Power and Resistance in Interrogations of Suspects in the Egyptian Judicial Process

Neveen Saeed Abd Al Kareem Al Saeed

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of English

And

School of Languages, Cultures and Societies

September 2017

Acknowledgments

Abstract

The thesis investigates how using a discourse pragmatic approach gives insight into the complexities of hand-written interrogation records. Data come from eighteen Egyptian interrogations from the years 2007 to 2011. It includes five interrogations with ex-president Hosni Mubarak and his two sons, Gamal, and Alaa, which took place in 2011 after the 25th January revolution, as well as with ordinary workers, traders and company managers. In addition, data include interrogations in criminal cases with a variety of offences such as drugs, murder, political cases and embezzlement. This study examines the pragmatic and linguistic choices that prosecutors and suspects make to express power relations, modes of resistance and information gathering/confirmation in inquisitorial interviews in Egypt. This helps give insights into questioning practices in Egypt's legal system and the interactional goals and methods of such speech events. In addition, it includes exploring the challenges of analysing and translating a written record, and establishing the journey of a suspect's statement in Egyptian interrogations.

Analysis reveals that suspects were able to resist some of prosecution's accusations and control. However, the more controlling the questions became the less able were they to answer cooperatively while maintaining their innocence on the record. Exceptions to that were suspects who received legal advice from lawyers or worked in the legal field. Questioning strategies such as the use of *and/wa*-prefaced questions and Put on Record (POR) questions in the data have revealed that the current recording practices are sometimes limiting and coercive whether intended or not due to the special attention given to recording the institutional version of the narrative. Moreover, suspects are not invited to freely give their own narrative. This results in the production of an altered interrogation record. Implications for the field of Egyptian interrogations and interrogation more widely are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

A fact-finding committee appointed by Morsi in July 2012 found dozens of instances of excessive use of force and other abuses of human rights against protestors.

(IBAHRI, 2014: 46)

I heard the Officer's threatening voice: 'You would better speak up!!' I turned around to answer him but a hand slapped me on my temple. I staggered because of the slap and I almost fell to the ground, but one plainclothesman caught me between his arms. The officer shouted at me 'look at me and answer quickly!!'. I answered, 'OK'. Another plainclothesman slapped me again on my temple that it pushed me back to the arms of the first one who commanded me in return: 'Say 'Afandim'* (your excellency), you boy'. I replied quickly: 'OK, your excellency'. […] 'Are you going to confess? Or should I just hit* you? (*the police officer referred to a torture position where suspects are hung upside down, hit and tortured by officers).

(Ibrahim, 1997: 31)

1.1. Introduction

The common cultural perception of interrogations in Egypt is one of injustice and torture, a perception which is mainly created and emphasised in works of art such as movies, television series and novels and in newspapers. Interrogations are called *istinṯāq* in countries such as Morocco and Tunisia and *taḥqīq* in countries such as Egypt. Both terms − *istinṯāq* and *taḥqīq* − have negative connotations. *Istinṯāq* implies a way of extorting a confession from a suspect or a forceful method of interrogation, whereas *taḥqīq* indicates that a member of a formal institution has the right to question and interrogate members of the public to reach the 'truth'. Having such terms to describe the process of interrogation, adds to the idea of asymmetry of power and coercion in the legal system. This idea is also consolidated by narratives about torture in police stations and prisons which have been created in many novels such as the one in the quotation above, from the novel *Honor*, by Sonallah Ibrahim, which traces the experience of four prisoners during interrogations and torture in Egyptian prisons. While there are undoubtedly real cases of abuse, which have been recorded in Human Rights reports (e.g. IBHARI, 2014), public perceptions are built on societal suspicions of the interrogation system, hearsay stories of police abuse and cultural stereotypes. This thesis attempts to change the public perception of Egyptian interrogations by revealing the normal everyday practice and the mundane tactics used by prosecutors and suspects in the interrogation room. By revealing the norm and not focusing on the extreme cases,

this study attempts to dispel some of the myths and hyper-reality of what prosecutors do and acts as a positive orientation towards the study of interrogations. In other words, by investigating the ordinary everyday mundaneness of prosecutors' questioning tactics, this thesis aims to open up Egyptian interrogations for discussion, to be useful to prosecutors who work in interrogation rooms from day to day, and also to forensic linguists studying interrogation practices around the world.

To do so, analysis in this study aims to put the reader in the interrogation room and discuss the different roles of people inside the room. Therefore, instead of having an outsider's perspective of the interrogation process, this study aims to give an insider's view, making interrogations less opaque. For these reasons, the idea of analysing Egyptian legal texts in general and interrogations in particular is important for both social and research extension reasons. Nonetheless, in 2005 when I started to think about my research, any thought of a linguist addressing legal texts was beyond the realms of possibility. It was a taboo context that no one could have access to. In 2011, however, revolutions, or what is often termed as the 'Arab Spring', took place in Arab countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Syria and so forth. People started having some freedom to question, discuss and criticise laws and procedures and to find out more about the institutions that govern them. They also started having partial access to legal documents, and court sessions. Hence, an opportunity lent itself to me to pursue a forensic linguistic analysis of Egyptian legal texts.

1.2.   Aim of the study

Asymmetrical power relations in legal discourse including trial discourse and police interviews (e.g. Ainsworth, 2008; Haworth, 2006; Heydon, 2003; Rock, 2001) have been widely researched. In these studies, interviewers or police officers have always been referred to as the more powerful party for various reasons. First, their membership of the institution and knowledge of its regulations give them an upper hand over the interviewee. Second, they are the ones who initiate and shift between topics. However, this power and control over the interviewee does not mean that the other party is entirely impotent. Previous research (e.g. Harris, 1989; Heydon, 2005; Newbury and Johnson, 2006) has found that suspects and witnesses sometimes attempt to resist the power and control of the interviewers and try to emphasise their status and shift topics. They were found to withhold information or evade answering important questions as forms of resistance. However, this evasiveness, if expressed openly is likely to strengthen suspicions of the suspects' guilt. Therefore, suspects and witnesses resort to

covert strategies (Newbury and Johnson, 2006: 214) such as contest, correction, avoidance and refusal (See details in Chapter 3).

Interrogations are usually portrayed as events where questions are used to collect and confirm information and also to challenge witness and suspect statements to pursue the questioner's institutional goals (Drew and Heritage, 1992). I, therefore, examine the pragmatic and linguistic choices that prosecutors (responsible for questioning suspects) and suspects make to express power relations, modes of resistance and information gathering/confirmation in inquisitorial interviews in Egypt. This will help give insights into the legal system in Egypt and the interactional goals and questioning methods of such speech events. To investigate these features, this study aims to explore and respond to the following questions:

1. What are the discursive practices used by prosecutors and suspects in Egyptian interrogations?
2. What are the different forms of power, status and control found in the interviewers' questions?
3. What are the different resistance strategies used by suspects?
4. What is the relationship between question type and resistance?
5. What is the social impact that results from the study of such discursive practices?

This study is a linguistic exploration of the Egyptian judicial system as represented in interrogations. It includes exploring the challenges of analysing and translating a written record since the data is in Arabic, investigating the different pragmatic functions of questioning techniques and question types used by prosecutors, and establishing the journey of a suspect's statement in Egyptian interrogations. Data come from eighteen Egyptian interrogations. They include interrogations with ex-president Hosni Mubarak and his two sons, Gamal, and Alaa, which took place in 2011 after the 25th January revolution, as well as with ordinary workers, traders and company managers.

1.3. Significance of the study

This research has practical significance because it gives insights into the Egyptian legal system and language use in it, an area with little current scholarship. First, it is a contribution to the existing literature on Forensic Linguistics generally and the study of police interrogations in particular. This is because this research develops a mixed

approach: discourse-pragmatic and interactional sociolinguistic (see section 1.5 for discussion) to analyse a new setting: Egypt. While helping researchers to closely investigate the linguistic aspects of such interrogations, this approach highlights how the institutional goals affect the discourse and the questioning techniques of prosecutors.

The close investigation of interrogations has several practical contributions to make to academia and society (see Chapter 8 for further discussion). First, it introduces to the research community the context of Egyptian interrogations, to provide a deeper understanding of the institutional practices and the nature of prosecutors' questioning techniques, decreasing the gap in understanding between legal practices and legal professionals and the expectations of lay participants in society. Second, I intend this study to encourage more Egyptian and Arabic-speaking researchers to get involved in the field of Forensic Linguistics and the study of interrogations more specifically, which will ensure the continuing development of robust methodological approaches when dealing with language and the law.

In particular, this study is of benefit in the field of training police officers and prosecutors in questioning techniques and will highlight the importance of linguistic training for better and fairer interrogation results. Researchers who have previously investigated conversations and talk were able to use their findings in developing linguistic training to practitioners in various fields such as police interviews. For example, Stokoe (CARM, 2017) has developed a Conversation Analytic Role-play Method (CARM) to assist organisations in improving their communication with clients, users and so on. This study also should be considered as a call for implementing audio-recording in interrogation rooms to protect the rights of both prosecutors and suspects and more importantly for training purposes. England and Wales established the audio-recording system after the implementation of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act in 1984 (PACE). Before that the relationship between the police and the public was sometimes strained due to the bad reputation of some police forces because of cases of abuse and cases of evidence fabrication (Coulthard, 1996). Before PACE, the interviewer was responsible for writing the interview record after finishing the interview, constructing it from the contemporaneous notes made in the interview, in a similar way that Egyptian and other countries' interrogations are currently recorded. Coulthard (1996) drew attention to the problematic nature of such a system because the record was inconsistent with what went on inside the interview room. PACE stated that all interviews with suspects of indictable cases must be audio recorded (Harris, 2011: 293).

This does not mean, however, that the transition between the two systems was without problems. According to Haworth (2007: 3), initially police resisted and argued against the use of audio-recording with suspects, 'but is now widely regarded within the force as, among other things, a vital safeguard to protect the police themselves from accusations of malpractice'. Baldwin (1985: 695) stated that one reason for such resistance was the fear of suspects not speaking in interviews. According to Haworth (2009: 67), even after the acceptance of such a change, it remained as a source of argument and reservation until 1992, when it became mandatory. Harris (2011: 293) argues that 'it is widely believed that the requirement to audio-record police interviews has radically transformed the nature of those interviews, as well as providing a much more reliable and tangible form of evidence'. In Egypt, the relationship between the public, police and the Office of Public Prosecution is that of doubt and mistrust. Revisions and changes in the law, interrogation system and the judicial process, similar to those that have taken place in England and Wales, could signal a new state of clear roles and responsibilities for members of the judicial system. In the case of interrogations, the Office of the Public Prosecution could clarify that their interrogations aim primarily to reveal the truth without any coercion or abuse. The more they take precautions to protect the rights of all those involved in the process of investigation and interrogation, the better the reputation of the office will be. The present study aims to reveal some of the questioning techniques that empower the prosecutors, enabling them to make the interrogation record opaque with respect to whether it reveals the truth or simply records the institution's version of events. This leads to the study's final significance: the study should be considered as an example of the importance of the use of linguists in the analysis of the interrogation process and as expert trainers in the legal field.

1.4. Important terms

It is essential to define and explain some of the terms I use in the thesis before moving on to introducing the relevant literature and methodology used. The first term is *interrogation*. Researchers such as Leo (2008), Johnson (2006) and Oxburgh et al. (2016) discussed the difference between the terms interview and interrogation. Leo (2008) and Shuy (1998) both define interrogators as questioners who 'make ample use of their power. They challenge, warn, accuse, deny and complain … are more direct… demand… dominate… and probe questions' (Shuy, 1998: 13) with the aim of highlighting the weaknesses of the suspect's narrative. Interrogations are also portrayed

as being accusatory where interrogators are allowed to be manipulative of the evidence they have to persuade suspects to comply. They are even found to sometimes lie about evidence as a form of manipulation. Oxburgh et al. (2016: 149) argue that:

> Interrogation is, by definition, a guilt-presumptive process and a closed social interaction led by an authority figure who already believes in the perpetrator's probable guilt. The focus under such circumstances is on overcoming the suspect's resistance to telling the truth as the investigator perceives it.

Due to the unique nature of interrogations, they could produce both true and false confessions from the suspects. Interviews, on the other hand, are not accusatory in nature and it is argued that they result in more truthful accounts than interrogations (Meissner et al., 2014). The term *interrogation* is usually used in the USA context, while *interview* is more related to the UK context. Johnson (2006) argues that interviews and interrogations are different roles that are assumed by interviewers and both roles could be used when questioning the same suspect. In other words, a police officer could interrogate a suspect in an interview to challenge a certain aspect of his account without any manipulation as suggested earlier. In my study, I chose to use *interrogation* and not *interview* because the nature of the setting and the questioning techniques used by prosecutors lend themselves more to an interrogatory nature than interviewing. Questions posed by prosecutors are probing, challenging and harmful to suspects' versions of events (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Another key term is *record* as opposed to *transcript.* The reason I have chosen the term *record* is due to the nature of the data (see Chapter 3). Interrogations are not audio- or video -recorded in Egypt, which means that it is not appropriate to refer to these texts as transcripts because transcript suggests an oral record which is transcribed as writing allowing for the recording of occurrences of pauses, interruptions or overlaps. These features are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The term *record* is therefore used, as the documents are records of a speech event that has been contemporaneously written down. Finally, I use the term *prosecutor* to refer to the person doing the interrogation, instead of terms such as *interviewers and police officers,* because in the Egyptian context, it is prosecutors who interrogate suspects (see Chapter 2 for more details).

1.5. Methods used

This is a multi-method study that does not draw on a single theory; rather it uses a range of linguistic tools to investigate the data. I draw on Haworth's (2009: 46, unpublished)

approach that treats theory as merely a 'toolkit' rather than choosing a 'pre-selected theoretical framework' to assess the data. The reason for this choice is that I approached these data from a new and original setting and I did not want to limit my research by using a single theory. I designed this study as a data-driven one and allowed the data to decide its progress, thereby not overlooking important features. My broad approach is a discourse pragmatic one with the aim of exploring how participants interact in an interrogation setting. Therefore, an integrated qualitative and discourse pragmatic approach is employed. I use a qualitative analytic approach that combines critical discourse analysis (CDA), pragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics. First, discourse analysis and CDA help identify and analyse signs of power and control in interrogations. That is, they highlight how interviewers use their institutional power to affect the interaction and to emphasise their status (Heydon, 2005: 34). Second, pragmatic features such as Grice's (1975) co-operative principle, politeness, and presuppositions (Levinson, 1983) are used to explore interviewees' responses. In other words, they are used to investigate whether interviewees try to resist, challenge or evade the institutional power and control of their interviewers. As for interactional sociolinguistics, this helps explore the underlying social structure of interrogations (Drew and Heritage, 1992).

Since my aim is to examine the pragmatic functions of such strategies and their effect on the progress of the investigation, qualitative analysis is more suitable for such an exploration. One of the weaknesses of such a method is that researchers can impose their own bias and hypotheses on the data; that is why I have sometimes used *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2012) to validate my observations and to enhance my qualitative analysis. This method helped me identify patterns in the data that I had not recognised through qualitative analysis. For example, in Chapter 5, I analyse the different uses and functions of *'I do not know'* responses. By using *Wordsmith Tools*, I came across an interesting category: suspects' use of *lam uḫtar/I was not informed* to express the lack of knowledge of the information required by the question. Examining the data revealed that this strategy was used only by Hosni Mubarak in interrogations, to distance himself from the action and remove his agency from the act he was being asked about. This strategy is discussed further in Chapter 5.

1.6.   Synopsis of the thesis

This thesis includes eight chapters: this introduction and seven further chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the Office of the Public Prosecution in Egypt, its roles, responsibilities and

history. It also deals with the legal setting in Egypt, drawing on the similarities and differences it has with adversarial systems such as the one used in the UK and also with other inquisitorial systems such as the Dutch and Belgian systems. Chapter 3 sets the study in the wider context of the field of Forensic Linguistics and interrogation studies. It looks at interrogations as a type of institutional discourse, sets the context of Egyptian interrogations and outlines key theoretical concepts involved in my study of interrogations such as the future audience (Heritage, 1985), and power and control (Haworth, 2006). I also discuss the reason I chose to study Egyptian interrogations.

Chapter four introduces the data and data collection process and its challenges. It is also an introduction to the transcription methods, ethics, challenges of working with written records and the limitations of the study.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are the three analysis chapters of the thesis through which I attempt to answer research questions one to five (see section 1.2). Chapter 5 is an analysis of one of the resistance strategies employed by suspects in the dataset. The study first focuses on suspects and resistance to investigate the everyday mundane tactics used by suspects to emphasise their version of events and most importantly their innocence. By first explaining suspects' strategies, I was aiming to highlight how suspects normally put their voice on the interrogation record. Chapter 5 introduces one of the most frequent response types used by suspects in my data: '*I do not know*'. The first part of the chapter deals with the literature on '*I do not know*' as a response strategy in different settings such as courtroom discourse, television interviews and police interviews. In the second section, analysis of the different pragmatic roles of '*I do not know*' responses is explored. The analysis focuses on the use of *'I do not know'* as an evasive strategy, as it may be 'an object conveniently used to avoid confirming potentially damaging or discrediting information' (Drew, 1992: 481). I base my argument on Harris' (1991) definition of resistance and evasiveness. She views responses that challenge presuppositions and the illocutionary force of questions as the most evasive. I have also investigated how the prosecutor expects a suspect to be evasive and how he formulates his questions to reveal this evasiveness to an overhearing audience (Heffer, 2007; Harris, 1991). I also look at the effect this response has on the narrative construction that both prosecutors and suspects are involved in.

After looking at a sample of response types and the strategic role they have in interrogations, chapters 6 and 7 discuss two different question types that prosecutors

were found to frequently rely on in my data: *and/wa*-prefaced questions and put on record (POR) questions. In Chapter 6, I, explore *and/wa*-prefaced questions (e.g. Example 1) in the speech of prosecutors and their pragmatic discursive functions such as linking sequential turns, moving across turns, or following a certain questioning agenda.

(1)		[DRUG1]	
			وما سبب إختيارك لضبطك دون المتواجدين في المكان؟
			wa mā sabab ʾiḫtiyārak li-ḍabṭak dūn al-mutawāgidīn fī al-makān?
			And what reason choice-your to-arrest from-all the-found-they in the-place
1 2	⇒	PR	*And what was the reason for their choice to arrest you from all the people in the place?*
			أنا معرفش
			ʾana maʿrafš
			I not-I-know
3	⇒	S	*I do not know*

Such investigations have been given little focus in Arabic linguistics research (Taha et al., 2014). Most of the previous studies (e.g. Fareh, 1998) focused on the syntactic functions of *and/wa* in Arabic sentences such as *resumption*, *offering a choice*, and *addition* and compared them with its functions in English. Of the research on *and/wa* and its functions, I found nothing on *and/wa* as a question preface and its role in conversation in Arabic speech. Chapter 6 also explores the role of *and/wa*-prefaced questions in both building the narrative of the suspect and challenging the suspects' version of events. The concept of an overhearing audience is revisited in Chapter 6, in relation to prosecutors, who design their talk and interrogation reports for judges, lawyers and members of the public who have access to the case when it goes to court. *And/wa* is used to signal the attempts of prosecutors to challenge the suspect's discourse as will be clear in Chapter 6.

The final stage of analysis in Chapter 7 is a discourse-pragmatic analysis of Put On Record questions (POR) in Egyptian interrogations as shown in Example 2.

	(2) [CORPT1]	
		وما قولك وقد ثبت أيضا إصابة آلاف من المشاركين في تلك المظاهرات السلمية بطلقات نارية وخرطوش بمعرفة قوات الشرطة؟
		wa mā qawluk wa qad ṯabata ʾayḍan ʾiṣābat ʾālāf min al-mušārikīn fī tilk al-muẓāharāt al-silmiya bi-ṭalaqāt nāriya wa ḫarṭūš bi-maʿrifat quwāt al-šurṭa?

		And what response-your and that proved also injured thousands from the-participants in these the-demonstrations the-peaceful with-bullets fire and rubber with-knowledge forces the-police
1 2 3 4	PR	***And what do you say*** *about what has also been also affirmed that thousands of the participants in these peaceful demonstrations were injured by the police forces gun shots and rubber bullets of the police forces?*

I focused on this type of question because they have a unique structure and played a very different role in the interrogations. They are characterized by having a metadiscursive noun such as *qawluk*/*say* and/or *radak*/*response* at the beginning of the question (e.g. line 1, Example 2) or as a tag at the end. Unlike other questions, and, contrary to the appearance of these metadiscursive verbs/nouns, the analysis has shown that PORs do not aim to invite suspects to narrate their story. Such questions are closely related to Bull's (1994) category of questions that are not meant to be answered (See Chapter 3). I show how they are intended to put on the interrogation record the prosecutor's and the institutional version of events. Analysis of these questions showed similarities with the concept of the use of restrictive or leading questions discussed by other researchers such as Harris (1989; 1991), Heritage (2002) and Thornborrow (2002). Chapters 6 and 7 are complementary to Chapter 5 because a response such as *'I do not know'* is one of the responses to *and/wa*-prefaced questions and PORs. '*I do not know*' responses cannot be considered without looking at the context in which they were produced, a strategy which has been used by other researchers as well, such as Harris (1991). Therefore, in the analysis of Chapters 6 and 7, references are made to *'I do not know'* as a response strategy and I come back to the concept of resistance to questions.

Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, discusses the different arguments advanced in the analysis chapters. It concludes by discussing the different strategies used by prosecutors and suspects to elicit information or to resist questioning strategies. It explains these in terms of the different stages the record goes through and how it is used in the legal system. It also highlights the limitations of working with the interrogation record in the research process and the implications for court officials who are users of these documents too. Moreover, I answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1 drawing together the evidence from the different analysis chapters. Finally, the chapter discusses the social impact (see section 1.2, question 6) that this study aims to establish in the Egyptian context and the wider legal world. It suggests different elements that need to be included in the training for prosecutors, police officers and anyone who deals with legal systems and questioning.

CHAPTER 2: Egyptian Interrogation Context

> Given that the Prosecutor- General is responsible for deciding what alleged criminal conduct to investigate and who to prosecute and who not to prosecute, the position is an extremely powerful one.
>
> (The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), 2016: 114)

2.1   Interrogations in the Egyptian setting

Previous research on courtroom discourse and police interviews has investigated adversarial settings such as those in the UK, US and Australia. Suspect/witness interviews in Egypt are of a different nature because the Egyptian judicial system is inquisitorial where the judge takes an active part in the court, whereas in an adversarial system, the court is not involved in the investigation of the case and plays an impartial role in regulating the discourse presented by the defence and the prosecution representatives (Williamson, 2006). Other studies have also investigated interrogations in inquisitorial settings such as Komter (2002), who explored the structure of Dutch interrogations, D'hondt (2009) and Maryns (2014) who dealt with the Belgian setting. This chapter acts as a brief introduction to the Egyptian legal setting and what distinguishes it from other legal settings.

2.2   History of Niyaba (prosecution) system in Egypt

The dependence on prosecution systems was first established by Egypt and the Ottoman empire in the 19th and 20th century. Egypt was the country that introduced this system to other countries in the Arab world such as Morocco, Lebanon and Jordan. The first Office of the Public Prosecution (OPP) was established in 1875 and its main aim was to serve and protect public rights. The OPP was not meant to be under the supervision of the government, but historically the government has constantly interfered with its decisions. Initially, 'the public prosecutor was appointed by the *khedive* and could be removed or transferred' (Khalil, 2008: 59). Moreover, at the time, the role was available only to European legal professionals who were required to report to the *khedive* and later to the British government during the British occupation of Egypt. In 1895, the first Egyptian prosecutor was appointed in the OPP, but he was still required to report to the government making the OPP a 'political affair' more than an impartial and independent system (Khalil, 2008: 60). Later in 1952, changes were introduced to the responsibilities of the OPP, but it still lacked independence.

The term *niyaba* and the role its members play in the judicial system in Egypt is different from its equivalent in other systems, Nasr et al. (2004: 4) argues that:

> The term [*niyaba*] has no precise English Equivalent, though it is often translated as 'public prosecutor'. This is an approximation at best [...] when structures literally designated as 'public prosecutors' exist in the Arab world they tend to be more clearly part of the executive branch. The *niyaba*, by contrast, is a quasi-judicial body, often considered [...] part of the judicial branch of state. It generally combines investigatory and prosecutorial functions [...]. Members of the *niyaba* – whose title is derived from the Arabic word for deputizing or representing – are considered representative of the society in fighting crime and ensuring security.

Describing *niyaba* as a 'quasi-judicial body' (Nasr, 2004: 4) reflects how the OPP is outside the policy making duties of the government. I will, however, use the term *public prosecutor* throughout the thesis because it is the closest term in English to the Egyptian system. Despite the differences that took place in the role of prosecutors and their responsibilities over the years, the government continued to have control over the actions of the OPP due to its 'extremely powerful [position]' (ICJ, 2016: 114). The rest of the current chapter deals with the process of prosecutors' appointment, their different powers and the modern relationship of the OPP with the government.

2.3   Appointment of prosecutors

Individuals interested in becoming prosecutors are required by the law (i.e. Law 46/1972) to have certain qualities to qualify for the role. The International Commission of Jurists' (ICJ) report (2016: 116) states that 'entry-level prosecutors, called Associate Prosecutors, must meet the same eligibility requirements as judges: Egyptian citizenship with full civil capacity; minimum age requirements; being a recipient of a law degree [...]; the absence of a criminal or disciplinary record; and good conduct and reputation'. If they meet the requirements, lawyers and police officers can apply for prosecutor vacancies announced by the public prosecutor, after which applicants are interviewed by judges and the Supreme Judicial Council. Applicants who are accepted then join training sessions preparing them for their new posts. Training of prosecutors takes place in the National Centre for Judicial Studies (NCJS) founded in 1981. Prosecutors are trained in the skills required to carry out their duties: both prosecutorial and administrative. This takes place over a period of six months and is provided by legal professionals, law professors, and – sometimes – foreign legal professionals. It is divided into two parts: theoretical and practical sessions. According to Nasr et al. (2004:

16), the theoretical training includes:

> […] criminal law, criminal procedure, structure of public prosecution, applied criminal investigation, evidence, jurisprudence in criminal law, logic and methods of scientific inquiry, dictates of Islamic law concerning crime, establishment of guilt, punishments, juvenile justice, personal status issues (that is related to the specialized public prosecution office for family law), forensic medicine, material evidence analysis, psychology and mental illness, criminology, penology and prisons, values and traditions of the judiciary, criminal investigation, morals, legal arguments, and Arabic, English, French languages and legal terminology.

It is worth noting here that applicants do not receive any linguistic training, which is what this study attempts to emphasise the importance of. After finishing the theoretical sessions, prosecutors must pass several tests before they can be appointed.

One should keep in mind while researching and dealing with prosecution data that there often exists a gap between the theoretical roles and laws that the Office of Public Prosecution and prosecutors need to follow and what they practise in reality. For example, in spite of the information available on the training and appointment of prosecutors, Khalil (2008: 64) argues that in practice:

> […] the law is devoid of any provision requiring specific tests regarding legal knowledge or professional integrity and enthusiasm for hard work, and it does not require training in a judicial academy. Appointment in the Office of Public Prosecution is subject to special criteria related to security investigations. The candidate is not informed of these standards, nor is he permitted to respond to them. Because of the absence of objective selection methods and standards and the domination of the supreme leadership of the judicial authority, the appointment process in the prosecution has been said to breach the non-discrimination principle.

These limitations affect the law that requires the OPP and its members to be impartial and independent. Prior to the 2011 revolution in Egypt, it was the president who chose the Prosecutor General causing a lack in confidence between the public and the Public Prosecution Office due to its politicised nature. After the revolution, the government attempted to amend the appointment procedures to improve the Office's credibility and services to the public. However, due to the crucial role of prosecutors in the establishment of democracy (Khalil, 2008), the struggle to control the OPP and to make it serve the government needs continued even after the revolution. According the IBAHRI report (2014: 24):

> The 2012 constitution adopted under president Morsi transferred the

president's power to appoint the Prosecutor General to the SJC [Supreme Judicial Council] but the temporary 2013 Constitution Declaration reverted back to the system outlined in Article 219 of the JAL [Judicial Authority Law no 46/1972.] which gives unfettered appointment power to the president. Fortunately, the 2014 Constitution improves the position again by returning this appointment power from the President to the SJC, with no constitutional role remaining for the President in the appointment of the Prosecutor General. The 2014 Constitution also limits Prosecutor Generals to one term of four years, which provides a further safeguard for independence.

According to the IBAHRI extract, the system post-2014 became more independent. However, it is worth noting that currently the OPP is part of a hierarchical system, where the Minister of Justice is responsible for the exam that prosecutors take in order to join the OPP giving him a direct power over the OPP. He also supervises the OPP and all the services it offers with the ability of asking the Prosecutor General to initiate a disciplinary action against any prosecutor he sees as unfit for the job (ICJ, 2016: 123). On the other hand, prosecutors are expected to be independent of all the executive, and judicial authorities of the country. In other words, they have power over all the government's departments and their representatives whether they are presidents, ministers or parliamentary members. It is this characteristic that makes the study of power relations, control and resistance interesting in the Egyptian context. The interplay of features such as power, resistance and control have special significance in my analysis especially since I have data from the interrogations of former Egyptian president Hosni Mubaraks and his sons.

2.4   Characteristics of the Office of Public Prosecution

Interrogations in this study are carried out by prosecutors, who have an influential status in the legal system. Since prosecutors play a crucial role in both interrogations and the courtroom, it is important to introduce this role in the Egyptian setting. Prosecution in Egypt is made up of the public prosecutor, assistant prosecutor, prosecutor attorneys, vice prosecutor and their assistants (Soliman, 2010). The Office of the Public Prosecutor functions as a hierarchical system, where 'the Prosecutor General, sitting at the top of this pyramid, exercises very significant powers in Egypt' (IBAHRI, 2014). This means that 'all prosecutors are subject to the supervision of their immediate superiors and the Prosecutor General (ICJ, 2016: 114). Kayed (2007) also adds that the Prosecutor General in turn is monitored by the Minister of Justice. Prosecutors in Egypt share the

same status as judges: they have to be impartial and independent, they take the same oath, and they have the same immunity as members of the judiciary (IBAHRI, 2014).

Based on the powerful status of the OPP, the prosecution as an entity is known for its diverse characteristics (Belal, 2013) and the many important roles it plays in the investigation of a crime: evidence collection, preparatory investigation and referring a case to court. For instance, it is the prosecution that carries out the investigative interviews with suspects, victims and/or witnesses (Soliman, 2010). The Office of Public Prosecution also has the power of accusation, making it responsible for referring a case to court accompanied by all the required evidence and legal support. The power of accusation was not always part of prosecution responsibilities. Since 1883, this responsibility has gone through a lot of changes until 1952 where the Decree Law 353/1952 stated that the power of accusation was reverted to the Office of Prosecution from the sitting judges who were in full control of crime investigation at the time of monarchy (El-Ansary, 2017). In addition, according to Article 85 of the Prisons Regulation Law and Article 42 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, prosecutors are required to visit prisons at least once a month to check on the prisoners, their cases and that no one is detained without a reason. Such a procedure should serve as a protection against any breaching of the internal laws of prisons. The difference in theory and practice in prosecutors' roles and characteristics is open to question. For example, Khalil (2008) mentions that some prisoners who were the victims of mistreatment in prisons were not able to meet a member of the Office of Public Prosecution.

It is also worth noting that Egyptian interrogations are not carried out by police officers. The role of police officers, or more generally law enforcement officers, is limited to certain actions in the case of a crime. First, they must inform the public prosecutor of the crime and go to the crime scene. Second, they should make a record of all the evidence found at the scene and take written records from eyewitnesses and/or suspects but they are forbidden to ask any specific questions. In addition, they ask them to wait until the prosecutor comes to the scene. They then refer any information gathered to the public prosecutor who might ask officers to gather more evidence at a later stage (Belal, 2013; Kayed, 2007). Based on these prosecution roles, it becomes clear that despite the Egyptian legal system being an inquisitorial system, it is different to other inquisitorial systems such as those in Belgium and the Netherlands. While they share some similarities, there are some important differences, such as the role of the police and clerks in interrogations. For example, in the Dutch setting, police

interrogators take the statements of the suspects (Komter, 2002/2003). Moreover, in Dutch interrogations, police officers write the police report in a 'first person monologue [which] means that the original interaction in the interrogation is removed from the written text.' (Komter, 2012: 733). Maryns (2013: 108) states that 'the Belgian legal authorities make no recordings of the interaction taking place between the institution and the individual client […] police interrogations and witness hearings, for instance, are not recorded and thus no more than the written report of the spoken interaction survives the procedure.' While both Dutch and Belgian police reports are in the form of first person monologues or third person reports of what have been said, rather than records of the question and answer discourse that took place, the clerk in Egyptian interrogations attempts to write the same words and structures that are being used in interrogations in the form of a dialogue (Belal, 2013). Questions asked by interrogators are not alluded to, as is the case with Dutch interrogations; they are recorded in the dialogue. Therefore, I believe that the Egyptian system of recording has advantages over the Belgian and Dutch systems as more of the interaction and its dialogic nature is preserved.

According to Egyptian criminal law, prosecutors are required to be accompanied by clerks in interrogations to help the prosecutor focus on the technical side of the interrogation – such as asking questions, and establishing the existence of premeditation in the crime – and not on taking accurate notes (articles 73 and 99 of Criminal law; Kayed, 2007: 426-428). Unjustified absence of the clerk in the interrogation room leads to the invalidity of the record. Another requirement is that the clerk needs to sign every page of the interrogation he has written at the end of the interrogation and before the record goes to the judge. Clerks are also asked to simultaneously take notes of all the questions and answers taking place in the interrogation room without deleting, summarizing or editing the content and all of this should be supervised by the prosecutor (Article 205, Egyptian Criminal law). The record they produce should also be in clear handwriting. If the clerk crosses out any part of the record, he needs to sign next to the change he has made (see Chapter 4, Figure 4). The use of crosses and signatures in the record gives more credibility to the interrogation record and is evidence for the clerk's attempts to write a record that gives a true representation to what is taking place in the interrogation room.

Other than questions and responses, the law requires that the record needs to include the date of the interrogation, name of the prosecutor, his title, the place where he

works, the name of the clerk, the place the interrogation is taking place, and also the name, title, and address of suspects and witnesses. Records also need to include a summary of the crime and its details before the questions and answers. Finally, clerks are the ones who contact witnesses and suspects to inform them of the time of the interrogation (see section 4.4 for further information on the use of clerks on the interrogation record). Another difference between the Egyptian system and other inquisitorial systems is that in some other inquisitorial systems, lawyers do not attend the questioning (Komter, 2003) whereas in the Egyptian setting they are allowed to accompany their defendants from the beginning of the criminal process and their names are recorded in the beginning of each record (Soliman, 2010). In the next section, the common structure of interrogation records is explained.

2.5   General structure of interrogation records

Once a suspect is in custody for a crime, he is referred to the Prosecution Office for the start of interrogations. Typically, the first page of any interrogation record starts by mentioning the district and the court to which the prosecution office belongs. For example, the case record in Figure 1 below is from a beating that led to death case. As shown in Figure 1, the clerk first states the place of interrogation (top right) and the date and time the interrogation is taking place. The clerk also states the names of the judge and his counselors who will be responsible for the case if it gets referred to court. Next both the names of the prosecutor carrying out the interrogation and the clerk writing the record are mentioned and they both sign next to their names and on each page of the record together with the interviewees. If there is a lawyer attending with the interviewee, the name is also written on the record. The record then gives a summary of the case including the suspects, victims and what is known about the case to the point of the start of the interrogation. Police investigations are also attached to the record which includes details of the crime scene and police procedures that took place before the referral of the case to the prosecutor.
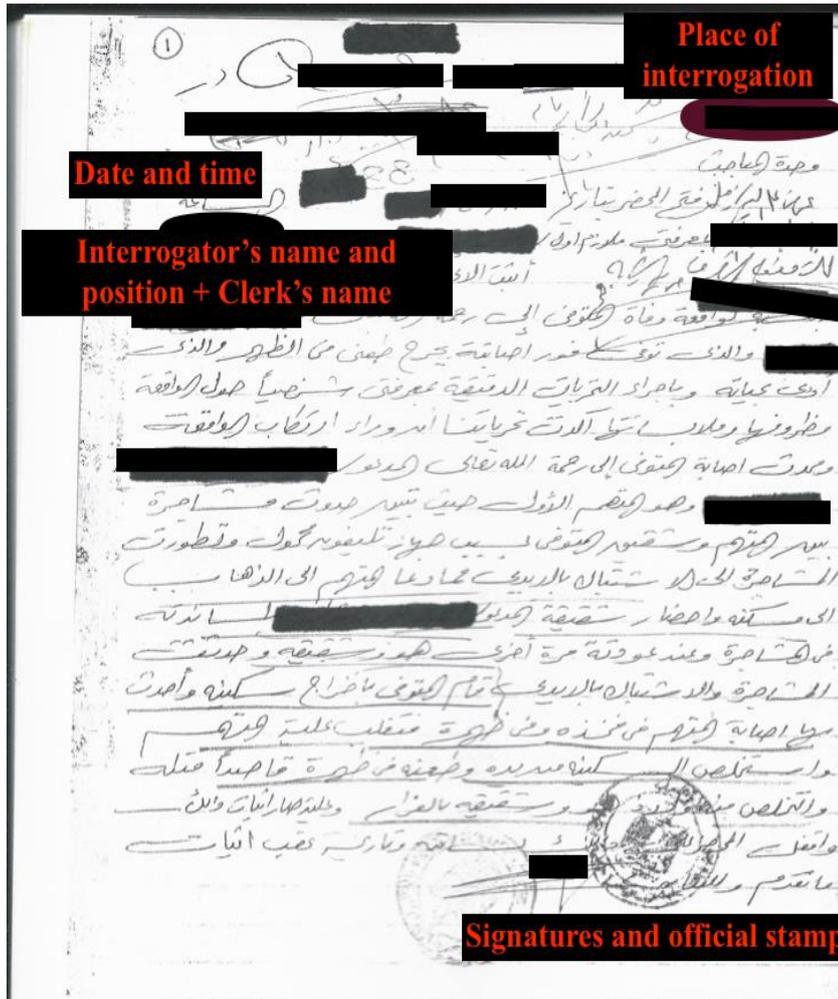
Figure 1. Interrogation Sample 1

Figure 2 is an example of a police investigations record describing the circumstances of a theft case. Similar to Figure 1, interrogation sample 2 also states the name of the clerk and the prosecutor at the top left corner of the page. The prosecutor then states on the record that the interrogation has officially started shown by the text in the centre of the page. Questions are shown by the letter 'س' and answers are referred to by the letter 'ج'. Both samples have the official stamps on them as a sign that the record is official and will be accepted in all official affairs such as in court. Analysing an oral text that has been transferred into a written one has its challenges. Figures 1 and 2 are examples of how clerks transferred the speech of prosecutors and suspects taking place in the interrogation room into a written text, which is then transliterated and translated for analysis purposes. Clerks, however, did not transcribe in the linguistic sense as he is making a contemporaneous record, and not working from a tape. Difficulties of analysing such a text is discussed in detail in Chapter four.

