...] Estamos, justamente en comunicación telefónica con **Omar Luis Daer, abogado defensor del ex presidente Carlos Menem**. Doctor Daer, buen día. Gracias por este contacto con TN (lines 3-5)
		10TV	MS bien, estoy con **el jefe de gobierno de la ciudad**, jefe de gobierno, como le dije al… al jefe de gabinete, que lo trató de intendente (lines 1-2)
		9TV	NC Muy bien, Luis Gerez, ese caso que nos sigue ocupando y preocupando. El **doctor César Sivo es su abogado**, ¿qué tal doctor?, ¿cómo le va?(lines 1-2)
Functions	Expressing and demanding informed opinions	6R	Ahora, Juez, a cuarenta días de las elecciones [...] el voto de Juez **es una obsesión**, no digo su voto personal, sino el de sus seguidores. ¿Usted **qué está palpitando**? (lines 62-66)
		10R	V.H.M. **¿en qué panorama estaremos insertos** si el congreso vota algo que le dé la espalda a los intereses del campo?" (lines 22-23) V.H.M. apelo a su olfato político para que nos diga **qué espera de la votación** que se va a realizar en el congreso (lines 51-52) V.H.M. Lo que pasa **es** que ellos se sienten elegidos por los Kirchner y no por la gente. **Ellos creen** que con el paragua de los Kirchner fue que obtuvieron la victoria y se sienten solidarios con eso. **Por lo menos** le ocurre a muchos. (lines 80-82)

		12R	J.B. *Ahora, Moretti, es* **bastante** *contraproducente hacerlo ahora porque siempre que aumentan los taxis merma* **un poco** *eh… la gente que toma taxis, entonces [es cierto]* **parecería que** *disminuye el trabajo y hacerlo en esta época de vacaciones* **parecería que va a ser** *perjudicial, ¿no?* (lines 25-28)
	Expressing information and asking the interviewee for confirmation	6R	M. *bueno, pero mientras eh se está escrutando por planilla, ustedes salen a la calle [...] del interior de la provincial,* **¿no?** (lines 28-31)
		8R	M. ⎮*no, lo que sí, eh…* **la información que tenemos nosotros** *esteh… ministro* **es que el cliente** *tiene que mandar una carta a la empresa de móviles[…]* (lines 52-53)
		12R	J.B. *ahora, Moretti,* **también trataron de retrasarlo ahora**. *No querían que haya este aumento en esta época, ¿no?* (lines 14-15)
		4TV	L.M. *Y una… y una… cosa más Gallo, se repitió una y mil veces que usted le mandó al entonces titular del Comfer, a cerrar o a censurar canales de cable y algunos otros canales de televisión que estaban pasando los escraches, lo que pasaba en Plaza de Mayo, el cacerolazo.* **¿Eso es verdad?** (lines 30-33)
		5TV	MZ: *Ahora el gobierno te muestra modificamos, modificamos, modificamos, modificamos. Conseguimos la aprobación en diputados, y si consiguen la aprobación en el senado, ¿***no es lo suficientemente contundente legitimidad parlamentaria***…, y…, habiendo dado … por lo menos gestos, señales bien concretas de querer cambiar, como para terminar con el problema?* (lines 48-52)
		9TV	NC *eh… han trascendido algunas escuchas en distintos lugares, eh… con supuestos dichos inclusive de Persico y demás, de gente allegada a Gerez, induciéndolo a declarar tal o cual cosa, o a no decir tal o cual cosa o lo otro.* **¿Esto es real?** (lines 61-63)
	Questioning interviewee's sayings or demanding explanations	5TV	ET: **Ahora, Felipe, yo lo que digo es**: *los pequeños y medianos productores al parecer han logrado compensaciones importantes, [FS: sí] con lo cual esa decisión… eso que vos decís, de darle fortaleza a ellos frente los pool eh… pooles de siembra, al final de la historia, pareciera haberse logrado,* **con lo cual**… FS: ⎮*No, darles fortaleza a ellos es una parte del tema, [...]* (lines 93-97)

			6TV	J.C. *[...] todas las políticas tienen que, a ver, ee, es importantísimo esto, si uno le pregunta a un político '¿Cuál es el principal desafío de la Argentina?' No hoy no puede decir 'El principal desafío de la Argentina es crecer económicamente' Tiene que decir 'El principal desafío es la poe la pobreza y la exclusión'* MLS **Pero** *no estuvo en la agenda de los políticos cuando hablaban en elecciones, no era [a ver...] tema, no fue tema de discusión en elecciones, [ahí, ahí...] no fue tema, cuando uno escuchaba un debate o veía un debate, o alguien hablaba de lo que iba a ser, cualquiera fuera el candidato, la pobreza y la exclusión no eran el primero o el segundo de los temas (lines70-78)* MLS |¿**Pero** *qué piensa la iglesia que tiene que hacer ee... que se tiene que hacer para enfrentar la pobreza? (lines 88-89)*

ii.   On equal grounds

Taking their projection of knowledgeable to an extreme, in some occasions interviewers showed themselves on equal grounds with their interviewees with respect to their control of the topics at hand. In these cases they projected a symmetrical status with their guests and the discourse identities of questioner-respondent (Zimmerman, 1998) were not exercised as such. Linguistically, interviewers showed their command of the topic by means of the use of specific vocabulary and intertextuality, and they appealed to their interviewee's knowledge of the topic by means of presuppositions and information taken for granted. These cases showed interviews which resembled more casual conversations, where the pattern was not "question-answer" but rather an exchange of opinions on a given topic, in which participants very often disagreed with one another and opened grounds for further discussion. This symmetry of roles was also manifested in the interviewers' way of addressing their interviewees, which tended to be more informal, as can be noticed in the following cases.

• **Text 3R**: Antonio Carrizo interviewing Horacio González

This text is an example of the situation described above, as the interviewer only asked one question –a yes/no interrogative – when the conversation was already well advanced, in line 63.

> C.   *bueno pero ¿ha habido un quiebre definitivo en la Biblioteca, Horacio?*

At the very beginning of the talk, Carrizo set the topic to be discussed and explained his very specific terms for the sake of the audience (lines 2-4).

    C.   *[...] a usted lo acusan de Groussaquiano, como queriendo decir que –yo lo entendí así – que se dedica más a los trabajos parabibliotecológicos, laterales, que a los trabajos verdaderamente bibliotecológicos*

When his interviewee gave a contradictory answer (line 5),

    G.   *Bueno, eso no es así [...]*

Carrizo openly disagreed with him, expressing his contrast of opinion by grammatical means, the adversative conjunction '*pero*' (line 7)

    C.   *Pero Groussac,*

and by prosodic means, a very high pitch on the only prominence in line 10. The tonic syllable "ta" reached almost 400 hz, which clearly contrasted with the values that preceded and followed, as can be seen in the graphic below:

    C.   *pero hizo inventarios él*
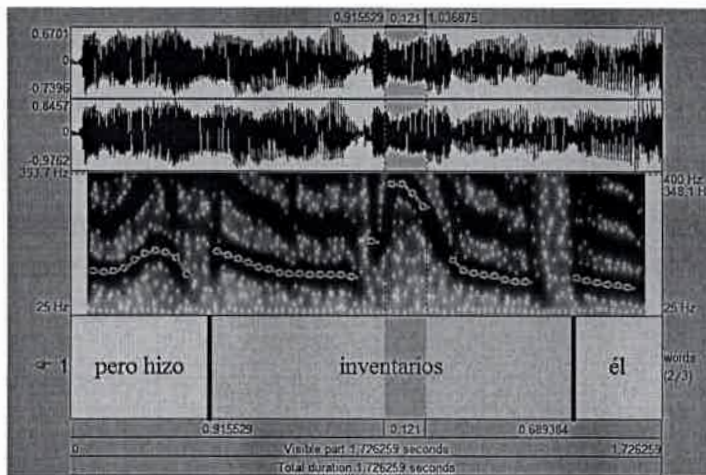
This explicit contradiction contributed to building the identity of people who could discuss a certain topic on equal grounds. The specificity of the vocabulary the interviewer used and the references to names related to the field of the talk demonstrated his knowledge of the topics at hand. He used intertextuality, first to present the matter for discussion, referring to criticisms towards the interviewee in line 2 "*a usted lo acusan de Groussaquiano.*" Later on, he quoted a highly respected and recognised Argentinian writer, and used the reporting verb in the first person "*Jauretche me dijo un día que ...*" (lines 84-88), making a point of his personal relationship with the writer, and thus displaying his insider knowledge on the topic.

Informants' observations

[The interviewer]

- *"Está bien posicionado, sabe a quién se dirige, muestra otra faceta del entrevistado y hasta por momentos entabla un diálogo amistoso, informal como dejando ver que existe una relación más allá de la función que cumple cada uno. Y que ambos se respetan intelectualmente."* (Informant N° 9)

- *"Que hay muchos puntos de coincidencia entre ellos [entrevistador y entrevistado]."* (Informant N° 12)

- *"Al entrevistado le habla de igual a igual hasta de una forma campechana aunque reconoce que su entrevistado es una persona de un alto nivel cultural. Parece que hablara con el diariero de la esquina y no con el director de la biblioteca nacional."* (Informant N° 6)

- *"con conocimiento simétrico en los temas hablados," "que posee conocimientos en cuanto al tema en discusión y en cuanto al entrevistado."* (Informant N° 3)

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

In text 3TV, Majul mentioned the topics to be dealt with in his programme in lines 91-92.

> M.   *después vamos a hablar de la tele [J.R. sí...] de algunas cosas que tienen que ver con tu profesión, de algunas personales, si no te molesta [J.R. no]... pero ahora [...]*

His use of the first person plural form of the verb *"vamos"* suggested that the interaction was going to develop on equal grounds, and that they would build meaning together in a conversation, rather than an interview. Majul projected for both himself and his interlocutor a symmetrical status, an identity of analysts who had knowledge about the country's political reality and opinions on the topics worthy to be shared. As host of the programme, he introduced the topics to be discussed for the sake of the audience, providing what there was to be known from the news. Then he addressed his interviewee to share opinions on those matters. He did it by means of direct questions in which the issues to be discussed were taken for granted, as common knowledge:

Lines 112-113

> L.M.   *[...] A veintidós meses de iniciada, ¿cómo ves la gestión de Kirchner?*

Lines 136-137

> L.M.   *Y la posición sobre Baseotto, la posición de pelea con el vaticano y con la iglesia, qué te sus...*

Line 197

    L.M.   *¿y el caso Terri Schiavo? ¿Cuál es tu mirada?*

On occasions, he provided his own point of view and put it under consideration for his interlocutor. He frequently used rising intonation towards the end of his contribution, pitch movement that seemed to trigger a comment on the part of the listener, and to give utterances an eliciting function:

Lines 67-69

    L.M.   *es más importante que la economía esto, ¿no?*

    J.R. |*claro que sí*

The graphic below shows the falling tonic on the first tone unit "*es más importante que la econoMÍa*" and a clear rising movement on "*¿no?*" which went from approximately 115 hz to 247 hz.
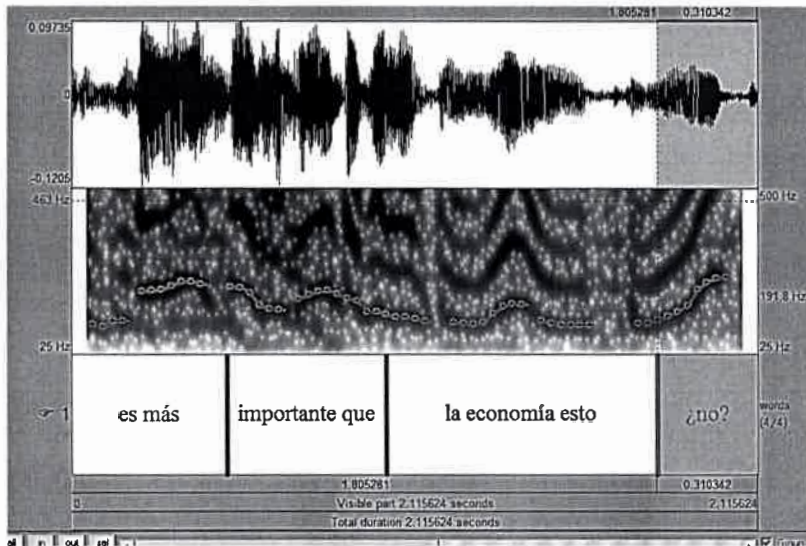
In this example, the listener responded immediately after the rising "*no*", with an affirmative evaluative expression "*claro que sí*".

Lines 144-145

    L.M.   *sí, digo, a ver... me parece que tiene poco justificativo, ¿no? porque yo veo [que una par...]*

The graphic shows the falling tonic at the end of the first tone unit "*me parece que tiene poco justificaTIvo*", a fall from approximately 241 to 91 hz, and then a rise up to 205 hz approximately. In this case, the interviewee responded to the trigger – the rising "*no*" – and started his contribution immediately after the rise, producing an overlap with the explanation the interviewer wanted to provide.

Line 148

    L.M.   *remite a la dictadura, no hay ninguna duda.*

Lines 157-159

    L.M.   *ahora, eh... Jorge, en el fondo de esta discusión hay una pelea que tiene que ver con la legalización del aborto...*

Line 179

    L.M.   *¿y no admitís, por ejemplo, que una mujer pueda decidir sobre su cuerpo?*

The graphic shows in this case a rise at the end of the tone unit, on the tonic "*CUERpo*", from 128 to 223 hz approximately. This was another case in which the interviewee responded to the rising ending and started his contribution producing a short overlap.