2.6   Conclusion

This chapter gave a brief background of Egyptian interrogations. It highlighted the history of the niyaba/prosecution office in Egypt and its important role in relation to the government, the role that made the appointment of the Prosecutor General a matter of debate in Egyptian law. The chapter shows how this thesis aims to open up the role to scrutiny to show the important work the prosecutor does. I have also shared samples of the data to help readers visualise the original form of the data that I refer to in the analysis and to give an example of how challenging reading and transcribing such records is. In the coming chapters, questioning strategies and procedures carried out by prosecutors are examined and analysed to discuss the everyday normal questioning tactics used and their role in gathering full and detailed evidential material. Findings of the study will be shared with prosecutors for training purposes.
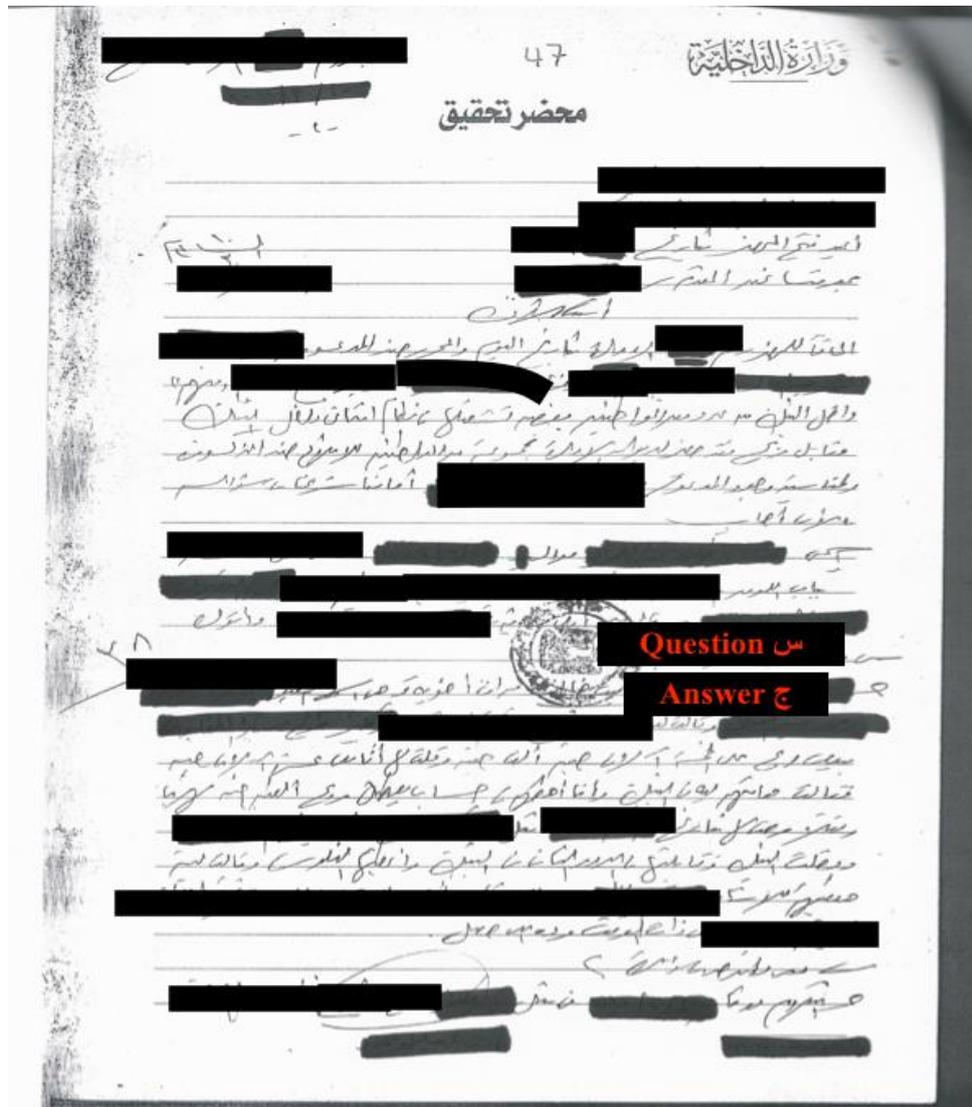
Figure 2. Interrogation Sample 2

CHAPTER 3: Literature Review

3.1   Introduction

Chapter 3 is a review of the literature relevant to this thesis. First, I discuss the field of Forensic Linguistics (FL), its different subfields with a focus on interrogation studies and how my study fits within the FL research. The final part of the chapter reviews the theoretical concepts and approaches used in the analysis of my dataset. I have reviewed literature on questioning in interaction from mainly three fields: courtroom discourse (e.g. Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007), media (e.g. Clayman, 2010) and police interviews (Heydon, 2005), because all of them contain inter-related and relevant material to the study. I have also drawn upon a few studies related to therapeutic discourse (e.g. Labov and Fanshel, 1977), because these provide a framework for looking at question-answer sequences. Although media studies are not part of the area of language and the law, looking at approaches in this field is very useful for my analysis, because media interviews are a type of institutional discourse that relies heavily on question and answer pairs to fulfil the goals of the interview (e.g. Clayman, 2001). In addition, interviewees use different strategies to respond or avoid responding to questions in such interviews (Harris, 1991). Therefore, such theoretical approaches are relevant to the interrogation setting.

Another important setting is the courtroom since this legal discourse type also makes central its use of questions. Despite its differences with the interrogation context, courtroom studies have focused on the analysis of the interactional dynamics and the linguistic and functional characteristics of questions and answers exchanged between lawyers, suspects and/or witnesses (e.g. D'hont, 2009a; Maryns, 2014). Studies have also looked at the signs of power and ideology in discourse and how lawyers design their statements for the audience. All these features are shared with the interrogation setting, which is why I have added them to the review. Lastly, I reviewed the different studies on police interviews and interrogations (e.g. Haworth, 2006; Heydon, 2005) not only because they are based in the same setting of an interrogation room, but also to investigate the differences and similarities between the Egyptian and other settings. Despite the differences between legal systems and expectations from participants in these systems, carrying out this study has revealed some similarities in questioning techniques and response strategies discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and, therefore, this research builds on and develops the literature discussed here.

3.2   Forensic Linguistics

The term 'forensic linguistics' (FL) was first mentioned in Svartvik's (1968) book *The Evans statements: a case for Forensic Linguistics* (Coulthard and Johnson, 2007: 5) where:

> […] he demonstrated that disputed and incriminating parts of a series of four statements which had been made to police officers by Timothy Evans about the deaths of his wife and baby daughter, had a grammatical style measurably different from that of uncontested parts of the statements and thus a new area of forensic expertise was born.

Svartvik's work highlighted the 'rare opportunity for a linguist to use their skills for the benefit of the society' (Coulthard et al, 2017: 215). Years later, the involvement of linguists in society is not so rare as it was in Svartvik's time. Different studies discussing issues of language and the law were published such as studies analysing the nature of legal language (e.g. Tiersma, 1999), Miranda rights (e.g. Leo, 1998), 'fabricated confessions' and 'the authenticity of confessions' (e.g. Eades, 1994: 120). With the growing interest in the field of language and the law and the recognition of the potential role for linguists as expert witnesses in courts, specialists in the nascent field developed methodologies and created a professional association (International Association of Forensic Linguists (IAFL)) and journals: *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law* and *Language and the law/ Linguagem e Direito* (http:llld.linguisticaforense.pt/).

Coulthard and Johnson (2010: 7) suggest that it is useful to divide the FL field into three sub-areas: 'i) the study of the written language of the law; ii) the study of interaction in the legal process […]; and iii) the description of the work of the forensic linguist when acting as an expert witness'. I consider this study to belong to the second sub-area of FL research because it is an analysis of the interaction between prosecutors and suspects in Egyptian interrogations. I think it is essential to establish the important role of linguistic analysis in the study of legal interaction, before introducing the role of expert witnesses in the Egyptian context. This will be achieved through the training of prosecutors and police officers of how powerful and effective or ineffective their current language usage is. Moreover, as happens with any published academic work, judges and lawyers could also read my work and apply the study's recommendations themselves.

One of the key features of FL is its multidimensional nature, which resulted in the publication of studies on topics including police interaction such as questions and

their underlying functions (e.g. Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2008; Oxburgh et al., 2016), policespeak and how it presents itself in the discourse (Fox, 1993; Hall, 2008) and coercion in interrogations (Leo, 2008; Berk-Seligson, 2009). Other studies looked at courtroom interaction (e.g. Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007; Cotterill, 2003; Ehrlich, 2001; Gibbons, 2008; Heffer, 2005), or analyses of both courtroom trials and police interviews together (e.g. Haworth, 2006; Luchjenbroers and Aldridge, 2007), authorship analysis (e.g. Butters, 2010; Grant, 2008; 2010; Johnson and Wright, 2014) and interpretation in legal settings (e.g. Hale, 2010; Varo, 2008). From the broad range of topics mentioned above it becomes clear that FL studies language in different contexts using diverse methodologies such as pragmatics (e.g. Hale, 1999), sociolinguistics (e.g. Eades, 2010), discourse analysis (e.g. Ehrlich, 2001) and corpus linguistics (e.g. Grant, 2013; Wright, 2013, 2014). In addition, they are multidisciplinary because they combine aspects of the fields of linguistics and the law with some references to other fields such as medicine and psychology. The current research is both multi-dimensional and multidisciplinary because it analyses the interaction between prosecutors and suspects combining linguistics and the law and using a discourse pragmatic method (see Chapter 4 for more details). Moreover, this study is the first step in developing methods of analysing interrogations in the Egyptian context. The next section introduces studies on institutional discourse and its characteristics beyond the courtroom and police interview, since all institutional discourse deals with concepts of power and control and there are implications for my research.

3.3   Institutional Discourse and the legal process

Throughout the last few decades, definitions of institutional discourse have been a source of debate. Agar (1985) defines the term 'institutional discourse' or 'citizen/institution discourse' as any conversation taking place between a 'citizen' belonging to a government and a representative of this government's institutions. Drew and Heritage (1992) and Mayr (2008), however, define institutional discourse not in terms of a formal institution belonging to a government. According to them, any place that offers services to any group is an institution. Therefore, they argue that all places, even family meetings, represent institutional discourse and have power relations within them. Heffer et al. (2013) add a new dimension to the definition of institutional discourse where they introduce the 'legal-lay discourse distinction'. They add that this discourse 'arises when legal professionals, who are trained to think about legal cases in a paradigmatic, or rule-based, fashion, attempt to persuade lay fact-finders (the jury),

who are used to reasoning about crime stories in a narrative fashion, of the guilt or innocence of the defendant' (Heffer et al., 2013: 8). In this thesis, the legal-lay dimension is also at play due to the interaction between a prosecutor, the representative of the Office of the Public Prosecution, and suspects, who represent the lay element of the interaction. The legal professionals (i.e. prosecutors), however, try to persuade the future audiences of the interrogations such as lawyers and judges (there is no jury in the Egyptian courtroom) who have access to the interrogation records. The main aim of chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis is to use characteristics of institutional discourse and its asymmetrical power dimension discussed in this section to produce linguistic evidence explaining the role of prosecutors in the design and management of interrogation records to: i) fulfil the prosecution goals and ii) to address future audiences. Implications of such a study in the field of interrogations are also discussed.

Asymmetry in the power of the various participants of any given institutional discourse is closely connected to Heffer et al.'s (2013) legal-lay dimension above. Agar (1985: 150-153) argues that, unlike in everyday interactions, there are asymmetrical relations in institutions between the workers or 'experts' in the institution and lay people who have to deal with such institutions. For example, he explains that institutional discourse has three major parts: diagnosis, report and directives. According to him, diagnosis is the most important element of discourse, where an institutional representative tries to understand what the client or lay person wants to get out of the discourse. Although this element is more applicable to service encounters such as business or medical discourse, it is also relevant to the interrogation context where the interrogator is constantly assessing suspects' versions of events and their culpability, to determine whether they will be charged with an offence and face charges in court. Agar adds that, for diagnosis to happen, institutional discourse is in the form of question and answer sequences, which are normally initiated by the institutional representative. This, according to Agar, shows that institutional representatives have more power and control in the conversation because they control the topic choice and topic shift. In addition, institutional representatives show other signs of control by having the power to evaluate the quality of the client's answers (Agar 1985: 152-153). Agar concludes by stating that there are other reasons for the control and power of institutional representatives, which he calls 'Discourse Ecology'. These reasons include time and money constraints, and representatives being specialised and well trained. The asymmetry and power/control relations are key to my interest in exploring how different participants try to express

their challenge, control and resistance to such power relations. In interrogations, prosecutors also evaluate suspects' responses, manage topics and are responsible for creating the suspects' images that will be presented to future audiences in other contexts such as the court. These factors highlight the importance of the legal-lay power dimension that is assessed in this study.

Like Agar (1985), Drew and Heritage (1992: 49) state that asymmetrical power relations between the different participants are one of the central characteristics of institutional discourse due to the 'direct relationship between status and role, on the one hand, and discursive rights and obligations, on the other'. In other words, representatives of the institutions are given more status and discursive rights due to the 'important asymmetries between professional and lay perspectives, and between professional and lay person's capacities to direct the interaction in desired and organizationally relevant ways' (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 49). These capacities given to professionals are evident in their ability to have control over the flow of the conversation because they initiate and shift the topics in the question/answer sequences with their lay counterparts. According to Drew and Heritage (1992: 49):

> They [professionals] may strategically direct the talk through such means as their capacity to change topics and their selective formulations, in their 'next questions' of the salient points in the prior answers.

Such strategic control of the discourse allows the professional participants to 'prevent' certain topics from being mentioned in the interaction. Drew and Heritage connected professional participants' control to their knowledge and access to the rules and aims of the institution and say that they try to fulfil such aims by controlling the conversation and pursuing the institution's goals. Moreover, lay participants sometimes do not have power because they accept that representatives are professionals, more knowledgeable and well trained in their specialty and, hence, accept their control of the discourse (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 50), an idea which was later supported by Eades (2008, 2016) who considered knowledge and social status to correlate with control and power. Similarly, Simpson and Mayr (2010) believe that in settings such as schools, police stations, and courtrooms – in contrast to non-institutional settings – participants who belong to the institution (i.e. teachers, police officers, judges and lawyers) are the ones in control of how the discourse progresses and the topic and so forth. These participants limit the contribution of the lay or 'less powerful' participant by asking the questions and following the rules and regulations of their institutions.

Defining institutional discourse is not the only element of debate between researchers. Previous research has also found it challenging to differentiate between interaction taking place in an institution and other types of talk (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Drew et al. 2006; Levinson, 1992; Thornborrow, 2002; Haworth, 2006). Habermas (1984) as cited in Thornborrow (2002: 2-3) differentiated between these two types of discourses by arguing that institutional discourse is 'strategic' because there are power relations and goals that participants try to fulfil. Similarly, Drew and Heritage (1992: 21-24), using Levinson's (1992) argument, support the fact that ordinary conversation is flexible and unrestricted by goals or roles. In institutional settings, on the other hand, the discourse is restricted by goals. First, participants generally 'show an orientation to institutional tasks or functions in the design of their conduct, most obviously by the kinds of goals they pursue' (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 23). Another characteristic of institutional discourse is its norms or rules that restrict participants in terms of what is acceptable information to be shared during interaction and how it can be shared. Thirdly, professionals are restricted by institutional rules on what to include and not to include in their discourse. Drew and Heritage (1992: 24) add that:

> […] there will also tend to be special- "institutional"- aspects of the reasoning, inferences, and implicatures that are developed in institutional interaction. For example, a number of kinds of institutional interaction […] embody a constraint on the "professional" to withhold expressions of surprise, sympathy, agreement, or affiliation in response to lay participants' describings, claims, etc.

These three characteristics explain the asymmetry present in the professional-lay interactions and the power and control that professionals have over lay participants causing resistance (see section 3.4). Thornborrow (2005: 3-5), however, disagrees with Agar's (1985), and Drew and Heritage's (1992) differentiation between ordinary conversation and institutional interaction. She asserts that ordinary conversation also has instances of inequality in status, power and gender among other factors and that ordinary talk can occur in institutional setting, a perspective that was later shared by Haworth (2006: 741). Thornborrow's definition of institutional discourse describes it as 'an orientation towards a specific task' supporting Agar's (1985) and Drew and Heritage's (1992) views. She, like Simpson and Mayr (2010), also believes that this type of discourse has pre-determined speaker roles, and asymmetrical turns, rights and obligations. However, she, similar to Drew and Heritage (1992) adds that although the structure of any institutional discourse is predetermined by the institution, this structure and roles are negotiated and discussed between the participants who try to gain power

31

in their discussions (Thornborrow, 2005: 37-39), an aspect of institutional discourse that was later followed up by Haworth (2006). Thornborrow (2005: 5) defines institutional discourse as:

> A form of interaction in which the relationship between a participant's current institutional role (that is, interviewer, caller to a phone-in programme or school teacher) and their current discursive role (for example, questioner, answerer, or opinion giver) emerges as a local phenomenon which shapes the organisation and trajectory of the talk… what people do in institutional encounters is produced, overall, as a result of this interplay between their interactional and discursive role and their institutional identity and status.

It is this interplay between the institutional roles of both the prosecutor and the suspects and their discursive roles as questioner and answerer respectively that is of main focus in this study. It investigates how participants try to maintain their social status and identity (Haworth, 2006) through this interplay between roles. I use interrogations for my data because in an inquisitorial system, when a case goes to court, judges rely on the interrogation record to question suspects and witnesses and to make a ruling. In addition, the result of interrogations is one of the factors that leads to a case being referred to court or it being dropped in the first place. Thus, as Haworth (2006) says, it has a life-changing effect on suspects' lives because it may lead to their freedom or imprisonment.

Previous researchers have analysed discourse in institutions such as the media: both newspapers (Fowler et al. 1979; Machin, 2008; Richardson, 2007), and media interviews: interviews with political figures or political debates (Clayman, 2001, 2002; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Fairclough 1989; Harris, 1991) and education (Fairclough 1995; Mayr 2008). Other areas of institutional discourse are relevant to this study because of their concern with the role of question-answer pairs in achieving the goals of the questioner and how they control the flow of discourse. This is discussed in different fields such as media interviews, including questioning strategies (e.g. Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Clayman et al, 2006) and politicians' evasions of questions (e.g. Clayman, 2001). For example, Clayman and Heritage (2002) trace the evolution of questioning techniques used by interviewers when interviewing presidents of the USA. In their study, they discuss the change of questioning strategies and question structure from a mild information-seeking nature to a more aggressive and weakness-revealing nature. Their results show that interviewers ask hostile questions that intentionally highlight the problems in the president's administration. Hostility was identified, for

example, by the interviewers' use of hostile prefaces to questions which are 'overtly critical of the president or his administration' (Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 766). They argue that prefaces grew in their hostility over time. In the time of president Eisenhower, even though interviewers included prefaces to their questions, they gave him a chance to comment on the preface by adding a question at the end of the preface such as *would you care to comment on that sir?* This strategy has changed over time and the prefaces used have increased in hostility. An example of what Clayman and Heritage (2002: 767) categorised as an increased sign of hostile prefaces can be seen in the case of President Reagan in the extract below:

> JRN: S-> Mister President, for months you said you wouldn't modify
> your tax cut plan and then you did. And when the business community
> vociferously complained, you changed your plan again.
>
> Q-> I just wondered whether Congress and other special interest groups
> might get the message that if they yelled and screamed loud enough,
> you might modify your tax plan again.

The question following the preface 'does not invite Reagan to comment on the prefatory criticism', unlike Eisenhower, and 'instead, the question builds on the preface, drawing out an inference about Reagan's general susceptibility to pressure from special interests, and it is this inference to which Reagan is asked to respond' (Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 767). The preface used with President Raegan is more hostile and restricts the interviewee to refute the inference mentioned in the preface. Next, I discuss the concepts of power and resistance and their effect on the flow of interrogations. The close relation between studies of institutional discourse and the concept of power is also explored.

3.4   Power relations and resistance

Power in the present study refers to linguistic coercion rather than bodily power. According to Fairclough (1989: 3):

> […] it is perhaps helpful to make a broad distinction between the
> exercise of power through coercion of various sorts including physical
> violence, and the exercise of power through the manufacture of consent
> to or at least acquiescence towards it. Power relations depend on both,
> though in varying proportions.

The public focus on and concern with physical coercion in Egyptian interrogations, police stations and detentions is intensive with very little focus on the role of language

in such coercion and control, despite its importance. When I speak of power and control in interrogations, I draw on Fairclough's (1989: 4) view of linguistic power: 'how language contributes to the domination of some people by others'; I, however, also draw on Thornborrow's (2002: 8) definition that power is also 'accomplished […] on an interactional level' through negotiation of participants. In other words, power is not a one way tool used by prosecutors to get the information they need. Lastly, in interrogations there is interplay between two types of power and control. The first type is given to interviewers by their institution and the other is that of interviewees who may try to emphasise their power and resistance. Haworth (2006: 740) explains the different power and control features available to both questioners and suspects:

> In addition to the asymmetric dynamic created by the ascribed roles of questioner and responder, the police have a considerable degree of direct power over the interviewee, controlling the setting in which the interview takes place and having the capability to make vital decisions about the interviewee's liberty and future based on the outcome. Nevertheless, interviewees still have control over what they say, and that is the most crucial part of the interaction.

Although rules (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Levinson, 1992) and roles (Heydon, 2005) within interrogations are to a large extent determined by the institution (as is discussed in this section), it is worth noting that interviewees do not have to accept these rules and roles. On the contrary, they tend to express their power and control over the flow of the conversation by interruptions, reformulations of questions, and question evasion (Haworth, 2006; Newbury and Johnson, 2008). This thesis investigates how prosecutors in interrogations express their power and control and how suspects negotiate these power expressions by resistance strategies. In addition, it discusses the strategies used by prosecutors to elicit information or record their version of events. Of special interest to my research are the studies analysing institutional discourse in a legal setting such as those focusing on courtroom discourse (Archer, 2005; Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Cotterill, 2003, 2010; Harris, 1984, 1989, 1994) and on police interviews (Benneworth, 2010; Carter, 2011; Edwards and Stokoe, 2011; MacLeod, 2010). This study also aims to develop methods to analyse the pressure that the prosecutor puts on the suspects to produce a version of events that aligns with their 'preferred version' of events and how this fits with their institutional goals.

Suspects' discourse can also be powerful and they show signs of resistance. The police interviews with Dr. Harold Shipman for the murder of fifteen of his patients are good examples of a suspect's power. In the extract below, Shipman responded to the

interviewer's question by *Continue the story* suggesting that he refuses the version of events suggested in the interviewer's question.

> Police: You see if you examine that record which I'm going to go through with you very shortly now to give you the exact time that things were altered, it begs the question, did you alter it before you left the surgery, which indicates what you've done was premeditated and you were planning to murder this lady, or as soon as you got back did you cover up your tracks and start altering this lady's medical records? Either way it's not a good situation for you doctor is it?
>
> Shipman: Continue the story.

> (Newbury and Johnson, 2006: 229)

Newbury and Johnson (2006: 229) describe Shipman's use of the imperative form *continue* as a sign that Shipman views the officer as not waiting for an answer, but actually telling a story. Coulthard et al. (2017: 66) add that Shipman's 'resistance strategy avoids information-giving, whilst encouraging the officer to give more information about the construction of the police case or hypothesis'. The idea of interplay and negotiation of power is also connected to the types of questions used by speakers. Eades (2008: 154) argues that suspects such as Dr. Shipman and Senator Craig, a US Senator accused of sexual solicitation, were able to strongly resist the interviewers' questions, their damaging 'representations' and cross-examinations in court because of their social status, education and 'discursive resources'.

> This resistance to the adoption of damaging representations is more likely to be interactionally (although not necessarily legally) successful when the agent of resistance has the social capital and discursive resources typified by a politician like Craig than when the target of these tactics is a young person in trouble with police.

She also adds that people who are 'socially marginalized' usually comply with the speakers' questions and implications.

Since the current study analyses prosecutors' questions and suspects' responses as signs of power in the interrogation, I believe that Eades (2008, 2016) argument is also applicable to interrogations and is evident in suspects' resistance strategies (explored in Chapter 5). Like Eades (2016), I propose that politically powerful suspects such as the Mubaraks resist questions, but I also analyse patterns of resistance from lay suspects in Chapter 5 and how they do not comply with prosecutors' requests. However, in Chapter 7, I analyse Put on Record (POR) questions that are challenging and confrontational, but do not expect an answer. In this case, they become similar to the

question posed to Dr. Shipman in the example above. They are meant to tell a story more than elicit an answer. Chapters 5 and 7 discuss PORs, whether they are restrictive, and how suspects respond to them. Attention is also given to how questions demonstrate signs of power and control by interviewers and how answers reflect signs of resistance and challenge by suspects to interviewers' power. This focus was inspired by Heydon (2005), and Haworth (2006), who changed the emphasis of existing research by using a combination of discourse/conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse their data. This new perspective allowed them to look at the 'dynamics of power relations' that underlie linguistic choices such as turn taking, interruptions and topic shifts.

Concepts of power and resistance in interaction are not new in linguistic studies. Studies have explored signs of resistance in the discourse of the courtroom (Harris, 1984; 1989) and in political interviews (Clayman, 2001; Harris, 1991). Harris (1989) explores resistance to power and control in a courtroom setting using the pragmatic functions of the participants' utterances. She also expresses the need for more studies that look at resistance to power and control in courtroom discourse in a sociologically and linguistically documented manner. According to her, previous research is very abstract and findings were not substantiated with examples. Moreover, she maintains that more studies are needed to show how power and its resistance are central to real social communication: an argument that was picked up later by some researchers, such as Heydon (2005). Conley and O'Barr (1998) support Harris's point of view and argue that the existing research on language and the law are limited to the immediate context of the courtroom. As a result, they call for more research that 'seek[s] to identify the linguistic mechanisms through which power is realized, exercised, sometimes abused and occasionally subverted' (Conley and O'Barr, 1998: 14). Eades (2008) builds her argument on those of Conley and O'Barr and she adds that research on power in courtroom setting is restricted to the interactional context without relating it to the broad social context. Her study in 2008 is a way to fill the gap suggested by Conley and O'Barr.

Harris (1989) collected audio-recordings from 26 traffic cases from a UK Magistrates' court to study the modes of resistance to the power of the magistrates employed by defendants. Her analysis reveals that defendants were trying to resist paying their fines by one of three means: counter-questions, interruptions and appeals to pre-conditions. The first mode is clear when defendants challenged the magistrates by

answering their questions by other questions. Reformulations and counter-questions as resistance methods were also analysed in later studies such as Haworth (2006). Defendants also used interruptions to show they have control over the flow of the conversation. The most interesting mode of resistance was appeals to preconditions. Harris has adapted Labov and Fanshel's (1977) preconditions because 'they make explicit the shared social knowledge on the basis of which the various participants are operating' (Harris, 1989: 150). These pre-conditions are underlying rules that both defendants and magistrates know and try to challenge or abide by. Harris (1989: 150) explains these rules as:

> If we specify the magistrate (or clerk) as A and the defendant as B and X as the act of payment, the rule can be formalized as follows:
>
> If A addresses to B an imperative or mitigated form specifying an action X, and B believes that A believes that
>
> 1. X should be done (need for action)
> 2. B has the ability to do X
> 3. B has the obligation to do X
> 4. A has the right to tell B to do X
> 5. B is willing to do X
> 6. A has the power to force B to do X
>
> Then A is heard as making a valid request for action.

Harris states that these rules underlie all interactions in the courtroom as an institution. Accordingly, judges or magistrates refer to them because they represent the institution and defendants challenge the preconditions as a form of resisting the power of the magistrates. In her data, many of the defendants resist precondition number two (i.e. their ability to pay the fine) and the magistrate presupposes that in 'flouting [pre-condition] 5, that in fact the defendants are unwilling to fulfil the request rather than lacking the ability to do so.' (Harris, 1989: 151). She stresses (157-158) that power should be considered as important features of communication and not separate elements:

> […] the exercise of power, and consequently also resistance to power, is in important ways rooted in social interaction, which is primarily linguistic. Communication is a dynamic process, even in asymmetrical institutional contexts. Language is not merely transparent in this process.

Political and media interviews are other fields that were explored in terms of concepts of power and resistance. For example, Harris (1991) analysed resistance in interviews with politicians from a slightly different perspective than her 1989 study. Here, she defines resistance as the degree of evasiveness of political figures or how they

try to avoid answering questions. Harris explains that to investigate the level of evasiveness in a politician's answer, it is important to clearly define the difference between a response and an answer in relation to a question and to consider what makes an answer direct or indirect. To reach such a definition, Harris does not focus on research about the syntactic nature of questions. She only considers their pragmatic function – gathering information – even if the utterance was not in the syntactic form of a question. In that sense, she argues that not everything that comes after a question is an answer but it does constitute a response. Harris collected 17 political interviews with high profile UK politicians between 1984 and 1987 to answer her research questions. She then analysed all the responses of politicians in her data and found that there were three main categories: direct answers, indirect answers and challenges, which she later subdivides into two types each. She used these response patterns as her coding framework: direct, indirect, and challenges. Figure 3 below illustrates Harris' analytical categories.

Answer	
	Direct answer containing explicitly expressed 'yes' or 'no', 'of course', 'right', etc. or 'copy' type answer involving deletion or the selection of a disjunct.
	Direct answer which supplies value for a missing variable in response to a 'wh- question'
	Indirect answer which involves inference (either selection of some intermediate position between 'yes' and 'no' or either 'yes' or 'no' can be inferred from the answer), or a value for a missing variable can be inferred.
	Indirect answer from which neither 'yes' nor 'no' can be inferred or a value for a missing variable but which maintains cohesion, topic coherence, presuppositional framework and illocutionary coherence.
	Challenges of one or more of the presuppositions of a question.
	Challenges of the illocutionary force of a question
Evasion	

Figure 3. Harris' evasion scale

Harris (1991) explains that direct answers could be in the form of direct *yes/no* answers or could add some missing information. Indirect answers are when the listener could infer a *yes/no* choice or infer this choice from the context. Challenges, on the other hand, are when the interviewee challenges presuppositions or the illocutionary force of questions. After coding her data, Harris relates these types of responses to a scale of evasiveness, direct answers being the least evasive method and challenges the

most evasive of responses. However, she argues that these categories are not straightforward and could sometimes be problematic in application. First, not all responses including *yes* or *no* constitute direct answers to the question. They might be followed by an elaboration that shifts the topic proposed by the interviewer. Second, *yes* and *no* could be used as 'a preface to introduce a different view' (Harris, 1991: 90). Last, sometimes both *yes* and *no* are used in the same answer when the question deals with more than one topic or when the question 'contains a frame (such as '*are you saying*', '*are you arguing*', '*do you accept*', '*is it your view*', and so forth) followed by an embedded proposition' (Harris, 1991: 91); the use of *yes* or *no* could be an answer to the frame and not the question itself. For example, (Harris: 1991: 91):

(I=Interviewer; Pol=Politician)	
I.	So you're saying- Prime Minister- in effect he [an unemployed person]
	should go out and look for it [work]
Pol.	No- I'm saying we try to mobilise all efforts

In the example above, the politician responded, 'no' to the frame '*so you're saying*,' instead of giving a direct answer '*yes he should or no he should not*'. Therefore, the structure of the question gives the politician an opportunity to be indirect. Harris' findings reveal that politicians are evasive and indirect in the way they answer many questions. First, direct answers comprised only 39% of the responses, whereas 61% of their responses were more inclined to the evasive scale: indirect answers or challenges. In this study, I investigate whether these same strategies of evasiveness are used in my data or whether there are alternative modes of achieving this (See Chapter 5). In addition, I explore whether there is a relation between prosecution questions (i.e. their forms) and the levels of suspect evasiveness (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Power has also been explored in the police interview setting. Heydon (2005) studies Australian police interviews using a combination of conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis. She examines the power of police interviewers to create their own version of events as opposed to that of suspects. To examine this, Heydon (2005: 33) discusses the linguistic tools and 'practices' officers use for the creation of their version such as topic control and formulations. Heydon (2005: 10-11) used Goffman's Participation Framework 'as a tool to uncover the structure of the interview by identifying shifts in participation roles that aligned with shifts in interview goals'. Goffman (1974: 517) as cited in Heydon (2005: 21) states that any conversation is a sort of network where participants occupy one of four roles (principal, author, animator and

figure) to refer to themselves and others. Principal is the first role that is assumed by the individual whose viewpoint is expressed in a certain utterance. The author is the individual who creates or writes the words uttered, whereas the animator's role is to produce the utterance. According to Heydon, the first three roles could be assigned to different participants depending on the interview part: opening, closing or information gathering. For example, in the opening and closing sections of any interview, where there are ritual elements to the discourse, 'the roles of author and principal are assigned to the police institution and only the role of animator to the police officer' (Heydon, 2004: 30).

(VPO1=Interviewer; CH3=Suspect)	
VPO1:	Here we go (..) ((sits)) OK (..) now I'm going to be reading from something. all right↑ so um. just bear with me. All right this is a videotaped statement at the ah Melbourne Community Policing Squad today's um Sunday the twenty-fifth of May↑ (.) 1997↑ (.) can you tell the time Alison↑ (.) have you got a wa- oh very good can you tell me what the time is by your watch↑
CH3:	Um. one past eleven↑
VPO1:	So is mine (.) that's good (.) all right the time is one past eleven. my name is Senior Constable Alex Maxwell and I'm with Alison (..) Alison could you tell me what your full name is↑
	(Heydon, 2005: 152)

In the extract above, the police officer states *I'm going to be reading from something,* which according to Heydon (2005: 152) reflects that 'the statement made by VPO1 is not speech created by her, but rather a scripted statement created by someone representing the police force as an institution'. In other words, the institution is the author, in this case placing the responsibility of what is said in the statement on the institution rather than the officer interviewing the suspects or witnesses. However, this role distribution changes in the middle stage of the interview 'where the roles of author and principal, together with the role of animator are assigned to the suspect' but this is sometimes affected by the police investigator's questions (Heydon, 2004: 33). As for the fourth role, figure is the individual being spoken of. When a police officer asks the suspect '*can you just explain to us who Ian is like*' (Heydon, 2004: 32), Heydon argues that all the participants know who Ian is; he is a known figure.

Heydon takes into account the different participant roles used by speakers, or in her case police officers, to reach their institutional goals in an interview. She illustrates

how police interviewers target the institutional goals by highlighting the roles of the participants in police interviews, and the linguistic features used by them to negotiate the participation frameworks and the institutional goals. Some of these linguistic features are question/answer pairs, turn length, vocabulary use, and topic management that should ideally lead to voluntary confessions. Heydon's book is of particular relevance to my study because I investigate the asymmetrical power relations in interrogations. I also look at how these power relations are negotiated and resisted by suspects. For instance, Heydon (2005: 124-125) states that police officers were found to use witnesses statements to challenge the suspect's version of events, to create an alternate version and 'to elicit a confirmation of its veracity from the suspect'. She also investigates the tools suspects and witnesses use to negotiate the different versions presented to them and by them. In the example below, Heydon (2005: 130) discusses the police officer's use of *the fishing device* tool (Pomerantz, 1980 as mentioned in Heydon, 2005: 126) where the officer mentions the information he knows from other witnesses' statements 'inviting a response from the recipient'.

(pio1=Interviewer; SPT1=Suspect)	
pio1:	all our witnesses say that ↓ you slammed it the second time again↓
SPT1:	aw well (0.3) **i that's what they say //( )***
pio1:	(0.6) **you've got nothing * to say to that**∧
SPT1:	nup∧
pio1:	(1.1) so then you- you've just left ↓

The suspect' response *that's what they say*, however, does not help the officer to match his own version of events, a response that made the officer adjust his follow up questions after failing to 'elicit an adequate account' (130). Such negotiation illustrates how power is not only imposed by the police officer representing his institution, rather it is a resource available to all the participants in the interrogation room. The use of such strategies is an aspect of institutional power which was also discussed by Auburn et al. (1995). Auburn et al. (1995) examine how participants in police interviews negotiate their narratives and how police officers have a preferred version of events where the suspect is responsible for the acts of violence. Similarly, Heydon (2005) studies how police officers and suspects and/or witnesses use discursive patterns and assume different competing roles to support their versions of events. She argues that part of the challenge of studying the interplay between power and discourse in police interviews is

that 'it is not always clear when pressure is being brought to bear on the suspect to conform to a police version of events' (1). Heydon (2005: 71), supporting Auburn et al. (1995) findings, explains that police officers prefer the version of events where suspects are the authors, animators and principal of any crime (Goffman, 1981, see section 3.5 for definitions of Goffman's roles). In my study, I investigate prosecutors' tools for challenging suspects' statements, such as *and/wa*-prefaced questions (Chapter 6), and for addressing their institution's goals and future audiences, evident in their use of PORs (Chapter 7). I also show one of the suspects' responses *I do not know* (Chapter 5) as an example of resistance and negotiation of information. Similar to Heydon (2005), I investigate the interrogator's control and how it is later negotiated or resisted by the suspects.

Research that deals with interrogations, courtroom questioning or interviews refers to the co-operation of the suspect, witness or interviewee, but it does not always support the hypothesis that Grice's (1975) co-operative principle is applicable in a legal setting. For example, Levinson (1992) argued that although Grice (1975) in his co-operative principle and maxims highlights how people are expected to be co-operative in terms of manner, quality, quantity and relevance, one cannot overlook the fact that in certain situations, such as interrogations, people are not expected to be fully co-operative. For example, in the case of interrogations 'it is unlikely that either party assumes the other is fulfilling the maxims…' (Levinson, 1992: 76). He also adds that sometimes during courtroom questioning, defendants know that it is not in their interest 'to cooperate beyond the minimum required to escape contempt of court' (Levinson, 1992: 77). Therefore, they try to evade giving a definite answer and this would not mean that they are uncooperative as it is expected in this particular context. To get around this problem in Gricean maxims, Levinson suggests that we 'accept Grice's maxims as specifications of some basic unmarked communication context, deviations from which, however common, are seen as special or marked' (Levinson, 1992: 78). Therefore, it would be normal for suspects to evade certain questions that might lead to their imprisonment.

Cotterill (2010) agrees with Levinson (1992) that Grice's maxims apply differently to a courtroom setting. Therefore, she argues that the maxims need to be adapted. In her 2010 study, she presents a modified version of the maxims. For example in the courtroom, in order to observe the Maxim of Quantity and Relation witnesses are expected to answer questions in an informative – as suggested by Grice (1975) – but

concise manner and this takes place because 'the lawyer or the judge will curtail a response which contains extraneous detail' (Cotterill, 2010: 364). In relation to the Maxim of Quality, being truthful is related to the quality of evidence witnesses present to the court; '[they] are not allowed to 'make up' evidence or speculate about things they have not seen, heard or witnessed' (Cotterill, 2010: 364). Thirdly, witnesses are also not expected to give irrelevant contributions and should avoid ambiguity, which Cotterill argues is challenging because the nature of legal language is ambiguous. In her study, she found that witnesses used one of three strategies to break these conversational maxims: questioning the relevance of the lawyer's questions, deviating from the turn sequence intended by the lawyer and challenging the status of the lawyer. This was similar to Haworth's (2006) finding: power is negotiated and not a right unique to interviewers or lawyers (see section 3.4 for more details).

Re-questioning or counter-questions is a recurring mode of resistance found in police interview research (e.g. Haworth, 2006; Harris, 1989). Haworth (2006) argues that suspects, like police interviewers, have power and control that they emphasise through different strategies. For example, in her data, the suspect, Harold Shipman, defies the underlying codes of institutional discourse (police interviews in this study) by challenging and resisting the interviewer using four strategies. First, Shipman challenges the interviewer's status or role by choosing the topic of the interview. At other times, he even criticises and makes fun of the interviewer's questions and role in the interrogation. Haworth also argues that Shipman used subtle forms of resistance because he did not want to constantly challenge the power of the interviewer so as not to appear guilty (Haworth, 2006: 746):

(P=Police; S=Shipman)	
P:	the entry for (.) Mrs Grundy's visit on the 9th of June, (.) will you tell me why (.) there's no reference there (.) to you taking any blood from her. (-)
S:	normally (all) the blood results came back two days later.

In the example, Shipman's response appears to be a 'legitimate and helpful answer – but not to the question asked. This is therefore a subtle form of subversion rather than a blatant challenge' (Haworth, 2006: 746). Resistance is also noticed when Shipman took 'the shield of his institution' (Haworth, 2006: 747). In other words, he resists the interviewer's accusations by showing that he was following his institution's standard

practices. For example, when asked about the reason that his records do not say anything about the blood sample he has taken from the victim, Shipman's answer, '*it's not the custom of most general practitioners to write, (.) 'I have taken a blood sample which would consist of this this and this*' shows that he is blaming his institution and its customs and not himself. In this case, his resistance strategy was using his institutional power as a doctor. These resistance strategies confirm Eades' (2008) observation mentioned above that Dr Shipman succeeded in resisting the interviewer's power because of his status as a doctor. Reformulation of questions was the last resistance strategy used by Shipman. When he did not like the question asked, or felt it would cause him to give 'damaging' evidence, he rephrased the question.

Haworth's findings were similar to those of Newbury and Johnson (2006), although they analysed a different police interview with Shipman. They saw resistance not only as the challenge of an underlying structure but also as an active choice on the part of the interviewee to emphasise his identity. In other words, they defined it as a dynamic factor that is used in any conversation by the less powerful participant in order to resist the power and control of the institution. Shipman resisted by using four strategies: contest, correction, avoidance and refusal. Newbury and Johnson considered these four strategies as subtle modes of resistance used by their suspect, Harold Shipman, who did not want to seem uncooperative or to appear to be directly flouting the co-operative principle (Grice, 1975), which might lead the interviewer or the court to infer guilt. According to Newbury and Johnson (2006: 228), resistance only occurred when the interviewer embedded incriminating presuppositions in their *WH-* questions. For example:

> … You attended the house at 3 o'clock and that's when you murdered this lady and so much was your rush to get back, you went back to the surgery and immediately started altering this lady's medical records. We can prove that only minutes after 3 o'clock on that date you were fabricating that false medical history for this woman. You tell me why you needed to do that?

This was to restrict Shipman's answers and to lead him to confirm his involvement in the killing of his patients (Newbury and Johnson, 2006: 215). They argue that resistance takes place when an interviewee produces dispreferred responses that serve as 'disagreements, disconfirmations and rejections' (Pomerantz and Heritage, 2013: 211) to an interviewer's utterance or an ambiguous response or avoids answering altogether.

Of the four major resistance strategies discussed by Newbury and Johnson (2006), avoidance was used by Shipman because he wanted to stop a question sequence that he thought would lead to him being accused. Therefore, he used statements such as *'I do not know'* or *'I do not remember'* to avoid giving an accurate answer or to show that the information he is being asked for was unimportant or 'insignificant' (Newbury and Johnson, 2006: 222). Contest was another strategy used to resist the interviewer's power when Shipman gave a dispreferred response (*yes* or *no* with no elaboration or reason). For example, the interviewer asks Dr. Shipman about giving his victim a deadly dose of a drug leading to her death.

(P = Police officer, S= Shipman)	
P:	I'd like to put it to you, doctor, that you were the person who
	administered that lady with the drug, aren't you?
S:	No.
	(Newbury and Johnson, 2006: 221)

The officer's question 'followed by the tag, has the effect of inviting the suspect to reply with the expected response – that is, confirmation of the proposition contained in the question' (Newbury and Johnson, 2006: 221). Shipman, however, rejected the officer's proposition, but he does not explain who he thinks might be the killer. The rejection of a question's proposition without adding an explanation on the part of the suspect is what Newbury and Johnson referred to as contest. The third resistance strategy identified in the data was correction, where the interviewee corrects or reformulates the question as a way to 'correct' the negative presupposition that the interviewer embeds in his questions. The fourth and the most uncooperative strategy, refusal, was when Shipman openly refused to answer a question as was his right because of the caution/right to silence. He used responses such as *I have nothing to say and there's no answer.*

The studies I have reviewed in this section contribute to a body of knowledge that helps in the analysis of questioning techniques in legal settings and resistance patterns exercised by suspects and witnesses. Oxburgh et al. (2016) state that questions in police interviews are restrictive by nature because suspects and/or witnesses are expected to design their responses in relation to the officer's question. They portray interviewers as the main source of power in the interview room because they are responsible for posing questions and for managing topics. They (2016: 151) state:

> […] in an investigative interview, the interviewer does have the power
> to sanction a non-answer; for example, they can ask the question again

and keep pressing until an 'acceptable' answer is produced […] There is, therefore, clear interactional pressure on the interviewee only to address the topics set by the interviewer […]

This thesis continues this line of analysing patterns of power and resistance in interrogations; I, however, highlight the particular role of suspects in the formation of the interrogation. Haworth (2006) also emphasises the role and resistance of suspects and she discusses how Dr. Shipman initiated topics and resisted responding to questions, as we have seen. In particular, the focus here is on power and resistance drawing on Haworth's discussion of power (2006) and Newbury and Johnson's (2006) and Harris's (1991) categories of resistance. In addition, I discuss the effectiveness or lack of effectiveness of resistance that comes as a response to questions that are designed to meet the requirements of future audiences (see section 3.5 and chapter 7). Studies in the next section discuss the characteristics of interrogations and how it is a type of institutional discourse.

3.4.1   Power in interrogations as a form of institutional discourse

A substantial body of literature has been produced on courtroom discourse (e.g. Atkinson and Drew, 1979) and police interviews (e.g. Heydon, 2005); however, it has been suggested by researchers that findings of most of these studies were not comparable for many reasons (e.g. Haworth, 2006; Oxburgh, 2010). For example, the setting of the study could play an important role in producing different findings. Most of the studies on both courtroom discourse and police interviews were mainly based in the UK (e.g. Harris, 1984; 1989; 1991; Haworth, 2006; Johnson, 2008), Australia (e.g. Heydon, 2005; Yoong, 2010), US (e.g. Agar 1985; Ainsworth, 1993; Shuy, 1998), Netherlands (e.g. Komter, 2002; 2002/2003; 2003; 2012), Belgium (e.g. D'hondt, 2009; Maryns, 2014) and Canada (e.g. Wright and Alison, 2004). Each of these settings has different rules that affect the institutional discourse used. In addition, each researcher has access to different kinds of data: written, audio or video recorded depending on their setting. An example of this is Snook et al.'s study (2012) that is undertaken to explore the practices of Canadian police officers. They use written police transcripts for data, because they have no access to audio recordings, as opposed to the use of audio recordings in other studies (e.g. Haworth, 2006) or video (e.g. Matoesian, 2010). This affects the type of methodology used to analyse the data and access to information such as the use of interruptions, silence and gesture. Data in my study is in the form of

written records with no access to audio or video, a detail that affected my analysis of patterns in the data (see Chapter four for discussion).

Yoong (2010) presents an overview of the code that police officers follow when questioning suspects in Australia. He analyses an interview carried out by the Australian Joint Counter Terrorism Team (JCTT) with Dr Mohamed Haneef, who is suspected of being an accomplice in a terrorist attack. In his analysis, Yoong discusses the questioning techniques used by the JCTT and mentions that

> […] the JCTT employed the Electronic Recording of Interviews with Suspected Persons (ERISP) procedure. The ERISP evidently influences the way questioning officers have to conduct themselves as they too are being monitored, and this adds up to the way normalized interaction is conducted in the interrogation room (2010: 697).

The use of such procedures, according to Yoong, normalises the interviews taking place in any given context and compares the use of ERISP procedure to the use of PEACE in the UK setting. He argues that the use of this JCTT questioning protocol results in a number of recurring practices such as 'mentioning the time and date, and identif[ying] the interlocutors in the interrogation room' (698) and the use of 'yes-no questions from time to time to the person of interest' (700). These practices are 'for the purposes of the tape and for voice identification' (Yoong, 2010: 698) and 'to confirm that the police and law enforcement agencies have been taking care of [the suspect] and that he has been fairly treated' (Yoong, 2010: 700). Yoong (2010: 697) recommends that officers follow these questioning norms and protocols because if they deviate from these rules or perform any 'misconduct' it may 'jeopardize the case and prove to be a disadvantage'. The protocols do not work only in the advantage of interviewees, it also protects interviewing officers:

> Apart from creating the impression of transparency and accountability, the protocols in these excerpts appear to act like insurances; that is, to absolve the officers from being implicated for potential misconduct during the questioning. Also, the protocols act as devices to protect the person of interest from human rights abuses and to show that in no way has the person of interest been mistreated or wrongly implicated during questioning
>
> (Yoong, 2010: 703)

Yet, there is a gap between the theory and the practice because even though Yoong claims that that police officers in Australia follow 'best practices' that they learnt in their training and they showed no signs of bias, there is evidence in his data that police

officers interrupted their suspect when they did not give the expected answer. It is worth noting at this point that protocols do not prevent biased interviewing. Police officers are trained to collect evidence for a prosecution. They are also trained to push suspects using language (and not physical coercion), which is the reason for the existence of studies similar to my thesis that investigate how interrogating transforms evidence.

Although researchers agree that police officers are trained to use interviewing procedures such as PEACE in the UK and some areas in Canada, the REID technique in the US and the ERISP procedure used in Yoong's study (e.g. Haworth, 2006; Heydon, 2004; Oxburgh et al, 2010), not all of the officers were found to follow what Yoong calls best practices (Snook et al., 2012; Wright and Alison, 2004). Snook et al.'s (2012) findings were in opposition to those of Yoong (2010). Their study analysed 80 police interviews with suspects in Canada. Findings suggested that interviewers in their data failed to get enough information from their suspects for many reasons. First, police officers mainly used closed and *yes/no* questions to elicit information, which restricted the interviewees' answers and turn lengths. These kinds of questions did not allow the interviewees to give free accounts of the events, which obstructed the goal of the interview: get as much information from the suspect as possible. In addition, police officers talked too much and did not provide sufficient opportunities for the suspects to contribute. As a conclusion, Snook et al. suggest that more training needs to be given to police officers about the type of questions (open-ended) and controlling interruptions that will ensure that interviewees are given opportunities to tell their story.

Other than setting, participants themselves are another reason for different research findings. In the studies reviewed, researchers looked at interviews with adults (Ainsworth, 2010; Rock, 2010; Snook et al., 2012; Yoong, 2010) and children (Aldridge and Cameron, 1999; Kask, 2012; Linfoot-Ham, 2006). Oxburgh et al. (2010) suggest that there is a gap in the interviewing research and a need for more studies focusing on pragmatic functions of questions and not their syntactic categories; this gap is of particular interest in my investigation of the pragmatic functions of questions and answers in interaction between prosecutors and suspects. According to Oxburgh et al. (2010), however, different questioning techniques are used with child interviewees making it difficult to compare with those used with adults. Although research with children is not directly related to my research, some of the issues of question types, and power raised by this research can be applied to the analysis of my data. For example, the use of *and/so*-prefaced questions and their role in narrative construction, the

complexity of legal language and its effect on the flow of the interview, and avoidance of leading questions are some of the characteristics of child interviews that are applicable to adult interrogations. Other researchers have looked at courtroom examination (e.g. Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007) and interrogations (e.g. (e.g. Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2008) with witnesses or suspects or vulnerable witnesses only.

3.4.2 Questioning tactics and power in institutional settings

Framing questions and receiving responses are important factors in people's daily interactions. Researchers have been interested in the linguistic analyses of question/answer interactions found in various discourse types. For example, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) investigated questions and their importance in classroom discourse. Others such as Labov and Fanshel (1977), Bull (1994) and Clayman (2001; 2010) have analysed questioning techniques in the medical, political and media contexts respectively. With the growing interest in language and the law, more research has been carried out on the importance of questions and responses in contexts such as police interviews (Johnson, 2008; Haworth, 2010; 2013; Heydon, 2005) and courtroom exchanges (e.g. Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007; Cotterill, 2003; 2010; Harris, 1989; 1994). Such studies focus, among other things, on interviewing (e.g. Heydon, 2005), the nature of the questions asked by lawyers (e.g. Heffer et al., 2013), and the form and pragmatic functions of such questions (Gibbons, 2003).

Heritage (2002: 1427) argues that 'in its most elementary form, 'a question' is a form of social action, designed to seek information and accomplished in a turn at talk by means of interrogative syntax'. Many researchers (e.g. Stokoe and Edwards, 2008; Haworth, 2013) have considered how questions are designed by participants to establish control and power over others or to manipulate others to get the information they need. It is generally asserted that lawyers and police interviewers ask witnesses and suspects questions to elicit information or to gain confirmation of their version of events (Gibbons, 2003). It is worth noting that previous literature on interviewing has not always considered questions to be tools to inform or confirm; interrogative forms 'can and do act as accusations […], with the interviewee faced with the choice of tacitly accepting the accusation as true by answering the question or challenging the interviewer' (Harris, 1991: 82). According to Harris (1991), some questions are leading in the sense that they are not asked to just invite suspects to give a narrative. They are

also tools to make suspects accept the accusations implied in the questions. PORs in this thesis are not merely considered tools of accusations that need responses from suspects. They are questions that do not expect answers but they put on the official interrogation record information that serves the institutional goal (see section 3.4.3 and Chapter 7). Similar to English, questions in Arabic language can be found in different forms. Table 1 shows the two most frequent question types found in Egyptian interrogations. Unlike English questions, question formation is not complex because question words are used at the beginning of the question and there is no inversion of word order (Ryding, 2005). According to Badawi et al (2004), one of the major question types in Arabic is *yes–no* questions that begin in with either '*hal*' or '*ʾa*'; they require a yes or no answer. Another important question type is one that is similar to the English *wh*-question; they usually ask for specific information and the answer provides such information. For example: '*mādhā*' and '*mā*' are similar to *what*; '*li-mādhā*' is similar to *why* and it asks about a reason; '*ayy*' is used in alternative questions and is similar to *which* in its function; '*kayfa*' is similar to *how* in meaning; and '*matā*' corresponds to *when* and it asks about time. Some questions are declarative utterances that are normally delivered as statements that require the respondent to agree or disagree, as in English.

Table 1. Arabic question types in Egyptian interrogations

	Question type	Structure	Example
1.	yes-no questions	Start with either 'hal' or 'ʾa'	'hal yaḥiqqu lī̄ ʾan ʾaġdaba? / do I have the right to be angry?'
2.	Wh-questions	Start with 'mādhā', 'mā',' 'li-mādhā', 'ayy', 'matā' etc..	'man huwwa? / who is he?'

The study of questions in an institutional setting and their role in constructing status and power is under-investigated in Arabic linguistics. There have been some investigations of questions and answers in media discourse (e.g. Alfahad, 2015), but none has been done in a legal setting, making this study an important addition to Arabic linguistics as well as language and the law.

Holt and Johnson (2010) acknowledge that questions and turn-taking techniques are important features of police interviews. This is why many studies have been focused on analysing question types (e.g. Johnson, 2002; Wright and Alison, 2004) resulting in a body of literature producing different perspectives on the data because of the way researchers have defined question forms and categories. Oxburgh et al. (2010) believe

that research findings and police manuals both recommend the use of open questions because they allow interviewees to give free accounts and more information to the officer. Despite this consensus, police officers were found not to follow this in real life interviews, revealing a gap between theory and practice. On the contrary, researchers (e.g. Kask, 2012; Snook et al., 2012; Wright and Alison, 2004) found police officers often interrupted the suspects, talked more than interviewees, and used closed questions that restricted the interviewees' accounts more than open ones. These findings could suggest a problem with Oxburgh et al.'s position because they were focusing on studies that discuss the optimum questioning techniques while research investigating everyday questioning techniques were still under researched. Mundane questioning tactics is the focus of this thesis, where I investigate the strategies used by prosecutors to build the institutional case.

The gap between theory and practice is also evident in my data and study. For example, I have conducted a couple of informal interviews with two prosecutors in Egypt to compare between the legislation and legal requirements of the institution and what takes place in reality. Some of the gaps discussed were the involvement of police officers in the process of interrogation even though this is prohibited by law. Their involvement is supported by the prosecutor's office 'due to the weak evidentiary support in Egypt' according to prosecutors. Identifying this gap has affected the way I look at my data. It was crucial to acknowledge that the data I have on the interrogations have gone through many other stages before reaching the form I have. In addition, since I am discussing the effectiveness of questioning techniques in Egyptian interrogations and the presence or absence of coercion in the process, it is important for future and researchers and I to acknowledge the real role of police in the interrogations to have any real impact on the progression and improvement of the system and the training of interrogators.

According to Oxburgh et al. (2010), police manuals and academic researchers have both used different methods of describing questions and their forms and have each reported on the advantages and disadvantages of the use of any given form in interrogations. Oxburgh et al. recommend that despite the importance of the study of question forms, the focus of studies should not only focus on question forms. Instead, they argue that researchers should categorise questions according to their pragmatic function. In my study, focus is given to both the form and pragmatic functions of utterances. In the analysis chapters, I discuss both the form of responses and questions

and the pragmatic functions behind using them. In Chapter 6, I discuss the form of *wa-/and*-prefaced questions and how prosecutors paired the preface with words such *sabab/reason* and/or *limaza/why* and I also investigate the pragmatic functions of such combinations. Chapter 7 is also a discussion of the form and function of PORs and how they serve the institutional role of prosecutors by addressing future audiences. In addition, I investigate the relation between question forms and their effect on the types of responses of suspects.

Aldridge and Luchjenbroers (2007) deal with questions in courtrooms with a special focus on vulnerable witnesses. In their study, they discuss how sexual assault witnesses in the UK deal with the barristers' questions in court and they also analyse the 'strategic linguistic choices' (Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007: 86; 88) that such barristers employ in court to communicate their version of the narrative to the jury. They describe the language used by lawyers as 'disempowering' to witnesses because they make lexical and semantic choices when designing their questions to weaken the credibility of the witnesses, which serves their agenda: to affect the decision of the jury. By making these semantic and linguistic choices, barristers 'smuggle' information about the witnesses and their stories into their questions to influence the juries and how they view the defendant. Framing questions using lexical and syntactic choices is the strategy used by barristers in their study to pass presuppositions in their questions.

> Frames are conceptual representations of experience that define a situation (in memory), and provide an event structure that enables us to comprehend how the parts fit into a whole; how an event is unfolding; and to predict what will come next. Even though this appears to concern event references, lexical access taps into the same field of knowledge so that as soon as we hear a word, a number of associations will be triggered dependent on our life experiences. Frames therefore also capture the body of social expectations associated with each lexical choice.
>
> (Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007: 91)

Aldridge and Luchjenbroers use the theory of frames to explain that barristers' lexical choices 'trigger' (92) a 'network of associations' (92) that reinforce the image of the witness or the defendant they want to convey to the jury. The example below is an extract from a police interview used in the court trial (Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007: 92):

Police:	You told me earlier on you were on the game or had been on the game
Witness:	I've never been on the game
Police:	*Never* been on the game?
Witness:	I have never taken money for sex, ever

The officer here intends to put the victim in the prostitution frame and 'clearly the lexical choice *'on the game'* instantiates a prostitute frame' (Statham, 2016: 181). The reproduction of such a frame in court aims at weakening the victim's credibility and narrative in front of the jurors that she 'refused sex' (93). In other words, frames trigger expectations from the jury with regards to the social and cultural references mentioned in court and it affects their evaluation of the information. Lexical and syntactic choices have a more strategic role than triggering conceptual frames.

> When particular conceptual frames are accessed (triggered by a speaker's lexical and syntactic choices) that frame-consistent information also becomes present in the listener's understanding of the ongoing discourse […] This information is referred to as 'smuggled' when it is inserted into a witness's testimony by virtue of the listener being diverted from that piece of information

> (Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007: 94).

This smuggled information is damaging to the case of witnesses and, according to Aldridge and Luchjenbroers (2007), most of the time witnesses do not realise the damage being done to their credibility.

The focus on the relation between questions and the institutional agenda is very relevant to the interrogation setting in question in this study. This dynamic relation was explained by Cotterill (2010: 354) who suggests that in the courtroom

> The judge as the most powerful participant, is able to interact with any of the other individuals present in the courtroom. Not only this, but he/she is also able to question any of the legal or lay people present with a variety of speech acts including questions… declarations… in addition to a range of performatives…

In other words, this institutional representative has the greatest degree of power and control over the flow of the conversation. These findings have inspired a line of research which investigates the strategies used by less powerful participants in institutional discourse to resist this control and to highlight their own resources of power (see Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of resistance). In Chapters 6 and 7, I investigate how prosecutors use different question types: *and/wa*-prefaced and Put On

Record questions to fit their questioning agendas. I acknowledge Drew and Heritage's (1992) view that there are pre-inscribed roles and obligations by the institution that affect the flow of any institutional interaction. Therefore, I explore the patterns or characteristics of institutional discourse mentioned above. However, like Thornborrow (2005) and Haworth (2006), I keep in mind that this structure cannot control what participants actually do or say in the interaction. I investigate how participants in interrogations in Egypt use or resist these underlying characteristics, how prosecutors 'smuggle' (Aldridge and Luchjenbroers, 2007) information into their questions, and what the pragmatic force is when this resistance happens. Like Thornborrow (2005) and Haworth (2006: 741), in my study I focus on 'the interplay between the discursive and institutional roles of participants'. The next section introduces studies that have looked at questions aimed at the institutional agenda rather than information gathering purposes.

3.4.3 Questions aimed at the 'record'

As mentioned above, not all questions should be regarded as requests for information or confirmation in conversations. There have been many instances in the literature that support such a claim. For example, Bull (1994) carried out a study to develop criteria to categorise questions, responses and non-responses found in political interviews. Among the question types he recorded were interrogatives that '…can also be used to pose a question that one not only expects to remain unanswered but that one expects to be unanswerable' (1994: 117). Bull adds that it is this apparent conflict between the syntactic form of the question: *interrogative* and its pragmatic role: *to remain unanswered* that any analyst needs to be aware of when analysing his/her data.

Aldridge and Luchjenbroers' study (2007), as previously mentioned, report on how barristers smuggled information in their questions in court. This feature of smuggling could also be found in the interrogation setting. Stokoe and Edwards (2008) investigate a type of question which they called silly questions. In their study they describe 'how 'silly questions' asked by police officers in interviews with suspects are designed to initiate courses of action in which suspects' intentions and knowledge, or 'state of mind' with regard to the actions they have already admitted carrying out, are made explicit 'for the record'' (2008: 107). These 'silly questions' are similar to Bull's (1994) unanswerable questions. They are not meant to be answered by the interviewees. On the contrary, police officers add to these interrogatives:

> […] prefaces ('might sound a bit silly', 'take it you know . . .') and accounts ('I have to ask these questions') characterize [silly questions] as routine and merely (re-)stating the obvious. But they also […] work as an efficient method of obtaining for the record an elicited or confessed-to version of *criminally relevant* understandings, intentions, actions and consequences   (Stokoe and Edwards, 2008: 108).

The question type that is the focus of Chapter 7, PORs, have a resemblance to the interrogative categories in Bull (1994), Harris (1991) and Stokoe and Edwards (2008). They are questions in a syntactic form that invite the addressees to give a response but pragmatically they function as putting a certain statement or accusation, as Harris (1991) defines it, on record for lawyers and judges who will be dealing with the case in court. Haworth (2013: 49) described Stokoe and Edwards' 'silly questions' as a strategy to 'establish relevant evidence against the interviewee 'on record'', which is their institutional goal. She also adds that such questions are framed for future overhearing audiences more than the immediate audiences of the police interview. In the next section, I discuss the role of future audiences in question design and responses.

3.5   Intended audience: revisiting Bell's audience design model

> In audience design, speakers accommodate primarily to their addressee. Third-persons – auditors and overhearers – affect style to a lesser but regular degree.

> (Bell, 1984: 145)

Police interviews have been described as a multi-audience and a multi-context discourse setting (Coulthard, 1996; Johnson, 2008; Komter, 2002). The multi-context feature is evident because discourse taking place in the interrogation room is not only accessible to the police officer who plays the role of the interviewer and the suspects and witnesses who play the role of interviewees. On the contrary, these interviews are essential elements of the legal process (e.g. when the case goes to court) and are used in many contexts after the interview is over (Haworth, 2010). Having a multi-audience is another important feature of police interviews, which is closely related to it being multi-contextual. As Haworth (2013: 48) clarifies 'since police interview discourse recurs in multiple contexts, it therefore has multiple sets of recipients'. In other words, she explains that the 'trans-contextual nature' of the discourse affects who the discourse is aimed at (48). Johnson (2008: 330) acknowledges these two features of police interviews by stating 'interviewers evaluate the legal point of the story […] and this is done for an overhearing audience, who is not present, but only encountered in the

future, if the case goes to trial […] The talk is performed for a higher authority, a judge and jury, though these are only represented by the tape recorder…'. Due to the unique features of such a context, research has been carried out to study the linguistic and pragmatic characteristics of this discourse (e.g. Komter, 2002; Stokoe and Edwards, 2008). In addition, there was interest in researching how police records are transformed and transferred from one context to the other (see Chapter 1).

Many studies have looked at the role of audiences or different participant interactions (e.g. Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Coulthard, 1996; Goffman, 1981; Haworth, 2013; Heritage, 1985; Heydon, 2005). They investigated the concept of an audience (Hymes, 1974), roles of both speakers and addressees (Goffman, 1981) and how they affect the management of the discourse (Haworth, 2013). Hymes' (1974) study is considered as one of the first that studies the importance of looking into the role of audience in shifts of discourse style, as he argued that audience is one of the many factors affecting speech such as topic, and genre. Hymes' contemporaries, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974: 727) coined the concept of 'recipient design' to describe how 'talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants'. Their focus was on pragmatics and stylistic variations such as word selection, topic selection and sequencing. Similarly, Giles and Powesland (1975) investigated how speakers modify their speech to 'accommodate' the person being addressed. They called this 'Communicative Accommodation Theory' where speakers either move their language closer to their audience (convergence) or move their speech apart (divergence) (Giles, 1973), thereby increasing the social distance between them and the listener. Communicative Accommodation Theory was later discussed by other researchers such as Coupland (2010) and Giles et al. (1991) who describe Accommodation Theory as a method to 'achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a conversational partner (Giles et al, 1991: 2). Hymes (1974) Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) and Giles and Powesland (1975) traced these adaptations of speech through changes in stylistic features, but they did not take into account audiences who are not present in the face-to-face interaction between the speakers.

Goffman (1981: 3) also acknowledges that audience has an important role in the discourse and he proposes the concept of Participation Framework, on which, he argues, interactional analysis depends:

When a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range
of the event, will have some sort of participation status relative to it.

With this concept, Goffman moves away from the secondary role of audience in discourse, towards a more central role by discussing speaker and hearer roles. He points out that the audience-speaker relationship is not straightforward. Hearers and their roles are determined by their connection to any spoken discourse. Goffman stated different hearer roles: ratified participants who are directly addressed, bystanders who are present in the conversation but not addressed, overhearers who unintentionally listen to the conversation but are apparent to the speaker, and eavesdroppers who are not addressed or known to the speakers but intentionally listen to the speech. He also highlights four roles for speakers: principal, animator, figure and author (see section 3.4 for a full description). Goffman states that when speakers change their footing (i.e. the different statuses and roles that participants assign to themselves in an interaction), it 'implies a change in the alignment [they] take up to [themselves] and the others present as expressed in the way [they] manage the production or reception of an utterance' (1981: 128). Therefore, speakers according to Goffman's framework display their speech for 'encircling hearers' (1981: 138) even if they are not physically present in the conversation. Although Goffman shows the different roles of hearers, he does not illustrate how or if these roles are directly related to any variation in style or speech. Moreover, later studies gave more attention to the roles of speakers than hearers (e.g. Heydon, 2005, see section 3.4 for a discussion of her findings).

Bell also introduced different audience roles where he argues that 'Style is essentially speakers' response to their audience' (1984: 145). As Bell (1984: 145) outlines, in the quotation at the beginning of the section, speech by any given participant in a conversation is oriented towards the different audiences of such a conversation. According to him, any differences that occur in the discourse of any give speaker 'are accountable as the influence of the second person and some third persons, who together compose the audience to a speaker's utterances' (Bell, 1984: 159). In his study, Bell illustrates these various types of audience who influence a speaker's discourse choices: ranging from direct addressees to eavesdroppers. He (1984: 159) categorises them 'according to whether or not the persons are known, ratified, or addressed by the speaker' which takes into account the role of the hidden audiences. He introduced four different audience roles as shown in Table 1.

Table 2. Audience roles (Bell, 1984: 160)

Audience role	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Addressee	+	+	+
Auditor	+	+	-
Overhearer	+	-	-
Eavesdropper	-	-	-

The first member of the audience is the addressee; addressees in all settings are known, ratified and addressed by the first person, the speaker, and that is why Bell used plus signs (+) to symbolise the knowledge of the speaker. Auditors are considered to be the second member of the audience who, if present, are known (+) and ratified (+), but not addressed by the speaker, which is symbolised by the minus sign (-) in Table 1. Overhearers are known (+) to the speaker, but they are neither ratified (-) nor addressed (-). The final members of audience are those who eavesdrop, either by chance or on purpose, the interaction between the speaker and the addressee without being known (-), ratified (-) or addressed (-). Bell (1984: 160) explains the audience interaction in the form of:

> concentric circles, each one more distant from the speaker. Often in an interaction, the physical distance of audience members from the speaker coincides with their role distance, with addressee physically closest and eavesdropper farthest away. Certainly, audience roles are assigned by the speaker, and their degree of salience for the speaker's style design is generally relative to role distance.

Bell's framework takes into account the stylistic variations in speech caused by these hidden audience roles unlike previous studies.

The concept of audience design was described differently by Heritage (1985), who used the term 'overhearing audience' to discuss the role of hearers in relation to the field of broadcast talk. Heritage (1985) argues that questioners in media interviews initiate talk to elicit information for overhearers of the interview. According to Heritage (1985: 100), interviewers use discursive strategies which demote them from the footing of the primary recipient of the interviewee's talk to that of an elicitor. The elicitor footing 'permits overhearers to view themselves as the primary, if unaddressed, recipients of the talk that emerges' (1985: 100). Interviewers also reformulated the interviewees' prior turns to explain ideas to the overhearing audience, who are not necessarily present physically in the conversation.

With the publication of these seminal works on audience design, later researchers have explored and applied the concept of future and/or hidden audiences to different contexts such as courtroom discourse, television interviews and police interviews. For example, Harris (1991) has discussed the impact of the overhearing audience on the responses of politicians in television interviews. In her study, she explores how politicians evade answering questions in such interviews. She states that some 'questions can and do act as accusations […] with the interviewee faced with the choice of tacitly accepting the accusations as true by answering the question or challenging the interviewer' (1991: 82). This causes politicians to evade questions because they direct their responses to the overhearing audience of the interviews. This finding is reiterated by Clayman and Heritage (2002), who also discussed broadcast talk with special attention to the role of overhearing audience. They argue that one of the main features of broadcast interviews is that interviewers target their talk to the overhearing audience more than they do to the interviewee. In this study, I define the 'overhearing audience' or 'future hidden audiences' as the legal professionals who have access to the interrogation records after the end of the prosecution interrogations. The overhearing audience for whom case records are designed in the Egyptian context include judges who deal with the case when it moves to court, lawyers who defend suspects or prosecutors who represent the public, and members of the public such as victims and their families, who are allowed to attend the court sessions. It is worth noting that suspects in this study were found to lack a full understanding of this future audience, which had implications on their responses (discussed below and Chapter 5 and 7). Questions are investigated as forms of accusations and challenges to a suspect's status in a given case.

Audience design was not only applied in non-legal settings. For instance, Drew (1992) also considered the role of overhearing audiences and the effect they have in a legal setting: courtroom interaction. He stated that witness-lawyer interaction is designed to be heard by an overhearing audience who do not take part in the interaction but decide the verdict of the trial based on the lawyer-witness talk. According to Drew (1992), juries are deprived of the opportunity to check their understanding of what they hear in court, which affects the way lawyers design and manage their questions to witnesses and suspects in court. They could ask witnesses to repeat parts of their statements to confirm certain points to the jury and to guarantee their understanding of the talk. Even though in my data there is no jury present in the later trial and questioning

is not based in the courtroom, the overhearing audience (e.g. lawyers, and judges) still play an important role in this context.

Interrogations clearly have an overhearing audience, but this audience is different in nature from those in broadcast talk and courtroom exchanges. In media interviews, participants are aware of the presence of the audience both in the studio and at home to whom they are addressing such interviews. They are also generally aware of how the system works and they get training in how to respond to such questions. Similarly, in courtrooms, lawyers, suspects and witnesses are aware that lawyers direct their talk to the jury and judges to convict the suspect or set him/her free. They are, however, not knowledgeable on how to resist without seeming culpable in a crime. Interviewees, however, in an interrogation are not necessarily aware of the existence of these overhearers who are not present in the interview but are future audiences hidden within the institutional system (Haworth, 2013). Stokoe and Edwards (2008), drawing on Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's 'recipient design' (1974), argue that police officers use 'silly questions', such as 'did you have permission to smash your neighbour's door?', with suspects to put on the case record the details needed for the court later. In other words, police officers ask questions that fit the institutional agenda and help them reach their goals (for further discussion see Chapter 7). While these questions seem 'silly' to suspects, they are far from silly for the institutional members.

Johnson (2008) is also interested in the concept of 'overhearing audience' in police interviews. She argues in her study that these hidden audiences (i.e. the judge and the jury) have an effect on the flow of narrative. According to Johnson (2008: 330), 'interviewers evaluate the legal point of the story: actions and their results, states of mind and behavior, intent, cause and effect, in order to transform it, and this is done for an overhearing audience, who is not present, but only encountered in the future, if the case goes to trial.' In her opinion, both interviewers and suspects are involved in a 'dynamic' process where they negotiate the narrative produced from the interviews (as discussed earlier in section 3.4). This negotiation takes place because both participants are directing their talk to 'a higher authority' (2008: 330) that will overhear the talk. The existence of an overhearing audience makes interviewers work to highlight certain information that could be important for the court case. They achieve this by evaluating the suspect's narrative and trying to make a suspect 'acknowledge his culpability' (330). Through this 'narrative questioning […] the suspect comes face to face with himself and

his social identity from another institutional perspective offered by interviewers' (2008: 331).

In 2013, Haworth revisits Bell's 'audience design' (1984) to study the effect of having different audiences on discourse. She (1984: 50) argues that 'the interviewee […] has more than one 'primary' audience, and they are situated very differently in relation to the talk – physically, temporally, and in terms of their purpose'. Moreover, she states that the speaker is the one who assigns the audience role. Unlike other studies, Haworth investigates the roles of speakers both from the point of view of both the police interviewer and the interviewees. In addition, she shows how this affects their discourse.

Table 3. Hierarchy of attributes and audience roles for interviewees (Haworth, 2013: 52)

Audience role	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Addressee: Interviewer	+	+	+
Auditor: legal representative	+	+	-
Overhearer: --	(+)	-	-
Eavesdropper: Police, CPS, lawyers, jury, judge, magistrates	-	-	-

As shown in Table 2, Haworth supports Bell's audience hierarchy in terms of the first two members of audiences. The addressee (i.e. the interviewer) is known, ratified and addressed by the interviewees (hence the 3 +s in the Table). Interviewees are also aware (+) of the auditors (i.e. the legal representatives) listening to the interview and they are also ratified (+), but they are unaddressed (-): similar to Bell's (1984) design. Haworth (2013) differs from Bell's hierarchy (see Table 1) in the last two categories. Interviewees in Haworth's hierarchy (2013: 53):

> […] are not truly aware of the future audiences for their talk. They are fully aware that they are being recorded and therefore "overheard" (hence the allocation of a '+' in the "known" column for overhearers), but this is not the same as knowing the identity of those who will listen to that recording (hence the parentheses around the '+').

She proposes that interviewees are usually not aware of the most important audience to their discourse (i.e. the eavesdroppers) symbolised by the (-) signs in all three columns. This affects the way they respond to interviewers' questions and how they present and defend themselves.

As for the interviewers, the hierarchy of audiences is similar to that in Table 1 and Table 2 in the first two categories: addressees and auditors. Unlike the interviewees, however, interviewers are aware of the existence of future audiences and sometimes they treat them as the main addressees of their speech as shown in Table 3. Therefore, lawyers, judges and the jury move from the category of eavesdroppers to that of overhearers who are both known (+) and addressed (+).

Table 4. Hierarchy of attributes and audience roles for interviewers (Haworth, 2013: 53)

Audience roles	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Addressee: interviewee	+	+	+
Auditor: Legal representative	+	+	-
Overhearer: Police, CPS, lawyers, jury, judge, magistrates	+	-	+
Eavesdropper: -	-	-	-

Haworth (2013) highlights how overhearers, although they are physically removed from the context, are continually in the mind of the interviewer and affect their discourse and also how they shape their linguistic choices to fit the purposes of future audiences. For example, police officers added phrases such as 'for the purpose of the tape…' (Yoong, 2010) and asked 'silly questions' (Stokoe and Edwards, 2008), which illustrates how officers record information to explain details to the future audiences (the jury). In the analysis chapters of this thesis both Bell's audience design model and Haworth's revised model are used to analyse the nature of audience roles in the data and their effect. Studies that deal with audiences in legal settings consider that overhearers play an important role in the framing of questions, but the main addressee is the interviewee. In the current study, I argue that prosecutors, when using certain questions such as the PORs in Chapter 7, consider the lawyers and judges to be the main addressee even without their physical presence in the interrogation. PORs are not aimed at suspects and do not require their response. This differs from other studies discussed in this section because they found that interviewers mentioned the purpose of a question, asking interviewees to repeat their responses or silly questions to clarify information to the future audience (i.e. the jury), who do not have the authority to ask for clarifications in court.

3.6   Conclusion

The contribution of this thesis to the field of interrogations is that it aims to develop methodological tools to help analyse interrogations in a new setting: Egypt. Interrogations have a unique nature in their form: written records (see Chapter 4 for details) and their aims. Studies reviewed in this chapter reveal that police interviews in the UK, Australia and Europe aim primarily to establish the truth without coercing any of the members of the interaction. In the Egyptian context, the case is slightly different as the analysis chapters reveal; prosecutors frequently depend on questions that address future audiences and do not expect a clarification on the part of the suspect. Instances of such questions signal that interrogations have different aims within them. For example, in Chapter 6, analysis of *and/wa*-prefaced questions shows their role in both gathering information and challenging suspects' versions of events. On the other hand, questions such as PORs analysed in Chapter 7 highlight a different aim of interrogations: recording the institutional version of events while undermining that of the suspect. This aim restricts the suspect's responses and gives more weight to the message the prosecutor intends to communicate to the future audiences.

The concept of power, control and resistance has progressed over the recent years, especially in the field of interrogations. The thinking around power and control has developed in recent years, from aspects of talk accessible only to the interviewers or institutional representatives to a more recent understanding that both interviewers and interviewees negotiate the terms of power. Chapter 5 further investigates the concept of resistance and negotiations of suspects to the prosecutors' power. Chapters 6 and 7 focus on two question types and investigate whether prosecutors use them as forms of an exercise of power and control over suspects. Audience design is another important element in the current thesis. Previous research has discussed the concept of audiences and their roles in the discourse management. The early research on this concept focused on the fact that speech in any given context is aimed at audiences and the linguistic tools that prosecutors use to address such audiences. Chapters 5 and 7 focus on the role of audience on the questioning and resistance strategies. The analyses chapters in this study analyse data from Egyptian interrogations from different perspectives. In the following chapter, an introduction of the data, the methods, and their advantages and disadvantages are discussed.

CHAPTER 4: Methodology

4.1   Introduction

This chapter introduces the background to the present research. Firstly, it discusses the data, its nature, and its collection methods (Sections 4.2-4.4). Next, it highlights the transcription process, challenges in producing an idiomatic translation and limitations of the data and the study (Sections 4.5-4.7). In the final part of the chapter (4.8-4.9), there is a discussion of the challenges of obtaining ethical approval prior to the study. In addition, it includes information about a pilot study carried out at the beginning of this research project, its findings and how it affected the current study.

4.2   Data

The data used came from two sources. The first set includes 15 cases collected from a prosecutor in Egypt (See Table 4). They all came in the form of photocopied handwritten documents written in Arabic (a mix of Modern Standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic varieties), the official language in Egypt, which I then word-processed for ease of analysis. In each case, interrogation and questioning took place over a period of days, which is labelled on the case record by using the date and the people who were present during the interrogation on that day. The second set of data relates to the Mubaraks' published interrogations, which were made available as word-processed records in book form by Shalaby (2012). I have fully transcribed Shalaby's data using Word to produce an electronic record to facilitate searching the records for patterns.

Table 4 shows the different cases included in the research. The first column describes the nature of the crime discussed. The second column is the code I use to refer to these cases in the examples discussed in the chapters. The third column states suspects' categories and they formed two categories: worker and professional suspects. The term **professional** refers to suspects such as the Egyptian ex-president Hosni Mubarak and his sons and others who are employed in the professions, such as government and politics, doctors, lawyers or police officers. The term **worker**, on the other hand, refers to suspects who are involved in different kinds of manual labour. This category of suspects included both skilled and unskilled workers. The fourth column illustrates the cases that I have fully word-processed for ease of analysis and those from which I have selected extracts to transcribe. The fifth column describes the number of

prosecutors and clerks involved in each case, because it gives an indication of the different contributors to the record and the amount of 'travel' (Rock et al., 2013) that the interrogation has gone through. Each case had only one prosecutor and one clerk involved, which means I have analysed the interrogations of eighteen different prosecutors written by eighteen clerks, allowing an analysis of how Egyptian prosecutors do questioning more generally. The sixth column is the approximate total number of words in each case. The final column shows the total number of turns in each interrogation, which I counted by hand. For ethical reasons, I anonymised all the case types with crime category codes and names of the suspects by giving them English names, such as *Winston*. This anonymisation process was used in both the English and the Arabic versions of this subset of the data. I have also preserved gender distinctions when choosing an English name. The first three cases in Table 4 are an exception because the data was already published and in the public domain. These are the Mubarak family cases: former president Hosni Mubarak and his two sons Alaa and Gamal. The suspects in these cases were accused of corruption, misuse of public funds and ordering the killing of protestors in demonstrations that took place on 25th of January 2011, although they were acquitted of these crimes at their trial in 2015. The rest of the cases range from those involving drugs (4 and 5), murder (6, 7, and 8), theft (9, 10, 11, and 12), embezzlement (15 and 16), work place injury (17 and 18), sexual assault (13) and beating that led to death (14). This diversity in the types of cases has added depth to the analysis, because I was able to compare the different linguistic patterns of suspect resistance across different types of case.