Line 188

    L.M.   *bueno, como la divide la eutanasia con con con... con la religión*

At times, he asked for clarification or expansion after the interviewee's comments, demanding that this latter elaborated further:

Line 117-119

    J.R.   *[...] no puede hacer un gobierno de choque todo el tiempo peleándose con todos, me parece que...*
    L.M. |*vos sentís que está mal que se pelee con todos*

Lines 125-127

    J.R.   *[...] cuando hizo lo de Shell, me parece... me pareció exagerado...*

    L.M. |*exagerado*

Lines 138-140

    J.R.   *[...] pelearte con la iglesia es jodido*

    L.M. |*pero todo el mundo dice es jodido pero*

Lines 171-173

    J.R.   *[...] obviamente que hay casos puntuales en que... en que estaría a favor del aborto. Casos muy puntuales*
    L.M,   *¿por ejemplo?*

Lines 180-183

    J.R.   *[...] Cada uno hace lo que quiere y en eso estoy a favor de la libertad individual. Vos me preguntás a mí... yo, no. Yo no por mi historia. No.*
    L.M.   *Ahora, vos aceptás la libertad de consciencia*

Lines 254-256

    J.R.   *[...] aunque hubo empresas periodísticas que gracias a... a que se terminó la convertibilidad se salvaron, increíblemente, ¿no?*
    L.M.   *¿por las deudas, decís?*

Informants' Observations

[The interviewer]

- "*Una relación de confianza, de par, de charla de café. Sin distancia. Una relación entre pares.*" (Informant Nº 12)

- *"De igual a igual, es una charla de café," "emite opiniones particulares."* (Informant N° 6)
- *"Entre periodistas se conocen mucho."* (Informant N° 18)

The table that follows shows examples from other interviews in the corpus, in which a similar identity is projected by the interviewer:

On equal grounds			
Linguistic resources		**Text**	**Examples**
Wordings	Specific vocabulary and intertextuality	5TV	MZ: [...] *aquel 11 de marzo cuando todavía Lousteau era ministro de economía* **anuncia** *que se pasa de una* **retención fija** *—nos vamos a centrar en la soja – del 35 % a una escala de retenciones móviles que empieza en 23, y medio –si la* **soja cotiza** *muy bajo – y llegaba hasta el 60 % si la soja subía por encima de $ 600, 700.*[...] (lines 10-13)
	Presupposed information	5TV	MZ: *ah y ¿te seguís eh... sintiendo Kirchnerista?* (line 158)
		6TV	MLS: *Pero* **no estuvo en la agenda** *de los políticos cuando hablaban en elecciones, no era [a ver...] tema* [...] (lines 74-75)
Functions	Exchange of opinions on a given topic, rather than question -answer pattern, with disagreements on both sides	6TV	MLS: *eh... y no es así, no es que siempre habrá pobres y que hay que bajar los brazos...* (lines 21-22) MLS: *Todos tenemos que hacer algo, pero seguramente además hay mmm... algunos que son más responsables. [seguro] Por ejemplo, la dirigencia en general* (lines 52-53)
		6TV	J.C. |*yo* **creo que nadie se atreve** *a decir eso en este momento,* MLS |**sí, se atreven** *[se atreven? Bueno...] lo hemos leído en los diarios, después que lo dijo armó revuelo* J.C. |*yo lo que lo que lo que creo que* **no debemos** *eh... usar a los pobres de ninguna manera. Entonces, entrar en discusiones... esto lo dijo muy bien Monseñor Barga Bargalló que es el presidente de Cáritas. Dice 'no entremos en discusiones de si creció, o decreció... lo que importa es que es una realidad que existe'* [...] (lines 175-182)
		5TV	ZL: *[y no es bastante] parecido a esto de 300 toneladas hasta 300 ton 30% es bastante parecido* (lines 74-75)
		8TV	MG *O no será que la gente a lo mejor ya está tan como saturada que sólo reacciona ante crímenes feroces, como fue el caso de Axel, solamente las cosas más*

			feroces y las un poco menos feroces ya es como que están resignados JCB **|No, sin embargo** no es así, señor Grondona, mire yo estoy yendo a dia… fíjese ahora a San Bernardo […] (lines 47-51)
	Informal way of addressing interviewees	5TV	MZ. […] ¿no cierto, Felipe? (line 43)

iii. Impartial demand for information

There are other interviews in which the identity projected is quite the opposite with the previous one. In these interactions, interviewers were careful not to intervene with their personal opinions but rather to provide an agenda for their interviewees to discuss certain issues. They did not comment on the answers given by interviewees, but rather moved on to the following question in their agendas. In most of these cases, interviewers resorted to intertextuality to introduce topics, framing their questions around information provided by others. These interviewers projected themselves as respectful of their interviewees, letting them express their knowledge of the topics, without attempting to contribute themselves with the building of meaning, and thus adopting a more impartial position.

The following examples show some cases from the corpus.

- **Text 2TV**: Gustavo Silvestre interviewing Daniel Filmus

Silvestre projected an image of somebody who was respectful and tactful with his interviewee. He did not interrupt his guest's contributions, which in some cases were quite long, and he did not offer his personal opinions or evaluations on his interlocutor's sayings. His questions seemed part of a pre-set agenda, covering topics thought beforehand, and were formulated in a way which did not disclose the questioner's opinion:

Line 185

     S.   *¿Pingüina o pingüino para octubre? ¿Cuál es su inferencia?*

Line 176

     S.   *¿Cómo se ve acompañado en la fórmula por María Laura Leguizamón?*

Lines 111-112

     S.   *¿Qué lo diferencia de Mauricio Macri, que puede ser eh… contendiente suyo también aquí en las próximas elecciones de la ciudad de Buenos Aires?*

The only two questions that showed opinion on the part of the interviewer referred to socially evaluated topics, such as the one on public education:

Line 130

> S. *¿se podrá revertir la pulverización que se hizo durante los 90 de la escuela pública [...]*

or the one about terrorism and people disappearing:

Lines 201-202

> S. *¿Cómo ve estas dos desapariciones que han sido terribles, que meten miedo [...]*

In this way, the interviewer presented himself as politically neutral, as somebody who was careful not to show his personal political inclinations to bias opinion.

Informants' Observations

[The function of the interview]

- *"Informar a la gente. Dar a conocer ideas y posturas del entrevistado."* (Informant N° 14)

[The interviewer]

- *"Se posiciona induciendo a Filmus a responder en función a la finalidad de la entrevista."* (Informant N° 14)
- *"su principal objetivo es que el entrevistado desarrolle, principalmente, lo que lo diferencia de una candidatura como la de Macri."* (Informant N° 5)

- **Text 4R**: Diego Valenzuela interviewing Eduardo Buzzi

Something similar happens in this text, in which the interviewer put forward topics and framed opinion questions on the basis of opinions given by others in the news. This wss seen in the following lines:

Lines 12-13

> V. *Gracias por atendernos. A algunos le ha llamado la atención esta unión de organizaciones que... piensan piensan distinto en muchas cosas. ¿Nos puede dar su parecer?*

Lines 84-90

> V. *Ahora lo... los funcionarios de gobierno por ejemplo je... el jefe de gobierno Alberto Fernández ha dicho [...] Esto de los precios internacionales traídos al mercado local, lo mismo que dijo la ministra. ¿Ustedes quieren esos precios para el mercado local?*

Lines 107-109

> V. *También desde el gobierno han dicho que... están evaluando impedir que que haga... que existan cortes en el marco de la protesta del campo. ¿Qué piensa usted? Y bueno ¿Cómo Cómo reaccionarían?*

As can be observed in these quotes, the interviewer limited his participation to his omni-relevant identity of questioner, without giving his personal opinion on the topics, but rather over-using intertextuality, quoting public figures about them.

Informants' Observations

[The interviewer]

- "*Se posiciona frente al entrevistado como el medio para permitir al entrevistado exponer sus puntos. Frente a la audiencia se posiciona como nexo, y explica, al cerrar la nota la posición del entrevistado y del grupo al que representa*" (Informant N° 10)
- "*De su modo de hablar se puede inferir que conoce del tema, y que no opina, sino simplemente transmite la mirada del entrevistado, señalando los puntos salientes de la entrevista al final, para que la audiencia haga su análisis.*" (Informant N° 10)

- **Text 5R**: Diego Valenzuela interviewing Susana Andrada

This is another text which shows how the interviewer projected himself as a neutral interlocutor, somebody who presented topics for discussion trying to avoid giving a personal opinion. In this text, the interviewer provided the "headlines" of the news, with the initial figures, and then let his interviewee expand on the topic. In this way, he took a position of neutrality, as if he had been speaking on behalf of his audience, he even used the first person plural (lines 1-3).

> V.   *Bueno, volvamos al tema precios; salió el índice de inflación de no... de noviembre, 0,7% vamos a un dígito, está la sensación de una inflación paralela, pero nos topamos también con una suba en los alimentos y en la canasta básica...*

At the moment of making comments on the interviewee's sayings, he did it using heavy modalization that contributed to a more neutral stance adopted (lines 40-42).

> V.   *y se ve en este sentido **un poquito** dormido al gobierno ¿no? **Quizás** más atento **a otras cuestiones** de los precios, pero a esto de analizar la cadena de la carne mmm **quizás no... se ha dedicado demasiado**. **O** no le ha encontrado la vuelta, no lo sé.*"

In this last quote, the interviewer projected himself as very cautious with expressing his opinion. The highlighted expressions showed a very tentative speaker, who did not dare to commit himself to his sayings.

Informants' Observations

[The function of the interview]

- *"Dar a conocer la verdad de los hechos."* (Informant N° 14)

[The interviewer]

- *"Se posiciona neutral, como un ciudadano más."* (Informant N° 14)
- *"Solicita los índices y los transmite sin profundizar demasiado en la política económica"*

- **Text 7R**: Marcelo Pinto interviewing María Marta Contrini

In this interview, Pinto introduced his following interview by referring to some item in the news, and then he presented his interviewee in her public role and asks her questions related to her profession and the case referred to. He let the doctor take long turns and speak uninterruptedly (lines 14-28; 32-41 and 44-58), showing his respect for the doctor's knowledge. The interviewer limited his participation to the role of questioner, without giving opinions on the topic:

Lines 12-13

P.   *Muy bien. Doctora, eh… algunos detalles si le pedimos si es tan amable que nos acerque, eh… ¿de qué manera se detecta esta enfermedad? ¿Cómo se puede prevenir?*

Lines 29-31

P.   *Doctora, eh m… en el caso de que uno… eh… alguno de los padres… vea los síntomas en el en el chico. ¿Qué es lo que qué es lo que aconseja? ¿Llevarlo inmediatamente al médico de manera urgente? Eh… ¿ver el tema de la alimentación?*

Lines 42-43

P.   *Doctora, eh… para tener en cuenta, esto… eh… ¿por qué medio se contagia? ¿Qué se puede hacer para evitar justamente que los chiquitos tengan esta enfermedad?*

Informants' Observations

[The function of the interview]

- *"Informar sobre el caso de SUH y prevenir a la población."* (Informant N° 7)
- *"Concientizar a la sociedad."* (Informant N° 13)

[The interviewer]

- *"Frente a la audiencia, es un mero transmisor."* (Informant N° 10)
- *"Transmisor de temas importantes. Con respeto. Habla como un locutor y no como periodista."* (Informant N° 16)

- *"Toma el rol de persona desconocedora de la enfermedad, aunque seguramente ha investigado y sabe más de lo que demuestra."* (Informant N° 7)

The table below shows other examples from the corpus in which interviewers displayed a similar identity:

Impartial demand of information			
Linguistic resources		**Text**	**Examples**
Functions	Factual questions without showing interviewer's opinion	11R	M.G. *hmm. y eso cómo... ¿qué perspectivas hay? ¿Creen que lo van a poder este...?* (lines 17-18) M.G. *hmm. ¿Por qué entonces, a su criterio, no no encuentran trabajadores para la construcción? Hay gente que no quiere...* (lines 25-26) M.G. *mmm. ¿Cuáles son los sectores del país, los distritos del país, donde más esteh... hace falta la mano de obra y donde es más difícil encontrar?* (lines 65-66)
		7TV	P. *Bueno, ¿qué le pasa a Menem?* (line 7) P. *¿Usted comunicó la condición de salud de Menem a la justicia? [no, no porque] para relevarlo de que vaya mañan...* (lines 22-23) P. *O sea **que a usted no le consta** que él vaya a a ir o a dejar de ir por cuestiones de salud. No es un tema que la defensa esté manejando por esta hora, como un impedimento* (lines 34-36)
		12TV	P. *[...]¿Tenemos que estar atentos a algo en particular a estas horas?* (lines 19-20)
	Use of intertextuality to frame questions, basing them on opinions given by others	11R	M. G. *Bueno, **la información por eso justamente llega** a a a a la prensa es que un un estudio reciente de la sociedad de estudios laborales asegura que hay 18 sectores a los que le es difícil encontrar trabajadores. Mm? **Ese es el dato**, que hay sectores encabezados por la construcción. Mm? a los que hoy por hoy, se les hace —a las empresas - difícil conseguir eh... gente que pueda esteh... trabajar en eso sectores [...]* (lines 1-5) M.G. *Bien. Bueno, **usted habrá leído este estudio** y la construcción, el sector que usted representa está al tope de las demandas, **según informa eh... eh... la sociedad de estudios laborales**, insatisfechas, ¿esto es así? ¿Ustedes lo pueden confirmar?* (lines 11-13)
		7TV	P. *Sí **decían que** era un chequeo de rutina* (line 12)
		12TV	P ***Algunos analistas dicen** que lo peor ya pasó. ¿Hay elementos como para poder deducir esto?* (lines 13-14) P. *pero **el pedido** de restricción para los*

				*productos importados **viene de la mano de los industriales** y también de los trabajadores para cuest para cuidar los puestos de empleo. ¿**Usted dice que** hay que hacerlo de forma diferente o de o decididamente no hay que hacerlo?* (lines 32-35)

iv. A critical interviewer

There are instances in which interviewers projected themselves as critical subjects with respect to the topic they were dealing with or with an aspect of it. They showed this typically by means of appraising lexis or expressions which qualified, often in a negative light, certain state of affairs.

- **Text 2R**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Eduardo López:

Lines 9-11

> G. *[…] quiero que me diga entonces para qué sirve el certificado prenupcial. Digo, me parece que ahí hay un punto que que falla. […]*

In this quote, even though he used modalization the interviewer projected his identity as a critical journalist by questioning the validity of the requirement in a negative light, as said before, realized through the use of the verb "*falla*". He showed himself as critical about formal requirements asked by law, and he projected this identity along the whole interview through his explicit evaluation of the requirement, based on his interviewee's sayings (lines 25, 36, 64).

> G. *Es ridículo eso, porque la sífilis se cura, el HIV, no.*
>
> G. *es de hace setenta años eso*
>
> G. *[…] es una cosa del pasado, ¿no? […]*

Informants' observations

[The interviewer]

- "*Por su modo de hablar pareciera que estuviera reprochando la manera en que se llevan a cabo ciertos procedimientos.*" (Informant N° 2)

- "*critica la falta de actualización de la norma, al no incluir HIV.*" (Informant N° 11)

- **Text 4R**: Diego Valenzuela interviewing Eduardo Buzzi

This text started with the host of the programme addressing the audience, informing about a strike which had been called on by one of the farmers' associations in the country. He elaborated on the sayings of some political analysts asking questions that he answered himself and leaving some others to be asked to his guest, the president of this farmers'

association. This introduction projected an interviewer who wass critical about the socio-political situation, somebody who was well-informed and who considered more than one voice (lines 1 to 10).