Originally, 23 cases were collected for the purposes of this research project but five cases were excluded because they were illegible or had twenty or more missing pages. Therefore, in the doctoral study, a total of eighteen prosecutor case records were analysed. The data consists of approximately 49,678 words, based on an estimation calculated by counting the number of words on a typical page and multiplying it by the number of pages in each case. I have only estimated the number of words in the sections that dealt with suspect interrogations and have excluded witness sections. The smallest number of words for a case, as shown in Table 4, is THEFT4 (12 in Table 4) (400 words) and the largest number for a case is 6,000 (MURD1). This thesis' focus is only on suspects' interrogations and the number of suspects in each case ranged from one suspect to three.

Table 5. Data description

No.	Case Type	Code	Suspect category	Transcription status	No of PR & CL	Total number of words	Total number of turns
1	Corruption: Hosni Mubarak, (3 interrogations)	CORPT1	Professional	Full	2	5697	135
2	Corruption: Alaa Mubarak, (1 interview)	CORPT2	Professional	Full	2	2000	53
3	Corruption: Gamal Mubarak, (1 interview)	CORPT3	Professional	Full	2	1025	36
4	Drugs case 1	DRUG1	Unskilled Worker	Partial	2	2970	54
5	Drugs case 2	DRUG2	Unskilled Worker	Full	2	1550	28
6	Murder case 1	MURD1	Unskilled Worker	Full	2	6000	150
7	Murder case 2	MURD2	Unskilled Worker	Partial	2	5208	110
8	Murder case 3	MURD3	Unskilled Worker	Full	2	1200	19
9	Theft case 1	THEFT1	Unskilled Worker	Partial	2	1450	94
10	Theft Case 2	THEFT2	Unskilled Worker	Partial	2	1620	11
11	Theft Case 3	THEFT3	Unskilled Worker	Partial	2	567	10
12	Theft Case 4	THEFT4	Unskilled Worker	Partial	2	400	24
13	Sexual Assault	SEX AS	Skilled Worker	Full	2	3147	90
14	Beating led to death	BEAT	Unskilled Worker	Full	2	6282	110
15	Embezzlement of public money case 1	EMBEZ1	Professional	Full	2	3462	107
16	Embezzlement of public money case 2	EMBEZ2	Professional	Partial	2	5700	131
17	Work place injury	WORKINJ	Skilled Worker	Partial	2	600	11
18	Work place injury	WORKINJ	Skilled Worker	Partial	2	800	29
	TOTAL				36	49678	1202

In the data, interrogators (i.e. the prosecutors) have institutional power that allows them to ask questions, accept or refuse interviewees' answers, and shift topics. The existence of professionals and skilled and unskilled workers in the data facilitated the investigation of any differences in the structure of questions and responses in terms of interviewee social and professional status. Since seven of the eighteen interrogations that were analysed had participants with an important political or social status such as ex-presidents, police officers, doctors and businessmen, this might make resistance and struggle for power more evident in the data, because there is a conflict between the prosecutors' institutional power and the suspects' social status.

The fact that I have different prosecutors and different scribes in each case was a crucial variable that I needed to keep in mind. Huber (2007), who has worked with historical records of the Old Bailey court, pointed out variables that researchers who work with written records need to keep in mind. One of the variables relevant to the current study is the fact that readers do not have access to the immediate spoken word; instead they only have access to a mediated record created orally by the prosecutor and suspect's talk and then recorded in writing by the clerk, which decreases the reliability of the authenticity of the text. This is because all the hesitations, repetitions, interruptions, and other linguistic details have been removed because the clerk or scribe's role is not to record these details. According to Huber (2007: 1-2), written records 'can be several steps removed from the actual speech act and it is the task of the linguist to reconstruct the original speech event on the basis of the written text'. However, like Huber (2007), I have considered the existence of non-standard linguistic features and different structural features as a sign of the credibility of the record.

4.3   Data collection

The choice of studying interrogations and prosecutors' case files rather than courtroom discourse or police officers' investigative records was due to several reasons. First, prosecutor interrogations are the first step in gathering information in criminal investigations before going to court. Therefore, interrogations seemed to be the best place to start the exploration of the Egyptian legal-linguistic context. Secondly, in Egypt, interrogations are not audio or video recorded (a feature discussed in detail in section 4.4), which made it possible to explore the nature of the written record created from an oral event. Such an investigation will add to the study of the Egyptian setting by analysing the strengths and weaknesses of the record making process.

To access the data, I used personal contacts within the legal system, as whilst the topic is no longer taboo, there is no system in place to allow data collection. Data collection took place over a period of a year and seven months (from June 2011 to January 2013) and it involved several attempts. In the first attempt, six criminal lawyers were contacted. However, they either refused to provide any data because of confidentiality issues or provided cases that were very short and did not include enough material for analysis. The next attempt involved contacting judges because they receive case files that include the prosecutor's interrogation record, police investigations and investigative interviews, if any, before the case moves to court. For this stage, four judges were contacted. These meetings were not successful in providing access to suitable data for the study. Reasons that the judges gave for not providing the requested data ranged from scorning the fact that a young female should tire herself in studying legal issues, to interviewing me about my intentions in studying such an issue. These two failed attempts led to the third and final one, which involved meeting with a senior prosecutor. He was interested in legal research and aware of forensic linguistics as a field of study. In addition, he was supportive of greater access to these documents. Initially, the prosecutor gave me the choice between taking one big murder case of a famous person or a number of cases from different crimes. I preferred to take the option involving a range of cases in order to better explore the similarities and differences in the questions and responses across the different crimes and the different prosecutors and clerks who produce different records. The prosecutor, then, agreed to provide 15 criminal cases that deal with a variety of crimes and suspects from different social statuses and backgrounds (see Table 4). These are all already closed cases that have been dealt with by the courts and there are no cases that carry political implications.

Contacting prosecutors and lawyers was not only required during the data collection period. Direct contact during the doctoral work was maintained with the senior prosecutor, a couple of junior prosecutors and lawyers for legal reference or questions about legal technicalities that I did not understand or have access to as a lay person. In addition, there were several attempts to get permission to attend an interrogation to observe what takes place in the interrogation room, to help with visualising the setting when doing the analysis and to make sense of the different roles of participants, but unfortunately this permission was not granted.

The publication by Ahmed Shalaby (2012) was identified and allowed me to add to the dataset the interrogations with the Mubarak family post the 2011 revolution.

Adding cases where professional suspects are involved was considered a useful addition to the data because it allowed me to compare and contrast the different strategies and questioning techniques used by prosecutors when interviewing such suspects. In addition, it was an opportunity to explore the responses of such suspects and how they evade or avoid responding to questions, compared with other witnesses who have little experience in responding to institutional interviewers.

4.4   Data form

Interrogations in the Egyptian context are not audio recorded and hence all records collected are handwritten. Each record involves one case and includes interrogations with suspect(s) followed by witnesses' interrogation records. In each interrogation room, there is a prosecutor who is responsible for questioning suspects and witnesses and he is always accompanied by a clerk, who is seated next to him and who is required to make a record of whatever occurs in the interrogation room. All the prosecutors in the data were male. After the end of the interrogation, the prosecutor's office writes a word-processed summary of the most important details of the case and both the handwritten document and the word-processed summary are sent to the judge who will be responsible for the case in court (the summary is attached at the end of the case records in my data).

Nevertheless, this recording system is problematic for interpretation. The spoken conversation (interrogation) is transformed into a written record, which could lead to some significant differences between what is said in the interrogation room and what is written in the report, even though it is stated in the Egyptian laws that the reports should be 'as much as possible in the suspect's own words' (Soliman, 2010). There is no trace in the record of how or whether the prosecutor regulates the pace of the talk to allow the clerk to make a verbatim record; however, some traces were found in the written documents where the clerk made changes to his record, presumably because he realised it was either incorrect or that he misheard a word. For example, a prosecutor's addition or explanation to the clerk was shown on the record by putting any addition between brackets or in a new paragraph. If a word was misheard, the clerk signalled this by putting the wrong word between brackets and/or a cross on top of the brackets (See Figure 4 below). It has been observed that the construction of such a written record from spoken discourse will lead to 'selection, deletion and transformation' (Garfinkel 1967). Previous research (e.g. Coulthard, 1996; Rock, 2001) that compared the audio

recordings of police interviews with witnesses and the written statement produced by police officers found that there are many fundamental and stylistic differences.
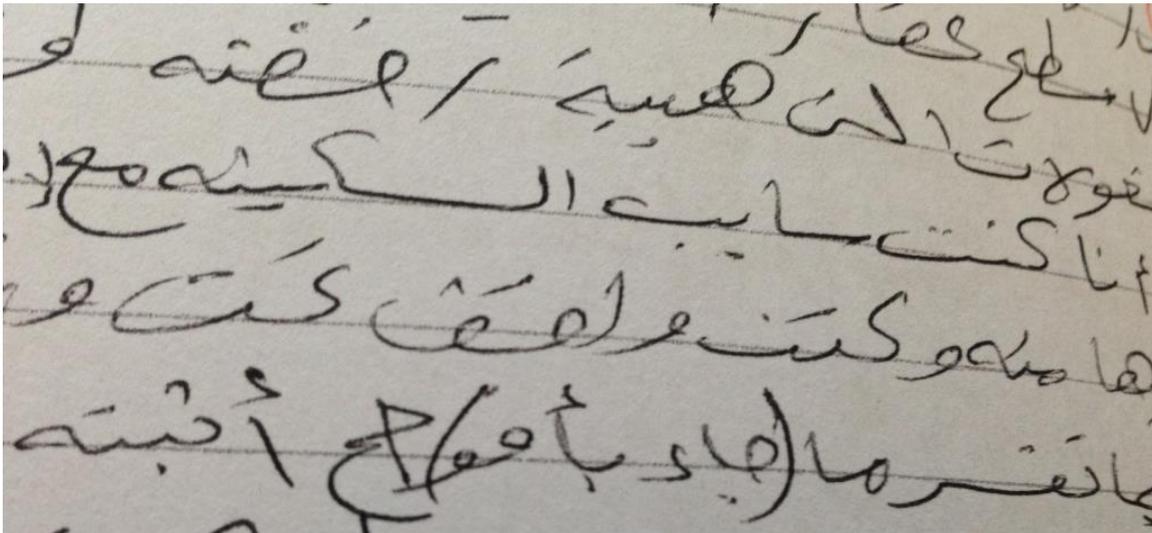
Figure 4. Example of clerk corrections on record

Stylistic and textual differences in the written record have been described using the concept of 'textual travel' (Heffer et al. 2013). This concept explores how legal texts 'move through and around institutional processes and are shaped, altered and appropriated during their journeys' (2013: 4). Rock et al. (2013: 15) have also discussed how police work, in particular, is intertextual because the information that has been 'collected, interpreted, reinterpreted and revisited' during the interrogations is later sent to officials in the police force and institutions outside of it such as lawyers and judges. In my research, the travel of the text is not just evident in the afore-mentioned move from spoken discourse to a written record, or as Blommaert (2005: 78) describes it 'texts being shipped around along trajectories', it also exists in the de-contextualisation of the suspects' and witnesses' statements from the interrogation context and its recontextualisation in the court (Komter 2012: 733). My text also has an additional layer of travel, which is caused by my translation of the dataset into English for readers who are not well acquainted with the Arabic language, in general, and the Egyptian dialect in particular. However, this final layer did not affect the analysis process, because observations are based on the Arabic data and not its translation.

4.5   Data transcription

The preparation of the data for analysis involved several steps. The first step was to word-process the relevant extracts from the interrogation cases and save them in Word files. This step was a complex one because the handwriting in some files was very hard

to read (see Figures 1, 2 and 4), some pages were missing from the case file and/or the photocopying quality was sometimes so poor that the pages were illegible. The next step was to make the data accessible to non-Arabic speakers by adopting the Leipzig glossing method (Max Plank Institute 2008) to provide a transliteration, word-for-word gloss and an idiomatic translation as shown in Example 1. Each example is in the form of a table with three columns and four rows, as well as containing the example number in a top row.

(1)		
		متي وأين حدث ذلك
		matā wa ayna ḥadaṯa ḏālik
		this happen where and when
1	PR	*When and where did this happen?*

The first column on the left contains the line number. Numbers were only given to the lines with the idiomatic English translations to help the reader to focus on the English translations. Line numbers within one example are consecutive but the numbering is restarted in each new example. The second column indicates who the speaker is. Codes include an abbreviation for the role of the speaker: prosecutor (PR), and suspect (S). In Example 1 the speaker is the prosecutor. The third column includes the data and it is four-tiered. The first line of any example is the original Arabic text. The second line is the transliterated Arabic text in an adapted version of the DIN 31635 transliteration method (as cited in Lagally, 1992; see Table 5). The third line represents the word-for-word gloss. Finally, the fourth line is an idiomatic English translation of the text, shown in italics for ease of reading. I have checked my competence in the Arabic transliteration with Professor James Dickens, an Arabic linguistics specialist, by supplying him with samples and then meeting with him to go over common inaccuracies in transliteration. These errors were then rectified in the data as a whole. Using transliteration in this study gives a guide to pronunciation for the reader and the analysis.

Data transcription was challenging because it is clear from the record that the speakers were switching between two different registers: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and colloquial Egyptian Arabic Variety (EAV) (see section 4.6). Since Egypt is the setting of this study, both registers used had differences from Classical Arabic and this affected the transcription. For example, the /ق/ sound in the data is transcribed in two ways depending on the speakers and the register that is recorded in the case file.

The first sound /q/, similar to the Classical Arabic sound, occurred in the speech of speakers who were recorded as using a formal register. An example for this sound is the word *qad/*قد. The second sound is transcribed as /ʾ/ which is like the glottal stop sound in English (Hinds and Badawi, 1986). This sound was used in the EAV sections of the data and was evident in words such as *ʾatalt/* قتلت as opposed to *qatalt* used in MSA. The sound /ج/ is transliterated as /g/ and not /ǧ/ as suggested in the DIN transliteration system because in the Egyptian dialect it is pronounced as a /g/. For example, the word *came/*جيت is transcribed as *gēt* and not *ǧēt*. This is a feature of the Egyptian dialect both in MSA and EAV. It is worth noting here that since there is no evidence in the data indicating whether the speakers were the ones switching between the registers or the clerk who is writing the record. Therefore, when transliterating, I depended on how the record presents them to speak even if it was different from what was actually said. In other words, if the record presents speakers using MSA, I used the /q/ sound and if they were recorded as using EAV, I used the sound /ʾ/.

All the instances of the definite article were transliterated with *al-* even if it was assimilated. For instance, *the sun/* الشمس is transliterated as *al-šams*. Although the DIN transcription indicates the /ع/ sound by a /ʿ/, I have used /ʕ/ to make it easier for the reader to differentiate between /ʾ/ and /ʿ/ sounds. All the proper names were not transliterated and I have used them as they are written in normal discourse. In addition, all geminates/Shaddah are represented by double letters, as such: who/الذي is transliterated as alladī and not aladī.

Table 6. Deutsches Institut für Normung (DIN) 31635 Transliteration symbols

Arabic letters	ء / ا	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	س	ش	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع	غ	ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	و	ى / ي
IPA (Modern standard Arabic)	ʔ, aː	b	t	θ	dʒ g ʒ	ħ	x	d	ð	r	z	s	ʃ	sˤ	dˤ	tˤ	ðˤ zˤ	ʕ	ɣ	f	q	k	l	m	n	h	w, uː	j, iː
Adapted DIN	ʾ / ā	b	t	ṯ	**g**	ḥ	ḫ	d	ḏ	r	z	s	š	ṣ	ḍ	ṭ	ẓ	ʿ	ġ	f	ʾ/**q**	k	l	m	n	h	w/ū	y/ī

4.6   Challenges in idiomatic translation

Even though I am a native speaker of Arabic, I am not familiar with many of the legal and criminal terms that are found in the data. This made the task of producing an idiomatic translation, which does not change the focus of the original text and also makes sense for the English reader, a very challenging task. As a first step, I worked on the data and made some translation choices. Secondly, I met with an Arabic to English translation and legal terminology specialist, whose native language is Egyptian Arabic, at the University of Leeds, Dr. Hanem El Farahaty, for some translation consultations. These consultations had two benefits: they were part of a learning process for me, as I gained expertise in legal translation and the use of legal terms in English and Arabic. In addition, all problematic translations were identified and checked in collaboration with the specialist, which helped minimise any inaccuracies or misinterpretations on my part in the idiomatic translations. For example, based on meetings with Dr. El Farahaty, I have added this section on the challenges of idiomatic translation and working with a written record to highlight the limitations of the recording method of interrogations.

Another challenge in dealing with my Arabic dataset was the quality of the transcribed interrogation record. Bucholtz's (2000: 1440) comment on transcribers and their role is a useful starting point: 'The responsible practice of transcription, [...] requires the transcriber's cognizance of her or his own role in the creation of the text and the ideological implications of the resultant product'. The effect a transcriber has on the resulting text should not be overlooked both by analysts and translators. This fact has crucial implications for legal texts such as courtroom proceedings and interrogations and it has drawn the attention of many researchers who have highlighted the different effects of working with a transcribed text (e.g. Coulthard, 1996; Bucholtz, 2000). For example, Coulthard (1996) argues that there is a misconception among people that police records are verbatim records of what was said in the interrogation. This, according to him, is an ideal situation which very rarely happens and he categorises transcription as a problematic task. The police officer who is responsible for transcribing the interview is the one who decides what information to include in the record and what not to include. Such omissions are not always deliberate manipulations of the content. Coulthard (1996) adds that this could be due to the lack of clear guidelines to officers on how to transcribe interviews and what they are allowed to omit. He also states that transcripts do not include linguistic details such as hesitations, repetitions, and different non-standard forms, which affects the credibility of the

transcript linguistically. Bucholtz (2000) similarly found that transcripts were not identical to the original texts, but a reflection of the purpose of the transcriber and his/her audience.

Both Coulthard's (1996) and Bucholtz's (2000) focus on the transcriber effect alerts researchers to the changes that they need to keep in mind when working on an interrogation record. Since the Egyptian context is one without audio- or video-recording, the handwritten record becomes important, because it is the only source of information of what happened in the interrogation room. In the current study, the interrogation record has some linguistic features that reflect the different stages of the transcription and their effect on the record: archaic language, spelling and punctuation (discussed below).

4.6.1 Archaic Language as part of the technical lexis

The use of archaic terms is a common feature in both English and Arabic legal texts (Ainsworth, 2014; El-Farahaty, 2015). They are one of the difficulties faced by translators who try to translate these terms between English and Arabic because there is no one-to-one correspondence between such terms (El-Farahaty, 2015), which supports Ainsworth's theory that legal terms and language are not universal. According to El-Farahaty (2016), there is less of a tendency to use archaic language in Arabic legal texts than there is in English texts because 'there is much greater fluidity between different Arabic registers [and] Classical Arabic terms and morphology continue to exist in today's Modern Standard Arabic' (El-Farahaty, 2015: 40). Rather than calling them archaic terms, El-Farahaty (2015: 40) defines these Arabic legal terms as 'template terms'. For the purpose of this study I define archaic terms or phrases as the old or obsolete words used as part of the technical crime register and in the interrogation records. In the dataset, transcripts included archaic words 15% of the time and they were used in cases involving both **worker** and **professional** suspects. Prosecutors in Examples 2 to 5 included technical lexis in their questions to **worker suspects**. For instance, in Example 2 the prosecutor used archaic terms such as *'sālifī al-ḏikr'/ 'afore-mentioned'* (Example 2 line 1):

(2)	[BEAT]	
	⇒	وما الذي بدر منك حال مشاهدتك لكل من **سالفى الذكر** انذاك؟
		wa mā allaḏī badara mink ḥāl mušāhdatak likullin min **sālifī al-ḏikr** ānaḏāk?

		And what that reaction from-you when see-you to-all of before the-mentioned at-the-time
1	PR	*And how did you react when you saw the **afore-mentioned**?*

and '*taḫalaf girāʾ ḏālik'/ 'result in'* (Example 3, line 1):

(3)	[DRUG2]	
		هل **تخلف جراء ذلك** ثمة اصابات؟
		hal **taḫalaf girāʾ ḏālik** ṯimat ʾiṣābāt?
		Did leave result that any injuries
1	PR	*Did this **result in** any injuries?*
		لا
		Lā
		No
2	S	*No*

These phrases are still used in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) so might be known to people who do not belong to the legal field. However, they are rarely used or are confined to formal documents. In Examples 2 and 3, I have dealt with archaic terms by using equivalent words in the English language that explain their register specific technical meaning. I agree with El-Farahaty (2015) that this process is easy when translating from Arabic to English because there are equivalents in the English language to these formal archaic terms. A good example of this is the word '*sālifī al-ḏikr'/ 'afore-mentioned'* in Example 2, line 1. When translating, I have also tried to choose from the terms that are used in the English crime register to make it easier for researchers to relate to the original text. There were other types of archaic words that are not used in everyday language such as '*waqaft ʿala'/ 'know'* (Example 4, line 1):

(4)	[DRUG1]	⇒	هل **وقفت على** شخصية القائمين بالتعدي عليك من أمناء الشرطة؟
			hal **waqaft ʿala** šaḫṣiyat al-qāʾimīn bi-al-taʿadī ʿalayk min ʾumanāʾ al-šurṭa?
			Did know-you name the-did-they of-assault on-you from men the-police
1	PR		*Did you **know** the names of the policemen who assaulted you?*
			أنا معرفتش أسماء حد فيهم
			ʾana maʿriftiš ʾasmāʾ ḥad fīhum
			I not-I-know names anyone of-them
2	S		*I do not know any of their names*

and '*ḍarba kālahā'/ 'stab'* (Example 5, line 1):

(5)	[BEAT]	
	⇒	كام ضربة **كالـها** لك بتلك الأداة
		kām **darba kālahā** lak bi-tilk al-ʾadā
		How-many stab hit to-you with-this the-tool
1	PR	*How many times did **he stab** you with this weapon?*

In the Modern Arabic context, a suspect would use words such as *ḍarba wagahahā/ stab and ʿarift/ know,* rather than the words used here. The use of these word could be evidence that prosecutors are using register specific lexis of their profession and are not accommodating to their interviewees; however, they could also be a result of the presence of a scribe, who is giving prosecutors this formal register. An analyst does not only need to understand the meaning of such a term as suggested in previous research. They also need to think whether this term was used by the prosecutor or by the clerk, its pragmatic function and how to transfer this into the translated text. In examples 4 and 5, the archaic terms did not have exact equivalents in the English language as in the previous two examples, but I have chosen the words *know* and *stab*, which belong to the legal register and express the prosecutor's meaning accurately. I agree with El-Farahaty (2015) that this process is sometimes relatively straightforward when translating from Arabic to English because there are equivalents in the English language to these formal archaic terms such as *sālifī al-ḏikr/afore-mentioned* (Example 2, lines 1). However, archaic terms, at other times, need to be explained using more modern words as in the case of 'waqaft ʿala'/ 'know' and 'ḍarba kālahā'/ 'stab'.

The use of archaic language in questions was used in cases other than those involving **worker suspects** such as those in Examples 2 to 5. Prosecutors interrogating **professional suspects** (Example 6) more often used archaic language in their questions. Example 6 is an excerpt from an interrogation with the Egyptian ex-president Hosni Mubarak. In the example, Mubarak is interrogated about the protests that took place in Egypt as part of the January 2011 revolution. Prior to this extract, Mubarak claimed that he was unaware of everything taking place in the streets in 2011 and that he gave direct orders to his officers not to use any violence with protestors. The follow-up question presented in Example 6, lines 1-5 records the idea that *'mutaẓāhirīn silmiyan'* / *'peaceful demonstrators'* were both killed and injured by police officers' weapons. As is clear in the example, the prosecutor used MSA to phrase his question including some legal register phrases such as *'mā qawluk wa qad ṯabata'* / *'What's your reply about what has been affirmed'* in line 1 and archaic words such as min garāʾ / *'as a result of'* in line 3. Such legal and archaic phrases are easy to translate because they exist in the

English legal language (e.g. *affirmed* and *as a result of*).

(6)	[CORPT1]	
		<div dir="rtl">**ما قولك وقد ثبت** من التحقيقات قتل المئات من المتظاهرين سلميا **من جراء** إطلاق النار عليهم من قوات الشرطة المشاركة في المظاهرات في عدة محافظات بالجمهورية؟</div>
		mā qawluk wa qad tabata min al-taḥqīqāt qatl al-miʾāt min al-mutaẓāhirīn silmiyan **min garāʾ** ʾiṭlāq al-nār ʿalayhum min quwāt al-šurta al-mušārika fī al-muẓāharāt fī ʿidat muḥāfaẓāt bi-l-gumhūriya?
1 2 3 4	PR	***What's your reply about what has been affirmed*** *through the investigations that hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were killed* ***as a result of*** *gunshots by the police forces that participated in the demonstrations in various governorates of the Republic?*

While prosecutors were recorded as using technical terms in the same manner both with worker and professional suspects, it is worth noting that with professional suspects, they are expected to understand archaic language and be able to respond using MSA as well. However, worker suspects in my data, who are likely to have received limited education, would not be expected to understand legal terms or use them in their responses. Therefore, having such terms in suspects' responses could be considered as signs of textual travel such as the effect of having a scribe or that prosecutors did not accommodate to their addressees.

4.6.2 Spelling and Shift in registers

Arabic is one of the languages in the world that is characterized by being diglossic (Alshamrani, 2011). Diglossia as a term was first coined by Ferguson in 1959 to refer to societies using two or more varieties of the same language to fulfil specific functions, which applies to the Arabic language. Egypt is one of the settings where diglossia is evident because, as Yacoub (2015) argues, Egyptian society has different varieties that make up its diglossic nature. The first variety is Classical Arabic (CA), which is the highest and most respected one. This high (H) variety, what Badawi (1973) calls 'heritage classical', is a written language and is currently used in religious contexts. Bassiouney (2009: 15) adds that the (H) variety could also be heard on religious TV programs. The origin of this variety is the holy Quran and its structure has not changed much over time. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the modern variety of Classical Arabic used in formal situations such as politics, governmental settings and so on. These two varieties are not only used in Egypt, they are also used across the Arabic speaking world. Another variety is the colloquial Egyptian Arabic variety (EAV), which plays the low (L) position in Egyptian society. It is used in informal settings, but it can

also be used in combination with the H variety in political and religious speeches. The (L) variety is not normally written, but could be seen in some types of novels and newspaper articles. According to Yacoub (2015), the importance of this variety is that it shapes Egyptian identity. If the concept of diglossia is applied to interrogations, it is expected that prosecutors would use MSA because it is the official variety used in institutional settings. Suspects will use either MSA or EAV, because it is not prescribed by their institutional roles. In the data, interrogation records presented suspects to use a mix of both varieties based on their educational level. For example, the Mubaraks are recorded as using MSA throughout most of their interviews.

Moreover, these different H and L varieties show distinctions at the grammatical, lexical and phonological levels as well. It is these differences that can be opaque in the interrogation records in my data. For example, sometimes reading the original text to translate it is a challenge in itself. In my dataset, the record included many spelling errors and mix of the H variety with the colloquial one, which made the text hard to follow at certain points. There is no trace in the records to show if this mix was in the original spoken discourse or if it is the clerk who is mixing registers. However, this mix between registers is a characteristic of interrogations in other contexts, according to Komter (2003/2004), because police officers who are taking notes try to make a verbatim record of suspects' statements and at the same time try to get the information they need on record. In addition, police officers are using formal institutional language while at the same time trying to be comprehensible to lay people (Fox, 1993).

Examples 7 and 8 are instances of the shift between registers MSA and EAV. A good example for this is line 1 in Example 7. The prosecutor asked the question using a formal register *'wa ʾayna kān yaḥmil al-madʿū Mark ḏalik al-silāḥ? /And where did Mark carry this weapon?'*; the suspect, however, answers, in lines 2-3, using the Egyptian dialect *'maʿrafšī /I do not know'* instead of using the formal register such as *'lā ʾaʿlam/I do not know'*. This mix in registers is a very important feature of interrogation records. Translators should be careful of how they translate such mixes and have to decide whether they should keep these registers in translations or not. To give a credible account of the record, a translator needs to point out these shifts.

(7)	[BEAT]	
		وأين كان يحمل المدعو مارك ذلك السلاح؟
		wa ʾayna kān yaḥmil al-madʿū Mark ḏalik al-silāḥ?
		And where was-he carry the-called Mark this the-weapon

1	PR	*And where did Mark carry this weapon?*
	⇒	**أنا معرفشي** هو كان شايله فين بالضبط وأنا فوجئت بان ضربني به في رجلي
		ʾana maʿrafšī huwwa kān šāyluh fēn bi-l-ḍabt wa ʾana fūgiʾt bi-ʾan ḍarabnī bihi fī riglī
		I not-I-know he was-he carry-it where exactly and I surprised-I that-he stab-me with-it in leg-my
2 3	S	___I do not know___ where he carried it exactly and I was surprised when he stabbed me with it in my leg

Example 8 is another good example of traces of shift in register. In line 2, the suspect used mixed registers in his responses (*maʿandīš fikra/I do not know* and *haḏihi al-ʾigrāʾāt/such procedures* instead of for example *al-ʾigrāʾāt dī/procedures like these*). Again, this is one of the possible results of having a clerk as the scribe of the interrogation record. While in interrogations with politicians or public figures such as the one in Example 8 the suspect is expected to use the H variety because this is how he usually communicates in formal settings, suspects from other backgrounds such as the ones in Examples 5 and 6 would be less likely to produce a H version in their response unless they are converging with the speaker. It is, therefore, a possible effect of the clerk. In this study, I have not focused on the different varieties when translating but I have taken it into account as a form of textual travel (discussed in detail in section 4.4).

(8)	[CORPT1]	
		ما إجراءات عقد تلك الصفقات؟
		mā ʾigrāʾāt ʿaqd tilk al-ṣafaqāt?
		What procedures concluding such the-deals
1	PR	*What are the procedures for concluding such deals?*
	⇒	معنديش فكرة عن **هذه الإجراءات**
		maʿandīš fikra ʿan haḏihi al-ʾigrāʾāt
		Not-have-I idea about such the-procedures
2	S	*I have no idea about such procedures.*
		هل تعرف كيفية تحديد الثمن وطريقة سداده؟
		hal taʿrif kayfiyat taḥdīd al-taman wa ṭarīqat sadāduh?
		Do you-know how set the-price and way payment-its
3	PR	*Do you know how the price is set and the manner of payment?*
	⇒	لا، والجهة المختصة هي اللي عندها هذه المعلومة
		lā wa al-giha al-muḫtaṣa hiyya īllī ʿandahā haḏihi al-maʿluma
		No, and the-authority the-competent is that have-it this the-information
4 5	S	*No, the competent authority is the one which has such information*
		كيف يتم اختيار الشركات المنتجة؟

		kayfa yatim ʾiḫtiyār al-šarikāt al-muntiga?
		How are chosen the-companies the-producing?
6	PR	*How are the producing companies chosen?*
		معرفش
		maʕrafš
		Not-know-I
7	S	*I do not know*

4.6.3 Punctuation

Unlike English, Arabic does not have clear punctuation rules (El-Farahaty, 2015: 51). This was clear in the transcripts of Egyptian interrogations. Both prosecutors' and suspects' questions and responses were only rarely given punctuation marks. Instead there was reliance on coordination, which is, according to El-Farahaty (2015), the favoured structure in Arabic as shown in Example 9 lines 4-15.

(9)	[EMBEZ1]	
		ما دليلك على أن السيد أرت هو الذي قام بتسليمك للشيك رقم(...) بمبلغ المليوني جنيها وليس السيد ألبرت
		mā dalīlak ʕala ʾan al-sayyid Art huwwa ʾalladī qām bi-taslīmak li-l-šīk raqam (…) bi-mablaġ al-millyūnay gūnayhan wa laysa al-sayyid Albert?
		What proof-your about that the-Mr. Art is that did to-give-you to-the-cheque number (…) of-amount the-million-two pounds and not the-Mr. Albert
1 2 3	PR	*What is your __proof__ that it was Mr. Art who gave you the cheque number (...) with the amount of two million pounds and not Mr. Albert*
	⇒	أنا لا أعرف ألبرت أساساً وأن أمين الفرع الخاص ب(...) والعميل أرت احضروا الشيك وبعد استدعائي من اللجنة تذكرت إن السيد أرت حضر للمرحوم كيرت (...) في ذاك الوقت وسلمه شكوى أنه سدد شيك مقبول الدفع بمبلغ مليوني جنيها ولم يستلم باقي السلع فاتصلت بالشركة ورجوتهم فحص أوراق رئيس القطاع التجاري إذا كان بها أي أوراق واحضروا لي صورة سوف أقدمها لسيادتكم وهي برقم .... في 27/1/1999 علماً بأن المرحوم المذكور كان مشرفاً على قطاع المناطق عند تقديم الشكوى في 1999/1/27
		ʾana lā ʾaʕrif Albert ʾasāssan wa ʾan ʾamīn al-farʕ al-ḫāṣ bi-(…) wa al-ʕamīl Art ʾaḥḍarū al-šīk wa baʕd ʾistidʕāʾī mina al-lagna taḏakart ʾin al-sayyid Art ḥaḍar li-l-marḥūm Kurt (…) fī ḏālik al-waqt wa sallamahū šakwā ʾanahū sadada šīk maqbūl al-dafʕ bi-mablaġ millyūnay gūnayhan wa lam yastalim bāqī al-silaʕ fā-ʾitaṣalt bi-l-šarika wa ragawtahum faḥṣ ʾawrāq raʾīs al-qiṭāʕ al-tugary ʾiṯā kān bihā ʾay ʾawrāq wa aḥḍarū lī ṣūra sawfa ʾuqadimūhā li-siyyādatakum wa hiyya bi-raqam (…) fī 27/1/1999 ʕilman bi-ʾan al-marḥūm al-maḏkūr kān mušrifan ʕala qiṭāʕ al-manāṭiq ʕind taqdīm al-šakwā fī 27/1/1999
		I not I-know Albert principally and that manager the-branch the-found in-(…) and the-client Art get-they the-cheque and after called-I from the-committee remembered-I that the-Mr. Art came

		to-the-deceased Kurt (…) in that the-time and gave-him complaint that-he paid cheque certified with-amount million-two pounds and not receive rest the-products so-I-called to-the-company and requested-them check papers head the-sector the-commercial if was in-it any papers and bring-they to-me copy will present-it to-honor-you and its of-number …. in 27/1/1999 noting that the-deceased the-mentioned was supervisor of sector the-areas at the time of presenting the-complaint in 27/1/1999
4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15	S	*I do not know Albert at all and the manager of (...) branch and Art, the client, were the ones who got the cheque and after I was summoned by the committee, I remembered that Mr. Art came to the deceased Kurt who was the (...) at the time and filed a complaint that he paid a certified cheque with the amount of two million pounds but have not received the rest of his products. So I called the company and requested that they check all the papers of commercial sector head to see if there are any papers on this issue and they gave me a copy of what I will present to your honor and its number is…. filed in 27/1/1999. It is worth noting that the deceased was the supervisor of all the sector areas at the time of the complaint in 27/1/1999*

Analysts need to keep this in mind while working on transcripts, because the lack of punctuation results in having complex sentences with a lot of coordinated clauses and unclear relationships between ideas. In my study, I have tried to stay as true to the original text in terms of punctuation and spelling, as this helps to keep the text more faithful to the original.

There are limitations to the type of linguistic analysis that can be used with this data, due to the handwritten documents and lack of audio or video recordings or even word-processed versions of interrogations (section 4.4). The analysis of a written record of an oral conversation is limited in that it consists of omissions and transformations, such as: it does not take into account important factors such as pauses, reformulations, overlapping turns, and other elements of oral discourse which might be indicative of the presence of coercion, leading questions, control and so forth. The clerk who is taking down the written record has one aim and that is to write a verbatim record of the prosecutor's questions and answers provided and, since he is not linguistically trained, very important linguistic features such as overlaps, and pauses, will not be present in such a record. It is worth noting, however, that these limitations do not make this study of less importance, though they do limit the kinds of analysis that can be done.

4.7   Limitations of the data

The study of Egyptian interrogations is a relatively under-researched field and therefore, I was flexible in the quality and quantity of the data being collected. I did not have the

choice of requesting the type of data I desired nor the number of cases. In other words, there was no control over the cases selected by the prosecutor, who gave me the data for the study nor over the identity of the prosecutors in the data. This affected the data that was collected because it limited the representativeness and the variety of the data and the information available for analysis. Since I was forced to deal with different prosecutors and clerks, my research could not be a case study of the style of one prosecutor. However, I could generalize more regarding the way in which prosecutors conduct questioning. In addition, the data are considered a first step in researching interrogations in the Egyptian context and the analysis constitutes a primary contribution to the Egyptian research context in particular and the Arabic language context in general.

As for the Mubaraks' data, I did not have access to the original interrogation record; I relied on the record published in Ahmed Shalaby's book in 2012. Therefore, the credibility and authenticity of the data was a limitation. However, Ahmed Shalaby added fifteen images of the original investigations in his book and I compared them to what he transcribed and they were accurately transcribed with no differences between the texts. It is worth noting that even though I checked the credibility of some of the data, one cannot overlook that the transcriptions, chosen by the author to be published in his book, are only a partial record of the interviews.

4.8 Ethical Approval

The nature of the data is considered sensitive, since interrogations include personal details of suspects and witnesses, such as their names, addresses, identification and phone numbers. Therefore, institutional ethical approval was required for the project. The process of ethical review was a complicated one due to the use of a vulnerable group of participants (suspects in criminal cases) and the sensitivity of the data coming from a foreign country: Egypt. To receive approval, a formal consent from the judicial system, the prosecutor's office in my case, for the use of the cases in the research project was required. In addition, extra information on the risk of identification of participants and my precautions to anonymise and store the data was requested.

Therefore, I first worked on writing an informed consent form to explain to the prosecutor the updated research design so that he could agree that the results and data used in such a project can be published and used in future research. Secondly, I showed that sensitivity has been exercised in that all the suspects' names, except the Mubaraks',

have been anonymised. To anonymise suspects' identities, all the names of the suspects have been changed and none of the information about their addresses, phone numbers, age, or identification numbers has been included. In addition, if there were any mentions of the names of police stations where prosecutors did the interrogation, or of where police officers who are witnesses are stationed, they were deleted and replaced by (…) in my records as a further precaution, so that no one could follow up the cases in the stated stations. Finally, the name of the prosecutor who provided the data was deleted from the data and the data analysis. The research project passed the University of Leeds' PVAC and Arts Joint Faculty Research Ethics Committee's Ethical Review in October 2014 (reference number PVAR 13-080).

4.9   Pilot study

Before starting the analysis of the whole dataset, and during the first year of PhD research, I performed a pilot analysis with five interviews with suspects. Three of the interviews were those conducted with the Egyptian ex-president, Hosni Mubarak post the 2011 January revolution. The other two interviews were with Alaa and Gamal Mubarak. Running a pilot study was very useful before starting the research project because it helped me realise the challenges that could be faced during data preparation and translation and highlighted whether the data collected was suitable for analysis or not. For example, at the beginning of the study, I wanted to use corpus linguistics as a method to analyse the data but after performing the pilot study, I decided it was not practical for three reasons. First, it was not practical due to time restrictions: too much time would have been needed for preparing the scanned documents. The second reason is the poor quality of the prosecution records I have, which affected the quality of the scanned documents produced. Finally, since my data is in Arabic, it needed to be transliterated and translated which would have made data presentation in concordance lines very difficult. Another important change was the transcription method used. At the beginning of the pilot study, I used a morphological and syntactic gloss in addition to an idiomatic translation of the original text. However, the morphological gloss was replaced by a word-for-word gloss that better described the data for the purposes of the project. Moreover, I changed the presentation of the data and the codes I used to refer to the type and description of the data to make it easier for the reader.