> V. *que ha convocado a este paro es Federación Agraria Argentina. Ehhh y ... aquí quizá un punto... que han hecho algunos analistas interesante. Cuando el gobierno dice es un paro ideológico, hhh un paro... ¿de qué tipo? ¿Ideológico de qué tipo? ¿De la derecha contra el gobierno progresista? No. Porque está Federación Agraria, que tiene un diagnóstico si se quiere... progresista de los problemas del campo, ¿no? Así que ahí hay un debate interesante, sociedad rural, eh... si se quiere... ehh los sectores más conservadores, para mirar, ehh el tema del campo y de la economía nacional junto a la Federación Agraria, ¿coinciden en qué? ¿Disienten en qué? En cuanto a cómo... armar políticas de mediano plazo para el sector. Eduardo Buzzi, el presidente de Federación Agraria está en línea. Señor, ¿cómo le va? Diego Valenzuela. Buen día.*

Informants' observations

[The function of the interview]

- *"Hacer conocer las causas de la protesta y ayudar a entender el problema del campo."* (Informant N° 10)
- *"Intentar provocar el debate, pero apoyando al interlocutor."* (Informant N° 16)

[The interviewer]

- *"Que le "interesa" aparecer como un "intelectual catedrático". Que le interesa "cuestionar" la política oficial y para eso "usa" al entrevistado."* (Informant N° 1)

- **Text 6TV**: María Laura Santillán interviewing Monseñor Casaretto

The interviewer built her image as critical of the government policies with respect to poverty:

Lines 126-128

> MLS. *Si la inflación puede ser una hecatombe... emm.. ¿qué hacemos si si la inflación que nos dicen no es la real, si la que vivimos, es es otra?, digamos... [C. bueno, bueno]* **estamos complicados, estamos complicados**

In these lines, she criticized the government policies on inflation in a negative way, qualifying people's reality as a difficult one. In lines 140-141, she reinforced this idea:

> MLS |cuando **no alcanza la plata** *[C. claro] en el super más allá de lo que digan... [C. claro] de lo que hablen las cifras [C. exactamente] lo que nos diga el INDEC*

Informants' observations

[The function of the interview]

- *"Críticas a la dirigencia en general, no solo política."* (Informant N°12)
- *"criticar la realidad y los gobernantes."* (Informant N° 3)

[The interviewer]

- *"suena desafiante e indignada con la realidad."* (Informant N° 3)

The table below exhibits other cases in the corpus in which interviewers project similar identities:

A critical interviewer			
Linguistic resources		**Text**	**Examples**
Wordings	Interviewers' use of appraising lexis to qualify states of affairs- critical alignment	6R	P₂. *No, en realidad, Juez, para el gobierno, tanto Córdoba como Chaco son casos cerrados, cosa juzgada. A usted que le gustan las frases pintorescas, se acuerda cuando éramos chicos decían* **'pelito a la vieja'**? (lines 88-90) P₁ *van a presentar un recurso ante la corte suprema [vamos... vamos a ir] tienen que ir* (lines 106-17)
		8R	M. *No, lo que pasa que* **el problema es muy complicado**, *porque el... digamos... al que consume hay alguien que le vende, que es a quien debe ir el rigor de la ley* (lines 134-135)
		5TV	T: *Ahora, Felipe, yo lo que digo es: los pequeños y medianos productores al parecer* **han logrado compensaciones importantes**, *[FS: sí] con lo cual esa decisión... eso que vos decís, de darle fortaleza a ellos frente los pool eh... pooles de siembra, al final de la historia,* **pareciera haberse logrado**, *con lo cual...* (lines 93-96)
Functions	Use of intertextuality to show different opinion voices on the same topic	8R	MO |[F. *no, no bueno,*] *pero estamos hablando del titular del Cedronar que es justamente el organismo de gobierno encargado del tema de narcotráfico* **que está en contra de su postura**. *La pregunta es, digo, ¿qué pasa en el gobierno?* (lines 121-123)
		4TV	L.M. *Y una... y una... cosa más Gallo,* **se repitió una y mil veces** *que usted le mandó al entonces titular del Comfer, a cerrar o a censurar canales de cable y algunos otros canales de televisión que estaban pasando los escraches, lo que pasaba en Plaza de Mayo, el cacerolazo.* **¿Eso es verdad?** (lines 30-33)

			9TV	NC ¿usted ha podido saber cómo ha sido la dinámica de la liberación? Digo porque **a la luz de toda esta magnificación política del discurso del presidente de la república**, que por eso lo liberaron y demás, que **la realidad demuestra que** no es así, pero le da un componente que es político no menor. ¿Usted ha podido saber cómo fue, inclusive los tiempos, la dinámica de la liberación? (lines 164-168)

v.   The private also matters

Interviewers are also aware of the fact that audiences receive their programmes in the privacy of their homes, so in an attempt to bridge the gap between the public and the private, social actors in the media often propose a line of talk in which they show themselves interested in the private lives of public figures, their feelings and opinions. Besides, when dealing with topics of the private sphere, they position themselves in their private worlds, and so the language they use becomes more colloquial and their terms of address more informal.

Some examples from the data:

- **Text 1R**: Carlos Monti and Claudia Medic interviewing Carlos Blumberg

At the beginning of this text, the interviewer presented himself as personally interested in the interviewee's cause, as appreciative of the possibility of holding a conversation with him, beyond his duties as a journalist in a radio studio. This became clear when he expressed (line 4 & 5)

> Monti   [...] obviamente, yo se quién es usted pero realmente para mí significa un placer poder dialogar, ¿eh?

The adversative conjunction "*pero*" followed by the intensifier "*realmente*" conveyed this meaning of satisfaction which went beyond the interviewer's work and which was related to his personal desires.

When he mentioned repeatedly the details of the event Blumberg was organizing, Monti also projected himself as considerate with his interlocutor's interests.

Informants' observations

[The function of the interview]

- "*Se transmite con la finalidad de que los oyentes se informen y de que se tenga presente la situación de inseguridad que llevo a la muerte de Axel Blumberg.*" (Informant N° 17)

[The interviewer]

- *"Con intención de incentivar a la audiencia a seguir la lucha de Blumberg."* (Informant N° 13)

These answers show these listeners understood the interviewer being considerate of the interviewee's cause.

In line 46, Carlos Monti introduced a shift in topic towards the private life of his interviewee and he showed that linguistically by naming him by his first name, in a more personal tone, before introducing his question:

Monti   *Seguramente. Eh... Carlos, una pregunta, ¿cómo es vivir sin Axel?*

The answer to this question was predictable, as it referred to human suffering, and it projected a sensitive interviewer who showed consideration for the inner feelings of his interlocutor besides his public and political actions. His consideration was shown by the very fact of introducing the topic and by the space he opened for Blumberg to express his emotions and to share them with the audience.

Informants' observations

[The interviewer]

- *"hace las preguntas que resumen un poco su causa, y muestran su dolor. Su modo de hablar muestra seriedad y respeto por el tema, aunque también parece incomodarle preguntar por un tema tan sensible y doloroso."* (Informant N° 10)

[The interviewee]

- *"El padre de Axel muestra una gran fuerza interior y es admirable su valentía."* (Informant N° 4)
- *"Contesta preguntas muy personales (ej. Como se siente viviendo sin Axel)."* (Informant N° 13)

- **Text 1TV**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Sergio Iribarren

In a section of this text, Gelblung proposed a particular 'socio-cultural framing' (Coupland, 2007), pretending to be a patient who needed to lose weight and went to the guest's institute for treatment. He did so in order to provide the audience with an example with which they could identify, and in so doing he spoke from a position nearer the private lives of the programme spectators (line 25).

> G.   *A ver explicame el procedimiento. Yo voy [l. sí] a tu consultorio, voy a tu a tu instituto y digo bueno, está bien, estoy gordo y quiero bajar de peso. Vos lo primero que hacés ¿me pesás? O o o digo, no. [l. No] Vos no me pesás.*

From then on, the interviewee tried to explain procedures and the interviewer questioned him about his sayings and about certain details in the treatment described, often interrupting his talk (lines 30-40)

> I.   *[...] básicamente le vamos a ofrecer 72 horas para que pueda ganar la sobriedad que una persona que está con exceso de comida encima no tiene.*
> C.G.   *y 72 horas yo tengo que hacer **restricción de comida***
> I.   ***No es restricción de comida**. Tiene que elegir poder restarse de un exceso durante 72 horas, a lo cual nosotros le apoyamos con un grupo...*
> C.G.   *|pero ¿vos me controlás o yo o vas a confiar en mí?*
> I.   *No, no. yo lo voy a ver todos los días. Esas 72 horas nos vamos a seguir en un grupo, todos los días*
> C.G.   *|y ¿cómo sabés que yo hice **la restricción**?*
> I.   *No, **no es una restricción***

These lines show the participants had a conflict with respect to some terminology they used and to the grammatical person they chose for their utterances. The specialist corrected the interviewer as regards a term he used when the latter was putting into words what he understood from the interviewee's sayings. These formulations (Fairclough, 1992), and several others in the rest of the interview, may have been meant for the audience so that the expert's words were clear enough. They also added informality to the discourse. In this way, the interviewer projected a non-specialist audience, in a private sphere, an audience interested in the topic in need of straightforward explanation. As regards the grammatical person mentioned above, the interviewer used the first person singular, making his questions personal ("*yo tengo que hacer restricción*", "*vos me controlás*", "*si yo puedo*", "*si estoy en condiciones*", etc), while the interviewee used the third person, an impersonal and more professional style, as if he had been talking of a hypothetical other ("*le vamos a ofrecer*", "*tiene que elegir*", "*que no lo soporte*", "*que pueda hacer ese corte*", this is a third person not a formal second person). The linguistic mechanisms described made the interviewer project an identity of someone who tried to make concepts simple and easy to grasp. He showed himself as an ordinary, straightforward person who wanted things made clear for his audience. Iribarren's use of an impersonal third person showed his resistance to accept the 'private world' socio-cultural framing proposed by Gelblung. He also showed this through the many

nominalizations he used, that turned his speech more technical, words such as *"relación adictiva"*, *"adelgazamiento"*, *"curación"*, *"tratamiento"*, *"éxito en el adelgazamiento"*, *"motilidad"*, among others. This change in 'socio-cultural framings' manifested in the change from formal and impersonal to more informal and personal wordings evidenced the tension between the public and the private spheres (Fairclough 1992); while the specialist described his treatment from a public stance, using the scientific knowledge, the interviewer made an effort to word the specialist's sayings into the voice of the lifeworld, appealing to an audience in their everyday lives.

Informants' observations:

[The function of the interview]

- *"Tiene la función de entretener a la audiencia."* (Informant N° 7)

[The interviewer]

- *"Presupone que esas son las preguntas que haría la audiencia."* (Informant N° 4)

[The interviewee]

- *"Evade entrar en detalle, claramente con el objetivo de darle oscuridad al asunto."* (Informant N° 4)

- *"Que es un chanta que vende espejos de colores... que expresa conceptos y procederes que no define."* (Informant N° 1)

- **Text 2R**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Eduardo López

As mentioned above in (i.), Text 2R showed an interviewer addressing his interviewee in a formal way, naming him by his professional role and his full name, (lines 1-3, 77-78):

G.   *Presentar al doctor Eduardo López, que es médico infectólogo y profesor de infectología pediátrica en la Universidad del Salvador. Doctor López, buenas noches, ¿cómo le va?*

G.   *[...] Bueno, doctor López le agradezco la gentileza, disculpe que lo haya molestado en este día*

Gelblung used the formal variety of the second person singular pronoun and verb in Spanish *"¿cómo **le** va?"*, *"**le** agradezco la gentileza"*, *"**disculpe** que **lo** haya molestado"*. But when the doctor had called off, he immediately changed framings and switched to the use of vulgar language, bending the rules of behaviour in the media, and giving advice to the audience to act against formal requirements by means of illegal procedures:

Lines 81-82

> G.   *[...] Mirá lo que venimos a descubrir, que el certificado prenupcial es una boludez*

Line 84

> G.   *Es una boludez atómica. [...]*

Line 92

> G: *pero te lo truchás*

Line 101

> G: *[...] esto es insalubre, loca*

This behaviour allowed him to build up his identity of a critical and autonomous person, somebody who decided how to behave irrespective of protocols and established norms, as was already commented on in (iv.). Besides, this way of speaking allowed him to cross the border from the public to the private and to project an audience who was close to him, an audience in front of which he could be extremely informal without meaning offence.

Informants' observations

[The interviewer]

- "*Vínculo cercano con la audiencia, le habla como a un amigo.*" (Informant N° 8)
- "*establece un vínculo cercano con la audiencia.*" (Informant N° 2)

Another way interviewers projected themselves close to the audience was by means of informal direct address.

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

In text 3TV, the interviewer, Luis Majul, did precisely that (lines 37-50):

> M.   *[...] yo **te** quiero hablar de un pequeño Cromañón que sucedió esta semana [...] ¿**Sabés** cuál es el problema? [...] ¿**sabés** cuál es mi miedo? El mismo miedo que tenía **Jorge** [...] después de todo **el balurdo que se hizo**, después de nosotros los medios **haciendo tachín tachín con todo esto**, [...] vamos a seguir siendo un país de **miércoles***

He referred to the audience with the informal variant of the second person singular pronoun and verbs, as if he had been talking to just one other person from a close circle. Besides, he talked about personal matters "*mi miedo*" and referred to his guest in the studio as "*Jorge*", as if he had been talking about a friend in common. His language was particularly informal and he used words such as "*balurdo*" or "*tachín tachín*" (*inf.* 'to make a noise') to refer to the treatment the media had given to a certain piece of news, or the

expression *"un país de miércoles"* (*inf.* 'rubbish of a country') to qualify our country very negatively, in ways someone would do while having a private casual conversation. Through these mechanisms, Majul addressed the audience in their private sphere, speaking to them as if he had been a close acquaintance in the living room of their houses.

Other cases in the corpus in which interviewers projected a similar identity are shown in the following table:

The private also matters			
Linguistic resources		**Text**	**Examples**
Wordings	Addressing the private, feelings, everyday lives	5TV	T: [...] ¿*Qué se siente* ser un disidente, que de repente alguno te traiga te trate de traidor, que Kunkel **te diga hijo de puta** cuando estabas en en el congreso, que otros digan "y... es un megalómano"? esteh... uno lee la prensa y ve que la casa rosada está todo el tiempo tirándote cosas. ¿*Qué se siente?* (lines 136-149)
		8TV	MG Bueno, eh... usted sabe que cuando se cumplió... el año **yo le escribí una carta a usted,** y... me voy a atrever, me voy a atrever a pedir que la lean, si usted acepta JCB sí, sí, que la lean MG porque... primero que no la quiero leer yo porque **soy medio flojón para estas cosas**. Le voy a pedir a Fernando que la lea... eh... es lo que yo pienso sobre esto, **es lo que yo siento** sobre esto, y me animo a pensar que no soy el único que siente y que piensa lo que va a leer esa **carta que era privada y que ahora es pública** y que le pido a Fernando que la lea (lines 107-114)
Functions	Questions that address personal issues, such as feelings, private world relations, etc	11TV	ML *Él planteó así ... ministro una cuestión una consideración sobre el presi...***sobre el carácter del presidente, y el modo que tiene el presidente de operar con sus ministros.** ¿*Es así esto?* (lines 53-55)

vi.   A closer relationship with the interviewees

Sometimes, with the purpose of reaching the audience in their private worlds, interviewers were eager to project a relationship with their interviewees which went beyond the professional, a closer bond with their interlocutors which granted them the right to treat them more informally and to address more personal questions. The kind of interaction that

resulted was similar to the one discussed in (ii), but in this case the interviewers projected an interpersonal framing (Coupland, 2007) which revealed a relational history that afforded a more intimate way of address of their interviewees.

Some examples in the data:

- **Text 3R**: Antonio Carrizo interviewing Horacio González

In this case, Carrizo addressed González by his first name and with the informal nomination *"che"*, but in a respectful way, through the use of the formal variant of second person pronouns in Spanish (line 2):

> C. *Che Horacio, bueno a usted lo acusan de Groussaquiano [...]*

After the first topic proposed by the interviewer had been developed, Carrizo took the floor again speaking topically, referring to a part of his interlocutor's contribution and changing the main point of the conversation. This happened more than once, from lines 27 to 63, which constitutes one third of the whole interaction, and it contributed to making the interview look like a casual conversation between equals. At the moment of closing the interaction, Carrizo greeted González goodbye with an expression that showed he had to finish the conversation because of other obligations, and his interlocutor manifested his feeling of sadness about the interaction's end, projecting friendship (lines 101-102).