By looking at the interviews with these suspects, they were found to include signs of control and power on the part of the interviewer, and negotiation of that power,

and resistance on the part of suspects. It was worth noting how suspects used evasive strategies to resist any suggestion of being blamed for a crime, and how prosecution representatives tried to assert their power or get information they need. During the interrogations, the three suspects use resistance to avoid being transformed into embezzlers, and unfit political and social figures. In other words, they are attempting to maintain their identity as honest, democratic figures to the Egyptian public through this resistance. These findings affected my wider study because it drew my attention to the close relationship between questions and resistance, which I further explore in Chapters 6 and 7. It has also resulted in analysing the role of future audience in suspects' resistance and their attempts to reposition themselves as honest people (see Chapters 5 and 7). Finally, analysis of resistance strategies allowed for the discussion of both the resistance scale (see Figure 5) and question control scale (see Figure 6).

Analysis of the pilot study data also revealed that the three suspects are inclined to be evasive in their responses and that they used four different resistance strategies. They have shown that suspects who have political power and high status tend to use evasiveness rather than giving direct answers. These are very similar to Harris' (1991) results. Therefore, in the pilot study, I explored some of the resistance strategies that are used by three suspects in five interviews. I expected to find these four categories of resistance in the other interrogations in the full data set and other additional strategies. The results of the pilot study showed that more analysis needed to be done to explore the effect that questions and their complexity have on the type of responses and resistance produced by suspects.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has offered an overall description of the data, its collection and transcription, and the tools and techniques used to analyse the data. I have also discussed the different processes that shape the production of interrogation records and the challenges of translating this record into English. After discussing the nature of interrogation records, it became evident that these records have gone through different levels of transformation that needs to be acknowledged when analysing these texts. First, they are transformed from their original spoken form to a written text. Second, they are transformed from the words uttered by prosecutors and suspects to the form recorded by the interrogation clerk who, as is clear from the discussion above, has an effect on the

record. I have highlighted some of the linguistic features that characterise Egyptian interrogation records such as use of archaic language, shift of registers and punctuation.

Working with such data has limitations to the type of linguistic analysis, since interrogations in Egypt are all in the form of handwritten documents and there is no access to audio or video recordings or even word-processed versions of interrogations. The analysis of a written record of an oral conversation is limited because of it includes omissions and transformations; it does not take into account important factors such as pauses, reformulations, overlapping turns, and other elements of oral discourse which might be indicative of the presence of coercion, leading questions, control and so forth. It is worth noting, however, that these limitations do not make this study of less importance, though they do limit the kinds of analyses that can be done. The study is considered as a first step in a new context, which will open up new research possibilities for other researchers to look at. One of the main aims of the study is to explore interrogations in the Egyptian context using a discourse pragmatic method with an interactional sociolinguistic angle, a method that would allow researchers getting involved in a qualitative analysis of sensitive and politically loaded texts in an objective and reliable way. This offers an important addition to the field of forensic linguistics where its methods and tools are being applied to a new context. In addition, it develops analysis tools to investigate new questioning and responding techniques that researchers in other contexts might not have noticed in their data before or that would help them when dealing with suspects from the Egyptian or Middle Eastern context. More research on translation strategies to deal with such texts or features would be a great addition to the field. Interviews with clerks, prosecutors and suspects who have gone through the process will give a better indication of how and why interrogation records are in the format they are in. Also, more studies dealing with contrastive analysis between interrogations with professional and worker suspects, their language and implications these could have on translation is recommended. Finally, it is also hoped that methods used in this chapter could be replicated by researchers who are looking at similar data in any language or setting.

CHAPTER 5: What suspects do when they say *'I do not know'*

'No amount of experimentation can ever prove me right; a single experiment can prove me wrong' (Einstein)

'Not knowing/remembering can […] be an object conveniently used to avoid confirming potentially damaging or discrediting information […] that [the] claim not to remember is just a 'strategic' avoidance.' (Drew, 1992: 481)

5.1 Introduction

'Suspects as victims' was the image I had about interrogations in the Arab world, but also in the world generally. This was an image reinforced by the existing stereotypes of prosecutors, social suspicion, cultural debate, high profile cases of abuse, human rights organisations and their reports and most importantly by the lack of substantial research published about interrogations in the Arab world. This image and the need for research has inspired the focus of this study; I wanted to investigate the mundane, ordinary and everyday work of prosecutors, which is usually not covered in the media and highlight the common practices that take place in the interrogation room. Since suspects and their image as victims were the reason for the start of this study, I decided to start my analysis by focusing on suspects and their response tactics. Initially, I viewed prosecutors as the sole controllers of the information discussed in interrogations, a bias that I acknowledged having when approaching the data. Close analysis of the data highlighted suspect response strategies such as '*I do not know*', '*I do not remember*' and '*this is not true*', as shown in the example below, which clarified that suspects also have a role in interrogations and they are not as powerless as I thought, a clarification which was later supported by research on interrogations in other contexts. Finding these responses reminded me of Einstein's quote above that analysis is there to prove us wrong and not always to support our hypotheses.

		هل وقفت الأجهزة المعنية في الدولة على هوية و طبيعة المساهمين عن شركة الشرق الأوسط للغاز ؟
		hal waqafat al-aghiza al-maʿniya fī al-dawla ʿala hawiyat wa ṭabīʿat al-musāhimīn ʿan šarikat al-šark al-awsaṭ li-l-gāz?
1 2 3	PR	*Did the authorities concerned in the Country __know__ the identity and nature of the shareholders of East Mediterranean Gas Company?*
		أنا معرفش و لم أكلف الأجهزة بهذا الإجراء لأن كل اللي كان يهمني السعر و المدة

		رغم إنها مهمة قطاع البترول
		ʾana maʿrafš wa lam ʾukalif al-ʾaghiza bi-haḏā al-ʾigrāʾ laʾin kull īllī kān yihiminī ʾal-siʿr wa al-muda **raġm ʾinnahā muhimat qiṭāʿ al-bitrūl**
4 5 6	S	***I do not know***, *and I didn't assign the authorities to execute such procedure because I was interested only in the price and duration although* **such was the task of the petroleum sector.**

This chapter highlights the ways suspects resist answering questions through the use of '*I do not know*' as a response strategy, a response used 126 times in the data. I have chosen this strategy in particular, because it was the one that was distributed in almost all of the cases in my data, unlike other responses such as '*I do not remember*'. This chapter investigates suspects' resistance to prosecutors' power and control over the version of events represented through questions. To achieve this, a combination of discourse analysis (DA), and pragmatics is used, exploring the pragmatic functions of questions and answers in interactions between prosecutors and suspects in the records of Egyptian interrogations.

Interest in the study of questions and answers as a form of institutional discourse and as an example of the asymmetry of roles between participants is not new (e.g. Drew and Heritage 1992). In addition, studies have also explored forms of resistance and evasion of interviewees (e.g. Harris, 1991, see Chapter 3 for more details). In the current chapter, resistance is defined as the degree of evasiveness of suspects or how they try to avoid answering questions, which is based on Harris's (1991) view of resistance as an evasive technique. I categorise '*I do not know*' as what Harris terms 'challenges to the presuppositions of a question' (1991: 85-86), a response used by suspects to resist a prosecutor's implications or version of events. Suspects' responses were categorised as resistant when they used '*I do not know*' to answer only part of the question asked, or not answer it at all.

5.2   Why *'I do not know'* responses?

The dataset shows that suspects resist the prosecutors' questions, an idea suggested and supported by Heffer's (2007) work on questioning in courtroom cross-examination. He suggests that in cross-examination 'the cross-examiner does not hide the fact that the witness will maintain that they are telling the truth but will try to contract the possibilities for advancing [an] alternative reality' (Heffer, 2007: 167). This means that the cross-examiner expects suspects'/witnesses' evasiveness and tries through his questions to show this to the court. Such an expectation is also found in interrogations

because suspects are expected to deny their crime. Despite being set in a courtroom context, Heffer's (2007) argument is closely related to the interrogations setting. Prosecutors, in my dataset, try to build their own version of reality. According to Labov and Fanshel (1977: 102), the power relationship between participants in interviews is evident in what they call 'Socratic questions'. They define these as events where questions are used to get more details and give the interviewee 'a wider latitude' for evading response. Tadros (1994: 79) gives an example of Socratic questions:

> A: Is college worthwhile?
>
> B: Education is one of society's most profitable investments. Human capital yields a return as great or greater than capital in the form of tools and buildings…

Therefore, in my data, it was important to analyse the prosecutors' questions to check how and why they trigger '*I do not know*' responses. In the data, as will be discussed in the next sections, prosecutors were often found to use open 'what do you say' questions where they include the information needing confirmation.

In the literature, it has been argued that questions and answers are the main elements of interaction in interviews (Greatbatch, 1988). While interviewers' questions were found to manage the topics discussed in the interview and interviewees follow the interviewer's agenda, questions were not always answered by the interviewee. Both Bull and Mayer (1993) and Harris (1991) have argued that evasions and non-reply answers are an expected and normal response in interviews. Interviewees were usually portrayed as avoiding and evading answering confrontational and challenging questions. While Greatbatch's (1988), Harris' (1991) and Bull and Mayer's (1993) focus was on political interviews, questions and answers are also the basic components of the legal setting. To exemplify this, Drew (1992) has mentioned the use of avoidance as a common feature in courtroom discourse. He argues that these responses come as a reaction to questions that include damaging inferences to the credibility of witnesses and that highlight the inconsistency in witnesses' responses. Witnesses in this case did not deny these inferences alone, but they gave defensive responses. According to Drew (1992: 471-472):

> Defensiveness of the witness's answer orients to the potential inconsistency in her story which the questions are attempting to imply; it is designed also to rebut the damaging inferences which might otherwise be drawn about the apparent discrepancy between the attorney's version of what she told the police and her own.

Among these avoidance or non-reply strategies used by suspects, witnesses, patients or politicians to overcome the implied accusations in questions, '*I do not know*' responses were very common. Scoboria et al. (2008) outlines several factors that affect the use of '*I do not know*' such as the structure of the question, the type of interviewee (e.g. adults vs. children), and if the use of such a response is allowed or not allowed by questioners. In addition, Pichler and Hesson (2016) state that such responses differ in form, function and syntax. One important function discussed by Metzger and Beach (1997: 752) is that '*I do not know'* responses act as 'claims of insufficient knowledge' that aim at 'frustrating a line of questioning' (Drew, 1992: 483). Moreover, '*I do not know*' responses are described as a 'strategic avoidance tool […] used to avoid confirming potentially damaging or discrediting information' (Drew, 1992: 480). The description of these responses as strategic tools is also supported by Hutchby (2002: 158) who argues that '*I don't know*' responses intend to stop the discussion of 'undesired topics'. Eades (2008) agrees with Drew (1992) and Hutchby (2002) and adds that answers such as '*I don't know*' are not always used to give the literal meaning. She suggests that they could mean 'reluctance to take a risk' (2008: 170), 'unwillingness to respond to questioning' (2008: 181) and even 'deliberate non-cooperation or resistance'. Both Drew (1992) and Eades (2008) agree that the use of *'I do not know'* is not a simple denial: it is a way to deal with the challenging details in the question. To sum up, in the present chapter, I have chosen to focus on the use of *'I do not know'* as an evasive strategy, as it may be 'an object conveniently used to avoid confirming potentially damaging or discrediting information' (Drew, 1992: 481). '*I do not know'* responses are categorised according to their degree of evasiveness and their different pragmatic functions are discussed. The existence of such responses supports the view that suspects have tools available for them to record their narratives.

5.3   Frequency and distribution

Based on Scoboria et al.'s (2008) and Pichler and Hesson's (2016) argument, the first logical step to analyse '*I do not know'* responses was to calculate the frequency of this response in the data. Using *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2012), I calculated the frequency of '*I do not know'* responses in the nine transcribed cases. To do so, I have searched for all the different forms of the response such as *ʾana maʿrafš/ lā ʾaʿlam* which all mean '*I do not know'*. I, then, manually searched for '*I do not know'* responses in the other nine non-transcribed records. The frequencies and percentages are presented in Table 6

below which also shows the distribution of this response in the data. '*I do not know*' was used 126 times.

Table 7. Percentage of 'IDK' Responses

No.	Case Type	Code	Total number of Words	Total number of Q-A Pairs	Total number of 'IDK' responses	% IDK responses	Suspect Category
1	Gamal Mubarak	CORPT3	1025	36	4	75%	Professional
2	Beating led to death	BEAT	6282	110	16	65%	Worker
3	Murder	MURD3	1200	30	5	60%	Worker
4	Theft	THEFT2	1620	11	4	54%	Worker
5	Theft	THEFT1	1450	94	5	51%	Worker
6	Sexual Assault	SEX AS	3147	92	3	51%	Worker
7	Alaa Mubarak	CORPT2	2000	53	4	47%	Professional
8	Embezzlement	EMBEZ1	3462	107	14	44%	Professional
9	Embezzlement	EMBEZ2	5700	131	12	27%	Professional
10	Murder	MURD2	5208	110	9	19%	Worker
11	Hosni Mubarak	CORPT1	5697	135	27	14%	Professional
12	Murder	MURD1	6000	150	4	10%	Worker
13	Theft	THEFT3	567	10	1	10%	Worker
14	Drugs	DRUG2	1550	28	5	4%	Worker
15	Drugs	DRUG1	2970	54	13	2%	Worker
16	Theft	THEFT4	400	24	0	0%	Worker
17	Work place injury	WORKINJ	600	11	0	0%	Worker
18	Work place injury	WORKINJ	800	29	0	0%	Worker

From the Table, it becomes clear that Gamal Mubarak used the response in question more frequently than the rest of the suspects (75%), DRUG1 suspects used it the least (2%) and cases number 16, 17 and 18 did not have any instances of '*I do not know*' answers. The last column of Table 6 states the suspect category, worker or professional, to illustrate if there is any correlation between status and resistance. As Scoboria et al. (2008) argued, responses such as '*I do not know*' gain their significance when they are analysed together with the questions used. A closer look at the data revealed that out of the 126 responses in the data, 72 of the '*I do not know*' answers came as a response to yes/no or WH- questions such as the one in Example 1, where the word knowledge is in the question, to some extent 'licensing' (Huang, 2017) an '*I do not know*' response:

(1)	[MURD1]	
		ما مدى علمك بحمل المجني عليها؟
		___*mā madā ʿilmak*___ *bi-ḥaml al-magnī ʿalayhā?*
		What extent knowledge your of-pregnancy the-victim?
1	PR	*What is the extent of your* ___*knowledge*___ *of the victim's pregnancy?*

As for the rest of the responses, they were used to answer *and/wa*-prefaced questions such as lines 1-2 in Example 2 (22 instances). Questions such as those in Examples 1 and 2 usually asked suspects about their knowledge of a certain event, using, for example, 'do you know' questions (which are examined in section 5.4) and/or included implied accusations to suspects (see section 5.5).

(2)	[DRUG1]	
		وما سبب إختيارك لضبطك دون المتواجدين في المكان ؟
		wa mā sabab ʾiḫtiyārak li-ḍabṭak dūn al-mutawāgidīn fī al-makān?
		And what reason choice-your to-catch from-all the-found-they in the-place
1 2	PR	*And what was the reason for their choice to catch you from all the people in the place?*

In Example 2 the accusation is implied in the use of the *and/wa*-prefaced question and the word *'sabab' / 'the reason'*, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. Another type of question that caused the use of '*I do not know*' answers was Put On Record questions (25 instances) such as lines 1-4 in Example 3, where there is a metadiscursive item followed by a long narrative turn:

(3)	[CORPT1]	
		ما قولك وقد ثبت من التحقيقات قتل المئات من المتظاهرين سلميا من جراء إطلاق النار عليهم من قوات الشرطة المشاركة في المظاهرات في عدة محافظات بالجمهورية؟
		mā qawluk wa qad ṯabata min al-taḥqīqāt qatl al-miʾāt min al-mutaẓāhirīn silmiyan min garāʾ ʾiṭlāq al-nār ʿalayhum min quwāt al-šurta al-mušārika fī al-muẓāharāt fī ʿidat muḥāfaẓāt bi-l-gumhūriya?
		What response-your and was proved from the-investigations kill the-hundreds from the-demonstrators peacefully as result shooting fire on-them from forces the-police the-participating in the-demonstrations in several governorates in-the-republic
1 2 3 4	PR	***What's your reply*** *about what has been affirmed through the investigations that hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were killed as a result of gunshots by the police forces that participated in the demonstrations in various governorates of the Republic?*

Finally, in seven examples prosecutors combined *and/wa*-prefaced questions with Put On Record questions as illustrated in Example 4.

(4)	[CORPT1]	
		وما قولك وقد ثبت أيضا إصابة آلاف من المشاركين في تلك المظاهرات السلمية بطلقات نارية وخرطوش بمعرفة قوات الشرطة؟
		wa mā qawluk wa qad ṯabata ʾayḍan ʾiṣābat ʾālāf min al-mušārikīn fī tilk al-muẓāharāt al-silmiya bi-ṭalaqāt nāriya wa ḫarṭūš bi-maʿrifat quwāt al-šurta?
		And what response-your and that proved also injured thousands from the-participants in these the-demonstrations the-peaceful with-bullets fire and rubber with-knowledge forces the-police
5 6 7 8	PR	***And what do you say*** *about what has also been also affirmed that thousands of the participants in these peaceful demonstrations were injured by the police forces gun shots and rubber bullets of the police forces?*

Chapters 6 and 7 investigate how these question types trigger responses such as '*I do not know*'. The rest of the current chapter discusses the different forms of '*I do not know*' responses and their pragmatic purpose.

5.4   IDK as responses to 'Do you know' questions

Prosecutors used a range of question types: from *WH*-questions to Put on Record questions (PORs) (see Chapter 7 for further discussion) when interrogating suspects, embedding presuppositions and implicatures in their questions. These often resulted in '*I do not know*' responses. This chapter focuses on resistant '*I do not know*', which is identified by the use of '*I do not know*' in different forms that ranged from adding an explanation to '*I do not know*', shift of blame or using 'I do not know' alone, as

discussed in this chapter. The nature of suspects' responses is closely related to the types of questions asked and, therefore, '*I do not know*' answers are categorised according to the question types asked by the prosecutor: 'Do you know' questions, *WH*-questions+implied accusation and PORs. Suspects are found to use '*I do not know*' not just to express their lack of knowledge but to resist and challenge presuppositions in prosecutors' questions. Their answers ranged from '*I do not know*' only to '*I do not know*' with explanation responses.

Prosecutors often (in 40% of the turns) used 'do you know' or '*hal taʕrif/ hal taʕlam/ mā madā ʕilmak*' questions to ask about suspects' 'knowledge', or questions containing the word '*maʕrifa*'/ 'knowledge' such as:

<div dir="rtl">

ما مدى علمك بحمل المجني عليها؟

</div>

mā madā ʕilmak bi-ḥaml al-magnī ʕlayhā?
What is the extent of your knowledge of the victim's pregnancy?

The focus of section 5.4 is on '*I do not know*' responses that follow knowledge or 'do you know' questions. 'Do you know' questions that do not elicit an '*I do not know*' response are excluded from this analysis. 'DO you know' questions prompted suspects to add an explanation to their '*I do not know*' responses. When the prosecutor includes the word '*taʕrif* '/ '*know*' in the question, it indicates that he presupposes that the suspect has a certain degree of knowledge about what is being asked or wants to record their lack of knowledge (Sidnell, 2010). Although the use of '*know*' in the answer is not dispreferred because of the presence of '*know*' in the question, the negative response might be dispreffered and the suspect's resistance to responding to this assumption of knowledge challenges the presupposition of the question. For instance, in Example 5, the suspect is accused of murdering a female relative in order to steal her gold and money. He defends himself by claiming that it was not premeditated because he was under the influence of drugs. During the investigations, the prosecutor checks the suspect's knowledge that the victim was pregnant with '*mā madā ʕilmak bi-ḥaml al-magnī ʕalayhā?*/ 'What is the extent of your knowledge of the victim's pregnancy?*' (line 1), a question which presupposes that the suspect has knowledge about the pregnancy and which would implicate him in the murder of not only a woman but also an unborn foetus.

(5)		[MURD2]	
		ما مدى علمك بحمل المجني عليها؟
		__mā madā ʿilmak__ bi-ḥaml al-magnī ʿalayhā?
		What extent knowledge your of-pregnancy the-victim?
1	PR	*What is the extent of your __knowledge__ of the victim's pregnancy?*
		أنا معرفش انها كانت حامل وكل اللي أعرفه أن لما طلعت من السجن انها كانت حامل وسقطت
		ʾana maʿrafš innahā kānit ḥāmil wa kull īllī ʾaʿrafuh in lammā ṭiliʿt min al-sign innahā kānit ḥāmil wa siʾtit
		I not-I-know that-she was-she pregnant and all that I-know that when leave-I from the-prison that-she was-she pregnant and lost-she=baby
2 3	S	*__I do not know__ that she was pregnant but all I know is that when I got out of prison she was pregnant and lost her baby*
		هل كانت المجني عليها تظهر عليها علامات تشير إلى كونها حامل
		hal kānat al-magnī ʿalayhā __taẓhar ʿalayhā ʿalāmāt__ tušīr ʾilā kawnihā ḥamil?
		Did was-she the-victim she-show on-her signs referring to was-she pregnant
4	PR	*Did the victim __appear to be__ pregnant?*
		لا هي مكنش باين عليها لأنها كانت مليانة
		laʾ hiyya makanš bāyin ʿalēhā laʾinnahā kānit malyāna
		No she not appear on-her because-she was-she chubby
5	S	*No, she did not show because she was chubby*

The suspect recognises and resists the implied accusation by denying knowledge of the victim's pregnancy and claims he thought that she had lost her baby. Therefore, when the suspect answers '*I do not know that she was pregnant but all I know is that when I got out of prison she was pregnant and lost her baby'* (lines 2-3), he resists the construction of the culpable image implied by the prosecutor. The prosecutor's follow-up question in line 4: '*Did the victim appear to be pregnant?*' is an indication that he rejects the suspect's version of the narrative because the pregnancy would have been physically evident. By using this question, the prosecutor implies that the suspect is being resistant, which thus affects the credibility of the suspect's claims.

Use of '*I do not know*' as a resistance strategy to a 'knowledge' question was also used by Hosni Mubarak as shown in Example 6. Having an ex-president as a suspect is an additional power dimension, since Mubarak is familiar with both the prosecutor's institution and its discourse, giving Mubarak an extra level of power through his insider knowledge and reducing the asymmetrical context somewhat. In addition, it gives '*I do not know*' responses a more resistant nature, because Mubarak is

expected to know the answers to the questions he is asked. However, he chooses which questions to answer fully and which to deny having appropriate knowledge for. In lines 1-3, the prosecutor asks Hosni Mubarak about the extent of knowledge of certain governmental authorities about gas exportation. This is a very important question because Mubarak and his government were accused of wasting public money by selling Egyptian natural gas at very low prices to Israel and of hiring their friends and family members for this project. Instead of asking Mubarak directly about his knowledge of gas exportation, the prosecutor asks about the knowledge of the authorities that were under his rule, which is a very indirect reference to what is being implied. In lines 4-6, Mubarak recognises this implication and denies any knowledge of this piece of information. Even though the word *'know'* is expected in the response on the part of the interviewee, in this context the '*I do not know*' response is a resistance strategy because the interviewer expects that Mubarak, as a former president, has this kind of knowledge. The prosecutor, hence, expects a positive response, but Mubarak resists by giving a negative response. This is clear from the rest of the response where Mubarak deflects responsibility onto the petroleum sector to show that he could not be expected to know this sort of information.

(6)	[CORPT1]	
		هل وقفت الأجهزة المعنية في الدولة على هوية و طبيعة المساهمين عن شركة الشرق الأوسط للغاز ؟
		hal waqafat al-aghiza al-maˁniya fī al-dawla ˁala hawiyat wa ṭabīˁat al-musāhimīn ˁan šarikat al-šark al-awsaṭ li-l-gāz?
		Did know-it the-authorities the-concerned in the-country about identity and nature the-shareholders of company the-East the-middle for-gas?
1 2 3	PR	*Did the authorities concerned in the Country __know__ the identity and nature of the shareholders of East Mediterranean Gas Company?*
		أنا معرفش و لم أكلف الأجهزة بهذا الإجراء لأن كل اللي كان يهمني السعر و المدة رغم إنها مهمة قطاع البترول
		__ˀana maˁrafš__ wa lam ˀukalif al-ˀaghiza bi-haḏā al-ˀigrāˀ laˀin kull īllī kān yihiminī ˀal-siˁr wa al-muda __raġm ˀinnahā muhimat qiṭāˁ al-bitrūl__
		I not-know-I and not I-assign the-authorities with-that the-procedure because all that was I-interested-me the-price and the-duration although it-is mission sector the-petroleum
4 5 6	S	*__I do not know__, and I didn't assign the authorities to execute such procedure because I was interested only in the price and duration although __such was the task of the petroleum sector.__*

Therefore, '*I do not know*' is used by suspects to resist the prosecutor's implications by not providing information required by the question to which the questioner believes the suspect knows the answer. In other words, suspects were expected to know or the prosecutor poses the question as if the suspects should have known the information they are being asked about and that they would be able to answer positively. Suspects used such a strategy to indirectly resist answering the question. It is less resistant than the next subcategory where suspects give more emphatic and resistant responses because '*I do not know*' is licensed by the questions but it is not the preferred answer.

5.5 '*IDK*' responses to questions with implied accusation

When asked challenging questions that do not include the word 'know', suspects were found to react by adding explanations to their '*I do not know*' contributions, unlike responses that lacked explanations (see section 5.6.2). Two types of '*I do not know*' with explanation responses were found in the data. The first type, analysed in this section, is when an '*I do not know*' response came as an answer to questions with implied accusations. Questions were categorised to belong to the second type when suspects responded to open Put on Record questions (PORs), often used by prosecutors, as illustrated later in the chapter (see section 5.6).

In my dataset, all prosecutors structured their interrogations in a similar format. Any interrogation usually starts with prosecutors asking questions to construct the narrative leading up to the crime on which they build their interrogation such as '*where were you standing when you were arrested?*'. Next, they challenge and question the suspects' narrative at later stages of the interrogation. Questions under investigation in the current section are not the narrative-constructing questions but those that challenge suspects by asking about specific details: these implicitly refer to incriminating details. In other words, prosecutors move from asking questions to simply fill in a gap of knowledge that they need for their investigations to questions that confirm or disconfirm a hypothesis or a theory they have about the crime or the involvement of the suspect. In addition, they make notes of important details for their case and the future audiences (Haworth 2012; 2013; Heritage, 1985; see section 5.8). In other words, prosecutors put certain details on the case record because they want their other audiences such as judges, lawyers and the overhearing public to accept the logic behind their version of events which in turn weakens the suspect's case in court. Answers are, therefore, usually

longer, and more complex, because in order to resist the prosecutor's hypothesis in the question, a longer answer is needed.

Shifting the blame away from the self in extended responses is a resistance strategy used by professional suspects (e.g. the Mubarak family and company managers) in my dataset to resist any implications in prosecutors' questions. For instance, in Example 7, a public money embezzlement case, a company manager, Austin, a group of his employees and two of the company's clients Art and Albert were accused of embezzling money from a company. The manager was accused of supplying merchandise to one of the suspects when it belonged to another suspect. The prosecutor in line 1 uses a *yes/no* question to ask about whether Austin was aware of any relationship between Art and Albert in order to confirm or disconfirm the hypothesis that Albert and Art conspired to take the merchandise twice from the company. This hypothesis is stated directly by the prosecutor in his next follow up question (lines 5-7). The suspect denies having such knowledge at the beginning of the answer '*I do not know*' (lines 2-4). He then confirms that he just knew that Art brought the cheque to get the merchandise. He, then, asks the prosecutor to question Art about Albert and their relationship, hence shifting the blame of premeditation onto the two other suspects: '*wa yumkin sūʾaluh ʿan ʿilāqatuh bi-l-sayyid Albert wa kayf ʾaḥḍar haḏā al-šīk'/ 'and you could ask him about his relationship with Mr. Albert and how he brought the cheque'.*

(7)	[EMBEZ1]	
		هل هناك علاقة بين السيد أرت وبين السيد ألبرت
		hal hunāk ʿilāqa bayn al-sayyid Art wa bayn al-sayyid Albert
		Is there relation between the-Mr. Art and between the-Mr. Albert?
1	PR	*Is there a relation between Mr. Art and Mr. Albert?*
		لا أعلم ولكن الذي أحضر الشيك السيد أرت ويمكن سؤاله عن علاقته بالسيد ألبرت وكيف أحضر هذا الشيك
		lā ʾaʿlam wa lakin ʾallaḏī ʾaḥḍar al-šīk al-sayyid Art wa yumkin sūʾaluh ʿan ʿilāqatuh bi-l-sayyid Albert wa kayf ʾaḥḍar haḏā al-šīk
		Not I-know and but that bring the-cheque the-Mr. Art and could ask-him about relation-his with-the-Mr. Albert and how he-bring that the-cheque
2 3 4	S	***I do not know*** *but it was Mr. Art who brought the cheque and you could ask him about his relationship with Mr. Albert and how he brought the cheque*
		ما دليلك على أن السيد أرت هو الذي قام بتسليمك للشيك رقم(...) بمبلغ المليوني جنيهاً وليس السيد ألبرت؟
		mā dalīlak ʿala ʾan al-sayyid Art huwwa ʾallaḏī qām bi-taslīmak li-l-šīk raqam (…) bi-mablaġ al-millyūnay gūnayhan wa laysa al-sayyid Albert?

		What proof-your about that the-Mr. Art is that did to-give-you to-the-cheque number (…) of-amount the-million-two pounds and not the-Mr. Albert
5 6 7	PR	*What is your **proof** that it was Mr. Art who gave you the cheque number (...) with the amount of two million pounds and not Mr. Albert?*
		أنا لا أعرف ألبرت أساساً وأن أمين الفرع الخاص بمنشية البكري والعميل أرت احضروا الشيك وبعد استدعائي من اللجنة تذكرت إن السيد أرت حضر للمرحوم كيرت سدد شيك مقبول الدفع بمبلغ رئيس القطاع التجاري في ذاك الوقت وسلمه شكوى أنه مليوني جنيهاً ولم يستلم باقي السلع فاتصلت بالشركة ورجوتهم فحص أوراق رئيس القطاع التجاري إذا كان بها أي أوراق واحضروا لي صورة سوف أقدمها لسيادتكم وهي برقم .... في 1999/1/27 علماً بأن المرحوم المذكور كان مشرفاً على قطاع المناطق عند تقديم الشكوى في 1999/1/27
		ʾana lā ʾaʿrif Albert ʾasāssan wa ʾan ʾamīn al-farʿ al-ḫāṣ bi-(…) wa al-ʿamīl Art ʾaḥḍarū al-šīk wa baʿd ʾstidʿāʾī min al-lagna taḏakart ʾin al-sayyid Art ḥaḍar li-l-marḥūm Kurt (…) fī ḏālik al-waqt wa sallamahū šakwā ʾanahū sadada šīk maqbūl al-dafʿ bi-mablaġ millyūnay gūnayhan wa lam yastalim bāqī al-silaʿ fā-ʾitaṣalt bi-l-šarika wa ragawtahum faḥṣ ʾawrāq raʾīs al-qiṭāʿ al-tugary ʾiṯā kān bihā ʾay ʾawrāq wa aḥḍarū lī ṣūra sawfa ʾuqadimūhā li-siyyādatakum wa hiyya bi-raqam (…) fī 27/1/1999 ʿilman bi-ʾan al-marḥūm al-maḏkūr kān mušrifan ʿala qiṭāʿ al-manāṭiq ʿind taqdīm al-šakwā fī 27/1/1999
		I not I-know Albert principally and that manager the-branch the-found in-(…) and the-client Art get-they the-cheque and after called-I from the-committee remembered-I that the-Mr. Art came to-the-deceased Kurt (…) in that the-time and gave-him complaint that-he paid cheque certified with-amount million-two pounds and not receive rest the-products so-I-called to-the-company and requested-them check papers head the-sector the-commercial if was in-it any papers and bring-they to-me copy will present-it to-honor-you and its of-number …. in 27/1/1999 noting that the-deceased the-mentioned was supervisor of sector the-areas at the time of presenting the-complaint in 27/1/1999
8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	S	***I do not know Albert at all*** *and the manager of (...) branch and Art, the client, were the ones who got the cheque and after I was summoned by the committee, I remembered that Mr. Art came to the deceased Kurt who was the (...) at the time and filed a complaint that he paid a certified cheque with the amount of two million pounds but has not received the rest of his products. So I called the company and requested that they check all the papers of commercial sector head to see if there are any papers on this issue and they gave me a copy of what I will present to your honor and its number is…. filed in 27/1/1999. It is worth noting that the deceased was the supervisor of all the sector areas at the time of the complaint in 27/1/1999*

The suspect's strategy of blame shift resulted in a more challenging question (lines 5-7):

'mā dalīlak ʿala ʾan al-sayyid Art huwwa ʾallaḏī qām bi-taslīmak li-l-šīk raqam (...) bi-mablaġ al-millyūnay gūnayhan wa laysa al-sayyid Albert?'/ What is your proof that it was Mr. Art who gave you the cheque number (...) with the amount of two million pounds and not Mr. Albert?'

The prosecutor's follow up question clearly states another version of the narrative: the

manager conspired with the others to embezzle money. By using this question, he implies that there is no 'proof' of the suspect's version of events, causing the suspect to resist such an accusation by giving a very long explanation to defend himself (lines 8-19).

Implied accusation questions are more challenging to the suspects than 'do you know' questions, despite their apparently well-defined structure. These questions suggest to suspects (and the future audiences) some incriminating facts. While questions that contain specific details that imply an accusation invite suspects to interact with the prosecutor and give long answers, prosecutors did not always use such well-defined and constrained structures. The next section discusses more confrontational Put On Record questions that have open structures giving them a different pragmatic function than the ones mentioned here.

5.6   Responses to Put On Record questions (PORs)

5.6.1   Emphatic responses to PORs

Analysis of the data has shown that suspects sometimes emphasised their lack of knowledge, by repeating '*I do not know*' or other expressions of lack of knowledge many times. Emphatic answers here came in response to '*what do you say/what's your reply'/ 'mā qawluk*' questions which I identify as PORs. They are extended questions that are usually loaded with details and other witnesses' or suspects' statements or claims about the case (for more details see Chapter 7). PORs are apparently *WH-*questions which imply the need for long answers as cued by the use of verbs that indicate narrative responses such as 'say/reply'. However, I consider questions of such a length (e.g. Example 8, lines 5-8) as restrictive and leading since they include all the information that the prosecutor needs the suspect to put on the record. Therefore, PORs are not used with the aim of eliciting information from interviewees. Instead they are tools for recording an implicating alternative narrative, which is found in the PORs. Based on suspects' responses, it becomes clear that suspects sometimes used short, but nevertheless emphatic responses made up of '*I do not know*' and '*I have no idea*' (Example 8). Suspects' use of '*I do not know*' in such cases is seen as a more incriminating response than a single denial, because they do not disconfirm the prosecutors' proposed version of events.

For instance, in Example 8, Mubarak is questioned about the use of guns in protests during the 2011 revolution. All through his interrogations, Mubarak claims that

he was unaware of everything taking place in the streets in 2011 making the prosecutor's question incriminating. In lines 3-4: '*kamā ḏakart, ʾaṣdart taʿlīmāt bi-ʿadam al-taʿarud li-l-mutaẓāhirīn wa tarkahum ḥatā yanṣarifū*' / '*As I mentioned, I gave instructions not to harm the demonstrators and to leave them until they go*', Mubarak even states that he gave direct orders to his officers not to use any violence with protestors. The follow-up questions in lines 5-8 and 10-13 show that the prosecutor wants to record the idea that *'peaceful protestors'* were both killed and injured by police officers' weapons. Mubarak resists answering such questions by denying having any knowledge about events that took place. This double emphasis *'I do not know and I have no idea.'* in the responses shows that he wants to confirm that he is not involved in any of the events. Being emphatic in the response may be related to the loaded nature of the POR cued by the use of the metadiscursive noun *'qawluk' / 'response'* (see Chapter 7 for further discussion of PORs). The prosecutor asks Hosni Mubarak both about what *'has been affirmed through the investigations'* and about his reply to these affirmations.

(8)		[CORPT1]
		ما الذي انتهى إليه الاجتماع بشأن التعامل مع المتظاهرين؟
		mā ʾallaḏī ʾintahā ʾilayh al-ʾigtimāʿ bi-šaʾn al-taʿāmul maʿ al-mutaẓāhirīn?
		What that end to-it the-meeting about the-dealing with demonstrators
1 2	PR	*What did the meeting conclude about dealing with the demonstrators?*
		كما ذكرت، أصدرت تعليمات بعدم التعرض للمتظاهرين وتركهم حتى ينصرفوا
		kamā ḏakart, ʾaṣdart taʿlīmāt bi-ʿadam al-taʿarud li-l-mutaẓāhirīn wa tarkahum ḥatā yanṣarifū
		As mentioned-I I-gave instructions about-not the-harm to-the-demonstrators and leave-them until leave-they
3 4	S	*As I mentioned, I gave instructions not to harm the demonstrators and to leave them until they go.*
		[…]
		ما قولك وقد ثبت من التحقيقات قتل المئات من المتظاهرين سلميا من جراء إطلاق النار عليهم من قوات الشرطة المشاركة في المظاهرات في عدة محافظات بالجمهورية؟
		mā qawluk wa qad ṯabata min al-taḥqīqāt qatl al-miʾāt min al-mutaẓāhirīn silmiyan min garāʾ ʾiṭlāq al-nār ʿalayhum min quwāt al-šurta al-mušārika fī al-muẓaharāt fī ʿidat muḥāfaẓāt bi-l-gumhūriya?
		What response-your and was proved from the-investigations kill the-hundreds from the-demonstrators peacefully as result shooting fire on-them from forces the-police the-participating in the-demonstrations in several governorates in-the-republic
5	PR	***What's your response*** about what has been affirmed through the

6 7 8		*investigations that hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were killed as a result of gunshots by the police forces that participated in the demonstrations in various governorates of the Republic?*
		والله معرفش ومعنديش فكرة
		wallahī maʿrafš wa maʿandīš fikra
		Well not-I-know and not-I have idea
9	S	***Well I do not know. I have no idea.***
		وما قولك وقد ثبت أيضا إصابة آلاف من المشاركين في تلك المظاهرات السلمية بطلقات نارية وخرطوش بمعرفة قوات الشرطة؟
		wa mā qawluk wa qad t̠abata ʾayḍan ʾiṣābat ʾālāf min al-mušārikīn fī tilk al-muẓāharāt al-silmiya bi-ṭalaqāt nāriya wa ḫarṭūš bi-maʿrifat quwāt al-šurṭa?
		And what response-your and that proved also injured thousands from the-participants in these the-demonstrations the-peaceful with-bullets fire and rubber with-knowledge forces the-police
10 11 12 13	PR	***And what do you say*** *about what has also been also affirmed that thousands of the participants in these peaceful demonstrations were injured by the police forces gun shots and rubber bullets of the police forces?*
		معرفش ومعنديش فكرة
		maʿrafš wa maʿandīš fikra
		Not-I-know and not-I have idea
14	S	***I do not know and I have no idea.***

It is evident from the data here that emphatic responses are considered to be strongly resistant to the prosecutor's attempt to record his version of events in the case file, because while suspects respond to questions that include incriminating details about them, they do not respond to the metadiscursive language stated in the question such as the noun 'qawluk/ (verb) say'. In other words, while the suspect tries to emphatically deflect the question, this draws attention to his/her evasion and prompts the prosecutor to ask follow up questions (e.g. lines 9 and 14). In Example 8, the prosecutor links the incriminating details in the question to other witnesses' statements or pre-interrogation investigations such as 'mā qawluk wa qad t̠abata min al-taḥqīqāt…'/ '*What's your response about what has been affirmed through the investigations*' (line 5). Haddington (2007: 284) argues that interviewers sometimes design their questions in this way to seem neutral and at the same time they 'adopt adversarial stances and exert pressure on their respondents by incorporating third-party statements, particular topical agendas, presuppositions, and accusations in their questions'. What also makes responses in Example 8 resistant is the fact that such responses are not expected from a president who is supposed to be aware of things taking place in his administration. Mubarak, by answering '*I do not know*', is signalling that the prosecutor's questions should not be asked of someone who has his presidential role and his response strategy is to position

himself as less powerful than the questioner implies. In other words, he is using his power to make himself appear less powerful.