> C. *Horacio, lo tengo que dejar, Horacio.*
> G. *bueno, Antonio, qué pena porque siempre iniciamos grandes conversaciones*

Informants' observations:

[The interviewer]

- *"por momentos entabla un diálogo amistoso, informal como dejando ver que existe una relación mas alla de la función que cumple cada uno. Y que ambos se respetan intelectualmente."* (Informant N° 9)

[The interviewee]

- *"se tratan tutean y al final se demuestra que tiene una relación más cercana de lo que inicialmente creía."* (Informant N° 3)

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

A similar case was seen in Text 3TV, in which the interviewer projected a relationship with his interviewee which went beyond the professional. Majul greeted his interviewee in a very informal way, calling him by his first name and using the pronominal and verb forms corresponding to informal Spanish (line 6)

> M. *Jorge, buenas noches, ¿cómo estás?*

Later on, in lines 57-59, the interviewer made explicit the fact that he met the interviewee from time to time, apart from when they met at work

> M.   eh... nosotros de vez en cuando nos encontramos, y yo la verdad que más allá de lo que te veo en pantalla – y te veo bastante – te veo siempre un tipo preocupado por las cosas que pasan en el país. Seguís preocupado, y muy

He made that comment for the sake of the audience, and to make it clear that they had a relationship which was closer than that of colleagues. When he presented the topics to be dealt with, he made reference to 'algunas cosas personales' and he showed respect for the privacy of his addressee when he explicitly gave him the freedom to decide not to talk about these issues.

Informants' observations:

[The interviewer]

- "lo tutea, mostrando que mantienen una relación que va más allá de entrevistador y entrevistado." (Informant N° 3)

[The interviewee]

- "[relación con el entrevistador] cercana, se conocen fuera del ámbito laboral." (Informant N° 3)

4.2   Their interviewees

Identity is a joint construction, which means that it gets negotiated in discourse. Interviewers project and attempt to impose identities on their interviewees, defining for them a position from which to participate in the conversation. Interviewees' acceptance or resistance are the evidence of that imposition.

i.   Valuable interviewees in their public role

Often interviewers refer to their interviewee as someone worthy of being interviewed, someone whose activities and opinions are valuable. They may signal this by giving their interviewees the chance of holding the floor uninterruptedly for a long period of time, or by qualifying their interviewee's public activities with positive appraising lexis, especially within the system of judgement.

Some examples from the corpus:

- **Text 1R**: Carlos Monti and Claudia Medic interviewing Carlos Blumberg

Claudia Medic projected on the interviewee the identity of someone fighting for a worthwhile cause characterizing Blumberg as a strong defendant of it and as a sympathetic person who helped people undergoing the same situation he had gone through. The journalist did so by means of a positive appreciation of his actions *"una lucha incesante"* as well as a positive moral judgement amplified by the adverb *"mucho"*. These wordings tinted the whole framing of her question with a positive prosody. The question she asked was an explicit request for opinion, signalling an interviewee whose opinions were valued (lines 21-24).

> Medic   [...] *la pregunta es la siguiente, usted eh ha comenzado una lucha incesante, a partir de lo que ha sucedido con su hijo y ha apoyado mucho a las familias de de las víctimas, ¿no? ¿Qué es lo que usted cree que ha mejorado, a partir de esa lucha, y qué es lo que falta, todavía?*

Blumberg took on the identity imposed on him as he answered accordingly, using also positive appraising lexis to refer to his own activities, such as *"se **han conseguido** leyes"* (lines 25-26), *"se **ha mejorado** en muchos aspectos"* (line 27), *"esa **cruzada por la vida de nuestros hijos**"* (line 28), among others, in a long contribution (from lines 25 to 45).

Informants' observations
[The interviewer]

- *"Los entrevistadores se posicionan a favor de la causa del padre de Axel, alentándolo y dándole mucha importancia al tema."* (Informant N° 4)

[The interviewee]

- *"El padre de Axel muestra una gran fuerza interior y es admirable su valentía."* (Informant N° 4)

- **Text 2 TV**: Gustavo Silvestre interviewing Daniel Filmus

Filmus was addressed as someone committed to the defence of human rights and this is the perspective from which he had to provide his opinion (lines 200-205):

> S.   *Ministro, antes de despedirlo, eh... usted que es un hombre desde hace muchos años comprometido en la defensa de los derechos humanos, eh... [...]*

This was done through categorical modality (verb 'to be' in the present simple) and by presupposing this fact, backgrounded in the defining relative clause: *"usted que es un hombre..."*. Filmus offered evidence of accepting this identity when he answered

F.   [...] *nuestra sociedad se ha comprometido con la vigencia plena de los derechos humanos, que desapariciones nunca más* (lines 208-209) [...]
el gobierno va a seguir avanzando en esta política porque no hay otra forma que no sea con la plena vigencia de los derechos humanos, no hay otra forma que no sea con el fin de la impunidad, con la vigencia de la justicia (lines 211-213) [...]

This was also a long uninterrupted contribution (from lines 206 to 215), in which Filmus, as a minister, spoke representing the government and defending human rights.

Informants' observations:

[The interviewer]

- *"La audiencia recibe "subliminalmente" publicidad del candidato oficial del gobierno nacional."* (Informant N° 11)

- *"le cede la autoridad al entrevistado. Le demuestra respeto."* (Informant N° 2)

- **Text 3R**: Antonio Carrizo interviewing Horacio González

In this interview, the interviewer presented his interviewee in his professional role, as somebody important and with high cultural value. He mentioned this explicitly to the audience in an aside (lines 27-29)

C.   *Horacio, les les aclaro a los muchachos que entraron recién, es el director de la Biblioteca Nacional, González, un... ah **un hombre de un de una de un alto nivel cultural** [...]*

The interviewee accepted this role and answered accordingly, using formal and technical language, and referring to cultural issues (lines 35-40).

H.G. |*Bueno pero ju ju justamente Antonio están tomados de ahí, están tomados de un **nivel del lenguaje** anterior a **la articulación de la palabra** más compleja, pero eso no le quita interés, al contrario. Es una **profunda renovación de las maneras de hablar**, de toda la la **arquitectura** de los idiomas contemporáneos, no no no estamos hablando y escribiendo igual después de las **grandes intervenciones tecnológicas** [bueno] en el cuerpo de la lengua.*

Informants' observations:

[The interviewee]

- *"con deseos de explayarse más y de debatir otros temas." "que le cuesta resumir todo lo que tiene por decir."* (Informant N° 3)

- **Text 5R**: Diego Valenzuela interviewing Susana Andrada

Towards the end of this interview, Valenzuela polarized using the second person plural to refer to his interviewee as the knowledgeable person (lines 52-54)

> V.   *y en general eh, ¿ustedes qué dicen **que siguen este tema... eh al detalle**? Esta sensación de... una inflación que baja por acuerdo de precios, pero una inflación paralela..., en otros productos?*

The interviewee accepted this position of 'the ones who know' by answering categorically about what the policy of the government was (lines 55-57), linguistically marked by the modalizer "evidentemente" and the use of present simple of the verb to be:

> A.   *Mire, acá, el gobierno **evidentemente** tiene una sola preocupación y **es el frío número** de los datos estadísticos que la inflación no llegue a dos dígitos [V. mhm] a fin de año, **eso es la única preocupación** del gobierno.*

Informants' observations:
[The interviewer]

- *"El entrevistador se posiciona a nivel inferior que el entrevistado y establece un vínculo cercano con la audiencia. Él está representando a la audiencia."* (Informant N° 2)

- *"Lo deja que opine [al entrevistado] y en partes acompaña su posición."* (Informant N° 5)

ii.   A special interviewee

On occasions, interviewers project interviewees as different from others in similar public roles. Linguistically, they highlight this condition of being special by means of explicit comparison with others, or by defining the interviewee in terms of certain characteristics.

In samples from the corpus:

- **Text 1TV**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Sergio Iribarren

Gelblung imposed on Iribarren the identity of "a different specialist in dieting", which the interviewee had to support. This intention of showing differences was made explicit in the first part of the interview (lines 1 to 10).

> G.   *Contame un poco tu historia y por qué hacés bajar de peso vos... Y por qué dicen que sos el **nuevo** gurú de las dietas*
>
> I.   *Bueno no sé por qué dicen eso. Yo te cuen le comento un poco... como lo como lo encaramos nosotros... [G. sí] yo no lo encaro solo, lo encaro con un equipo que está constituido por médicos*
>
> G.   *como tod... pero TOdo el èèMUNdo encara así*
>
> I.   *sí, pero básicamente, quizás la diferencia es que nosotros lo tratamos eh como una adicción sin ceder ni un poquito a la adicción, es decir lo tratamos [G. a ver?] básicamente como una adicción*

The word "*nuevo*" has a positive connotation and roughly means the opposite to "more of the same". The interviewee seemed to resist the identity imposed on him at the very beginning, defending himself of what looked like an accusation based on rumours ('*dicen que*'). This resistance was seen at the beginning of his answer when he said 'I don't know why they say so', and then proceeded to refer to his activities. But later on, Gelblung insisted on his previous imposition with his following contribution which functioned as a reproach, on account of the adversative conjunction "*pero*" and the falling tonic on "*mundo*". The placing of the tonic in this case gives emphasis to what everybody does, and the falling tone shows authority on the part of the speaker (Tench, 1996). The graphic below shows the speaker's voice rises dramatically on the tonic syllable "*MUNdo*", up to approximately 300hz, and falls to the baseline, on 71 hz.
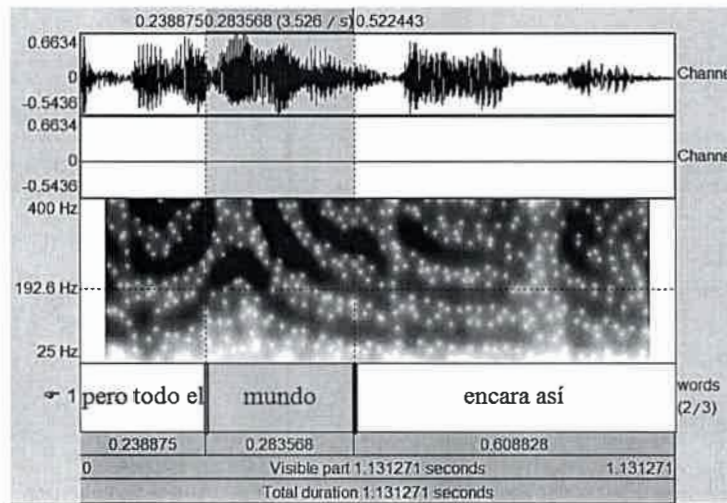
This attitude from the host of the programme made Iribarren accept the imposition. He made an effort to answer accordingly, through his use of the conjunction '*pero*' and the heavy modalization which helped him comply with this imposed identity ('*básicamente, quizás la diferencia es*', '*ceder ni un poquito*', '*es decir*', '*básicamente*').

Later in the conversation, the interviewer made references again to his willingness of showing the ways in which his interlocutor was different from others, in lines 102-104 and Iribarren accepted the role by answering (line 106) with the adversative '*pero*', highlighting his difference through contrast

> G.   *acá... yo te explico por qué te hago todas estas preguntas... para tratar un poco de entender por qué digamos... todas las dietas más o menos son parecidas,* [...]
>
> I.   **pero** *por eso no hay que hacer una dieta*

Then, in lines 132-138, Iribarren showed his acceptance of the identity imposed on him through a difference in terminology

> G. *Ahora bien. Yo lo que digo es lo siguiente. Mu... el el grupo funciona porque digo, que se yo, Ravena, por ejemplo, funciona con grupos, ¿sí? Cormillot funciona con ALCO, grupos y todo esto. Los grupos existen. Yo estoy tratando de ver cuál es la diferencia concreta de... el método tuyo. Eh... Si yo, si yo no participo del grupo, ¿no puedo hacer la dieta?*
> I. *No es una dieta, es un tratamiento*

Besides assigning the identity of a "special specialist" to the addressee, these lines also contributed to the projection of a knowledgeable interviewer mentioned before in 4.1 (i.); somebody who knows about the topic in a way that allows him to recognize what is different.

Towards the end of the conversation, the interviewer played with the meaning of the word 'guru' as 'exotic' and the interviewee's looks, - casual and long-haired -, and asked his guest a question about his appearance. This is another instance in which the interviewer wanted to impose the image of "a different specialist" on the interviewee on account of his look (lines 277-280).

> G. *'ta bien. y el look tuyo ese da da para...*
> I. *es que yo soy así... nada más*
> G. *no porque aparte viste como gurú, digo en una de esas da con el look también*

Informants' observations:

[The interviewee]

- *"Evade entrar en detalle, claramente con el objetivo de darle oscuridad al asunto. De este modo logra un mayor atractivo."* (Informant N° 4)

- *"Busca transmitir que su manera de ayudar es innovadora pero a la vez simple y efectiva."* (Informant N° 7)

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

This text shows an interviewee being characterized and imposed upon with an identity from the very beginning of the programme. (lines 2-4):

> M. *[...] Tenemos un programa realmente fuerte y polémico. Por ejemplo está Jorge Rial. Quince millones de personas, entre 11 y 15 dicen ¿eh? Ven la televisión todos los días en horario central. Y la guerra se viene. [...]*

From the very first lines, the interviewer addressed the audience directly projecting an interviewee associated with polemical and aggressive debates, as he was introduced as

an example of how strong and polemical the programme would be. Further on, a voice-over reinforced this identity (lines 51-52):

> OFF   *Esta noche, Jorge Rial. En la semana en que estalló la guerra de los canales, el **campeón invicto** de los programas de espectáculos **ataca** de nuevo.*

The interviewee was characterised as a fighter and a winner, somebody who 'attacks' giving his critical point of view as regards social reality. Later on, the interviewer anticipated a further characterization of his guest to the audience in these lines (92-93):

> M.   *[...] pero ahora vamos a hablar de de **del Rial que menos conocen**... el Rial **en serio***

This introduction suggests that what was about to come between lines 91-111, showed a particular description of the addressee. Majul seems to be playing with the polysemy of the expression "*en serio*", which can refer to 'a serious description', or to the interviewee when he is 'serious', or when he deals with 'serious topics'. The description presented consisted of a video made up of short clips that showed Rial on the screen in his own TV programme, and others that showed salient topics in the news, which the addressee was supposed to discuss and criticize. A voice-over oriented the audience as regards what they were watching

> OFF   *es el **duro del espectáculo** y el **eterno cuco** de los famosos. Pero además, Jorge Rial siempre mostró sus **colmillos de periodista de raza** frente a la realidad del país.* (clips): JR: *"políticos que vienen agarrados al sillón del poder, porque les quiero decir algo, con todo el corazón, **váyanse a la reputísima madre que los parió**" [...] "¿no tendría que estar preso usted, y no en un set de televisión?" [...]* OFF: *Hoy, otra vez, la Argentina vuelve a dejar la mesa servida para que se siente **el gran intruso**. [...]*

This introduction positioned the interviewee in the role of a tough critic, as someone who analyses reality and does not mince his words when talking about others. He was put in the position of an intruder who is feared by the famous because he criticizes them without restraint.

Rial accepted the identity imposed on him and answered accordingly, producing a coherent story line with Majul, when he criticized politicians bitterly and showed his strong opinions, as in the following lines:

Lines 112-118

> L. M.   *Empecemos por el principio, Jorge. A veintidós meses de iniciada, **¿cómo ves la gestión de Kirchner?***

> J. R.   *A mí me se... a mí me sigue gustando... [...] viste eh... entonces hay algunas cosas de él...* **tendría que ser menos calentón**, *no puede hacer un gobierno de choque todo el tiempo peléandose con todos. [...]*

In his criticism, Rial made a negative reference of the president, assuming he was bad-tempered. Later, he also criticized one of the government ministers in lines 154-155, stating that he was not tactful enough

> J. R.   *[...] Ginés tiene derecho a... a dar su opinión, a veces siento que* **siendo ministro te tenés que medir un poco más** *[...]*

Lines 42-43

> J.R.   *[...] Lo de Baseotto fue lamenta... horrible, fue una estupidez grande como una c... no... la verdad fue una cosa terrible*

Rial also projected himself as someone with firm opinions about topics in the news. These opinions were sometimes manifested in extreme positioning with respect to certain topics, as it was shown in lines 78-84:

> J.R.   *[...] y creo que Callejeros también tiene responsabilidades, Luis, creo que también tiene responsabilidades como las tiene Chabán, obviamente*
> L.M. |*yo sí, yo creo que menos pero no pero también las tiene*
> J.R. |**es que no hay menos**. *Murieron s... casi doscientos chicos,* **no hay menor o mayor** *res... hay responsabilidades. Eh... yo ahora,* **además de responsables quiero culpables**, *porque* **acá hay culpables**. *Esto está claro.*

Informants' observations:

[The interviewee]

- *"Está molesto por algunos problemas puntuales, pero no con el entrevistador."* (Informant N° 12)

- *"Le gusta que lo escuchen dar opiniones, aunque se contradiga. Usa un lenguaje casi 'callejero'."* (Informant N° 18)

iii.   <u>An equal</u>

As it was mentioned in 4.1 (ii), often interviewers project an interviewee as their equal, that is to say, not as an expert but rather as a colleague. On these occasions, the interaction resembles a discussion on a certain topic more than an interview.

The examples below show interviewees' responses to the ones quoted above (4.1 ii), where it is evident that they accepted this identity of 'equals' imposed on them.

- **Text 3R**: Antonio Carrizo interviewing Horacio González

(lines 35-37)

> H.G.   *Bueno pero ju ju justamente Antonio están tomados de ahí, están tomados de un nivel del lenguaje anterior a la articulación de la palabra más compleja, pero eso no le quita interés, al contrario [...]*

(lines 51-53)

> H.G.   *No, pero esta es muy bueno el ejemplo porque el único que revela eso es que hay que tener lucidez y conciencia respecto de cómo se usa el idioma en relación a los grandes modelos tecnológicos*

In these examples, the interviewee accepted and positively evaluated opinions given by Carrizo and expanded on them. The evaluation was given by the appraising items *'justamente'*, *'muy bueno'* and the expression *'eso no le quita interés, al contrario.'*

Besides, the way of addressing the interviewer by his first name also showed he accepted to treat his interlocutor on equal grounds.

Informants' observation:

[The interviewee]

- *"Que ambos comparten un espacio común, un diálogo entre pares. Respeto y empatías mutuas."* (Informant N° 12)

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

The example quoted above in ii. (lines 78-84) showed Rial treating Majul as an equal, addressing him directly and naming him by his first name (*[...] y creo que Callejeros también tiene responsabilidades, Luis, creo que también tiene responsabilidades [...]*), suggesting the message was especially for him as what he was saying contradicted what Majul had said in his introduction to the topic in lines 44-45.

> L.M.   *[...], estaba pensando en la banda, aunque yo particularmente creo que... quizá no sean responsables, [...]*

It is clear how Majul tried to 'accommodate' his message at that moment, in view of the interviewee's words, heavily modalising his expression with a hedge and an ambiguous comparative "*yo creo que menos pero*", which caused Rial's reaction and his manifesting his strong positioning.

Informants' observations:

[The interviewee]

- *"Se relaciona con el entrevistador de igual a igual."* (Informant N° 6)

4.3 Their audience

In interviews, audiences constitute a powerful third participant, as they are the ultimate addressees of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. Frequently, interviewers project a certain identity on their audiences through their linguistic behaviour.

i. Interested in public matters

In some cases, interviewers speak to their audiences as if they were interested in the public matters dealt with in the programmes. They propose a framing within which the knowledge about certain public events and issues is important and they assume the role of providers of this information for their audiences. It is noticeable how interviewers repeat and reinforce certain information that they consider of interest for their spectators. On occasions audiences are addressed directly, by means of the second person singular pronoun, the informal variety in Spanish 'vos'.

- **Text 1R**: Carlos Monti and Claudia Medic interviewing Carlos Blumberg

The interviewer imagined an audience interested in getting details about a religious event, willing to join the interviewee in a cause against crime. The precise information for the event was mentioned four times along a rather short conversation (7:48 minutes), in line 9 Blumberg gave the details and Monti repeated them on lines 14, 91 and 97. Monti referred to the audience indirectly and in the plural after the interview had finished and presupposed through his wordings that they were willing to participate in the event, and that they sympathized with the interviewee's cause. This was done through his positive evaluation (judgement) of the people attending the mass (lines 98-99)

> M.   *[...] Eh... aquellos **que quieran ir**, obviamente también pueden **contribuir a ayudar, a ser solidarios** llevando un alimento no perecedero [...]*

Informants' observations:

[The audience]

- *"es a la audiencia (interesada) a quienes se convoca a participar de esta misa. A alguien que le interesa informarse y que esta al tanto del tema."* (Informant N° 17)
- *"La audiencia tiene participación en el sentido que se le informa del lugar y el horario de la misa, y el modo de participar, simplemente. Le hablan a todo aquel*

que quiera compartir el dolor, que quiera participar de la misa, independientemente si sabe o no del tema." (Informant N° 10)

- **Text 5TV**: Marcelo Zlotogwiazda and Ernesto Tenembaum interviewing Felipe Solá

In this text, Zlotogwiazda started the conversation by addressing the audience directly and picturing listeners who were interested in the political situation of the country but who were mere spectators of this reality, spectators who might have missed some details of how affairs had been and who would have liked a summary of the most salient events. This was shown in lines 5 to 43, when Zlotogwiazda introduced the account he was about to give as if it had been a gift for the audience, and referred to it as a 'story', a 'movie'

> Z.   *eh... antes de empezar el reportaje, **para vos** eh... **la historia, la película** de las retenciones es muy conocida pero después de cuatro meses de conflicto **ya muchos se perdieron de cómo empezó** esta historia y hasta dónde llegó [...] **esta película** terminó acá o lo que **vas a ver** ahí **no se pierda el próximo capítulo**, que será un final feliz, vaya a saber...*

The intertextual ending of his contribution (*"no se pierda el próximo capítulo"*) reinforced the image of a soap opera, and projected an audience interested in the topic but as outsiders who got entertainment by just observing what was going on.

Informants' observations:

[The audience]

- *"La entrevista está dirigida a gente que le interesen las cuestiones políticas y tengan alguna idea de los temas que se tratan."* (Informant N° 2)

ii.   In their private worlds, interested in the private lives of public figures

Interviewers often project audiences in their private lives, focusing on the fact that spectators receive programmes in the privacy of their homes. As it was already discussed in 4.1 (v), interviewers address audiences in their private spheres, often using informal language as if they were talking to a close acquaintance. In several cases, the audience is referred to by means of the second person singular pronoun and verb form, as '*vos*', as if it were only one person listening.

Besides, some interviewers engage their interviewees in discussing topics related to their private lives, projecting an audience interested in the everyday lives of public figures.

Other examples from the corpus:

- **Text 1R**: Carlos Monti and Claudia Medic interviewing Carlos Blumberg

In this interview, Monti referred especially to Blumberg's private life, especially as regards his relationship with his dead son.

Lines 46 and 53-54

Monti.   *Seguramente. Eh... Carlos, una pregunta. ¿Cómo es vivir sin Axel?*

Monti.   *Mmm. Eh... yo leí un reportaje del fin de semana que usted eh... todas las noches va y le rinde cuentas a Axel*

These lines projected an audience interested in what happens inside the interviewee's home.

Informants' observations

[The audience]

- *"La audiencia seguramente se siente conmovida y es posible que haya un buen porcentaje de ellos que vayan al acto."* (Informant N° 4)

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

In this interview, Majul mentioned explicitly that he wanted to address personal issues with his addressee (lines 91-92)

M.   *después vamos a hablar de la tele [J.R. sí...] de algunas cosas que tienen que ver con tu profesión, de algunas personales, si no te molesta [J.R. no]... pero ahora [...]*

- **Text 9R**: Néstor Sclauzero interviewing Máximo Ravena

The following example shows an interviewer addressing a topic that concerned the private lives of the audience. He introduced the topic referring to Christmas and New Year celebrations and the fact that people eat more than they should. He interviewed a doctor for advice on this matter (lines 5-9).

S.   *Bien, hablábamos aquí un poquito de lo que.., de lo que sucede en esta época del año en donde después de comer quizás más de lo habitual para las fiestas, [...] ¿Cuál es la sugerencia que puede dar para estos días, doctor?*

Informants' observations:

[The interviewer]

- *"Considera a la audiencia, la hace parte de la situación, pregunta en nombre de ella."* (Informant N° 6)
- *"se pone en el lugar de la audiencia."* (Informant N° 3)

- *"Se posiciona de parte de la audiencia, creo, porque le hace preguntas que cualquier oyente podría hacerle a un médico nutricionista en cuanto a la estética, después de las fiestas y en verano sobre todo."* (Informant N° 15)

[The audience]

- *"Imagino que alta porque da herramientas que se pueden llevar a cabo de inmediato. Es un tema que interesa y del que se habla muchísimo a esa altura del año."* (Informant N° 9)

- *"Está directamente dirigida a cada uno de los oyentes, es un tema que le interesa a todos."* (Informant N° 6)

- *"parece muy importante ya que el tema tratado afecta a muchas personas, principalmente mujeres jóvenes y adultas."* (Informant N° 3)

iii.   Non-specialist

Apart from projecting audiences in the privacy of their homes, often interviewers also address them as lay audiences. They project spectators who are not professional and who do not have scientific knowledge, or who are not interested in intellectual debates or complex lines of reasoning. In these cases, interviewers pretend to place themselves on their audience's shoes.

One example of this has already been discussed in 4.1 (v), in text 1TV, in which the audience was projected in their private worlds, as non-specialists and in need of clear, straightforward explanations.

Other examples:

- **Text 7R**: Marcelo Pinto interviewing María Marta Contrini

In this text, Pinto asked the expert about an illness which was common in children at the time of the interview. The doctor responded extensively, giving details about the illness and mentioning the typical symptoms. After this, the interviewer asked a question that led the specialist to talk about a concrete situation of a parent observing these symptoms in their child:

> P.   *Doctora, eh m… en el caso de que uno… eh… alguno de los padres… vea los síntomas en el en el chico. ¿Qué es lo que qué es lo que aconseja? ¿Llevarlo inmediatamente al médico de manera urgente? Eh… ¿ver el tema de la alimentación?*

In these lines, Pinto projected a lay audience, in need of advice on concrete situations.

Informants' observations:

[The interviewer]

- *"La audiencia ignorante. [Habla] Desde un lugar de 'desventaja intelectual', que no sabe nada del tema."* (Informant N° 1)

- *"Toma el rol de persona desconocedora de la enfermedad, aunque seguramente ha investigado y sabe más de lo que demuestra. Intenta tomar la posición de la persona común, padre preocupado por sus hijos menores. Pregunta como preguntaría una de esas personas."* (Informant N° 7)

- *"Se posiciona frente al entrevistado como audiencia misma, porque hace las preguntas necesarias para dar a conocer la enfermedad a partir del caso en particular y 'concientizar a los padres en la prevención'."* (Informant N° 10)

[The audience]

- *"La audiencia son todas madres... madres iguales... que nada saben."* (Informant N° 1)

- *"La audiencia que se proyecta son los padres de niños, que pueden ser afectados por la enfermedad. Busca concienciar e informarlos."* (Informant N° 10)

- **Text 9R**: Néstor Sclauzero interviewing Máximo Ravena

This text mentioned in the previous section also showed an interviewer taking the perspective of his audience, and projecting a non-specialist listener in need of concrete advice. Apart from the example already given, other questions Sclauzero asked showed the projection of this identity:

Line 36

    S: *¿Lo ideal es caminar cuánto tiempo por día?*

Line 54

    S: *la banana tiene mucho potasio y es buena, ¿no?*

Line 69

    S: *¿y qué cantidad de calorías tiene una banana?*

Line 78

    S: *eh...algunos dicen también que es bueno para el tema calambres y demás, ¿no?*

Informants' Observations:

[The interviewer]

- *"Como un oyente más que necesita de esos 'consejos'."* (Informant N° 9)

[The audience]

- *"Creo que la audiencia está reflejada de alguna forma en el entrevistador y en las preguntas que hace (...). Creo que le hablan al público en general, a pesar de que mencionan las calorías de una fruta. Quizás algunas personas puedan no saber a qué se están refiriendo específicamente, pero sí saben que en gran número no son buenas."* (Informant N° 15)

iv.   Intellectual and knowledgeable

Although this is not frequent in the corpus, the audience may also be projected as intellectual and knowledgeable with respect to certain topics.

- **Text 3R**: Antonio Carrizo interviewing Horacio González

In this text, discussed earlier in 4.1 (ii) and in 4.2 (iii), Carrizo projected an intellectual audience, interested in cultural matters and in language and literature. Although there was an explanation of one of the terms used at the beginning of the interaction (*"groussaquiano"*), the many other references and specific terms were not explained, thus projecting a knowledgeable audience.

In this chapter, the focus has been on the interviewers' projections of identities of themselves, their interlocutors and their audience. The results show that identities are co-constructed in the discourse, negotiated, challenged, accepted and refused. Participants who take control of the interaction exercise their power to impose identities and to manipulate interlocutors into accepting the imposition through linguistic means. The way they do this will be the purpose of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: ENACTING POWER TO IMPOSE IDENTITIES

Along the interviews, participants typically exercise dominance which is akin to their discursive role. In this way, interviewers control the flow of the discourse – interactional dominance (Linell, 1988) – opening and closing conversations, assigning speaker roles, and producing first-pair-parts of adjacency pairs. They also show topical dominance (Linell, 1988), selecting topics and following and policing pre-set agendas. Interviewees display quantitative dominance (Linell, 1988), taking longer turns in the interaction.

This chapter discusses dominance as a resource to impose identities, as a mechanism interviewers exploit to make their identity projections accepted by their interlocutors. Same as in chapter 4, examples from the corpus are followed by informants' observations.

The power categories described result from the analysis of the data. The dominant discursive resources referred to, by no means an exhaustive list, are grouped under the following titles: appeal to knowledge, valuable opinions, authority from outside, interactional and topical dominance, and appeal to the private sphere.

5.1 Appeal to knowledge

A frequent way to show power is by appealing to knowledge. Interviewers assume and impose their identity of knowledgeable adopting a dominant role manifested through linguistic resources. A recurrent resource in the data is the use of *categorical modality*, which allows speakers to present their sayings as non-debatable truths. Another common resource is *formulations* (Fairclough, 1992), by which interviewers paraphrase their interviewees' sayings, often altering perspectives or highlighting aspects of the information given. On occasions, interviewers *use evaluative language* in their propositions and through this resource they impose a point of view, a positioning from which their interviewees have to contribute to the conversation.