5.6.2 *'I do not know'* only responses to PORs

'I do not know' responses that come without any explanation on the part of the suspect show increased resistance in contrast to responses to 'Do you know questions' in the interrogations (see 5.5). They even trigger more follow up questions from the prosecutor to record the information he wants on the record. In Example 9, for instance, the prosecutor asks a confrontational POR that invites the suspect to provide an explanation about the benefits received by his father's friend. However, Alaa Mubarak resists giving any details and instead responds using a very short answer: 'mā ʿandīš ʾay maʿlūmāt ʿan ḏālik'/ 'I have no information about that' (line 5), which challenges the prosecutor's implied accusations (Harris 1991). Alaa Mubarak's response is similar to Hosni Mubarak's strategy in the previous section (see Example 8 section 5.6.1), because he gives the impression that the prosecutor should not have asked this question of the suspect. Alaa's answer is more evasive, however, because he does not add any explanation to his *'I do not know'* response.

(9)	[CORPT2]	
		و ما **قولك فيما** قرره إبراهيم يسري السيد المحامي والذي أورد ببلاغه و بأقواله بالتحقيقات أن كلا من منير ثابت وحسين سالم حصلا على عمولات من صفقات السلاح؟
		mā qawluk fī-mā qarraruh Ibrahim Yousry El Sayyed al-muḥāmī wa ʾalladī ʾawrad bi-balāġuh wa bi-ʾaqwāluh bi-l-taḥqīqāt ʾan kollan min Mounir Thabit wa Hussein Salim ḥaṣalā ʿala ʿumūlāt min ṣafaqāt al-silāḥ?
		what say-your about-what stated-he Ibrahim Yousry El-Sayed the-lawyer and that he-mentioned in-notification-his and in-statements-his in-the-investigations that both of Mounir Thabit and Hussein Salem obtained of commissions from deals the-arms
1 2 3 4	PR	*__what do you say__ regarding what was stated by the lawyer Ibrahim Yousry El-Sayed who mentioned in his accusation and in his statements in the investigations that both Mounir Thabit and Hussein Salem obtained commissions from arms deals?*
		ما عنديش أي معلومات عن ذلك
		mā ʿandīš ʾay maʿlūmāt ʿan ḏālik
		Not have-I any information about that
5	S	*__I have no information about that__.*
		ما قولك بأن حسين كامل سالم استغل صلته بأسرتك والرئيس السابق، وقام بإتمام صفقة شركة ميدور وصفقة بيع الغاز لإسرائيل؟
		mā qawluk biʾanna Hussein Kamel Salim ʾistaġal ṣilatuh bi-ʾusratak wa al-raʾīs al-sābik wa qām bi-ʾitmām ṣafqat šarikat

		Midor wa ṣafqat bēʿ al-ġāz li-ʾisrāʾīl?
		What say-your about-that Hussein Kamel Salem he-took-advantage connection-his with-family-your and-the-president the-former and did-he to-conclude deal company Midor and deal sale the-gas to-Israel?
6 7 8 9	PR	***What do you say*** *about what was mentioned that Hussein Salem took advantage of his relationship to your family and the former President, and that he concluded the deal of Midor Company and the deal of gas sale deal to Israel?*
		أنا لا أعرف شيئًا عن هذا الكلام
		ʾanā lā ʾaʿrif šayʾan ʿan hadā al-kalām
		I not I-know thing about this the-talk
10	S	***I know nothing about this issue***

In lines 6-9, the prosecutor reacts to the evasion by asking a more confrontational question, where he states the accusation directly and not implicitly like in the previous turn. However, Alaa does not provide any details and remains resistant (line 10). PORs trigger resistant responses, as expected, in the data.

Analysis so far has revealed that resistance is closely related to prosecutors' questions. According to Haddington (2007: 284):

> By recognizing the practices by which interviewers set up positions for their guests, it is also possible to understand the underlying motivations behind some instances of interviewee resistance.

While it is important to analyse suspects' stances and positions presented in their responses, it is equally crucial to investigate questions. Whereas suspects' answers could be considered as resistant or evasive, PORs are also incriminating and aim to record prosecutors' versions of events and do not expect an answer. Responses are considered more resistant than other categories discussed and more challenging to the interrogator's goals, because suspects choose to give very short responses that claim a lack of knowledge when the structure of the questions sets up the expectation of long answers and explanations. In section 5.4, the questions were asking about the knowledge of the suspects (e.g. *Did the authorities concerned in the Country **know** the identity and nature of the shareholders of East Mediterranean Gas Company?).* The presence of the verb '*know*' in the question allows the suspect to use '*I do not know'* in the response without seeming overtly evasive. The questions in the current section are a combination of a *WH*-question and narrative cue represented by 'say', which presupposes that the addressee will say something about the encapsulated narrative and

thus that absence is highlighted. Therefore, PORs do not only put on record the institution's version of events, they also show the suspects as evasive.

5.6.3 *'I do not know'* responses to PORs with explanation

PORs did not always trigger *'I do not know'* only responses. On the contrary, suspects also added explanations to their *'I do not know'* answers. For instance, in Example 10, Hosni Mubarak is being questioned about the deaths and injuries of protestors during the 2011 demonstrations. The prosecutor in lines 1-2 implies that the killings are a sign of an underlying level of organisation and were not random, using the phrase '*wiḥdat al-manhag/the unity of pattern'*, which implies that they were carried out by police officers or trained forces. This contains an 'existential presupposition' (Jeffries 2006: 95) and is a high stakes question (Haworth, 2006). Any answer presupposes Mubarak's agreement that there were injuries and deaths (even if he denies that they were at the hands of police officers). In lines 3-6, Mubarak gives a long and complex answer to resist the claims in the prosecutor's POR. He uses this long answer to provide information, though it is not the required details that were built into the question. It is an attempt to cover up his lack of response to the '*unity of pattern and method of behaviour'* (lines 1-2). Instead he denies knowing what took place, and that he was not informed that firearms were used by officers. It is clear in lines 3-4 that Mubarak understands the existential presupposition and tries to emphasise that he did not give any orders to use weapons, which attempts to reposition himself as a peaceful ruler. At the end (lines 5-6), he suggests that protestors could be making up stories to incriminate the police. So instead of confirming his part in the deaths and injuries, Mubarak resists this depiction and instead repositions himself as a just ruler who gave orders to treat his people in a democratic way and, if deaths happened, it was not because of him. In addition, he constructs the witnesses as untrustworthy in their statements. Furthermore, he tries to cast doubt on the accuracy of the statements against him. Resistance through *'I do not know'* is therefore an opportunity for suspects to reposition themselves in the face of adverse positioning in the questions. In addition, he repositions others as untrustworthy and not credible.

(10) [CORPT1]		
		وما تعليلك لوحدة المنهج وطريقة التعامل مع القتل والمصابين في جميع المحافظات؟
		wa mā taʕlīlak li-wiḥdat al-manhag wa ṭarīqat al-taʕāmul maʕa al-qatl wa al-muṣābīn fī gamīʕ al-muḥāfaẓāt?
		And explanation-your to-unity the-method and way the-dealing

		with the-deaths and the-injured in all the-governorates
1 2	PR	*And how do you justify* **the unity of pattern** *and the method of dealing with deaths and the injured in all the governorates?*
		معرفش وانا معنديش معلومة إن قوات الشرطة استخدمت النار مع المتظاهرين وأنا تعليماتي واضحة و قاطعة في عدم التعامل بالنار مع المتظاهرين، فضلا عن أن **الكلام ده اللى بيقوله الناس ده ممكن يكون مش مظبوط**
		ma⸴rafš wa ʾanā ma⸴andīš ma⸴lūma ʾin quwāt al-šurṭa ʾistaḫdimit al-nār ma⸴a al-mutaẓāhirīn wa ʾana ta⸴līmātī wāḍḥa wa qāṭi⸴a fī ⸴adam al-ta⸴āmul bi-l-nār ma⸴a al-mutaẓāhirīn faḍlan ⸴an **ʾin al-kalām da īllī biyʾūluh al-nās da mumkin yikūn miš maẓbūṭ**
		Not-I-know and I not-I-have information that forces the-police used-it the-fire with the-demonstrators and I instructions-my clear and conclusive about not the-dealing with-the-fire with the-demonstrators in-addition that the-words these that say-it the-people this possibly is not true
3 4 5 6	S	**I do not know** *and I have no information that the police used fire arms with the demonstrators. And my instructions were clear and conclusive in not using firearms with demonstrators. In addition,* **these words that are reiterated by these people may be incorrect.**

Example 11 presents a different questioning technique on the part of the prosecutor. Although all questions included in this subsection are characterised by being open and confrontational in meaning, questions in Example 11 are even more confrontational in nature and they overtly accuse Alaa Mubarak of his crimes (rather than implying them), which is common in Alaa Mubarak's interview (76% of the questions). Therefore, the answers are expected to be more resistant because denials as responses require the suspect to add more details to defend himself. For instance, in lines 1-4 in Example 11, the prosecutor clearly states that the Mubaraks have misused their power and gave benefits to their friend Hussein Salem, a family friend and businessman, and in return received expensive villas without paying their full value. The prosecutor does not mention what kind of benefits Salem received in this particular question. However, Alaa Mubarak recognises the implied benefits (gas imports) and is very resistant in his answer: '*haḏā al-kalām kaḏib wa ʾana lā ⸴ilāqata lī bi-mawdū⸴ al-ġāz wa lā ʾa⸴rif ⸴anhu šayʾan*'/ '*This is a total lie and I have no relationship to the issue of gas. I know nothing about it.*' (lines 5-6). Like Hosni Mubarak, he repositions himself as a social figure that did not want any harm inflicted on his people and that he is honest and did not misuse power.

(11) [CORPT2]		
		ما قولك، وقد أضاف أنكم تعلمون أن هذه الفيلات المبيعة أقل من ثمنها الحقيقي، وأنها تمثل عطية من أجل المزايا و المنافع التي حصل عليها حسين سالم؟
		mā qawluk wa qad ʾadāfa ʾanakum ta⸴lamūn ʾana hāḏihi al-villāt al-mabīʿa ʾaqal min ṯamanhā al-ḥaqiqī wa ʾanahā tumaṯil ⸴aṭiya

		min ʾagl al-mazāyā wa al-manāfiʿ ʾalltī ḥaṣal ʿalayhā Hussein Salim?
		What response-your and did he-add that-you you-know that this the-villas the-sold less than price-their the-real and that-it represents gift for-the-privileges and benefits that get of-it Hussein Salem
1 2 3 4	PR	***What do you say*** *and he added that you know that these sold villas are less than their real price, and that it represents a present for the benefits and advantages granted to Hussein Salem?*
		هذا الكلام كذب وأنا لا علاقة لي بموضوع الغازو لا أعرف عنه شيئا
		haḏā al-kalām kaḏib wa ʾana lā ʿilāqata lī bi-mawdūʿ al-ġāz wa lā ʾaʿrif ʿanhu šayʾan
		This talk lie and I no relation of-mine with-topic the-gas and not I-know about-it thing
5 6	S	*This is a total lie and **I have no relationship** to the issue of gas. **I know nothing about it***.

Alaa Mubarak's response is important for two reasons. First, his answer is strong because he uses emphatic words such as 'total' and 'nothing'. Instead of repeating the IDK response as discussed in 5.6.1, Alaa Mubarak was even more emphatic by strongly denying the relevance of the question. This repositions him in a stronger position rather than a weak suspect. Secondly, he uses a slightly different pattern of '*I do not know*' with explanation because he starts his response with the justification, which he then follows by '*I do not know*' making his response more emphatic.

To sum up, this chapter has investigated one of the resistance strategies used by suspects during interrogations (i.e. '*I do not know*'). Based on Harris' (1991) evasion scale, responses in the current chapter are organised from the least resistant to the most resistant (see Figure 5). The taxonomy in Figure 5 emphasises the effect question types have on the form and level of resistance of suspect responses. Responses to '*do you know*' questions were the least resistant because '*I do not know*' is licenced and expected because prosecutors ask about the suspect's knowledge. Even if suspects evade answering the questions, they are not considered to be very resistant. Responses to implied accusations were found to be more resistant because suspects shift the blame to other people to evade questions weakening their position and claims. The most resistant category of IDK responses is that related to Put On Record questions and these are divided into three categories: emphatic responses, IDK only and IDK with explanation responses. PORs differ from 'do you know' questions and questions with implied accusations because they are not meant to simply challenge suspects'

statements. They have an additional function: to record the institutional version of events aiming at future audiences (see section 5.7). Questions posed by prosecutors in all three categories of responses to PORs are more challenging than the first two IDK responses. Prosecutors do not expect an answer and include direct accusations in their questions, which forces the suspect to resist and state their version of events on the record.

Answer	
↕	*Responses to 'Do you know' questions*: licensed resistance.
	Responses to implied accusations: responses to questions that challenge the suspect's narrative. Suspects challenge the presuppositions and implications of a question. Accusations are not stated directly but alluded to.
	Responses to PORs: The most resistant category i. *emphatic responses* which involves suspects repeating expressions of lack of knowledge ii. *IDK only responses* by which suspects respond to confrontational and direct accusations. iii. *IDK with explanation* by which suspects reposition their stance, stress their honest images and shift the blame to others.
Resistance	

Figure 5. IDK resistance scale

5.7   IDK responses and future audiences

As established above, a POR is a questioning strategy utilised by prosecutors to put on the interrogation record the information that they want to highlight for future audiences. Therefore, it was interesting to investigate how suspects react to future audiences and whether they are aware of the existence of such audiences. In Haworth's audience model (see Chapter 3, section 3.5), she states that interviewees were found not to think of or even be aware of the existence of future audiences (see Table 2) and they treat the interviewer as their sole listener. In Egyptian interrogations, usually suspects' primary addressee is the prosecutor, the auditor is the clerk, the overhearer is not acknowledged by the suspects and finally the eavesdropper role is allocated to lawyers, and the judges who will have access to the records at the trial stage. Table 7 outlines the different audience roles assumed by suspects in general. For example, in any given interrogation, the suspect is usually not educated about the legal system, the procedures and the role the interrogation record plays in the legal system.

Table 8. Audience roles for suspects

Audience role	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Addressee: Prosecutor	+	+	+
Auditor: Clerk	+	+	-
Overhearer:	-	_-	-
Eavesdropper: Lawyers, Judge and public	-	-	-

Therefore, like Haworth's model, suspects are usually not aware of the most important audience: the eavesdroppers. The prosecutor is known, ratified and addressed (3+s), the clerk is also known to suspects and ratified (2 +s) but they are not addressed by interviewees (-). As for the future audiences who have access to the interrogation record, they are not known, ratified or addressed (3 –s). Example 12 is a good example of how suspects treat the prosecutor as their primary audience. In this example, the suspect accuses the police of false arrest and that they wrongfully accused him in order that they could close the case record. In the example, the prosecutor asks the suspect about the identity of the officers who made the arrest. The suspect's answer in line 2 *'Humma ḫadūnī wa ʾana maʿrafš humma mīn'/ 'They took me and I do not know who they are'* shows that he is unaware how this answer affects his credibility and his case in court later on. Not knowing the names of officers who falsely arrested him casts doubt on the credibility of his claims.

(12)	[DRUG1]		
			من قام بضبطك تحديداً ؟
		man qām biḍabṭak taḥdīdan?	
		Who did to-catch-you exactly	
1	PR	***Who caught you exactly?***	
			هما خدوني و أنا معرفش هما مين
		humma ḫadūnī wa ʾana maʿrafš humma mīn	
		They took-me and I not-I-know they who	
2	S	*They took me and I do not know who they are*	

Audience roles, however, change with suspects such as Hosni Mubarak, who are aware of the system and the role interrogations play in the trial. They also are aware of the journey the interrogation record takes in the Egyptian legal system. Mubarak is aware of the existence of future audiences and tries to reposition his image as an honest president in his responses. Responses by Alaa Mubarak and Hosni Mubarak in sections 5.6.2 and 5.6.3 revealed their attempts to maintain their status as honest and credible rulers and/or

social figures. This awareness of future audiences changes the audience roles and the relationship they have with suspects' responses. As shown in Table 8, unlike Haworth's model and the worker's category in my data, when suspects are aware of the legal system, future audiences such lawyers and judges move from the category of eavesdroppers to that of overhearers.

Table 9. Audience roles for Mubaraks

Audience role	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Addressee: Prosecutor	+	+	+
Auditor: Clerk	+	+	-
Overhearer: Lawyers, Judge and public	+	–	+
Eavesdropper: -			

In addition, when suspects are high-status social figures, they consider members of the public as overhearers and try to maintain their image in front of these overhearers. As shown in Table 8, overhearers are both known and addressed (2 +s) which affects suspects' responses as discussed in section 5.6. The more the suspect has a social image to maintain, the more resistant the responses are in relation to prosecutor's questions and future audiences. It is worth noting that there is a mismatch between perspectives of prosecutors and suspects when it comes to audience roles. In Chapter 7, audience roles from prosecutors' perspectives are investigated.

5.8   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown the different questions asked by prosecutors that triggered '*I do not know*' responses. Prosecutors use a range of questions types ('do you know' questions, questions with implied accusations and PORs) that perform different functions in the data. Control is exercised throughout by prosecutors who use questions both to get the answers they want on record and also to highlight where suspects' claims are weak and/or inadequate. '*Do you know*' questions were found to be the least confrontational questions as opposed to the two other types that ask about incriminating details (questions with implied accusation) or are used to record alternate statements for the 'overhearing audience' (PORs). Suspects, on the other hand, use '*I do not know*' resistant responses that come in different forms such as '*I do not know*' or '*I do not know*' with explanation to resist such control.

Prosecutors and suspects are in constant negotiation in terms of power and control in interrogations. Even though prosecutors are in an institutionally powerful position, because they are part of the judicial system and have control over topic choice and knowledge of how the system works, the suspects they question are able to shift blame to other suspects (e.g. Austin, Example 7) or to resist the prosecutor's version of events (e.g. Alaa Mubarak, Example 11). It is worth noting that suspects in my data generally try to strategically resist the implications of prosecutors (e.g. Example 10, CORPT). For instance, Alaa Mubarak's responses aim to show weaknesses in the prosecutor's questions (e.g. Example 11). However, interviews with the Mubarak family could be seen from a different perspective because they have been professionally trained to deal with questioning given their involvement in the political and legal setting in Egypt for many years. Putting this resistance on record has potential costs for the suspects' cases in the courtroom, because it may be interpreted as weakening the claims of the suspects. On the other hand, it boosts the prosecution case and is therefore an important prosecution strategy. Future audiences and the knowledge of suspects of their existence were also found to affect the degree of resistance of suspects and their responses. The concept of future audience will be revisited in Chapter 7, but it will be discussed in relation to interrogators. In the next chapter, *and/wa*-prefaced questions and their pragmatic role are analysed.

CHAPTER 6: *And/Wa*-Prefaced Questions

6.1   Introduction

The effect of discourse markers on talk sequencing and institutional discourse has been the topic of a wide range of research (Fraser, 1999; Schegloff and Lerner, 2009; Schiffrin, 1986; Van Dijk, 1981), drawing our attention to the pragmatic work they do to mark sequence and meaning in talk. When they are used to preface questions such as in *and*-prefaced and *so*-prefaced questions (e.g. Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Heritage and Sorjonen, 1994; Matsumoto, 1999; Nevile, 2006; Schiffrin, 1987) their pragmatic functions are extended, particularly when they are used in legal settings such as police interviews and courtroom discourse (Cotterill, 2003; Drew, 1992; Johnson, 2005, 2008). Based on this research, *and* and *so*-prefaced questions were found to play several discourse roles. For example, Johnson (2002, 2005) argues that *so*-and *and*-prefaced questions are tools that construct a narrative sequence in police interviews, so that the interviewer tells the story; they also assume agreement, summarise, challenge and evaluate (Johnson, 2002: 107). Heritage and Sorjonen (1994: 1), looking at these questions in a health setting, define *and*-prefaced questions as 'commonplace features of interactions in an institutional setting'. Moreover, they see prefacing questions as tools that relate questions to preceding ones as part of the interviewers' agendas and to get the information they need to move forward with their aim (i.e. getting information from the interviewee). In other words, they state that 'it is this invocation of a routine or agenda-based activity across a succession of question/answer sequences which we regard as the major task of *and*-prefaces' (Heritage and Sorjonen, 1994: 6).

There is, then, an agreement that prefaced questions function as links between questions. This is echoed by Matsumoto (1999), who defines *and*-prefaced questions as anaphoric links to previous questions. Drew (1992) acknowledges this fact, but adds that *and*-prefaces also signal inconsistencies in the witness events rather than merely a tool of going 'back to line of questioning' (Heritage and Sorjonen (1994: 7). Cotterill (2003: 152), takes this a step further by suggesting that prefaced questions, *so* prefaced questions in particular, 'oblige the witness to concede and reiterate in an explicit form something damaging'. She also emphasises that such questions do not only 'commit the witness to something already stated by him', but attempt to 'provide a damaging backdrop to forthcoming testimony' (2003: 154). Van der Houwen and Sneijder (2014:

41) support the view that *and*-prefaced questions highlight inconsistencies in the narrative and add that such questions 'package the incriminating statement as an addition to the suspect's narrative'. In this chapter, the focus is on *and/wa*-prefaced questions in Egyptian interrogations and their strategic role in interrogations (*Wa* is translated as *and* in the data). A special interest of the analysis is the investigation of the pragmatic functions of *and/wa* as a preface in the prosecutor's questions. To do so, I refer to the research of Johnson (2002; 2005), Cotterill (2003) and Van der Houwen and Sneijder (2014) who analysed the pragmatic functions of prefaced questions in legal settings. Before discussing the different functions of *and/wa*-prefaced questions, it is important to look at the different functions of the particle *wa* in the Arabic language as discussed in the literature.

6.2   Functions of *Wa*

In the previous chapter, we considered '*I do not know'* responses and how suspects used them as resistance strategies to overcome prosecutors' challenging questions. The regular use of these *and/wa*-prefaced questions in the data has drawn my attention to these questions as a phenomenon. Since it has been agreed that resistance is closely related to the type of questions and stances that questioners construct through their questions (Haddington, 2007: 285), in this chapter, I analyse *and/wa*-prefaced questions in the speech of prosecutors to explore the ways in which prosecutors use *and/wa* in their questions to suspects. Providing answers and statements about events is usually an expectation of suspects in any interrogation or interview setting. However, it would be inaccurate to assume that only suspects contribute to building the sequence of events in any given interrogation because prosecutors simultaneously add and, sometimes, even manipulate this same narrative. This is achieved by their questions and their design; therefore, the study of questions is just as crucial as that of suspects' responses. This chapter focuses on one type of prosecutor question: *and/wa*-prefaced questions.

Wa is a particle which does not have a function as a standalone word in Arabic. That is, to have a function in the sentence, *wa* has to be connected either to a word, or a clause. The use of *wa* in Arabic structures and its functions have been discussed by a few researchers (e.g. Badawi et al., 2004; Taha et al, 2014). Of this research, nothing has been written regarding the pragmatic functions of the use of *wa* with questions in general or in any legal context. Arabic grammarians have different views regarding the function of *wa* in discourse. There has been an ongoing debate on whether *wa* implies a

relationship of sequence between ideas or if it just has an 'additive' function (Fareh, 1998: 309; Yagi and Ali, 2008). According to Badawi et al. (2004: 54), *wa*:

> […]is the basic coordinating particle, which implies no hierarchical or sequential ordering in the coordinated clauses, though common sense usually determines the order, and it is the normal conjunction for narrative sequences

It is this role of *and/wa* in narrative sequences that is of specific relevance to the analysis in this chapter. The chapter discusses prosecutors' use of prefaced questions and whether they use them to signal mere order, narrative sequences or if they have more important pragmatic functions, such as challenging, evaluating etcetera.

Studies discussing *wa* in Arabic have focused mainly on their syntactic functions, and those of other conjunctions, which has made it difficult to resolve this debate on the function of *wa* (Fareh, 1998). According to Yagi and Ali (2008), pragmatic studies of conjunctions, especially *wa,* help identify their roles in sentences (i.e. whether they are references to order or sequence or just a simple connector or both). In most recent decades, researchers started focusing on semantic, and pragmatic features of *wa* (e.g. Taha et al., 2014; Yagi & Ali, 2008) and they published studies about the different functions of Arabic *wa* and English *and* (e.g. Fareh, 1998). Based on their results it was clear that despite the need for more research on *wa,* the study of *wa* could be considered a challenge because it is 'the most commonly used Arabic conjunction' (Hamza: 235) Additionally, Anees (1966: 312) and Taha et al. (2014) argued that the Arabic language has a stylistic requirement for the use of conjunctions. Both studies have observed that Arabic writers link almost all their ideas with a connective, regardless of the sentence need. Hence, they have noted that *wa* could be seen as a redundant connective with no actual function in the sentence. However, a pragmatic function of *wa* has been identified and that is to signal topic continuity, coming at the beginning of paragraphs and sentences (Taha et al., 2014: 309). The main aim of this chapter is to build on these previous explorations of *wa* and existing research on and-prefaced questions to produce empirical evidence about how the *and/wa* particle when combined with questions in interrogations has pragmatic implications.

Data in this chapter is considered slightly different from what has been discussed so far in Arabic linguistic research. First, I am not dealing with cases of ordinary coordination between parts of sentences or parts of speech. I am investigating how *and/wa* connects different question-answer segments in interrogations. Prosecutors

frequently preface their questions with *and/wa* as a response to some of their suspects'
answers. Second, these questions are used in a legal context, namely, interrogations,
where questions play an important role in inviting elaborations from suspects and
getting information about crimes or suspects' versions of events. I, therefore, explore
whether *and/wa* prefaced questions used in interrogations have implications for
sequence, order and meaning of events or are simply a part of the 'stylistic requirement'
(Anees, 1966) of Arabic discourse. I also wanted to analyse their function in building a
narrative and recording it for use in court at a later stage.

6.3 Structure of *and/wa* questions

Before moving to an analysis of the different functions of prefaced questions in the data,
in this section, a prototypical example is discussed to show the interplay of information
between prosecutors and suspects. When investigating the context in which prosecutors
use *and/wa*, it is evident that all the interrogations in the present chapter share a
common pattern: prosecutors start their questioning by asking suspects to provide them
with a detailed description of what happened prior to the point of their arrest, which
happens in the form of successive questions such as lines 1-2 and 5 in Example 1. After
building a storyline of events, the interrogator shifts from asking such questions about
the order of events to asking about a detail in a suspect's response that seems
contradictory or unclear. Such a shift was signalled by the use of an *and/wa* prefaced
question. In the drug case discussed in Example 1, for instance, the prosecutor
constructs his questions using *and/wa* to signal a move to either more probing questions
and/or the construction of his own version of the narrative. In Example 1, the suspect,
who was arrested in a drug case, claims that he was wrongfully arrested and that he was
an innocent bystander when police officers arrested him. This case has 28 turns of
which only two questions are prefaced by a discourse marker (see section 6.4).

			(1) [DRUG1]
			من أين أتى سالفي الذكر وإلى أين توجهوا ؟
			min ʾayna ʾatā sālifī al-ḏikr wa ʾila ʾayna tawagahū?
			From where come afore-them mentioned and to where they go-they
1 2		PR	*From where did the afore-mentioned come and where did they head to?*
			هما كانوا جايين من ناحية اللي بيتاجروا في المخدرات و بيجروا ناحية العربيات
			humma kānū gāyīn min nāḥyit īllī biytāgrū fī al-muḫadrāt wa biyigrū nāḥyit al-ʕarabiyāt

116

			They were-they coming-they from side that they-sell in the-drugs and they-running towards the-cars
3 4	⇒	S	*They were coming from where they sell drugs and were running towards the-cars*
			من ما كانوا يفرون؟
			min mā kānū yafirūn?
			From what were-they they-running
5		PR	*What were they running from?*
			أنا مخدتش بالي لكن كان في ناس بتجري وراهم و عقبال متلفت لقيت ناس مسكني
			ʾana maḫadtiš bālī lakin kān fī nās bi-tigrī warāhum wa ʿuʾbāl ma-tlafat laʾit nās maskinnī
			I not-I pay attention-my but was there people they-running after-them and as-soon-as I-turn-around found-I people holding-me
6 7		S	*I did not notice but there were people running after them and as soon as I turned around, I found people arresting me*
			وما سبب إختيارك لضبطك دون المتواجدين في المكان؟
			wa mā sabab ʾiḫtiyārak li-ḍabṭak dūn al-mutawāgidīn fī al-makān?
			And what reason choice-your to-arrest from-all the-found-they in the-place
8 9	⇒	PR	*And what was the reason for their choice to arrest you from all the people in the place?*
			أنا معرفش
			ʾana maʿrafš
			I not-I-know
10	⇒	S	*I do not know*
			من قام بضبطك تحديداً ؟
			man qām bi-ḍabṭak taḥdīdan?
			Who did to-arrest-you exactly
11		PR	*Who arrested you exactly?*
			هما خدوني و أنا معرفش هما مين
			humma ḫadūnī wa ʾana maʿrafš humma mīn
			They took-me and I not-I-know they who
12		S	*They took me and I do not know who they are*

Before the *and/wa* prefaced question in lines 8-9 (second arrow), the prosecutor asks a series of questions to know the circumstances leading up to arrest. The suspect claims that police officers were running and suddenly they arrested him. If we refer to the pattern used by all prosecutors in the data, we could consider questions in lines 1-2 and 5 as narrative construction questions aiming at recording the details of the suspect's arrest. The *and/wa* prefaced question in lines 8-9 is a signal that the prosecutor is moving from this narrative construction stage to a more evaluative turn (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). Labov and Waletzky (1967) state that narratives need to be evaluative

of the events or else they have no point. In Example 1, the prosecutor's evaluative turn aims to develop the narrative further. His *and/wa* prefaced turn: *'wa mā sabab ʾiḫtiyārak li-ḍabṭak dūn al-mutawāgidīn fī al-makān?'/ 'And what was the reason for their choice to arrest you from all the people in the place?'* is confrontational and challenges the claim that he was wrongfully accused. The combination of '*and/wa*' and '*what reason*' indicates that the prosecutor is both implicitly highlighting that the suspect's claim is illogical and evaluating and inviting the suspect to rephrase his claim. This is also supported by the prosecutor's use of '*dūn al-mutawāgidīn'/ 'from all the people'*, which shows the improbability of the claim.

With a close consideration of the suspect's responses, we can notice that the suspect, at the beginning of the excerpt, explains his actions and ideas in his responses such as '*humma kānū gāyīn min nāḥyit īllī biytāgrū fī al-muḫadrāt wa biyigrū nāḥyit al-ʿarabiyāt'/ 'They were coming from where they sell drugs and were running towards the-cars'* (first arrow, lines 3-4). He, then shifted to using '*I do not know*' (third arrow), which we have analysed in the previous chapter, indicating that he is resisting the implication in the question. Once the prosecutor started the evaluation stage of the questioning highlighted by his use of *and/wa* preface in combination with a question with an implied accusation (see Chapter 5, sections 5.5 and 5.6), the suspect shifted to shorter and more resistant responses (lines 10 and 12). The suspect's reaction to prefaced questions emphasises the pragmatic role they play in questioning. According to Winter (1994) connectors such as *and* signal a clause relation; Hoey (1994), also analysing clause relations, like Winter (1994) proposes that connectors, such as *and/wa* in the present chapter, are crucial for showing the relationship between ideas in any given text. In Example 1, due to the combination of *and/wa* with *reason*, a signal of evaluation (Hoey, 1994), in the prefaced question (lines 8-9), one could argue that the prosecutor aims to evaluate both the suspect's statement and the reason for such an action. The use of *and/wa* here is not merely a conjunction linking between question's successive turns. It also marks a shift from the narrative construction activity and a move to a more evaluative question of the suspect's version of events (as also seen in Johnson, 2008).

Example 1 is a typical example of *and/wa*-prefaced questions found in the data. Analysis of the data has shown that prosecutors used two types of *and/wa* prefaced questions: those that build narrative and those that challenge details in a suspect's statement (as found in Example 1). They all come in the middle section of an

interrogation after the suspect has finished recounting their story. Their position and their structure suggest that they have a more crucial and strategic role in the interrogation than merely reflecting the sequence or order of events. The next sections investigate these functions in more detail. First, the frequency and distribution of *and/wa* questions in the data is explored in the next section.

6.4   Frequency and distribution

To analyse importance of the pragmatic function(s) of *and/wa*-prefaced questions, I calculated the frequency of the *and/wa*-prefaced questions in the 18 interrogation records using *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2012) in the nine transcribed cases. First I searched for all sentence initial *and/wa* and then reduced the search to only those in prosecutor questions. I also hand counted the frequency of questions in the other nine non-transcribed cases. The frequencies and percentages are presented in Table 9, which shows the distribution of *and/wa*-prefaced questions. All percentages were rounded up to the nearest full point. Even though the present study is predominantly using qualitative methods, looking at frequencies was useful to understand the different questioning styles of prosecutors and how *and/wa*-prefaced questions are distributed. I found 389 instances of *and/wa* questions.

Table 10. Percentage of and/wa questions

No.	Case Type	Code	Total number of words	Total number of Q-A pairs	Total number of *and*-prefaced question/case	% *and*-prefaced questions
1	Gamal Mubarak	CORPT3	1025	36	27	75%
2	Beating led to death	BEAT	6282	110	72	65%
3	Murder	MURD3	1200	30	18	60%
4	Theft	THEFT2	1620	11	6	54%
5	Sexual Assault	SEX AS	3147	92	47	51%
6	Theft	THEFT1	1450	94	48	51%
7	Alaa Mubarak	CORPT2	2000	53	25	47%
8	Embezzlement of public money	EMBEZ1	3462	107	47	44%
9	Embezzlement of public money	EMBEZ2	5700	131	36	27%
10	Murder	MURD2	5208	110	21	19%
11	Hosni Mubarak	CORPT1	5697	135	19	14%
12	Theft	THEFT4	400	24	3	12%
13	Murder	MURD1	6000	150	15	10%
14	Theft	THEFT3	567	10	1	10%
15	Work place injury	WORKINJ	600	11	1	9%
16	Drugs	DRUG2	1550	28	1	4%
17	Work place injury	WORKINJ	800	29	1	3%
18	Drugs	DRUG1	2970	54	1	2%

In Table 9, we can see that *and/wa*-prefaced questions are frequently used in almost all types of cases. However, it is also clear that some interviews and prosecutors have higher frequencies of prefaced questions than others, such as the prosecutors in cases 1 to 8. From the distribution of *and/wa*-prefaced questions in Table 9, we notice differences between the cases in terms of word number, question/answer turns and the percentage of prefaced questions. Because of these differences, it is important when analysing the percentages and identifying the function of such questions to keep in mind the number of questions (column 4), textual travel (for instance, the clerk may not have recorded all the prosecutor's uses of *wa* -see section 4.4) and the various questioning styles used by the different prosecutors. For example, although case 15 only has 9% of *and/wa*-prefaced questions, it is important to note that the prosecutor is recorded as using only one prefaced question which is considered high if we compare it to the total number of questions (11). Therefore, when discussing examples in this chapter, the focus is on the general patterns among all prosecutors when using prefaced questions, but also on the individual cases and the prosecutors' individual styles.

And/wa is not the only connector used by prosecutors. *Then/ezan*-questions were also present in the data, but they were not sufficiently frequent for me to deduce patterns of usage. Similar to *and/wa*-prefaced questions, *then/ezan*-prefaced questions were used in the middle section of interrogations after the opening statement made by suspects. Prosecutors used them to ask for more specific details or to ask more probing and evaluative questions. In Example 2, however, the prosecutor places the conjunction *then/ezan* towards the middle of the question to signal the evaluative shift (line 10). Before the excerpt in Example 2, the suspect claims that officers who arrested him planted drugs in his jacket which led the prosecutor to ask a series of questions (lines 1-9) to know how the suspect was arrested and how he came to know about the drugs.

(2)	[DRUG1]			
				من هم الأشخاص الذي ذكرت رؤيتك لهم ؟
				man hum al-ʾašḫāṣ ʾalladī dakart ruʾyatak lahum?
				Who they the-people that mentioned-you see-you them
1		PR		*Who are the people you mentioned?*
				هما ثلاثة أنا معرفهمش
				humma talāta ʾana maʿrafhumš
				They three I not-I-know-them
2		S		*There are three of them and I do not know them*
				ما هي أوصافهم وما هي الملابس الذي يرتدونها ؟

			mā hiyya ʾawṣāfhum wa mā hiyya al-malābis ʾallaḏī yartadūnahā?
			What is looks-them and what is the-clothes that they-wear-it
3		PR	*How did they look and what were they wearing?*
			هما ناس عاديين لبسين قمصان و بناطيل
			humma nās ʿādiyīn labsīn ʾumṣān wa banāṭīl
			They people normal wear-they shirts and trousers
4		S	*They are normal people wearing shirts and trousers*
			ما الاشياء التي حملوها ؟
			mā al-ʾašyāʾ ʾallatī ḥamalūhā
			What the-things that carry-they
5		PR	*What were they carrying?*
			واحد منهم كان شايل شنطة بلاستك و مخدتش بالي من لونها
			wāḥid minhum kān šāyil šanṭa blāstik wa maḥadtiš bālī min lunhā
			One of-them was carrying bag plastic and not-I-take attention-my from colour-its
6 7		S	*One of them was carrying a plastic bag and I did not notice its colour*
			هل تبينت ما بداخل تلك الحقيبة البلاستكية ؟
			hal tabayant mā bidāḫil tilk al-ḥaqība al-blāstikya?
			Did you-notice what in-inside that the-bag the-plastic
8		PR	*Did you see what was inside that plastic bag?*
			أنا ماشفتش إيه اللي جواها
			ʾana māšuftiš ʾīh īllī gowāhā
			I not-see-I what that inside-it
9		S	*I did not see what was inside*
			كيف وقفت <u>**إذا**</u> على أنهم يحوزون مخدر البانجو؟
			kayfa waqaft *<u>iḏan</u>* ʿala ʾanahum yaḥūẓūn muḫadir al-bāngo
			How know-you then that they have-they drug the-weed
10	⇒	PR	*How did you know <u>**then**</u> that they have weed?*
			في حتة عندنا عرب بتبيع فيها بانجو واقفين في الشارع وكل اللي بييجي من الناحية دي بيبقى معهم بانجو من عندهم و أنا بسمع إن هما يبيعوا جمله بس
			fī ḥita ʿandinā li-l-ʿarab bi-tbīʿ fīhā bāngo wāʾfīn fī al-šāriʿ wa kull īllī bi-yīgī min al-nāḥya dī biyibʾa maʿahum bāngo min ʿanduhum wa ʾana basmaʿ ʾin humma biybīʿū gumla bas
			There area at-us for-Bedouins to-they-sell in-it weed and stand-they in the-street and all that they-come from the-side this they-have with-them weed from there-they and I to-hear that that they sell-they wholesale only
11 12 13		S	*There is an area for Bedouins where they sell weed and they sell it in the street and anyone coming from that area buys weed from them and I heard that they only sell wholesale*
			من أين أتى سالفي الذكر وإلى أين توجهوا؟
			min ʾayna ʾata sālifī al-ḏikr wa ʾila ʾayna tawagahū?
			From where come afore-them mentioned and to where they go-they

14 15		PR	*From where did the afore-mentioned come and where did they head to?*

In line 9, the suspect states that he '*did not see what was inside*' the plastic bag in possession of the police officers who arrested him, which contradicted his previous statements. Therefore, the prosecutor uses *then/ezan* in his question in line 10 to signal this contradiction and to connect this question with what was said previously. The suspect, then, in lines 11-13 produces a response that weakens his statement and claims and highlights that his accusations are just assumptions and are not verified. The use of phrases such as '*wa kull īllī bi-yīgī min al-nāḥya dī biyibʾa maʿahum bāngo…*'/ *anyone coming from that area*' and '*ʾana basmaʿ*'/ *I heard*' sheds light on the suspect's assumptions and will have strong implications for the case in court. In addition, it shows that the prosecutor could use *then/ezan* prefaced questions, similar to *and/wa* prefaces, to 'highlight these inconsistencies' in the suspect's speech which reflects his agenda to make the record and weaken the suspect's claims for the judge and lawyers who will deal with the case in its later stages, as identified by Drew (1992: 23). In the next section, the first type of *and/wa* questions in my dataset is discussed: those that build a narrative.