Some examples:

- **Text 1R**: Carlos Monti and Claudia Medic interviewing Carlos Blumberg

Lines 9-16:

> B.   *Sí, o sea el día... el 23, o sea el próximo miércoles a las 18 horas, [sí] en la catedral de Buenos Aires vamos a hacer una misa en memoria de Axel y de todas las víctimas del delito [ahá] Invitamos a la gente que pueda concurrir, por favor, y **pediríamos si pueden***

	llevar algún producto no perecedero, para entregárselo a Cáritas, y Cáritas lo va a distribuir entre los pobres.
Monti	*Perfecto. Esto es el 23 entonces, en la catedral, a las 6 de la tarde.*
B.	*Sí señor.*
Monti	*¿Pero no es obligación llevar el alimento perecedero?*

In the last line in the example, Monti formulated part of the previous statement by the interviewee with categorical modality in negative polarity, as a way of clarifying the information for the audience, in a dominant attempt to make requirements clearer to avoid misunderstandings.

Lines 21-24

Medic:	*Buenos días. Eh, la pregunta es la siguiente, **usted eh ha comenzado una lucha incesante**, a partir de lo que ha sucedido con con su hijo **y ha apoyado mucho** a las familias de de las víctimas, ¿no? ¿Qué es lo que usted cree que ha mejorado, a partir de esta lucha, y qué es lo que falta, todavía?*

In these lines, Claudia Medic joined in the conversation and exercised her role as interviewer by starting a new topic. She did so by means of a declarative statement, in which, through categorical modality, she brought to the fore the activity the interviewee had done as regards the cause in which he had been involved. In this statement, she showed her perspective towards these actions, as she appraised them positively (*"una lucha incesante"*), and showed positive judgement (*"ha apoyado mucho"*). This statement imposed on her interlocutor not only a topic, but also a perspective from which he was requested to answer the question that immediately followed.

Informants' observations

[The interviewer]

- *"Superioridad. Lástima. Se relaciona apelando a lo que "vende" en esa actualidad con un estilo agresivo"*. (Informant N° 16)

In this answer it is clear that the spectator perceived the interviewers' dominance with respect to the topic and the interviewee.

- **Text 2R**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Eduardo López

In lines 9-11, and again in lines 18-20, the interviewer set up not only a topic to be discussed, but also a perspective, a point of view, from which he expected his interviewee to answer:

G.	*[…] quiero que me diga entonces para qué sirve el certificado prenupcial. Digo, me parece que **ahí hay un punto que falla***

G. **para qué sirve entonces el examen prenupcial si un dato tan relevante como es si alguien en la pareja tiene HIV debiera saberse**, *más allá de que después decidan casarse o no*

The answerer had to expand on the topic, either aligning with the perspective proposed, or contradicting the interviewer. More than once in the conversation, the interviewer passed judgement in a very explicit way about the topic at hand, using emotionally loaded evaluative adjectives that required his interviewee to concur, if he was to avoid conflict and impoliteness. The use of these evaluative terms turned the statements into demands for alignment, and with the added feature of categorical modality, the claims were put forward as non-debatable. Besides, the force on the evaluative items was also marked phonologically by means of falling tonic prominence on them and higher pitch level. This happens in lines 25 and 36:

G. *Es ridículo eso, porque la sífilis se cura, el HIV, no.*

The graphic below shows the way this utterance was produced. In the first tone unit "*es riDIculo eso*", the tonic syllable exhibited a wide falling movement, showing a peak at approximately 305 hz and falling almost to the base line, at 119 hz.
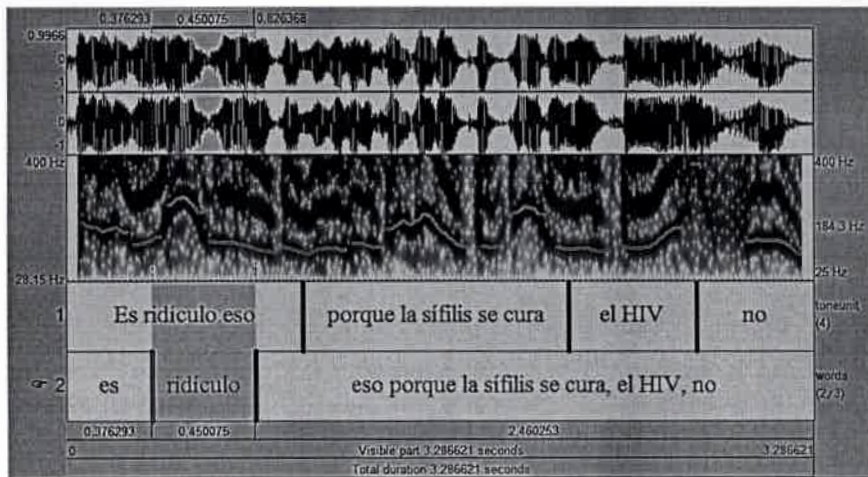
G. *Es de hace setenta años eso.*

In the same way as before, the following image shows how the tonic syllable in "*es de hace setenta Años eso*" displayed a prominent jump up in pitch and fell from approximately 330hz to the base line in 108 hz.
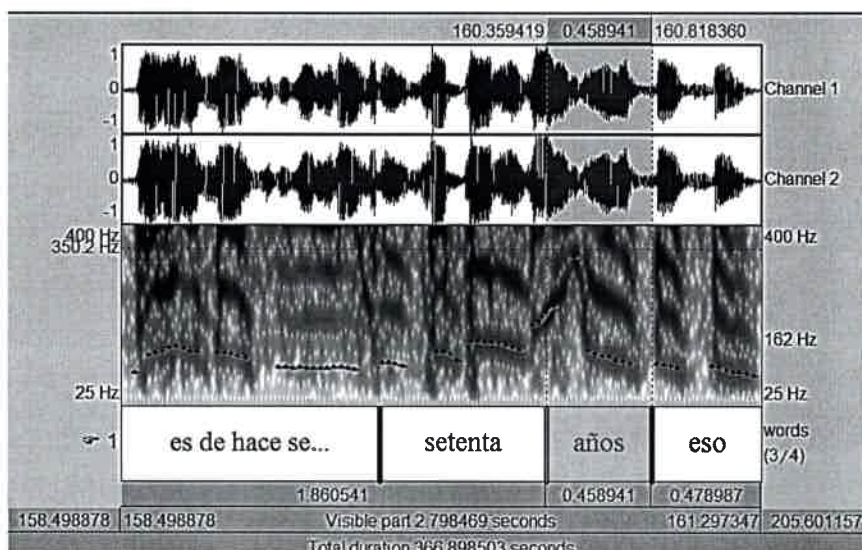
Informants' observations

[The interviewer]

- *"Incomoda al entrevistado, porque no depende de él lo que dice esa ley."* (Informant N° 5)

It can be observed that this spectator realized the degree of imposition on the part of the interviewer

- **Text 1TV**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Sergio Iribarren

As already mentioned in chapter 4, Gelblung started the conversation demanding explanations as regards his interviewee's activities, through a bald imperative (lines 1-6)

> G.   **contame [...]** y **por qué** *hacés bajar de peso vos... y* **por qué** *dicen que sos el nuevo gurú de las dietas.*
>
> I.   *Bueno, no sé por qué dicen eso. Yo te cuen le comento un poco como lo encaramos nosotros, yo no lo encaro solo, lo encaro con un equipo que está constituido por médicos*
>
> G.   *como tod... pero todo el mundo encara así.*

This introduction set the topic to be discussed around an explanation about his interlocutor's reputation, which was assumed as true, and it had the flavour of a challenge, given the categorical modality used, and the kind of answer the interviewee produced. This is a difficult question, as it asked about what others were saying, so Iribarren defended his position and resisted the alignment set for him in two ways: he first claimed ignorance and later adopted an institutional identity by means of the use of the first person plural and then the clarification of who 'us' meant. The linguistic choice of negative forms at the beginning

of the interviewee's contribution and explanation ("*no se por qué dicen eso*", "*yo no lo encaro solo*") supported the interpretation of the initial question as a kind of accusation.

In the following line (line 6), the interviewer exercised interactional dominance by taking advantage of a pause (0.52 seconds) his interviewee produced during his explanation to interrupt him and question his sayings. This interruption was not marked grammatically, as it happened at the end of a clause, but rather phonologically, as the speaker finished this clause in medium pitch and rising intonation, which indicates non-completion (Tench, 1996, p. 80). Also, following Granato (2005, p.105), utterances with rising intonation could signal non-essential information, preparatory for the crucial part that is to come. The Praat graphic below shows the ending part of the interviewee's contribution "*está constituido por médicos*", which was clearly higher in pitch than the preceding syllables, and the silence produced.
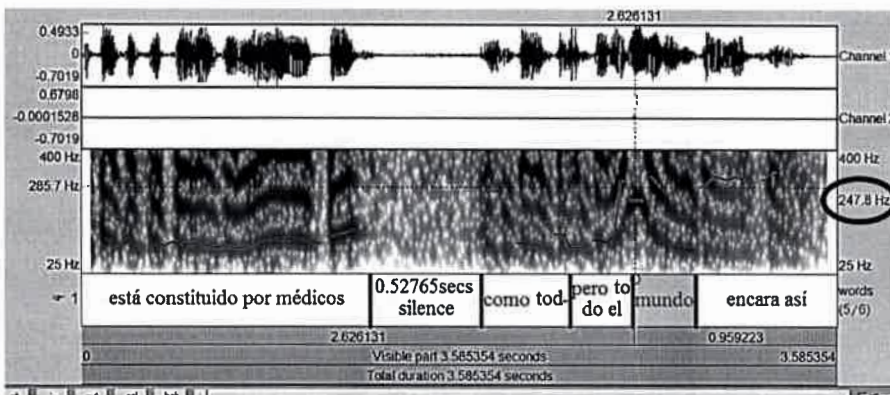
The questioning effect described above, which rendered the interviewee's contribution as a non-valid answer, was also attained by the adversative conjunction "*pero*", and the objective categorical modality used (Fairclough, 1992) provided a non-challengeable, powerful result. It was also marked phonologically. This tone unit had only one accent, which was a falling tonic, on the word "*mundo*". This word was highlighted with high pitch level (247,8Hz, see the graphic above), which was almost the highest pitch for the speaker. These elements gave great prominence to the phrase "*todo el mundo*" (everybody), realizing it as the most important part of the message, the 'New' in the information unit (Halliday & Greaves, 2008). If we considered that this was a reaction to the answer for "Why is it said that you are the new guru in dieting?", we could appreciate that this response constituted a negative evaluation of such answer.

After that, the interviewer asked for an explanation from his guest about specific wordings in the latter's sayings, as a way of policing his agenda in order to get a specific answer and avoid a vague contribution. He did so more than once, in line 10 "*a ver ¿qué*

es 'sin ceder un poquito a la adicción'" and line 16 "cuando vos decís sin concesión, o sea...". Besides, the interviewer formulated several times along the interview, showing his personal interpretation of his guest's contributions and wording them in a much more informal register:

Lines 11-14

> I.   [...] Significa que eh... nosotros partimos de la base **que la persona que viene**
>
> G. |o sea **el el el gordo** es un adicto a una droga que es la comida

Lines 22-23

> I.   **lo que nosotros tenemos que tratar primero es una adicción** [sí] que quiere decir es como si nosotros tuviésemos a alguien
>
> G.   o sea que **en vez de darle primero una dieta, tenés que corregirle la cabeza**

Other similar cases could be seen in line 32, lines 58-59, line 91, line 146, line 155, line 190, lines 206-207 and line 251. These formulations were meant for the audience and may have had the intention of making sayings clearer and more straightforward. This often implies the interviewer's negative evaluation of the guest's way of speaking as obscure and vague, as is made explicit in lines 244-247:

> G.   explícamelo en español. Explícamelo en español. Explícamelo a mí, explícamelo a mí, como si yo fuera... yo llegué al peso, ¿sí? [...]

The quote above is one among several others in which the interviewer used bald imperatives to address the specialist. The lack of distance and extreme familiarity implied in the interviewer's informal address allowed for the absence of any politic or polite behaviour in his talk (Watts, 2003), but this extreme directness did not give the interviewee choice for any alternative action and thus, the imperatives resulted in impositions and demands.

Informants' observations

[The interviewer]

- "Con autoridad. Dirigiendo y siendo el centro de atención de la entrevista (como siempre). Se dirige [al entrevistado] en forma directa y sin prestar atención a las respuestas." (Informant Nº 13)
- "[...] incluso asume una actitud desafiante o irreverente con el entrevistado, como dudando de la veracidad o respetabilidad de lo que dice." (Informant Nº 7)

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

At the beginning of the programme, Majul addressed the audience directly, speaking to the camera, and imposed his point of view about facts in the news, by means of categorical modality (lines 41-43 and 45-46)

> M.   *[...] En todos los países del mundo pueden suceder cosas como estas, pero en muy pocos países del mundo, **los que no son serios**, no hay ningún responsable. Pasaron 9 años y **no hay ningún responsable**.[...]*

> M.   *[...] estoy pensando en Aníbal Ibarra, alguna responsabilidad política, más allá de lo que diga la justicia, **asumió y debería asumir**, a mi entender aún más [...]*

In some conversations, interviewers project themselves as equals with their interviewees as regards their knowledge, and they discuss topics on equal grounds. In these cases they avoid restricting their roles to 'questioners', so they venture opinions and present topics for discussion in declarative structures, thus providing categorical information on both sides.

- **Text 3R**: Antonio Carrizo interviewing Horacio González

In this interaction, both interviewer and interviewee exercised dominance as regards their control of the topic. They showed insider knowledge with respect to what they were talking about, by different means:

a) categorical modality;

Lines 60-61

> G.   *[...] los idiomas **no son intangibles, los hacen los hablantes** mientras hablan [...]*

Line 10
> C.   *pero **hizo inventarios él***

b) Intertextuality;

Line 2

> C.   *[...] a usted **lo acusan de** Groussaquiano, [...]*

Lines 84-85
> C.   *bueno, pero yo le voy a decir algo para su tranquilidad. **Jauretche me dijo** un día que [...]*

Lines 76-78
> G.   *hoy mismo sale en... en la revista Ñ **un artículo de Carlos Altamirano** que es un a... escritor preciso y meticuloso, **diciendo precisamente** [...]*

c) specific vocabulary and references

Both interlocutors used words such as *groussaquiano, parabibliotecológico, articulación de la palabra, arquitectura de los idiomas, diafanidad del converso, verborragia, florilegios,* etc, and references to cultural thinkers such as *Groussac, Luciane Abaille, Alberto Williams, Jauretche.*

<u>Informants' observations:</u>

[The interviewer:]

- " [habla] *con conocimiento simétrico en los temas hablados, con términos acordes al entrevistado y el tópico. Posee conocimientos en cuanto al tema en discusión y en cuanto al entrevistado.*" (Informant N° 3)

- *"Que hay muchos puntos de coincidencia entre ellos."* (Informant N° 12)

- **Text 5TV**: Marcelo Zlotogwiazda and Ernesto Tenembaum interviewing Felipe Solá

In this conversation, the interviewers presented information for discussion in a categorical way, and on some occasions they showed insider knowledge by giving precise information and even contradicting their interviewee.