6.5 Building evidentially detailed narratives

Highlighting contradictory statements is only a part of the role played by *and/wa*-prefaced questions or other linking words (see section 6.6 for more details). Sometimes prosecutors use them as a strategy to develop a narrative, which is the 'normal function of *and/wa* in Arabic' (Hamza: 240). In the data, there were instances where prosecutors used *and/wa*-prefaced questions rather than regular *yes/no or WH*-questions to invite suspects to develop the storyline or the order of events that led to the crime. In this section, the function of *and/wa* prefaces in building a narrative for the interrogation record is examined.

And/Wa-prefaced questions are discussed in a beating that led to death case, where two brothers were accused of beating the victim to death in a fight. The victim was found dead due to knife wounds after a fight between him, his brother and the two suspects. Investigations showed that the killing was premeditated because the suspects were in possession of a knife and intended to cause bodily harm to the victim. On the other hand, the two brothers denied that they killed the victim and claimed that they just argued verbally, leaving the victim alive and were surprised by the news of the victim's

death. Both their statements during interrogations focused on denying premeditation and murder accusations. By analysing the different categories of questions in this case, we can notice that the case is composed of 110 questions across the interrogations with both brothers, 20 of which are *and/wa*-prefaced questions (approximately 20%). This frequency of prefaced questions could also be due to the prosecutor's questioning style, which is investigated in the analysis of Examples 3 and 4.

Example 3 is an excerpt from the first suspect's interrogation, where the prosecutor follows the same questioning structure discussed in section 6.3. He starts with *yes/no* and WH-questions to examine the events leading to the crime such as:

من كان برفقتك آنذاك ؟

man kān bi-rifqatak ānaḏāk?
Who accompanied you at the time?

By asking these questions, the prosecutor is confirming the timeline the first suspect stated in his interrogation and recording the presence of any witnesses who could confirm the suspect's version of events. The prosecutor then uses successive *and/wa*-prefaced questions in an attempt to record the sequence of events that led to the death of the victim. In addition, prefaced questions here add details of the suspect's cognitive and emotional state at the time of the killing (Edwards, 2008). An example of these questions is:

و ما الذي بدر منك حال مشاهدتك لكل من سالفي الذكر انذاك ؟
wa mā ʾallaḏī badar mink ḥāl mušāhadatak likullin min sālifī al-ḏikr ānaḏāk?
And how did you react when you saw the afore-mentioned?

This question precedes the extract in Example 3, where the prosecutor is stating for the record the suspects' line of action before fighting with the victim. Therefore, all his questions are inviting the suspect to tell the story of the fight and the victim's death. The use of *and/wa* in the questions in the example above and in line 1 in Example 3 shows that the prosecutor is building the narrative, connecting the actions to each other and used *and/wa* to signal that the information forms a continuous story that ended with the victim's death. It is also worth noting that the prosecutor is building the narrative to record the disputed details of the crime that he will later challenge: when and how the stabbing knife appeared in the crime scene, who had it in their possession and when the victim was stabbed. Recording these details serves the prosecutor's questioning agenda

(i.e. to emphasise the conflicting information in suspects' statements) and will have an effect on the case when it goes to court.

(3)		[BEAT] First suspect	
			و ما الحوار الذي دار بينك و بين سالفي الذكر
			wa mā al-ḥewār ʾalladī dār baynak wa bayn sālifī al-dikr
			And what the-conversation that happen between-you and between before the-mentioned
1		PR	*And what conversation occurred between you and the others?*
			هو أنا اتكلمت مع ونستن قلت له إنت بتشتم ليه فرد علي و قالي مزاجي أشتمك فاخويا أرون اتدخل و قاله و شتمه فلقيت مارك طلع سكينة و ضربني في رجلي الشمال و كتفي الشمال
			huwwa ʾana ʾitkallimt maʕa Winston ʾult lu ʾinta bi-tištim lēh fa-radda ʕalay wa ʾāllī mazāgī ʾaštimak fa-ʾaḫūyā Aaron ʾitdaḫḫal wa ʾālluh wa šatamuh **fa-laʾit Mark ṭallaʕ sikkīna wa ḍarabnī fī riglī al-šimāl wa kitfī al-šimāl**
			I I-talk with Winston told-I to-him you cursing why so-he-answered me and told-he-me want curse-you so-brother-my Aaron interfered-he and told-him and cursed-him so-I-found Mark took-out knife and hit-me in leg-my the-left and shoulder-my the-left
2 3 4 5	⇒	S	*I talked with Winston and asked why do you curse and he said I curse you as I like. So my brother Aaron intervened and cursed him. **Then Mark took out a knife and hit me in my left leg and left shoulder***
			و أين كان يحمل المدعو مارك ذلك السلاح ؟
			wa ʾayna kān yaḥmil al-madʕū Mark dālik al-silāḥ?
			And where was-he carry the-called Mark this the-weapon
6		PR	*And where did Mark carry this weapon?*
			أنا معرفشي هو كان شايله فين بالضبط و أنا فوجئت بأن ضربني به في رجلي
			ʾana maʕrafšī huwwa kān šāyluh fēn bi-l-ḍabt **wa ʾana fūgiʾt** biʾan ḍarabnī bihi fī riglī
			I not-I-know he was-he carry-it where exactly and I surprised-I that-he stab-me with-it in leg-my
7 8	⇒	S	*I do not know where he carried it exactly **and I was surprised** when he stabbed me with it in my leg*
			و في أي يد كان يحمل سالف الذكر تلك السكينة و ما هو وصف تلك الأداة تحديداً
			wa fī ʾay yad kān yaḥmil sālif al-dikr tilk al-sikkīna wa mā huwwa waṣf tilk al-ʾadā taḥdīdan
			And in which hand was-he he-carry before the-mentioned that the-knife and what is description this the-weapon exactly
9 10		PR	*And which hand did he hold the knife in? And how would you describe it?*
			هو كان يحمله في ايده اليمين و هي نفس السكينة اللي إتعرضت علي في الأول
			huwwa kān yaḥmiluh fī ʾīduh al-yimīn wa hiyya nafs al-sikkīna īllī ʾitʕaraḍit ʕalaya fī al-awwil
			He was-he it-carry in hand-his the-right and it same the-knife that

			shown-it to-me in the-beginning
11 12		S	*He was carrying it in his right hand and it is the same knife you showed me at the beginning*
			في أي مكان تحديداً في جسدك قام بتوجيه تلك الضربات؟
			fī ʾay makān **taḥdīdan** fī gasadak qām bi-tawgīh tilk al-ḍarabāt?
			In which place exactly in body-your did directed these the-stabs
13	⇒	PR	*Where on your body did he direct the stabs **exactly**?*
			هي في رجلي الشمال من فوق عند الفخد و في كتفي الايسر من ورا
			hiyya fī riglī al-šimāl min fōʾ ʿand al-faḫd wa fī kitfī al-ʾaysar min warā
			Is in leg-my the-left from above at the-thigh and in shoulder-my the-left from back
14 15		S	*On my left leg at the top of the thigh and the back of my left shoulder*

After the use of successive *and/wa* questions, the suspect mentions the knife in his statement and that the victim was its real owner: *'fa-laʾit Mark ṭallaʿ sikkīna wa ḍarabnī fī riglī al-šimāl wa kitfī al-šimāl'/ 'Then Mark took out a knife and hit me in my left leg and left shoulder'* (first arrow, lines 4-5), hence, fulfilling the prosecutor's agenda. The prefaced questions in lines 6 and 9-10 come as a follow up of the suspect's response by which the prosecutor signals continuity in the story. The follow up questions pick up on the suspect's admission of the existence of a knife in the crime scene and direct the suspect to give a description of the knife and how the victim used it against him. In other words, the prosecutor was following up on the missing information in the suspect's narrative and pursuing his agenda of getting an evidentially detailed narrative of events. Prosecutor's questions trigger an '*I do not know*' response: *'ʾana maʿrafšī huwwa kān šāyluh fēn bi-l-ḍabt wa ʾana fūgiʾt biʾan ḍarabnī bihi fī riglī'/ 'I do not know where he carried it exactly and I was surprised when he stabbed me with it in my leg'* (lines 7-8). The suspect shifts the blame onto the victim, stressing the lack of premeditation, which is a common resistance strategy when suspects were asked questions with implied accusation (See Chapter 5, section 5.5). The suspect used words such as '*ʾana fūgiʾt'/ 'I was surprised*' (second arrow) to emphasise the element of surprise and his innocence. In the following turns, the prosecutor asks probing questions, including emphasising the need for precision (e.g. line 13, third arrow).

And/Wa questions in Example 3 and their narrative building function supports Winter's (1994) argument that *and* both connects and emphasises relationships between ideas. Prefaced questions help the prosecutor to build the narrative and records the conflicting details in the suspect's statements, which he will later challenge (see section

6.5). After interrogating the first suspect, the prosecutor calls the first suspect's brother to verify his story. To do that, the prosecutor asks the second suspect the same questions about the order of events. He starts with the same WH-question as in the previous example (Example 4, line 1, first arrow):

<div dir="rtl">من كان برفقتك آنذاك ؟</div>

man kān bi-rifqatak ānaḏāk?
Who accompanied you at the time?

The prosecutor, similarly to Example 3, then moves to asking successive *and/wa*-prefaced questions (e.g. lines 3, second arrow; and lines 5-6, third arrow) to record the order of events leading to the conflicting narrative around the possession of the knife that killed the victim. Once the suspect mentions the knife in his response (lines 18 and 19), the prosecutor adds probing questions. He even uses the same *and/wa*-prefaced question as the one in Example 3 (line 20, fourth arrow) when asking about the knife and where the victim was carrying it.

(4)		[BEAT] Second suspect	
			<div dir="rtl">من كان برفقتك آنذاك ؟</div>
			man kān bi-rifqatak ānaḏāk?
			Who was accompany-you at-that-time?
1	⇒	PR	*Who accompanied you at the time?*
			<div dir="rtl">أنا كنت لوحدي و مكنش معايا الا أخويا ماك بس</div>
			ʾana kunt liwaḥdī wa makanš maʿayā ʾilā ʾaḫūyā Mac bas
			I was alone and not with-me except brother-my Mac only
2		S	*I was alone and no one was with me except my brother Mac*
			<div dir="rtl">و ما الذي أخبرك به شقيقك ماك؟</div>
			wa mā ʾallaḏī ʾaḫbarak bihi šaqīqak Mac?
			And what that told-you about-it brother-your Mac?
3	⇒	PR	*And what did your brother Mac tell you?*
			<div dir="rtl">هو قالي إنه اتخانق مع مارك في محل البلياردو</div>
			huwwa ʾālī ʾinuh ʾitḫāniʾ maʿa Mark fī maḥal al-billyārdū
			He told-me that-he he-fought with Mark in shop the-billiard
4		S	*He told me that he fought with Mark in the billiard shop*
			<div dir="rtl">و ما الذي بدر منك حال إخبار شقيقك بذلك</div>
			wa mā ʾallaḏī badar mink ḥāl ʾiḫbār šaqīqak bi-ḏālik
			And what that happen from-you when telling brother-your about-this
5 6	⇒	PR	*And what was your reaction when your brother told you about this?*
			<div dir="rtl">أنا رحت معه علشان أعاتب مارك</div>
			ʾana ruḫt maʿahu ʿalašān ʾaʿātib Mark

127

			I went with-him to I- reproach Mark
7		S	*I went with him to reproach Mark*
			و ما الذي شاهدته تحديداً حال وصولك المكان سالف الذكر؟
			wa mā ʾalladī šāhadtuh taḥdīdan ḥāl wuṣūlak al-makān sālif al-dikr?
			And what that saw-you exactly when arrived-you the-place afore the-mentioned
8 9		PR	*And what did you see exactly when you arrived at the afore-mentioned place?*
			أنا لقيت مارك و أخيه ونستن واقفين أمام صالة البلياردو
			ʾana laʾīt Mark wa ʾaḫīh Winston wāʾfīn ʾamām ṣālit al-billyārdū
			I found-I Winston and brother-his Mark standing-they in-front hall the-billiard
10 11		S	*I found Mark and his brother Winston standing in front of the billiard shop*
	⇒		و ما الذي بدر منك انذاك
			wa mā ʾalladī badar mink ānadāk
			And what that happened from-you at-the-time
12		PR	*And what did you do at the time?*
			أنا رحت أنا و أخويا علشان اعاتبهم
			ʾana ruḥt ʾana wa ʾaḫūyā ʿalašān ʾaʿātibhum
			I went I and brother-my to reproach-them
13		S	*My brother and I went to reproach them*
			و ما هو الحوار الذي دار بينك و بين سالف الذكر؟
			wa mā huwwa al-ḥiwār ʾalladī dār baynak wa bayn sālif al-dikr?
			And what is the-conversation that happened between-you and between before the-mentioned
14 15		PR	*And what was the conversation between you and the afore-mentioned about?*
			أنا قلتلهم مش من الرجولة انكما تكونوا اتنين و تضربوا واحد ففوجئت إن ونستن بيشتم أخويا ماك و بعدين مارك طلع سكينة و ضربه في رجله و في كتفه
			ʾana qultilhum miš min al-rugūla ʾinakumā tikūnū ʾitnīn wa tidrabū wāḥid fa-fūgiʾt ʾin Winston biyištim ʾaḫūyā Mac **wa baʿdīn Mark ṭalaʿ sikkīna wa darabuh fī rigluh wa fī kitfuh**
			I told-them not from the-manhood that-you are-you two and hit-you one so-surprised-I that Winston is-cursing brother-my Mac and then Mark take-out knife and hit-him in leg-his and in shoulder-his
16 17 18 19	⇒	S	*I told them it is not right that you are two and you hit one and I was surprised that Winston was cursing my brother Mac and **then Mark took out a knife and stabbed my brother in his leg and shoulder***
			و أين كان يحمل المدعو مارك ذلك السكين تحديداً
			wa ʾayna kān yaḥmil al-madʿū Mark dālik al-sikkīn **taḥdīdan**
			And where was he-carry the-called Mark that this the-knife exactly

20	⇒	PR	*And where did Mark carry this knife __exactly__?*

Examples 3 and 4 illustrate how *and/wa*-prefaced questions are tools used to connect a question to the preceding questions to help construct a suspect's narrative and more importantly they focus on particular evidentially important details. As seen in the examples, *and/wa*-prefaces come in the form of successive questions: 4 questions in Example 3 and 6 questions in Example 4, showing that it does not only link the narrative in two consecutive turns, it also connects questions over a series of turns. In addition, prosecutors used these prefaces to fulfil the agenda of the interrogation, which is related to confirming who the suspect is, and to emphasise the important details in the suspect's narrative (e.g. who is the real owner of the knife and whether the killing was a premeditated act or an accident). Therefore, and/wa-prefaced questions here build an evidentially valuable narrative to the prosecution.

6.6   Detail-challenging *and/wa*-prefaced questions

By exploring the dataset, another type of pragmatic function came to my attention. Patterns such as *and/wa*-prefaced questions followed by *reason* and intensifying nouns such as '*ʾiṣrārak'/ 'insistence'* were common in the data which prompted me to look at the pattern closely. Analysing these patterns revealed that *and/wa*-prefaced questions are used to follow up on contradictory details in the interrogations. After constructing the narrative and the logical sequence of events (see section 6.5), the prosecutor followed up by employing *and/wa*-prefaced questions intended to challenge any conflicting or incriminating details mentioned in the narrative sequence and/or that serve the interrogation agenda. To illustrate this strategy, this section analyses the detail-challenging *and/wa*-prefaced questions in a murder and a drug case (i.e. MURD2 and DRUG2, see Table 9). In murder case 2, an illustration of this strategy, the suspect was accused of intentionally murdering a relative to steal her money and jewellery. During investigations, he claims that the murder was not premeditated and that it happened by mistake because he was high on drugs. The interrogation has 110 questions, of which 21 (19%) questions are *and/wa*-prefaced. The prosecutor starts the interrogation by collecting information to form a logical narrative sequence (section 6.5) as illustrated in Example 5:

(5)	[MURD2]		
			أين كنت تحمل السكين؟
			ʾayna kunt taḥmil al-sikkīn?

		Where were you-put the-knife?
1	PR	*Where did you put the knife?*
		أنا كنت حاططها فى جيبي الشمال جوه البنطلون
		ʾana kunt ḥāṭiṭhā fī gēbī al-šimāl guwah al-banṭalūn
		I was-I put-I-it in pocket-my the-left inside the-trousers
2	S	*I put it in the left pocket of my trousers*

The suspect's main argument throughout the interrogation was to stress the lack of premeditation and the fact that he lost control over his actions due to taking drugs offered to him by a friend before the murder. During the first stage of the interrogation, all of the suspect's responses were explanations of the information requested by the prosecutor about the shape and size of the knife used to commit the murder. For instance, in line 2 (Example 5), the suspect, when asked about where he was carrying the knife, he explained: ' *ʾana kunt ḥāṭiṭhā fī gēbī al-šimāl guwah al-banṭalūn'/ 'I put it in the left pocket of my trousers'.* Earlier in the interrogation, the suspect admitted to always carrying the knife to guarantee he is not attacked by thugs in his neighbourhood, but not with the intention of murdering the victim. Therefore, he did not deny carrying a knife when asked about its place in Example 5. The construction of the narrative was not only achieved by WH-questions (e.g. Example 5); they were also referred to using the *and/wa*-prefaced questions discussed in section 6.5. Example 6 confirms the function of *and/wa* as a tool to link turns to construct a narrative. Again, the suspect responded to the information required in the question.

(6)	[MURD2]	
		و ما مناسبة اختيارك ذلك التوقيت للتوجه إليه ؟
		wa mā munāsabat ʾiḫtiyārak ḏālik al-tawqīt li-l-tawaguh ʾilayh?
		And what reason choice-your this the-time to-go to-him
1	PR	*And what is the reason for choosing this time to go to him?*
		أنا متعود أروح في أي وقت
		ʾana mitʿawid ʾarūḥ fī ʾay waʾt
		I used-to-I I-go any time
2	S	*I am used to going any time*

After building the narrative sequence (a strategy discussed in section 6.5) and setting the scene before the suspect headed to the victim's house, the prosecutor moves to asking more probing questions such as Example 7. These questions are characterized by the use of prefaced questions, which signals a move from the narrative structure of the suspect's statement to a more evaluative function where the prosecutor attempts to transform this narrative to a legal version (Heydon, 2004; Labov and Waletzky, 1967).

Apart from *and/wa*, evaluative markers in prosecutors' questions include words and phrases such as adding *reason* to prefaced questions (Example 7, line 1; and Example 8, lines 1-2, 4-5 and 7-8), *qaṣdak/ intention* (Example 7, line 4) and *ʾiṣrārak/ insistence* (Example 7, lines 12-13).

(7)		[MURD2]
		<u>و ما سبب</u> إعطاؤه لك ذلك العقار ؟
		<u>**wa mā sabab**</u> ʾiʿṭāʾuh lak ḏālik al-ʿaqār?
		And what reason give-him-you to-you that the-drug?
1	PR	***And what is the reason for*** him giving you that drug?
		هو بيعمل واجب معايا علشان بقى لنا كتير ما شوفناش بعض
		huwwa biyiʿmil wāgib maʿayā ʿalašān baʾā lnā kitīr mā šufnāš baʿḍ
		He giving-he gift with-me because has to-us long not see-we each-other
2 3	S	*He was giving me a gift because it has been a long time since we saw each other*
		<u>و ما قصدك</u> من تعاطي ذلك العقار ؟
		<u>**wa mā qaṣdak**</u> min taʿāṭī ḏālik al-ʿaqār?
		And what mean-you from taking this the-drug
4	PR	***And what is your intention*** in taking this drug?
		أنا متعود أخد برشام عادي لكن دية كانت أول مرة أجرب النوع دة
		ʾana mitʿawid āḫud biršām ʿādī lakin diyat kānit ʾawwil mara ʾagarab al-nūʿ da
		I am-used-I take-I drugs normally but this was first time try-I the-type this
5 6	S	*I am used to do drugs normally but it was the first time I tried this type*
		هل كنت عالما بأن ذلك العقار مخدر؟
		hal kunt ʿāliman biʾan ḏālik al-ʿaqār muḫadir?
		Did was know-you about-that this the-drug narcotic
7	PR	*Were you aware that this drug was narcotic?*
		أنا كنت عارف إنه مخدر
		ʾana kunt ʿārif ʾinuh muḫadir
		I was knew that-it narcotic
8	S	*I knew it was narcotic*
		[5 turns omitted]
		<u>و ما قصدك</u> من تعاطي خمسة أقراص الباقيين من الشريط ؟
		<u>**wa mā qaṣdak**</u> min taʿāṭī ḫamsat ʾaqrāṣ al-bāqyyīn min al-šarīṭ?
		And what intention-your from taking five pills the-left from the-package
9 10	PR	***And what was your intention*** from taking the last 5 pills in the package?
		لأنى برضه محسيتش بحاجة

		li'annī barḍuh maḥasetš bi-ḥāga
		Because-I still not-feel-I with-anything
11	S	*Because I still did not feel anything*
		و ما سبب إصرارك على الحصول على تأثيره من جراء تعاطى ذلك العقار ؟
		wa mā sabab ʾiṣrārak ʿala al-ḥuṣūl ʿala taʾṯīruh min girāʾ taʿāṭī ḏālik al-ʿaqār?
		And what reason insisting-your to the-get it effect-its by consequence this the-drug
12 13	PR	***And what is the reason for your insistence*** *on feeling and effect as a result of taking this drug?*
		لأني كنت مخنوق شوية لأن عندى مشاكل بسبب العيلة و كل يوم في حتة
		li'anni kunt maḫnūʾ šuwaya laʾin ʿandī mašākil bi-sabab al-ʿēla wa kull yōm fī ḥita
		Because-I was sad a-little because I-have problems because the-family and every day in place
14 15	S	*Because I was a little sad because I have problems because of the family and every day I am in a place*

In Example 7, the prosecutor challenges the suspect's claim that he was not responsible for any of his actions because he was high on drugs. In other words, the suspect was shifting the blame of his actions to drugs, a strategy that was commonly used by suspects when faced with questions containing implied accusations (see Chapter 5). In line 4, the prosecutor used an *and/wa*-prefaced question: '*wa mā qaṣdak min taʿāṭī ḏālik al-ʿaqār?*'/ '*and what is your intention in taking this drug?*' to evaluate the suspect's version of events. The use of the word '*qaṣdak*' / '*intention*' implies that the suspect took the drug with a purpose. However, unlike responses in Chapter 5, the suspect did not respond using '*I do not know*'; he instead claims that he always takes drugs but blames his behaviour on the new type of drug he tried on the day of the murder. Several turns later, the prosecutor used a similar question to accentuate the '*intention*' (lines 9-10) adding emphasis that the suspect continued taking drugs on this day to get high ('*taʿāṭī ḫamsat ʾaqrāṣ al-bāqyyīn min al-šarīṭ*'/ *from taking the last 5 pills in the package*'). Prefaced questions discussed so far played a dual role in the interaction. While they still linked prosecutor's turns, they were also used as tools to record the evaluation of the suspect's version of events and to get the suspect supply his own reasoning, again focusing on his cognitive state.

Another example of the shift to a more confrontational and evaluative phase of the interrogation is the question in Example 7, lines 12-13: '*wa mā sabab ʾiṣrārak ʿala al-ḥuṣūl ʿala taʾṯīruh min girāʾ taʿāṭī ḏālik al-ʿaqār?*'/ '*And what is the reason for your insistence on feeling and effect as a result of taking this drug?*'. Studies that have

looked at the word 'insist' as a metadiscursive verbs, described 'insist' as being 'metapropositional, since they label and categorize the contribution of a speaker' (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 306) and as 'illocutionary verbs' because '[they] are highly interpretive… and make explicit the illocutionary force of the quote they refer to' (Bednarek, 2008: 57; Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 305). Coulthard (1986: 23) supports this argument and adds that illocutionary verbs carry both force and extra information in their meaning. Like Caldas-Coulthard, Machin and Mayr (2012: 64-69), acknowledge the important role that reporting verbs such as 'insist' play in discourse and suggest that 'insist' as a verb expresses 'doubt' and 'emotional involvement' (69) in actions and implies a 'lack of confidence and lack of credibility', 'persistence', lack of authority (64-65). Although, in lines 12-13, 'insist' was used as a noun ''iṣrārak' / 'insistence'', I believe that the previous arguments also apply to it. The word ''iṣrārak'/ 'insist' highlights the suspect's persistence and involvement in the act of taking drugs and hence it weakens the credibility of his statements and highlights the evaluative function of the use of such a word. Therefore, the prefaced question in lines 12-13 is very challenging to the suspect's narrative because the prosecutor's choice of the word ''iṣrārak'/ 'insistence' emphasises the premeditated nature of the crime and negates the claim of the suspect.

After challenging the suspect's narrative on his motivations for taking drugs before visiting the victim, the prosecutor re-questions the suspect about his possession of a knife mentioned at the start of the interrogation (Example 5). In Example 8, the prosecutor focuses on incriminating details in the suspect's narrative (lines 1-2, 4-5 and 7-8), which challenge the claims that the suspect had no intention of murder or of stealing anything from the victim's house. Questions in this section of the interrogation were all *and/wa*-prefaced, acting as follow up questions and expanding the suspect's responses in previous turns and/or over a series of turns.

For instance, in Example 8 the focus was on the act of stealing the victim's jewellery. Before the excerpt in Example 8, the suspect's statements asserted that the victim willingly gave her jewellery to him. He claimed that while he was taking the knife out of his pocket to put it next to him and to avoid being injured, the victim saw him and thought he wanted to steal her jewellery:

هي أول لما شافتني و في ايدي السكينة راحت قلعة الذهب اللي في ايديها المحبس والغويشة و راحت قالت لي خد دول فالصوه و راحت مصرخة

<div dir="rtl">

فانا رحت رايح ناحيتها راحت حطة الحاجة في ايدي الشمال رحت أنا واخدهم حطيتهم في جيبي

</div>

When she first saw me with a knife in my hand she took off the gold she wore in her hands: the ring and the bracelet and she told me take them they are fake. And then she started to scream so I went to her and she put the gold in my hand and I put them in my pocket

The prosecutor, in Example 8, lines 1-2 used an *and/wa* preface to link his question to that suspect's statements: *'wa mā sabab ʾistilāmak tilk al-mašġūlāt minhā wa waḍʿahā fī gēbak ?'/ 'And what is the reason for taking the gold from her and putting it in your pocket?'* By asking about the reason for the suspect's actions, the prosecutor attempts to highlight the contradiction between the suspect's statement (no intention to steal or kill the victim) and the fact that he took the victim's jewellery. This is supported by asking for a reason, in Example 8, and using the nouns *intention* and *insistence*, as in Example 7 lines 9-10 and 12-13 respectively, which imply that the suspect had an intention and that he had a reason for his actions.

(8)	[MURD2]	
		<div dir="rtl">**وما سبب** استلامك تلك المشغولات منها ووضعها في جيبك ؟</div>
		wa mā sabab ʾistilāmak tilk al-mašġūlāt minhā wa waḍʿahā fī gēbak ?
		And what reason take-you these the-artefacts from-her and put-them in pocket your
1 2	PR	***And what is the reason*** *for taking the gold from her and putingt it in your pocket?*
		<div dir="rtl">الغيبوبة اللي أنا كنت فيها مكنتش داري بحاجة</div>
		al-ġaybūba īllī ʾana kunt fīhā makuntiš dārī bi-ḥāga
		The-comma that I was-I in-it was-I-not aware-I of-anything
3	S	*I was high and I was not aware of anything*
		<div dir="rtl">**وما سبب** قيام المجني عليها القيام بالصياح عقب اعطاءك تلك المشغولات ؟</div>
		wa mā sabab qiyām al-magnī ʿalayhā al-qiyām **bi-al-ṣiyāḥ** ʿaqb ʾiʿṭāʾak tilk al-mašġūlāt ?
		And what reason that the-crime- on-her started-her to-scream after give-you these the-artefacts
4 5	PR	***And what is the reason*** *for the victim's **screaming** after giving you the gold?*
		<div dir="rtl">أنا معرفش هي صرخت ليه</div>
		ʾana maʿrafš hiyya ṣaraḥit lēh
		I not-know she screamed why
6	S	*I do not know why she screamed*
		<div dir="rtl">**وما سبب** توجهك نحوها حال حملك السكين ؟</div>
		wa mā sabab tawaguhak naḥwahā ḥāl ḥamlak al-sikkīn?

		And what reason you-move-your towards-her while carry-you the-knife
7 8	PR	***And what is the reason*** *for your walking towards her while carrying a knife?*
		أنا كنت رايح لها علشان امسكها بعيد عن البلكونة لأنها كانت راحة ناحيتهم و كان قصدي أعرفها إن مفيش حاجة
		ʾana kunt rāyiḥ lahā ʿalašān ʾamsikhā biʿīd ʿan al-balakūna l'innahā kānit rāḥa nāḥyithum kān ʾaṣdī ʾaʿarfhā ʾin mafīš ḥāga
		I was-I going to-her because hold-her away from the-balcony because-she was-she going to-them and was intention-my tell-her that not thing
9 10 11	S	*I walked towards her to move her away from the balcony which she was moving towards and my intention was to let her know there is nothing to worry about*

In lines 4-5 and 7-8, the prosecutor uses *and/wa* to refer to the suspect's earlier statement. In lines 4-5, he is referring to the 'screaming' of the victim when she saw the suspect: *'bi-al-ṣiyāḥ'/ 'screaming'* to highlight the weakness of the suspect's statement about the willingness of the victim to give away her jewellery. When he denies knowing the reason for the screaming (line 6), the prosecutor uses another *and/wa*-prefaced question in lines 7-8 that also refers to a detail in the suspect's previous statements 'the knife'. The questions in Example 8 are considered challenging because the prosecutor used *'wa mā sabab'/ 'and what is the reason for'* which presupposes that the suspect carried a knife to attack the victim and it portrays the suspect as an aggressive murderer and not as someone incapable due to drugs. In other words, it shows that the murder is premeditated and that is why the suspect took a knife with him when visiting the victim. The prosecutor uses *and/wa*-prefaced questions both as a follow up strategy to ask about additional incriminating details stated in a previous response and as a preface to important and challenging details that could harm the suspect's image or story.

The suspect's responses throughout this interrogation were intended to portray him as having innocent intentions. This was communicated through his assertion of his reason for taking drugs:

> *'li'anni kunt maḥnū' šuwaya la'in ʿandī mašākil bi-sabab al-ʿēla wa kull yōm fī ḥita'/ 'Because I was a little sad because I have problems because of the family and every day I am in a place'* (Example 7, lines 14-15)

the effect of drugs on his actions and his lack of control:

> *'al-ġaybūba īllī ʾana kunt fīhā makuntiš dārī bi-ḥāga'/ 'I was high and I was not aware of anything' (Example 8, line 3)*

the willingness of the victim to give him her jewellery and his unawareness of her behaviour:

> ʾana maʿrafš hiyya ṣaraḫit lēh/ ʾI do not know why she screamed'
> (Example 8, line 6)

and the fact that he was trying to calm the victim and show his good intentions:

> 'kān ʾaṣdī ʾaʿarfhā ʾin mafīš ḫāga' / 'and my intention was to let her
> know there is nothing to worry about' (Example 8, lines 10-11)

These responses portray him as someone who accidentally killed the victim not someone who intentionally took drugs and carried a knife to carry out a planned murder. The suspect shifted the blame away from himself and explained his actions by the effect the drug had on him or the victim's actions. This resistance strategy is discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.5), where suspects were found to shift the blame away from themselves when faced with questions with implied accusations or incriminating details. Although not all the questions here resulted in 'I do not know responses' (though the answer in Example 8, line 6 does), the suspects used other resistance strategies in combination with IDK. These resistant responses resulted in the successive and strategic deployment of *and/wa*-prefaced questions to introduce incriminating requests for information as shown in Example 9.

(9)	[MURD2]	
		وما سبب رفعك السلاح بتلك الطريقة ؟
		wa mā sabab rafʿak al-silāḥ bi-tilk al-ṭarīqa?
		And what reason hold-you the-weapon in-this the-way
1	PR	***And what is the reason for*** holding the weapon in this manner?
		هو فضل في ايدي ذي ما أنا كنت ماسكه أول ما طلعته لأن مع الصرخة مركزتش في اللي حصل
		huwwa fiḍil fī ʾīdī zay mā ʾana kunt māskuh ʾawwil mā ṭalaʿtuh laʾin maʿa al-ṣarḫa marakiztiš fī īllī ḥaṣal
		It remained in hand-my as I was-I hold-it first when take-it-out because with the-scream focus-not-I in that happen
2 3	S	*I held it in the same way since I took it out at the beginning and because of her screams I did not focus on where it was*
		وما سبب عدم إنزالك ذلك السكين لأسفل أثناء توجهك للمجني عليها ؟
		wa mā sabab ʿadam ʾinzālak dālik al-sikkīn liʾasfal ʾatnāʾ tawaguhak li-l-magnī ʿalayhā?
		And what reason not put-it-down this the-knife to-down while moving-your to-the-crime on-her
4 5	PR	***And what is the reason that*** you didn't put the knife down when you moved towards the victim

		أنا كنت مشغول بصرخها و كنت مش حاسيس بحاجة حواليا
		ʾana kunt mašġūl wa kunt miš ḥāsis bi-ḥāǧa ḥawālayā
		I was concerned about-scream-her and was-I not feeling of-nothing around-me
6 7	S	*I was concerned about her screaming and did not feel anything else around me*
		وما سبب عدم قيامك بإبعاد نصل السكين عن المجني عليها أثناء محاولات تهدئتها ؟
		wa mā sabab ʿadam qiyāmak bi-ʾbʿād naṣl al-sikkīn ʿan al-magnī ʿalayhā ʾaṯnāʾ muḥāwalāt tahdiʾathā?
		And what reason not do-you to-put away blade the-knife from the-crime on-her during trials calm-her
8 9	PR	***And what is the reason for*** *not putting the blade of the knife away while trying to calm her?*
		أنا كنت في غيبوبة تامة من اللي أنا واخده
		ʾana kunt fī ġaybūba tāma min īllī ʾana wāḫduh
		I was in comma complete from that I take
10	S	*I was completely high because of what I took*

In Example 9, the prosecutor uses *and/wa* to continue pointing out inconsistencies in the suspect's version of events such as '*holding the knife up'* while trying to soothe and calm the victim. *And/Wa* prefaces are combined with asking about reasons again in Example 9 (lines 1, 4-5 and 8-9) as in the previous example giving additional grounds to the idea of premeditation. The use of *and/wa* as signals of a question-to-question linkage or a question-to-response linkage reflects the prosecutor's pursuit of his questioning agenda, to weaken the suspect's claims and statements. At the beginning, he uses *and/wa* to construct the suspect's narrative and then he uses *and/wa* to signal the inconsistencies and thus weakens the suspect's credibility. Emphasising such inconsistencies also reflects the prosecutor's awareness of future audiences and their need to have access to the institutionalised version of the crime (see Chapter 7 for further discussion).

In addition to prefacing *yes/no* and WH-questions, *and/wa* was found to preface Put On Record (POR) questions (see Chapter 7) to emphasize the importance of these questions in the interrogation. In PORs, prosecutors introduced additional witness statements to suspects. Therefore, prosecutors use *and/wa* to emphasise the importance of the challenging information mentioned in the PORs and to link the question with a directly preceding turn, across a group of turns and/or with other suspects/witnesses' statements. An example of prefacing PORs is illustrated in Example 10; it is an excerpt from a drug case where the suspect said that he was wrongfully arrested by the police after he refused to confess the names of drug dealers he knows. The prosecutor is

questioning the suspect about the statement of the police officer who arrested him and who claimed he found drugs in his jacket.

(10)		[DRUG2]
		ما قولك فيما قرره المقدم ماثيو بمحضره من أنه بتفتيشك عثر من داخل الجاكت الذى ترتديه و تحديدا من داخل الجيب الايمن على المضبوطات و هى عبارة عن كيس بلاستيك شفاف بداخله خمسة و عشرون لفافة سلوفانيه بداخلها مادة داكنة تشبه مخدر الحشيش
		mā qawluk fīmā qararahu al-muqadim Matthew bi-maḥḍaruh min ʾannahu bi-taftīšak ʿuṯir min dāḫil al-gākit ʾallaḏī tartadīh wa taḥdīdan min dāḫil al-gēb al-ʾayman ʿala al-maḍbūṭāt wa hiya ʿobāra ʿan kīs blāstik šafāf bi-dāḫiluh ḫamsa wa ʿušrūn lifāfa sulūfāniya bi-dāḫilhā māda dākina tušbih muḫadir al-ḥašīš
		What say-you about-what state-he the-general Matthew in-record-his about that-he when-search-you found-he in inside the-jacket that you-wear-it and specifically from inside the-pocket the-right of-the-evidence and it includes of bag plastic clear inside-it five and twenty roll cellophane inside-it substance dark it-looks-like drug the-weed
1 2 3 4 5	PR	*What do you say about what general Matthew stated in his report that he found in the jacket you were wearing, when he was searching you, and specifically inside the right pocket, the evidence which included a clear plastic bag that had 25 cellophane rolls with a dark substance that looked like weed?*
		الكلام ده محصلش و الجاكت مفيهوش جيب من جوه
		al-kalām da maḥasalš wa al-gākit mafīhūš gēb min guwah
		This-incident this not-happen and the-jacket not-have pocket from inside
6 7	S	*This incident did not happen and the jacket does not have an inner pocket*
		من الذي قام بتفتيشك ؟
		man ʾallaḏī qām bi-taftīšak ?
		Who that did the-searching-your
8	PR	*Who searched you?*
		اللي مسكوني أكتر من واحد و فتشوني و اخدوا كل حاجة معايا
		īllī miskūnī ʾaktar min wāḥid wa fatišūnī wa ʾaḫadu kull ḥāga maʿāyā
		Those arrested-me more than one and searched-me and took-they everything I-had
9 10	S	*Those who arrested me were more than one person and they searched me and took all that I had*
		و أضاف أيضا سالف الذكر أنه عثر بجيب بنطالك الخلفي على مطواه قرن غزال ملوث نصلها بالمادة البنية سالف الذكر
		wa ʾaḍāf ʾayḍan sālif al-ḏikr ʾanahu ʿaṯar bi-gēb binṭālak al-ḫalfī ʿala maṭwā qarn ġazāl mulawaṭ naṣlahā bi-l-māda al-buniya sālif al-ḏikr
		And added-he also afore the-mentioned that-he found-he in-pocket trousers-you're the-back of knife pocket stained blade-its with-the-substance afore the-mentioned

138

11 12 13	PR	***And the afore-mentioned also added*** *that he found in your trousers' back pocket a pocket knife with its blade stained with the afore-mentioned substance*
		<u>**الكلام ده محصلش**</u> و أنا مكنش معايا أي مطواه و بطلب رفع البصمات من على المطواه و مضاهتها ببصماتي
		<u>**al-kalām da maḥaṣalš**</u> wa ʾana makanš maʿāyā ʾay maṭwā wa baṭlub rafʿ al-baṣamāt min ʿala al-maṭwāh wa muḍāhāthā bi-baṣamātī
		This-incident this not-happen and I not-have with-me any knife and I-request taking the-fingerprints from on the-knife and compare-it with-fingerprints-my
14 15 16	S	***This incident did not happen*** *and I did not have any pocket knife and I request you take fingerprints from the knife and compare it with my fingerprints*

In Example 10, the prosecutor uses *and/wa* in lines 11-13 and the question is not directly related to the previous turn or response. It moves across a group of turns to link the question to that in lines 1-5. The *and/wa*-prefaced question in this example adds evidence or information to what was in the witness's statement mentioned in lines 1-5. Putting on the interrogation record that there are witnesses who saw drugs coming out of the victim's pocket makes the question incriminating for the suspect and weakens his statement. Given the incriminating nature of the prefaced POR, the suspect responds by denying the witness's statement and shifts the responsibility to the prosecutor to undertake more investigations on the evidence they have. This is similar to '*I do not know*' responses with explanations, discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.6.3, the most resistant strategy used by suspects in this study. This takes us back to Komter's argument that when suspects deny information in their responses, they are expected to add more details to defend themselves (Komter 2003). While PORs are incriminating and challenging by nature (see Chapter 7 for further discussion), the use of *and/wa* adds to the importance of the question and signals that the question challenges the suspect's version of events.