Lines 106-107

> Z. **Pero** a ver, el petróleo **está en 140 dólares el barril** y eh... **le cobran retenciones 100 dólares**, le dejan 42

Lines 113-115

> Z. **Pero** con **la soja a 600 dólares 48% de retención** ponele que [S: 50] produce... 50, ponéle que **produce en... eh la pampa húmeda 10000 hectáreas,** ¿**no te parece razonable**?

This last example also showed instances when interviewers opened grounds for discussion on the topic by means of asking questions which encapsulated opinion or facts, and showed uncertainty only as regards polarity. Another example from the same text:

Lines 48-52

> Z. *Ahora el gobierno* **te muestra** *modificamos, modificamos, modificamos, modificamos. Conseguimos la aprobación en diputados, y si consiguen la aprobación en el senado,* ¿**no es lo suficientemente contundente legitimidad parlamentaria**..., *y... habiendo dado ... por lo menos gestos, señales bien concretas de querer cambiar, como para terminar con el problema?*

Informants' observations:

[The interviewer]

- *"Le habla conciso y punzante por momentos. Le gusta provocar sutilmente."* (Informant N° 8)

- *"Es oficialista." "fortalecer la opinión sobre el gobierno que ha perdido una votación legislativa. Carece de objetividad."* (Informant N° 11)

- *"El entrevistador se posiciona al mismo nivel que el entrevistado. Le habla como si fuera un par. En algunos momentos pareciera que compite por hablar."* (Informant N° 2)

5.2 Valuable opinions

Another way to enact power is by restricting the kind of answer interviewees will give. Interviewers anticipate, and in this way try to impose the degree of modality and the level of commitment their interviewees will express in their contributions. Through their way of asking, they position their interlocutors as opinion givers, as someone who will offer their personal view, rather than, for example, present factual news. Frequently, opinions are evaluated positively and interviewees are given time to expand on their answers, but although valuable, their contributions are projected as subjective opinions, rather than as facts.

- **Text 1R**: Carlos Monti and Claudia Medic interviewing Carlos Blumberg

    Medic: *¿**Qué es lo que usted cree que** ha mejorado, a partir de esta lucha, y qué es lo que falta, todavía?*

This question in line 23 started with a modalizing phrase, which seemed to enforce modalization in the utterance to come; in effect, the answer included subjective modality ('I believe...').

The same situation can be observed in the following examples:

- **Text 2TV**: Gustavo Silvestre interviewing Daniel Filmus

In this interview, Silvestre asked Filmus for opinions at different points.

Line 68:

    S.   *¿por qué Filmus y no Tellerman en el apoyo presidencial, **cree usted**?*

Line 176:

    S.   *¿**Cómo se ve**... acompañado en la fórmula por María Laura Leguizamón?*

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

Lines 112-113

> M.   *Empecemos por el principio Jorge. A veintidós meses de iniciada, **¿cómo ves** la gestión de Kirchner?*

Lines 157-160

> M.   *eh... Jorge, en el fondo de esta discusión hay una pelea que tiene que ver con la legalización del aborto... Parte del gobierno lo quiere llevar adelante [J.R. sí], da la cifra, dice que va a ser mejor. **Yo por lo que entiendo, yo creo que no estás muy de acuerdo con la legalización** [del aborto]*

Line 197

> M.   *¿y el caso Terri Schiavo? **¿Cuál es tu mirada?***

Lines 117-119

> R.   *[...] no puede hacer un gobierno de choque todo el tiempo peleándose con todos, me parece que...*
> L.M. |***vos sentís** que está mal que se pelee con todos*

This last example shows how Majul, through a formulation, repeated what Rial had said turning it into a personal opinion, imposing in this way subjective modality on his interlocutor's sayings.

Informants' observations:

[The interviewee:]

- *"no está informando de una situación, está dando su opinión personal sobre distintos temas."* (Informant N° 6)

- *"Le gusta que lo escuchen dar opiniones, aunque se contradiga."* (Informant N° 18)

- *"expresa su opinión ni ningun tipo de inconveniente (uso de malas palabras)."* (Informant N° 15)

5.3 Authority from outside

A third form of exercising power is by introducing authority from outside. On occasions, the identities projected on the interviewees are based on sources which cannot be discredited, either because they are not explicitly mentioned or because they are given an institutional nature which is beyond questioning. Although the described mechanism may not be defined as a linguistic power resource in itself, it contributes to the imposition of identities as it renders them non-debatable.

- **Text 1TV**: Chiche Gelblung interviewing Sergio Iribarren

Line 1-2

> G.   *[...] y **por qué dicen que** sos el nuevo gurú de las dietas.*

In this example, Gelblung projected the identity of a new exotic specialist (*guru*) on the addressee and enforced this projection by reference to sayings by unidentified others. This intertextual referencing, and the back-grounding of this identity as a presupposition in the question, made the projection difficult to challenge and so it resulted in an imposition on the addressee.

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

As it was previously described, in this interview Rial was represented as a powerful and tough critic. This identity was projected through two voice-over messages, which gave the comments "the effect of an institutional, authoritative, objective voice" (Thornborrow, 2004, p. 69). The fact that this was not the voice of anybody shown by the camera in the studio turned the message institutional and impersonal, and as such powerful and non-negotiable. Besides, the voice was male, grave in quality, a fast oral message imposed over a sequence of images of the interviewee in his professional role. The messages did not exhibit the dysfluencies typical of spontaneous discourse, and the lexico-grammar resembles that of more formal written mode. These characteristics in combination with the categorical modality manifested in the choice of tenses and the use of specific vocabulary contributed to the undebatable nature of the meanings expressed.

Lines 51-52

Off   *Subíte a La Cornisa. Esta noche, Jorge Rial. En la semana en que estalló la guerra de los canales, el **campeón invicto** de los programas de espectáculos **ataca de nuevo**.*

This was the first message, which qualified the interviewee metaphorically in a positive light, as an aggressive and competitive character. He was an "undefeated champion" who "attacks again", though the receiver of the attacks was left implicit. The fact that the interviewee was named in this special way imposed on him an identity that was assumed to be shared by the audience. Towards line 94, there came the second instance in which a voice-over qualified the interviewee.

Lines 94-111

Off   *Es el duro del espectáculo y el eterno cuco de los famosos. Pero además, Jorge Rial **siempre mostró sus colmillos de periodista de raza** frente a la realidad del país [...] las noticias se suman cada día y Jorge Rial, en serio, pone la realidad bajo la lente de su periscopio. [...]*

This account listed in detail the topics to be discussed, and empowered the interviewee to give his opinion about the socio political reality, putting him in the position of someone who was ready to criticize in an aggressive way ("he's always shown his fangs of well-bred journalist")

5.4 Interactional and topical dominance

Another effective resource to project power is by controlling the flow of the interaction and the topic. There are cases where interviewers played their discourse role and in this way projected an identity of professional journalists who remained impartial and let their interviewees speak without venturing personal opinion. These interactions were organized around the interviewers' initiating moves – frequently questions – which seemed to follow a pre-set topic agenda.

- **Text 2TV**: Gustavo Silvestre interviewing Daniel Filmus

Lines 15-17
> S.   *¿Lo esperaba, digo, este respaldo que la semana pasada el presidente en oportunidad de... la firma de la promulgación de la ley de educación eh... le dio, tan fuerte dijo: "bueno estoy frente al futuro jefe de gobierno porteño"?*

Lines 50-51
> S.   *Ibarra, Heller, Bonasso que han conformado un espacio ¿podrían estar acompañándolo en su candidatura?*

Line 68

> S.   *¿Por qué Filmus y no Tellerman en el apoyo presidencial, cree usted?*

Informants' observations:

[The interviewer]

- *"Se posiciona induciendo a Filmus a responder en función a la finalidad de la entrevista (Informar a la gente. Dar a conocer ideas y posturas del entrevistado)."* (Informant Nº 14)
- *"Es una entrevista "arreglada", con las preguntas y respuestas previamente acordadas."* (Informant Nº 11)

Lines 27-32

> F.   *[...]ser interlocutor de todos los sectores de la sociedad, **a abrir la perspectiva de generar un un abanico importante de ideas, de***

> **sectores, de movimientos, sectores políticos** *para tratar gen… de llevar en la ciudad las propuestas, **las perspectivas que a nivel nacional está llevando eh… desde el gobierno**, ¿no?*
>
> S. *Claro, porque se supone que el andamiaje político va a ser el Frente para la Victoria de la capital federal pero abierto a otras eh… opciones políticas*

In this last example, the interviewer formulated what the interviewee had said, to force Filmus's sayings out of ambivalence (Fairclough 1992: 158) and to highlight aspects he considered important for his audience. The use of formulation is another power resource interviewers use to police their topic agendas. Examples of this resource in other texts:

- **Text 4R**: Diego Valenzuela interviewing Eduardo Buzzi

Lines 33-48

> B. *[…] después sale la ministra y dice… quieren aumentarle el precio del pan y de la carne a la sociedad, ¡pero por favor! Nosotros no queremos aumentar el precio de de de los alimentos a nadie. Lo que queremos es que dejen de pisarle el precio a los productores y dejen de beneficiar a las multinacionales de exportación que han limado fortunas con la … vendiendo el precio del trigo… a valor internacional en dólares eh digo, este… perjudicando ¿a quién? A los pequeños productores.*
>
> *[…]*
>
> V. ***¿Usted diría*** *Eduardo **que la política oficial** que tiene esta, si se quiere esta impronta progresista, falla en este punto porque termina perjudicando a los productores más pequeños y beneficiando a las multinacionales?*

Lines 61-65

> B. *[…] Lo que no está diciendo es que el tres por ciento de productores en la argentina se está quedando con el setenta y dos porciento de la producción sojera, digo, cuál es el futuro de seiscientos, setecientos pueblos en un esquema donde se es progresista en algunas cosas, pero se permite la concentración en otras.*
>
> V. ***¿Usted dice que*** *el gobierno, con su política, permite la concentración?*

Informants' observations:

[The interviewer]

- *"El entrevistador "traduce" y "resume" lo dicho por el entrevistado."* (Informant N° 1)

- *"Se posiciona frente al entrevistado como el medio para permitir al entrevistado exponer sus puntos. Frente a la audiencia se posiciona como nexo, y explica, al cerrar la nota la posición del entrevistado y del grupo al que representa."* (Informant N° 10)

- *"De su modo de hablar se puede inferir que conoce del tema, y que no opina, sino simplemente transmite la mirada del entrevistado, señalando los puntos salientes de la entrevista al final, para que la audiencia haga su análisis."* (Informant N° 10)

- *"Sólo resume la entrevista."* (Informant N° 13)

5.5 Appeal to the private sphere

The last strategy discussed in this paper as regards the manifestation of power is the explicit appeal interviewers make to the private life of their interlocutors. Although the interviewees in the interactions analysed were all public figures, there are several instances in which interviewers got into their interviewees' private lives. By doing this, they showed themselves closer to the audience, the ultimate addressees of their interactions. This appeal to the private is often imposed on the interviewees, people who have gained recognition and prestige through their public activities, and who are positioned to participate in the interaction from their private worlds. This fact was made explicit in one of the texts analysed:

- **Text 3TV**: Luis Majul interviewing Jorge Rial

Lines 91-92

> M. *eh... después vamos a hablar de la tele [R. sí...] de algunas cosas que tienen que ver con tu profesión, **de algunas personales, si no te molesta** [R. no]... pero ahora [...]*

In this example, Majul announced the topics to be dealt with and made it explicit that he would refer to the interviewee's private life. In an attempt to respect his interviewee's face, he made a concession (*if that is OK with you*) that might have allowed Rial to avoid those topics.

Other examples where interviewers imposed topics that addressed the private lives of interviewees are the following:

- **Text 1R**: Carlos Monti and Claudia Medic interviewing Carlos Blumberg

This conversation started advertising a public event the interviewee was organizing, activity planned as one within a series of actions aiming at improving security measures against crime. But in line 46, Carlos Monti geared the topic to a more private sphere. He anticipated this change of focus by addressing his interviewee by his first name –instead of by his surname – for the first time in the conversation. This nomination contributed to create a more intimate atmosphere for the next elicitation about his innermost feelings: "*Carlos, una pregunta, ¿cómo es vivir sin Axel?*" In this way, the interviewer decided on the topic and on the perspective from which the interviewee was expected to answer.

Informants' Observations:

[The interviewee]

- "*Contesta preguntas muy personales. (ej. Como se siente viviendo sin Axel).*"
(Informant Nº 13)

- **Text 5TV**: Marcelo Zlotogwiazda and Ernesto Tenembaum interviewing Felipe Solá

Lines 136-143

T. *[...]¿**Qué se siente** ser un disidente, que de repente alguno te traiga **te***
*trate de traidor**, que Kunkel **te diga hijo de puta** cuando estabas en en el*
*congreso, que otros digan "**y... es un megalómano**" este... uno lee la*
*prensa y ve que la casa rosada está todo el tiempo tirándote cosas. ¿**Qué***
se siente?

S. *En primer lugar **no es agradable, pero... lo demás so son anécdotas**, lo*
que ocurrió en en el parlamento. Lo importante es... lo que queda; cómo
votó uno, si de acuerdo a sus convicciones y de acuerdo a quien cree uno
piensa uno que está representando. [...]

This example shows interviewers addressing the private world of the interviewee's feelings and this latter's short and obvious answer ('*it is not nice, what happened in parliament is just an anecdote*') and his quick shift of topic ('*The important thing is what remains, how everyone voted...*') towards his public activity showed his reluctance to comply with the proposed footing and make his private world a topic of discussion.

In this chapter, some linguistic mechanisms interviewers used to impose identities, frames and particular alignments have been observed and analysed. These are power resources which are available to the speakers. In Coupland's (2007) words

What we are generally implying is that speakers design their talk in the awareness –
at some level of consciousness and with some level of autonomous control – of
alternative possibilities and of likely outcomes. Speakers perform identities, targeted
at themselves or others, when they have some awareness of how the relevant
personas constructed are likely to be perceived through their designs. (2007, p. 146)

In this way, targeting identities becomes a verbal resource interviewers use to project a common sense logic that will secure shared understandings and shared social evaluations.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

In this work, the social identities projected by interviewers have been described and categorized and the discursive and linguistic mechanisms used both to project those identities and to try to impose them have been identified. These categories resulted from an interpretative analysis carried out from a socio-pragmatic point of view. The number of interviews considered is not large enough to make generalizations but it may serve as a basis to pursue further studies in the field. The results of this research show consistent tendencies in the discursive behaviour of opinionated journalists and the interpersonal meanings they achieve when they act as interviewers. The linguistic resources through which these meanings were realized have been described from a discourse-pragmatic perspective with consideration of the discourse semantics, the lexico-grammar and the expression strata as described in the SFL perspective.

The focus has been placed on the interviewers and the identity projections they displayed in their discourse along interviews held live on radio or television. In those situations, journalists were, in a way, representing the broadcasting medium for which they worked and this contextual fact may have been the reason why the most common identity construction of themselves was that of a knowledgeable speaker in the public domain. They presented themselves with the authority and control of the interaction at hand that knowledge and access to information could provide. As a corresponding counterpart, the identity imposed on their interlocutors was that of a valuable or special participant, someone who was worthy of being contacted and heard. These interviewers' projections responded to the institutional order in which social practices in the media were placed, and to the established-ways-of-doing-things that Jenkins (2008) described. As regards audiences, the ultimate addressees of the interaction, their matching part identity projected on them by the interviewers was that of citizens interested in the public matters discussed, but often from a private world perspective.

It was when considering the audiences in their private worlds that the already mentioned tensions between the public and the private became apparent. Social actors in the media tried to appeal to their audiences building empathy to increase their credibility, and at times positioned themselves in their private worlds, showing their concern about everyday life matters, feelings and emotions. As a consequence, audiences were projected as interested in the private lives of public figures, and so the private life affairs and the interviewees' inner feelings came to the fore.

The analysis revealed the recurrent use of a variety of mechanisms to project identities. First, to show their public positioning, interviewers drew on interpersonal resources such as the terms of address used when referring to their interviewees – their full names and/or their professional roles. Besides, the public activities interviewees were involved in became the topic of discussion. To project themselves as knowledgeable and to show their command of the topics at hand, interviewers resorted to particular wordings, specific or technical lexis, intertextual references, initiating moves in the form of statements or polar elicitations in search for the interviewees' confirmation. On occasions, the use of appraising items showed they were well-informed and so able to evaluate or pass judgement on the issues discussed. The system of appraisal, in particular with its subsystem of judgement, was also a resource used by interviewers to project their interviewees as valuable or special. Through this mechanism, interviewers qualified their interviewees and their actions in a positive way to signal they were worthy of being listened to. Following the same aim, interviewees were at times characterized in comparison to others, and in this way imposed on with the identity of 'different'.

Often interviewers positioned themselves in their private worlds and this was attained through the choice of a more informal variety of language. They addressed their interlocutors by their first name and by the variant of pronouns and verb forms which indicate proximity in Spanish. They also used colloquial or even vulgar language, to show lack of social distance with their audiences. At times, they formulated their interviewees' utterances that reflected the voice of science, into the voice of the lifeworld (Fairclough, 1992), unpacking nominalizations and wording meanings by means of everyday language. In this way, they change the socio-cultural framings from formal and impersonal to more informal and personal.

In order to make their identity projections accepted by their interlocutors, interviewers used a variety of linguistic resources to exercise their dominance. The most common mechanism was categorical modality, which allowed them to present their messages as non-arguable facts. This was also achieved by means of specific vocabulary, such as adverbs of certainty. Besides, their precise way of presenting information, their intertextual references and their drawing on presupposed information helped them to impose their authority as regards their knowledge. Formulation is another common resource, through which interviewers reworded their interlocutors' messages, often altering perspectives and highlighting certain information. Another way of restricting and controlling their interviewees' contributions has been through the particular wording of initiating

moves. Frequently they turned their questions into demands of opinion by means of modalized expressions that affected the answer to come. In this way, interviewees' responses were heard as opinion, rather than facts.

Phonological resources also played a role in the projection of identities and their imposition. For example, it has been observed that choices of high pitch level or the placement of the tonic could highlight certain items, such as appraising lexis, to make evaluations more noticeable, or to make contrasts explicit. Besides, choices in pitch movement signalled the hierarchy of information given, with rises indicating non-essential information, preparatory for crucial information to come. The rising intonation at the end of a contribution seemed to appeal to the interlocutor and to exercise more pressure to obtain a response.

Following the co-constituting model of communication, identities are co-constructed in the discourse and they have to be agreed upon by the participants. In the interviews analyse, in general terms and with very few exceptions, interviewees accepted the identities proposed by the interviewers, and manifested this acceptance by acting in the expected ways. In the understanding that identity projections are consequential for the verbal exchange, it is evident that the interviewees' verbal choices were limited by these projections. In agreement with the identities projected, interviewers seemed to create a kind of common-sense logic that allowed for the negotiation of certain meanings with the restriction of some others. The discourse mechanisms they used for that purpose, consciously or unconsciously, had such a rhetorical force that there seemed not to be much room for interlocutors to escape this logic. In this sense, my initial hypothesis of the projection of identities as a resource for power seems to have been confirmed.

The results of this work have shown that a general audience, without specific linguistic knowledge, could perceive the social and power work going on in interactions, and that these perceptions broadly matched the results of the discourse-pragmatic analysis carried out. This is a significant result because it shows that the linguistic analysis presented here can give theoretical grounds to the audience's intuitions. As language teachers and workers of the language, it is very important to be aware of the discourse-pragmatic mechanisms through which these social meanings are realised, to be able to describe them, interpret them and use them effectively. The conscious teaching of these mechanisms can contribute to the development of critical citizens, empowering them in their production and interpretation of language. This dissertation has explored the relationship between linguistic and discourse resources on the one hand and the

projection of social identities and the exercise of power on the other, used by Argentinian journalist interviewers on radio and television. I hope this work can contribute to the systematic study and characterization of interviews and journalist interviewers' behaviour in the Argentinian media from a discourse, pragmatic and linguistic perspective.

There remain many unexplored areas which are beyond the scope of this thesis. To enlarge and enrich this study, my first choice to carry on with this investigation would be to test the findings of this thesis on a larger corpus and to work on the different resources used on radio and television interviews, incorporating for the latter a multi-modal analysis which could account for the meaning of gestures. The second choice for further research would consist of a deeper analysis of the function and meanings expressed through the use of the intonational system in Spanish.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1. The Survey

Investigación acerca de los periodistas entrevistadores en radio y televisión

<u>Informante</u>: *(Elijan la opción correspondiente y completen)*

Edad: 20 a 35 años - 36 a 50 años - 51 años o más

Sexo: Femenino - Masculino

Ocupación:_____

Escuchen / vean las entrevistas y respondan de manera espontánea y sintética (puede ser con una palabra o más).

Las preguntas son una guía para el tipo de información que se necesita. No se sientan en la obligación de contestar absolutamente todas, ni tampoco eviten hacer comentarios de otros elementos que perciban, y que no estén contemplados en las preguntas.

Desde ya, MUCHAS GRACIAS

Fragmento N°___: Radio/TV Entrevistador: _____ -Entrevistado: _____

Impresión General	• ¿cuál les parece es la función de esta entrevista? • ¿con qué intención/finalidad se transmite?	
Entrevistador	• ¿cómo se posiciona frente al entrevistado? • ¿y frente a la audiencia? • ¿cómo le habla al entrevistado? • ¿qué pueden inferir/deducir respecto de su modo de hablar? • ¿qué pueden decir de su vínculo con la audiencia?	
Entrevistado	• ¿cómo se siente en ese rol? • ¿qué pueden inferir/deducir de su modo de hablar? • ¿algo en particular respecto de su relación con el entrevistador?	
Audiencia	• ¿qué grado de participación o de importancia tiene la audiencia en esta entrevista? • ¿qué tipo de audiencia se proyecta en la entrevista? (es decir, ¿a quién le hablan? A alguien que le interesa informarse, a alguien que (no) sabe del tema, que (no) entiende, (no) tiene opinión, etc)	

Appendix 2. Answers to the survey (a sample)

	Fragmento 1: Text 1R	Entrevistador	Entrevistado	Audiencia
1	Asumir una posición a favor de la movida del entrevistado no deja lugar para un pensamiento diferente Para movilizar a favor de… a partir de la lástima y la identificación con el dolor y demostrar la "bondad" de las acciones o leyes que se quieren lograr en contra del "delito" y para ello lo hacen desde la catedral y ayudando a los pobres!!mmmm que bueno que es!!!! Que piensa en los pobres….	El entrevistador se identifica con el entrevistado Considera que piensan todos igual entre ellos y a él Habla tomando partido a favor de las ideas y acciones del entrevistado. Vínculo aglutinado… todos iguales…todos uno… todos él	Cómodo Que no tiene claras las ideas que pretende transmitir. Es un par "ideológico"	Ninguno Una audiencia homogénea similar (en clase social e ideas) al entrevistador y al entrevistado
2	La entrevista sirve para publicitar una misa para recordar la muerte de Axel Blumberg, con la intención de que vaya gente y concientizarla para que luche en contra de la inseguridad.	Los entrevistadores se posicionan a favor de la causa del padre de Axel, alentándolo y dándole mucha importancia al tema. Demuestran de esta forma, su apoyo, ayudando a que la audiencia preste mayor atención.	El padre de Axel muestra una gran fuerza interior y es admirable su valentía.	La audiencia seguramente se siente conmovida y es posible que haya un buen porcentaje de ellos que vayan al acto.
3	Informar sobre la misa de aniversario – actualizar al público sobre el estado del movimiento iniciado por B. – sensibilizar a la audiencia	Nexo comunicador entre entrevistado y audiencia –	Persona habituada a hablar en los medios, y habituada a hablar de hechos personales y particularmente dolorosos – persona educada – pareciera que se conocen con el entrevistador, posiblemente de entrevistas pasadas, o como son personas públicas asumen que se conocen aunque no hayan sido presentados.	Apelan a la audiencia para que asistan a la misa – la audiencia asumida es de clase media/alta, con conocimiento del caso –
4	Función social, dar a conocer la causa y el aniversario. La intención es mostrar la sensibilidad y el dolor de un padre por al muerte del hijo, la causa que lleva adelante y dejar en evidencia la falta de justicia.	Se posiciona respetuosamente, como un comunicador, hace las preguntas que permiten resumir su causa. Frente a la audiencia es nexo, porque como dije hace las preguntas que resumen un poco su causa, y muestran su dolor. Su modo de hablar muestra seriedad y respeto por el tema, aunque también parece incomodarle preguntar por un tema tan sensible y doloroso. Es un mero medio, no puedo decir mucho de la relación con la audiencia.	Se siente, pareciera cómodo en el rol de entrevistado, y lo ve como una oportunidad para difundir su obra y su dolor. Su modo de hablar guarda dolor, guarda necesidad de justicia, guarda tristeza. Su relación con el entrevistador parece cordial, simplemente.	La audiencia tiene participación en el sentido que se le informa del lugar y el horario de la misa, y el modo de participar, simplemente. Le hablan a todo aquel que quiera compartir el dolor, que quiera participar de la misa, independientemente si sabe o no del tema. Aunque se puede proyectar una audiencia mayor gente que está un poco cansada de la falta de justicia.

5	Recordar la lucha de Blumberg. Informar de una misa en memoria del aniversario de la muerte de Axel.	Con preguntas puntuales y con intensión de sacar alguna nueva información. Con intensión de incentivar a la audiencia a seguir la lucha de Blumberg. De manera amigable. Con poca experiencia. No llega a lograr ningún vinculo. No la representa.	Cómodo y acostumbrado a ser entrevistado. Muy relajado. Guiando la entrevista para donde quiere. Contesta preguntas muy personales. (ej. Como se siente viviendo sin Axel)	Muy poca. Solo informarse que hay una misa y que se puede colaborar con caritas. A la gente que sigue a Blumberg o bien que tiene ganas de luchar contra la impunidad y la injusticia.
6	1 Apelar al sentimiento religioso, mostrar los buenos sentimientos de la víctima (Blumberg) e impulsarlo a continuar en su lucha. 2- Apoyar la corriente de pensamiento de "la mano dura"	Inquisidor Como independiente Superioridad Lástima Se relaciona apelando a lo que "vende" en esa actualidad con un estilo agresivo	Incómodo Se victimiza molesto	pasiva, pero importante porque recibe un mensaje concreto Todo tipo de audiencia, mayoritariamente liviana y poco informada, permeable a temas reaccionarios.
7	Informar sobre una misa que se realizara en la Catedral Metropolitana en conmemoración del aniversario de la muerte de Axel Blumberg. Se transmite con la finalidad de que los oyentes se informen y de que se tenga presente la situación de inseguridad que llevo a la muerte de Axel Blumberg.	Lo hace de manera formal. Lo hace teniendo en cuenta que existe un cierto conocimiento compartido de lo que se esta hablando. Se dirige al entrevistado llamándolo por su apellido y luego por su nombre.	Es una persona educada, formal, y respetuosa	Un alto grado de participación, ya que es a la audiencia (interesada) a quienes se convoca a participar de esta misa. A alguien que le interesa informarse y que esta al tanto del tema.

	Fragmento 2: Text 2R	Entrevistador	Entrevistado	Audiencia
1	Explicar para qué se pide el examen prenupcial Intención de demostrar que no sirve para nada ese examen (según el entrevistador)	Muy relajado Sin pelos en la lengua Habla de manera simple y directa Es una persona muy segura y se divierte con su profesión Vínculo cercano con la audiencia, le habla como a un amigo	Se siente incómodo Habla con claridad	No está claro el grado de participación de la audiencia Se proyecta una audiencia adulta
2	Informar Que la gente conozca la verdad ante un hecho	Arrogante, sobrador Irónico Habla al entrevistado de modo arrogante Habla rápido, no se le entiende lo que dice Alto vínculo con la audiencia	Se siente cómodo Sabe de lo que está hablando Relación fluida con el entrevistador	Escaso grado de participación de la audiencia Se proyecta a parejas por casarse y público en general

3	Informar sobre la función de los exámenes prenupciales obligatorios Aclarar en qué consisten, y cuál es su validez real	Como una persona común q pide info acerca de un trámite para casarse Frente a la audiencia, critica la falta de actualización de la norma, al no incluir HIV Le pregunta en términos directos, coloquial Por su modo de hablar se dirige al público, presuponiendo que tiene una cultura básica sencilla Su vínculo con la audiencia tiene una dosis de demagogia, orientada a llegar a la mayor audiencia posible	Cómodo, interesado Quizá el doctor y el periodista tengan un conocimiento pre-existente	Ninguna participación Se dirige a un tipo de oyente común, y el dato es interesante y grave Sería deducible que le interese al público preocuparse por su salud
4	Una nota sin sentido, pareciera como para llenar espacio	Como un superado de la vida, no solo frente al entrevistado, también frente a la audiencia. Él es el que se la sabe todas y el resto somos unos giles.	Incomoda al entrevistado, porque no depende de él lo que dice esa ley.	Un rol totalmente pasivo, el entrevistador maneja todo, hasta plantea como hacer la "trampa" con la ley
5	informativa	Como periodista entrevistador Como comunicador Conociendo a Gelblung cada uno sacará sus propias conclusiones Tiene su propio estilo, lo tomás o lo dejás	No	Generalmente lo hace como un disparador y luego la audiencia opina mandando mensajes, mails etc, pero aquí no se pasa esa parte
6	La función es para informar y resolver una inquietud.	El entrevistador se posiciona al mismo nivel que el entrevistado hablándole como si fuera casi un par y establece un vínculo cercano con la audiencia. Por su modo de hablar pareciera que estuviera reprochando la manera en que se llevan acabo ciertos procedimientos.	El entrevistado se siente seguro de lo que dice.	Participación es neutra, ni activa ni pasiva. Le hablan a gente joven adulta. Gente que tiene alguna idea sobre el tema en cuestión.

	Fragmento 3: Text 3R	Entrevistador	Entrevistado	Audiencia
1	Dar a conocer quien dirige la Biblioteca Nacional	Esta bien posicionado, sabe a quien se dirige, muestra otra faceta del entrevistado y hasta por momentos entabla un diálogo amistoso, informal como dejando ver que existe una relación mas alla de la función que cumple cada uno. Y que ambos se respetan intelectualmente	En el rol de entrevistado se lo siente cómodo (idem arriba)	La audiencia tiene participación pasiva, durante la entrevista. Creo que moviliza a buscar lecturas-referencias de los personajes nombrados durante la entrevista como asi también de temas relacionados

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