6.7   Conclusion

In this chapter pragmatic functions of prefaced questions in interrogations were discussed. This chapter aims to build on the Egyptian *wa* research and the literature on *and*-prefacing in interrogations in English. *And/wa*-prefaced questions are valuable tools for prosecutors with which they can evaluate suspects' statements and build an institutionally valuable suspect narrative. As a questioning strategy, *and/wa*-prefaced questions invited suspects to provide their narratives, even if they were challenged

afterwards. Data used in Examples 1-10 reveal that prefaced questions play two important roles in Egyptian interrogations. First, they were common tools used by prosecutors to build a suspect's narrative (see Examples 3 and 4) and also build in evidential detail that is important to the institution, such as indication of intention and cognitive state. It is this narrative that is later challenged by the prosecutor by the use of probing questions. Second, prosecutors used them as sign of shift from narrative building to a more evaluative and probing function where the prosecutor attempts to achieve his interrogating agenda and to produce an institutional version of the event. The reliance of prosecutors on prefaced questions was more common in the evaluative phase of the interrogation.

Some of the evaluative markers in the data were the use of *'wa mā sabab'/ 'and what is the reason'* and *'ʾiṣrārak'/ 'insistence'*. Combining *and/wa* with *'sabab'/ 'reason'* is a very interesting feature in this chapter. According to Hoey (1994: 67), words such as *reason* are used to make 'explicit' relations between sentences. He argues that as a signal *reason* 'can be used to tie two clauses into an intimate grammatical structure or to connect large chunks of text' (Hoey, 1994: 68). Despite the fact that data in my chapter deal more with questions, when prosecutors ask about *reason* in the evaluative phase, they are signalling a connection between suspects' responses and statements and their questions. Prosecutors use the prefaces to connect successive turns (e.g. Example 9) or to link what Hoey called 'large chunks of text' as in Example 10. The use of the noun *'ʾiṣrārak' / 'insistence'* was another illustration of evaluative markers in the data. The prosecutor used it to weaken the suspect's credibility (Example 7, lines 12-13). The evaluative phase of the interrogation was found to serve the prosecutor's agenda (i.e. weaken the credibility of suspects' statements). Due to the confrontational nature of the prefaced questions, suspects responded using resistant answers such as '*I do not know' or 'This did not happen*' and/or shifted the blame of their actions to external reasons (e.g. Example 9, line10).

CHAPTER 7: Put On Record questions: questioning tools or prosecutors' narratives?

7.1   Introduction

In the last two chapters, we began to map the relationship between suspects' evasion and resistance and prosecutors' questions first by looking at 'I do not know' responses as an example of resistance and questions that are associated with it (see Chapter 5). Then, Chapter 6 dealt with one of the commonly used prosecutors' questions: *and/wa* prefaced questions and discussed their pragmatic roles as narrative building tools and also as challenging questions. The focus in Chapter 6 was, however, on questions that are aimed at inviting suspects to give an answer. In this chapter I focus on Put On Record (POR) questions and the pragmatic role they play in Egyptian interrogations by using a discourse-pragmatic method and by investigating how PORs are considered a prosecutor's tool: while they seemingly invite suspects to give a narrative on specific events, they play a role in shaping the record aimed at future audiences (see section 7.8). The chapter begins with a brief overview of the literature investigating questions aimed at the interrogation record and this is followed by a discussion of PORs, their structure and different pragmatic roles. Finally, the connection between PORs and future audiences is investigated.

7.2   Why PORs?

In Chapter 3 (section 3.4.3), we have introduced the concept of questions that are aimed at the record. Such questions are a move from the common functions of questions, to elicit information or gain confirmation (Gibbons, 2003). Examples of these questions, as illustrated in Chapter 3, are Stokoe and Edwards' (2008: 107) 'silly questions', which interviewers use to make certain details from suspects' statements explicit 'for the record' and Aldridge and Luchjenbroers' (2007) questions that smuggle information through their structure in order to manipulate the information to be presented in court (see Chapter 3 for a further discussion). Like in Aldridge and Luchjenbroers (2007), prosecutors in my study were found to rely on the use of PORs to represent their own version of events and they structure them in a very confrontational and challenging manner as will be shown in the next section. PORs also resemble Stokoe and Edwards' 'silly questions' in that they play an institutional role and that they aim to record

important information on the record; however, PORs are not prefaced with prosecutors' explanations that these questions are mere formalities. Structurally, PORs might superficially appear to be similar to what Oxburgh et al. (2010) call Tell/Explain/Discuss (TED) questions, because they ask suspects to express their responses, discuss a certain point or respond to a statement. However, TED questions are focused in eliciting full narratives from suspects and witnesses (Oxburgh et al., 2010) PORs, on the contrary, are not intended to elicit long productive narratives from suspects and they are more important in functioning as the recording tools of prosecutors' narratives.

Of great relevance to this chapter is Bull's (1994) argument that some questions are meant to remain unanswered and Harris' (1991) description of questions as accusations, discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Analysis in this chapter discusses the dual function of PORs: while their form is interrogative, their aim is not to be answered but to shape information discussed in interrogations and put them on the interrogation record to be used by future audiences. They both gather evidence and weaken the suspects' narratives. Overall, prosecutors, unlike with *and/wa*-prefaced questions, did not follow certain stages when using PORs. Instead, they were used at different places in the interrogations: in opening and closing phases (see 7.5) and the middle phase (see section 7.6); each phase reflects a different pragmatic function for the PORs. In the data, prosecutors used PORs with two pragmatic functions: Formulaic PORs in the opening and closing phases (section 7.5) and Alternative Narrative PORs in the questioning phases (section 7.6). Each type was used for different purposes but both shared the same general structure, with a few exceptions that will be discussed in the next section. Before moving to the pragmatic significance of PORs, I briefly define what I mean by PORs, their structure and distribution in the data.

7.3   Structure and form of PORs

In this section, I will illustrate what I mean by PORs by providing examples of how a typical POR is structured. Both formulaic and alternative narrative PORs were found in the data in two forms: turn-initial PORs, that start with a *WH* interrogative form that includes a noun (e.g. response as in Example 1) or turn-final PORs, that end with this *WH* interrogative (e.g. Example 2). Example 1 discusses a turn-initial POR from the questioning phase and it starts with a *WH* interrogative followed by a noun *'qawluk' / 'response'*:

(1)	[CORPT3]	
		<div dir="rtl"><u>ما قولك فيما</u> قرره سالف الذكر من أنه تم تخصيص الفيلات المشار إليها جميعها للسيد الرئيس و أفراد أسرته كمقابل استغلال نفوذه بصفته رئيس الجمهورية ...</div>
		mā qawluk fī-mā qarraruh sālif al-ḏikr min ʾannahu tam taḥṣīṣ al-villāt al-mušār ʾilayhā gamīʿahā li-l-sayyid al-raʾīs wa afrād ʾusratuh ka-muqābil ʾistaġlāl nufūḏuh bi-ṣifatuh raʾīs al-gumhūriya….
		What response-your about-what stated-him aforementioned- the that was allocated the-villas the-referred to-them all-of-them to-the-mister the-president and members family-his in-return using powers-his as president of-the-republic
1 2 3 4	PR	***What do you say about what the afore-mentioned claimed*** *that the villas referred to were all allocated to Mr. President and his family members in return of exploiting his authority as a President of the Republic*

Example 1 is an extract from the Gamal Mubarak interrogation that took place after the 2011 revolution. In this example, Gamal Mubarak is questioned about villas he and his family own, which were claimed to be offered to them after Hosni Mubarak allegedly misused his authority. The first part of the question starts with 'mā qawluk fī-mā qarraruh'/ '*What is your response to what the afore-mentioned claimed*' (line 1). Although the POR structurally seems like a narrative invitation due to the use of metadiscursive noun *'qawluk'\ 'response'*, the prosecutor follows the noun with a detailed description of an accusation contradicting Gamal's narrative mentioned earlier in the interrogation, that he and his family thought of buying these villas in the eighties due to their frequent visits to Sharm El- Sheikh and their regular diving trips. Therefore, pragmatically the POR puts the contradicting statement on record. Example 2 demonstrates the second structure of PORs, turn-final, where the framing element (the *WH* interrogative and the metadiscursive noun) ends the question:

(2)	[CORPT1]	
		<div dir="rtl">قرر المتهم حبيب إبراهيم العادلي بالتحقيقات المتعلقة بوقائع التظاهر أن الاحتجاجات الشعبية تجاه النظام و سياساته بدأت منذ عام ٢٠٠٥ لسوء و تردي الأوضاع السياسية و الاقتصادية و الاجتماعية و لمشروع التوريث و زيادة حجم الفساد و طلب إسقاط النظام الحاكم، <u>**فما ردك؟**</u></div>
		qarar al-mutaham Habib Ibrahim El-Adli bi-l-taḥqīqāt al-mutaʿaliqa bi-waqāʾiʿ al-tazāhor ʾann al-ʾiḥtigāgāt al-šaʿbiya tigāh al-nizām wa siyāsatuh badaʾat mondo ʿām 2005 lisūʾ wa taradī al-awḍāʿ al-siyāsiya wa al-ʾiqtiṣādiya wa al-igtimāʿiya wa li-mašrūʿ al-tawrīṯ wa ziyādat ḥagm al-fasād wa ṭalab ʾisqāt al-nizām al-ḥākim, **famā radak?**
		Stated the-suspect Habib Ibrahim El-Adly in-the-investigations the-related to-events the-demonstrations the-mass against the-regime and policies-its started-it since year 2005 because-of-degradation and deterioration the-conditions the-political and the-economic and the-social and because-of-plan the-bequeath-rule

		and increase amount the-corruption and demand toppling the-regime the-ruling, so-what response-your?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	PR	*The accused Habib El-Adly mentioned in the investigations related to the events of demonstration that the mass protests against the regime and its policies started from 2005 for the degradation of political, economic, and social conditions, for the inheritance project scheme, the increase of corruption and the demand for toppling the ruling regime, **so what is your response**?*

This is an extract from the Hosni Mubarak interrogation where he was being questioned about the 2011 revolution and his role in the way demonstrations were managed. In this extract, the metadiscursive noun '*radak'/ 'response'* comes as a tag at the end of the prosecutor's narrative. It is worth noting that in both Examples 1 and 2, the prosecutor relates the narrative stated in the questions to other witnesses' statements. This helps them distance themselves from the incriminating evidence put on the record, but it also makes the question more challenging for suspects because the incriminating details have been evidenced by other people as well. The next section describes the frequencies and distribution of the two types of PORs: Formulaic and alternative narrative PORs.

7.4   Frequencies and distribution

To analyse the pragmatic function(s) of PORs, I calculated the frequency of these questions using both automated and manual searches. The automated search involved using *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott, 2012) in the nine transcribed cases to find instances of PORs. First I searched for all prosecutor's questions starting with *'mā qawluk fīmā gāʾ'/ 'What do you say about what'* because it was the most frequent structure in my data. However, after a closer look at the data, it was clear that a manual search was also important for the transcribed data because PORs did not have one structure. For example, the initial search did not pick up turn-final PORs with *'famā radak' / 'so what is your response',* where the metadiscursive structure comes at the end of the questions rather than at the start. I also hand-counted the frequency of questions in the other nine non-transcribed cases. In addition, using a manual search has allowed me to recognise the different categories of PORs (discussed in the following sections) and the different roles they play in the context. The frequencies and percentages are presented in Table 10 below and all the percentages were rounded up to the nearest full point. Out of the 1,215 questions in my dataset, 273 were PORs which makes up 22% of my dataset.

Table 11. Percentage of PORs

No.	Case Type	Code	Total number of words	Total number of Q-A pairs	Total number of PORs/case	Total number of formulaic PORs	Total number of Alternative narrative PORs
1	Hosni Mubarak	CORPT1	5697	135	44	12	32
2	Embezzlement of public money	EMBEZ1	3462	107	37	5	32
3	Embezzlement of public money	EMBEZ2	5700	131	35	13	22
4	Theft	THEFT1	1450	94	32	11	21
5	Sexual Assault	SEX AS	3147	92	30	10	20
6	Beating led to death	BEAT	6282	110	20	12	8
7	Alaa Mubarak	CORPT2	2000	53	17	10	7
8	Drugs	DRUG1	2970	54	11	4	7
9	Gamal Mubarak	CORPT3	1025	36	7	0	7
10	Murder	MURD1	6000	150	6	0	6
11	Theft	THEFT4	400	24	12	8	4
12	Murder	MURD3	1200	30	9	5	4
13	Drugs	DRUG2	1550	28	6	2	4
14	Murder	MURD2	5208	110	7	7	0
15	Theft	THEFT2	1620	11	0	0	0
16	Theft	THEFT3	567	10	0	0	0
17	Work place injury	WORKINJ	600	11	0	0	0
18	Work place injury	WORKINJ	800	29	0	0	0

Based on the frequencies shown in Table 10, PORs are not a common practice in all of the cases. For example, cases 15, 16, 17 and 18 do not have any PORs and cases 10 and 13 has only 6 PORs. On the other hand, other prosecutors were found to use a higher percentage of PORs such as those in cases 1, 2, 3 4, and 5. One of the important features discussed in the current chapter is the use of resistant responses when answering PORs. Table 11 shows the total number of resistant responses in relation to PORs. Out of the 273 responses, 139 were found to be resistant in the form of evasions such as '*I do not know*' (see Chapter 5) and rejections such as '*I cannot remember*' and '*this is not true*'. All resistant responses were related to the second type of PORs: alternative narrative PORs.

Table 12. PORs and resistant responses

No.	Case Type	Code	Total number of PORs/case	Total number of Alternative narrative PORs	Resistant responses / POR
1	Hosni Mubarak	CORPT1	44	32	31
2	Embezzlement of public money	EMBEZ1	37	32	18
3	Embezzlement of public money	EMBEZ2	35	22	19
4	Theft	THEFT1	32	21	19
5	Sexual Assault	SEX AS	30	20	8
6	Beating led to death	BEAT	20	8	8
7	Alaa Mubarak	CORPT2	17	7	12
8	Drugs	DRUG1	11	7	6
9	Gamal Mubarak	CORPT3	7	7	7
10	Murder	MURD1	6	6	0
11	Theft	THEFT4	12	4	4
12	Murder	MURD3	9	4	4
13	Drugs	DRUG2	6	4	3
14	Murder	MURD2	7	0	0
15	Theft	THEFT2	0	0	0
16	Theft	THEFT3	0	0	0
17	Work place injury	WORKINJ	0	0	0
18	Work place injury	WORKINJ	0	0	0

As mentioned before, when dealing with a small corpus of data, it is important to follow up the calculation of frequencies, with a close analysis of the context to make sense of the numbers. For example, case 14 (MURD2) had 7 instances of PORs, none of which were answered in a resistant way. By examining case 7, it became clear that all 7 PORs were formulaic and hence did not require resistance as will be discussed in the next section. The rest of the chapter investigates the various pragmatic roles of PORs, responses and their effect on future audiences.

7.5 Formulaic PORs

Formulaic PORs are used in most of the cases in the dataset (99 formulaic questions). They were used by interrogators at the beginning and ending of interrogations and they all had almost the same format. They came in a set of questions (from 2 to 5 questions) that list the accusations and charges against suspects and they are given the chance to respond to such accusations (e.g. Example 3). The location and formal structure of these questions reflect the fact that they are a matter of formality and that they play an institutional role: they invite suspects to give an initial response to their charges and to put on record whether they will plead guilty or not guilty. Suspects' responses to formulaic questions are closely connected to the progress of the case when it moves later on to court and it affects the strength of prosecutors' cases against suspects. In a way, formulaic PORs resemble the function of cautions used by UK police officers when arresting suspects and before starting an interrogation, since they are also an institutional requirement aimed at protecting suspects' rights and the credibility of statements produced during interrogations. Such formality can also be a reminder of how important prosecutors' interrogation records are in the judicial process. They are used as evidence should a case go to trial.

Formulaic PORs are designed in two forms: 'what do you say' questions (e.g. Example 3, line 1) or a declarative statement reflecting the charge (e.g. Example 4, lines 3-6). Example 3 is an extract from a sexual assault case and these are the first questions in the interrogation. In line 1, the prosecutor begins by asking the suspect about his response to the charges he is accused of. When the suspect admitted to the charges stated ('al-kalām da ḥaṣal minī'/ *I did these things)*, the prosecutor continues to put on record his initial response to the incriminating statements of the victim and two witnesses. After getting the responses to these formulaic questions, the prosecutor follows up with narrative building and/or WH probing questions to elicit the details of the crime.

(3)	[SEX AS]		
			<u>ما قولك فما هو منسوب إليك؟</u>
			mā qawluk fīmā huwa mansūb ʾilayk?
			what say-you about-what is attributed to you?
1	PR		***What do you say about what is attributed to you****?*
			الكلام ده حصل مني
			al-kalām da ḥaṣal minī

		the-words this happened from-me
2	S	*I did these things*
		ما قولك فما جاء ببلاغ المدعوة ماجي والمدعو السيد جون والمدعو لانس ؟
		mā qawluk fīmā gāʾ bi-balāġ al-madʿuwa Magy wa al-madʿu al-sayid John wa al-madʿu Lance?
		What say-you about-what stated in-report the-called Magy and the-called the-mister John and the-called Lance?
3 4	PR	***What do you say about what was stated*** in the reports of Magy, mister John and Lance?
		أنا فعلاً اللي قلت لأهلها أن ليها فيلم وهي تمارس الجنس مع أحد الأشخاص و عرضت عليهم الفيلم و قلت لهم إن فيه شبة بين ماجي و البنت اللي بتمارس الجنس و عرضت عليهم اني استر عليها و أتجوزها و نفض الخطوبة بتاعتها علشان الفضائح و سلمت للانس الفيلم بتاعها عن طريق فلاشه علشان يتأكد اني باتكلم صح و ده اللي حصل
		ʾana feʿlan īllī ʾult li-ʾahlahā ʾin līhā fīlm wa hiyya tumāris al-gins maʿa ʾaḥad al-ʾašḫāṣ wa ʿaraḍt ʿalēyhum al-fīlm wa ʾult lahum ʾin fī šabah bēn Magy wa al-bint īllī bi-tumāris al-gins wa ʿaraḍt ʿalēyhum ʾinī ʾastur ʿalēyhā wa ʾatgawezhā wa nufuḍ al-ḫuṭūba bitāʿithā ʿalašān al-faḍāʾḥ wa salimt li-l-ʾins al-fīlm bitāʿhā ʿan ṭarīʾ filāša ʿalašān yitʾakid ʾinī batkalim ṣaḥ wa dah īllī ḥaṣal
		I really who told-me to-family-her that has-she film and during she-have the-sex with one the-people and I-showed to-them and told-I to-them that there-is resemblance between Magy and the-girl that is-having the-sex and offered-I to-them that-I protect-reputation-her on-her and I-marry-her and we-break-up the-engagement hers because the-scandals and gave-I to-Lance the-film of-her through way flash-drive in-order-to he-confirms that-I am-speaking right and that this happened
5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	S	*Indeed, I was the one who told her family that she has a film where she is having sex with a person and I showed them the film and told them that there is a resemblance between Magy and the girl who was having sex and I offered to protect her reputation and marry her and to break off her engagement to avoid any scandals. And I gave the film on a flash drive to Lance for him to make sure that I am saying the truth and that this is what happened*
		متى وأين حدث ذلك؟
		matā wa ʾayna ḥadaṯa ḏālik?
		when and where happened this?
13	PR	*When and where did this happen?*

Responses to charges are generally expected to be denials or not guilty pleas, but in my data, there were cases where suspects pleaded guilty (e.g. case 6, MURD1) and their responses to formulaic PORs confirmed their guilt. The suspect in Example 3 initially pleaded guilty as is shown in lines 5-12, but changed his response to charges in the following days of interrogations. By examining the interrogation records, it is revealed that on the first day of questioning, the suspect did not have a lawyer appointed to him, but in later interrogations a lawyer was appointed and his attendance was recorded on the interrogation record. The change in his response might be a result of the

lawyer's advice. Additionally, formulaic PORs were used in interrogation closing, where prosecutors repeat the charges to suspects and check if they have changed their responses to the accusations or not. Formulaic PORs in both cases shared the same question design. It is important to note here that at times formulaic questions were designed as declarative statements of the crime as in Example 4. Although the question in lines 3-6 does not have an interrogative form, the suspect understands that it functions as a question and responds to it.

(4)	[THEFT4]	
		هل لديك سوابق أو اتهامات ؟
		hal ladayka sawābiq ʾaw ʾitihāmāt?
		do have-you previous-crimes or accusations ?
1	PR	*Do you have any previous crimes or accusations*
		لا
		lā
		no
2	S	*no*
		منسوب إليك قيامك بالاشتراك مع آخريين سرقة المجني عليه كرها تحت تهديد السلاح الابيض و سرقة الهاتف المحمول و المبلغ المالي المذكور بالاوراق
		mansūb ʾilayk qiyāmak bi-l-ʾištirāk maʿa ʾāḫarīn sariqat al-magnī ʿalayh karhan taḥt tahdīd al-silāḥ al-abyaḍ wa sariqat al-hātif al-maḥmūl wa al-mablaġ al-mālī al-maḏkūr bi-l-ʾawrāq
		attributed to-you did-you with-association with others steal the-victim by-force under threat the-weapon and stealing the-phone the-mobile and the-amount the-money the-mentioned in-the-reports
3 4 5 6	PR	***It is attributed to you that you,*** *in association with others, stole from the victim by use of force and under the threat of weapon and you stole the mobile phone and the money to the value mentioned in the reports*
		أيوة آخر مره أنا غلطان
		ʾaiwa āḫir mara ʾana ġalṭān
		yes, last time I wrong
7	S	*Yes, this is the last time and I was wrong*
		هل لديك أقوال أخرى ؟
		hal ladayka ʾaqwāl ʾuḫrā ?
		do have-you statement other?
8	PR	*Do you have any other statement?*
		لا
		lā
		No
9	S	No

Formulaic PORs are aimed for the suspect – so they know exactly what they are being accused of (a justice issue) and aimed for future audiences who need to know that the suspect was informed of his/her accusations. By using formulaic PORs, prosecutors are seen to be fulfilling their institutional role and acting according to prescribed practice, informing suspects of their accusations. As mentioned earlier such awareness of future audiences is evident in how prosecutors structure their interrogations and questions to record the information they need later in the court. Future audiences, however, are opaque to the accused and they are usually not aware of how their responses will be used after interrogations finish. That is why they sometimes provide responses that might weaken their case in court as in Example 3, lines 5-12 and Example 4, line 7. Both suspects admitted to committing the crimes at the beginning of the interrogation. Once they receive legal help from their lawyers, they both changed their response to not guilty showing they are now aware of the consequences of their responses. In this thesis, I propose that prosecutors need to help clarify who the future audiences are to suspects (see Chapter 8 for discussion). Future audiences and their effect on the record are discussed in section 7.7.

7.6   Alternative narrative PORs

In this section, we will revisit the idea of power and control in questions and resistance. As outlined in Chapter 3 (section 3.3), power is a feature of both prosecutors' and suspects' discourse. Power is a process of negotiation as described by Thornborrow (2002: 8). In the last two chapters, we have investigated the different signs of resistance in relation to suspect's responses and how prosecutors' questions challenge suspects' narratives. In this section, alternative narrative PORs are discussed and they are considered the most challenging and controlling questions I have found in the Egyptian data. Questions in this category were typically found to be used in the 'information gathering' (Heydon, 2005: 57) phase of interrogations. It is ironic that they are found in that stage since analysis will reveal in the next section, they do not aim to collect or gather information. The term 'alternative narrative' was chosen because prosecutors were found to use PORs in order to put on record how they think the crime happened when the suspect does not confess to the allegations as stated. In other words, PORs here become a tool to record a narrative that conflicts with that of the suspects or to record that there are two conflicting records.

As explained in section 7.3, alternative narrative PORs appear in two forms: turn-initial PORs as in example 5:

(5)	[EMBEZ2]	
		بماذا تعلل إذا بما جاء بأقوال المجني عليهم بمحضر جمع الاستدلالات باشتراك المدعو كريس معك بتوظيف الاموال الخاصة بالمجني عليهم
		bi-māḏa tuʿlil ʾiḏan bi-mā gāʾ bi-ʾaqwāl al-magnī ʿalayhum bi-maḥḍar ǧamʿ ʾal-ʾistidlālāt bi-ʾištirāk al-madʿū Chris maʿak bi-tawẓīf al-ʾamwāl al-ḫāṣa bi-l-magnī ʿalayhum
		With-what you-explain then about-what stated in-statements the-victims in-report collect the-evidence of-participation the-called Chris with-you in-investment the-money the-belong to-the-victims
1 2 3	PR	***How do you explain then*** *what was stated in the victims' statements in the evidence collection report about how you together with Chris invested the victims' money*
		معرفش
		maʿrafš
		Not-know-I
4	S	*I do not know*

Or turn-final PORs as in Example 6:

(6)	[EMBEZ2]	
		جاء بأقوال الشاكيين بأتهامك و سالفة الذكر و رئيس مجلس إدارة البنك بالإستيلاء على أموالهم فما قولك
		gāʾ bi-ʾaqwāl al-šākīn ʾitihāmak wa sālifat al-ḏikr wa raʾīs maglis ʾdāret al-bank bi-l-ʾistīlāʾ ʿala ʾamwālahum **fa-mā qawluk**
		Came in-statements the-complainants of-accuse-you and aforementioned-the and director the-bank of-taking-over of money-their so-what response your
1 2 3	PR	*It was stated in the complainants' statements that you, the aforementioned and the bank director are accused of taking over their money, **so what is your response?***
		لا طبعا...
		lā ṭabʿan
		No of-course
4	S	*Of course not*

Alternative narrative PORs are more frequent in the data than formulaic ones (173 instances) and the turn-initial type (Example 5) was more frequent than the turn-final type (Example 6). Only 10 questions used the turn-final type and these were mainly used in Hosni Mubarak's interrogation (7 questions), Alaa Mubarak (1 question) and in Embezzlement case 2 (2 questions). The function and pragmatic meaning of each of these types are discussed in detail in sections 7.6.1 and 7.6.2.

Returning to the matter of power and control, questions discussed in this section are similar in nature to those used in Dr Shipman's interviews (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.):

> P: You see if you examine that record which I'm going to go through with you very shortly now to give you the exact time that things were altered, it begs the question, did you alter it before you left the surgery, which indicates what you've done was premeditated and you were planning to murder this lady, or as soon as you got back did you cover up your tracks and start altering this lady's medical records? Either way it's not a good situation for you doctor is it?
>
> S: Continue the story.
>
> (Newbury and Johnson, 2006: 229)

It is worth mentioning this example again in light of the discussion of PORs and their restrictive and controlling nature. Similar to the question above, PORs include 'damaging representations' (Eades, 2008: 154) and allow the interrogator to build a prosecution version of the narrative. Therefore, both responses and future audiences play an important role in this current chapter as analysis reveals in the following sections.

7.6.1 Turn-initial PORs

Turn-initial PORs start with a *WH* interrogative form that includes a noun '*qawluk*' / '*response*'. Prosecutors followed a certain pattern that led to their use of PORs. The information gathering section of the interrogation was divided into three stages. The first stage is characterized by the use of probing *yes/no* and/or WH questions to elicit the details of the crime or incident under investigation as shown in Example 7.

(7)	[BEAT] First suspect		
			و هل كنت تحمل أسلحة انذاك
			wa hal kunt taḥmil ʾasliḥa ʾānaḏāk
			And were-you you-carrying weapons at-the-time?
1	PR		*And were you carrying weapons at the time?*
			لا أنا مكنش معايا أسلحة و اللي كان معه السلاح هو مارك
			lā ʾana makanš maʕāyā ʾasliḥa wa īllī kān maʕahu al-silāḥ huwwa Mark
			No I not-have with-me weapons and who have with-him the-weapon was Mark
2 3	S		*No I did not have weapons with me and Mark was the one who had the weapon with him*

Questions in this stage were investigated and discussed in Chapter 6: *and/wa*-prefaced questions both for narrative building and narrative evaluation. In stage two, prosecutors receive suspects' denial of the crime or do not get the information they need which leads to stage three, where prosecutors use PORs. Example 7 and 8 are extracts from a case of beating that led to death introduced in Chapter 5. The two suspects are interviewed about whether they intentionally killed the victim and whether the first suspect was carrying a knife (which would strengthen the argument of an intention to harm). Therefore, the prosecutor's aim is to put on record that there was a knife in the possession of the suspects. In Example 7 (line 1) he asks an *and/wa*-prefaced question: *'wa hal kunt taḥmil ʾasliḥa ʾānaḏāk'/ 'And were you carrying weapons at the time?'*, which is a prefaced *yes/no* question directly asking about the knife. The use of *and/wa* as a preface here highlights the importance of the detail being asked about and links the question to the suspect's previous statements about his innocence (See Chapter 6, section 6.5). In lines 2-3, the suspect shifts the blame from him to 'Mark', the victim, and denies carrying a knife, which is stage two of the interrogation. Suspects' denials would not help the prosecutor's case in court, which makes him move to stage three and use an alternative narrative POR. All through Example 8, the prosecutor asks PORs that contradict the suspect's answer as in lines 1-5, 14-17 and 24-25:

(8)		[BEAT] First suspect
		<u>**ما قولك فيما جاء بأقوال**</u> كل من شهود الواقعة في محضر جمع الاستدلالات المؤرخ في 2009/4/17 الساعة الثالثة مساءً والمحرر بمعرفة الملازم أول توم ضابط مباحث قسم [..] و هم كل من راين و كليف و هنري تلوناه عليه كاملاً تفصيلاً
		<u>**mā qawluk fīmā gāʾ bi-ʾaqwāl**</u> kullin min šuhūd al-wāqiʿa fī maḥḍar gamʿ al-ʾistidlālāt al-mūʾaraḥ fī 17/4/2009 al-sāʿa al-tālita masāʾan wa al-muḥarar bi-maʿrifat al-mulāzim ʾawal Tom ḍābiṭ mabāḥiṭ qism […] wa hum kullin min Ryan wa Cliff wa Henri talawnāh ʿalayhi kāmilan tafṣīlan
		What response-your about-what mentioned in-statements all of witnesses the-incident in report collect the-evidence the-dated in 17/4/2009 the-hour the-three PM and-the-written with-knowledge the-lieutenant Tom officer investigation station the-[…] and they each of Ryan, Cliff and Henry we-read-it-to-him full in-detail
1 2 3 4 5	PR	<u>***What is your response to***</u> *what was mentioned in the statements of all the incident's witnesses in the evidence collection report dated on 17/4/2009 at 3 pm which was written by lieutenant Tom, the investigation officer of [...] station and they are Ryan, Cliff and Henry. (We read to him the full report and in detail)*
		الكلام ده محصلش و أنا لم أموته و هو اللي كان معه السلاح و هو اللي ضربني بالسلاح في رجلي و أخويا برضه أرون معملوش حاجة و مش هو اللي قتلة
		Al-kalām da maḥaṣalš wa ʾana lam ʾamawituh wa huwwa īllī kān maʿahu al-silāḥ wa huwwa īllī ḍarabnī bi-l-silāḥ fī riglī wa ʾaḥūyā barḍu Aron maʿamalūš ḥāga wa miš huwwa īllī ʾataluh

		The-word this not-happen and I not kill-him and he who had with-him the-weapon and he who attack-me with-the-weapon in leg-my and brother-my also Aaron not-do-to-him anything and not him who kill-him
6 7 8 9	S	*This did not happen and I did not kill him and it was he who had the weapon and attacked me with it in my leg. And my brother, Aaron, also did not do anything to him and it was not him who killed him*
		<div dir="rtl">ما علاقتك بسالف الذكر و هل توجد ثمة خلافات</div>
		mā ʿilāqatak bi-sālif al-ḏikr wa hal tūgad ṯimat ḫilāfāt
		What relationship-your with-the-afore-mentioned and is there any argument
10 11	PR	*What is your relationship with the aforementioned and are there any arguments?*
		<div dir="rtl">هم جيراني و مفيش أي خلافات بيني و بينهم</div>
		hum gīrānī wa mafīš ʾay ḫilāfāt bēnī wa bēnhum
		They neighbours-my and no any arguments between-you and between-them
12 13	S	*They are my neighbours and there are not any arguments between me and them*
		<div dir="rtl"><u>ما قولك فيما جاء بمحضر التحريات</u> المحرر بمعرفة الملازم أول توم ضابط مباحث قسم [...] في 2009/4/17 الساعة الرابعة والنصف مساءً تلوناه عليه</div>
		<u>**mā qawluk fīmā gā**</u>ʾ bi-maḥḍar al-taḥariyāt al-muḥarar bi-maʿrifat al-mulāzim ʾawal Tom ḍābit mabāḥiṯ qism […] fī 17/4/2009 al-sāʿa al-rābiʿa wa al-niṣf masāʾan talawnāh ʿalayh
		What response-your about-what stated in-report the-investigations the-written with-knowledge the-general Tom officer investigation station […] the-dated 17/4/2009 the-hour the-four and-the-half night (read-it-we to-him
14 15 16 17	PR	***<u>What is your response to what was stated</u>*** *in the investigation report that was written by knowledge of the general Tom, the investigation officer of [...] station on 17/4/2009 4:30 at night (we read to him)*
		<div dir="rtl">الكلام دة محصلش و أنا مقتلتوش و معرفشي مين اللي قتلوه ولا أخويا قتله و أنا مكنش معايا سكينة والسكينة دي بتاعة مارك</div>
		al-kalām da maḥaṣalš wa ʾana maʾataltūš wa maʿrafšī mīn īllī ʾataluh wa lā ʾaḫūyā ʾataluh wa ʾana makanš maʿāyā sikkīna wa al-sikkīna dī bitāʿit Mark
		The-words this not-happen and I not-kill-him and not-know-I who that kill-him and not brother-my kill-him and I not-have with-me knife and the-knife this belongs Mark
18 19 20	S	This did not happen and I did not kill him and I do not know who killed him neither did my brother and I did not have a knife and this knife belongs to Mark
		<div dir="rtl">هل من ثمة علاقة أو خلافات بينك وبين سالف الذكر</div>
		hal min ṯimat ʿilāqa ʾaw ḫilāfāt baynak wa bayn sālif al-ḏikr
		Are there any relationship or arguments between-you and between the-afore-mentioned
21	S	*Are there any relationship or arguments between you and the*

22		*afore-mentioned*
		أنا معرفوش و لا يوجد أي خلافات بيننا
		ʾana maʿrafūš wa lā yūgad ʾay ḫilāfāt baynanā
		I not-know-him and no there any arguments between-us
23	S	*I do not know him and there are not any arguments between us*
		ما تعليلك لما جاء بأقوال سالف الذكر
		mā taʿlīlak limā gāʾ bi-ʾaqwāl sālif al-ḏikr
		What explanation-your to-what said in-statements afore-mentioned
24 25	PR	***What is your explanation to*** *what was said in the statements of the aforementioned*
		أنا معرفش هو قال كدة ليه و أنا اللي حصل أنا قلت عليه
		ʾana maʿrafš huwwa ʾāl keda lēh wa ʾana īllī ḥaṣal ʾana ʾult ʿaleh
		I not-know he said-he this why and I that happened I said-I about-it
26	S	*I do not know why he said this and I said what happened*

The prosecutor's alternative narrative in these PORs is framed within witnesses' statements, since the prosecutor is interrogating on behalf of the victim and witnesses, that claim the suspect carried a knife, which contradicts the suspect's claim. Using this strategy helps the prosecutor to put on record an incriminating piece of information (possession of a knife). While structurally the question seems to invite the suspect to comment on the information because of the use of the metadiscursive noun 'qawluk'/ 'response' in '*mā qawluk fīmā gāʾ bi-ʾaqwāl'/ 'What is your response to what was mentioned in the statements',* close analysis of the data reveals that they are putting on record the other versions of the narrative (i.e. the suspect's possession of the knife) to weaken the suspect's case in court and highlight his intentions and to strengthen the prosecution case in behalf of the victim.

This strategy is similar to that reported by Van der Houwen and Sneijder (2014) in their research about the ways in which judges and prosecutors refer to case files and witness statements in the Dutch courtroom. They argue that 'if the suspect does not answer the question, the judge uses the case file which contains voices which can be invoked to continue the investigation and get the various perspectives on the table' (2014: 45). Similarly, in my data the prosecutors embed witness statements in their questions 'orienting to a confirmation from the suspect and packaging the incriminating statement as an addition to the suspect's narrative' (2014: 41). For instance, the PORs in Example 9 are very long and extended questions. They are loaded with details and other witnesses' statements or claims. Questions of such a length could be seen as restrictive

and leading since they include all the information that the prosecutor needs the suspect to confirm or deny. Therefore, PORs are not used with the aim to elicit information from interviewees, which, as Harris (1991) explains, is understood as the natural aim of questions. Instead they are tools for confirming the narrative that is found in the PORs. The extract in Example 9 demonstrates how the prosecutor included his full version of the murder event in the question in lines 1-16.

(9)	[MURD2]	
		<div dir="rtl">**ما قولك فيما أثبته سالف الذكر** من اختمار فكرة الحصول على أي مبالغ مالية بأي وسيلة لاحتياجك شراء مخدرات فتوجهت لمسكن المجني عليها لعلمك بكونها بمفردها في تلك الفترة حيث شاهدتها من قبل تتحلي ببعض المصوغات الذهبية فتوجهت إلى سكنها مخفيا سكينا بين طيات ملابسك و بالطرق على الباب فتحت لك فدخلت و أغلقت الباب خلفك و شرعت في اعداد كوب من الشاي لك و أثناء تواجدها بالمطبخ عاجلتها بطعنة شديدة من الناحية اليسرى أخرجت احشائها و لما قاومتك و حاولت الخروج من المطبخ عاجلتها بعدة طعنات أخرى بالظهر و سحبتها مرة أخرى إلى المطبخ و أثناء محاولاتها الامساك بنصل السكين قمت بموالاة التعدى عليها بتسديد طعنات لها حتى استقرت أرضا فوجهت إليها ضربات بالرأس و الوجه ثم إعادة تسديد الطعنات بمنطقة [...] حتى تأكدت من مفارقتها الحياة</div>
		mā qawluk fīmā ʾatbatoh sālif al-dikr min ʾiḫtimār fikrat al-ḥoṣūl ʿala ʾay mabāliġ māliya bi ʾay wasīla li ʾḥtiyāgak širāʾ muḫadirāt fa-tawagaht li-maskan al-magnī ʿalayhā li-ʿilmak bi-kawnihā bi-mofradahā fī tilk al-fatra ḥayṯ šāhadtahā min qabl tataḥalā bi-baʿḍ al-maṣūġāt al-dahabiya fa-tawagaht ʾila sakanhā muḫfiyan sikīnan bayn ṭayāt malābisak wa bi-l-ṭarq ʿala al-bāb fataḥat lak fa-daḫalt wa ʾaġlaqt al-bāb ḫalfak wa šaraʿat fī ʾiʿdād kūb min al-šāy lak wa ʾatnāʾ tawagodhā bi-l-maṭbaḫ ʿāgaltahā bi-ṭaʿna šadīda min al-nāḥya al-yusrā ʾaḫragat ʾaḥšāʾahā wa lammā qāwamatak wa ḥāwalat al-ḫurūg min al-matbaḫ ʿāgaltahā bi-ʿidat ṭaʿanāt ʾuḫrā bi-l-ẓahr wa saḥabtahā mara ʾuḫrā ʾila al-maṭbaḫ wa ʾatnāʾ muḥāwalāthā al-ʾimsāk binaṣl al-sikīn qumt bi-mūwālāt al-taʿadī ʿalayhā bi-tasdīd ṭaʿanāt lahā ḥatā ʾistaqarat ʾarḍan fa-wagaht ʾilayhā ḍarabāt bi-l-raʾs wa al-wagh ṯoma ʾiʿādat tasdīd al-ṭaʿanāt bi-manṭiqat […] ḥatā taʾakadt min mufāraqathā al-ḥaya
		What response-your about-what stated-it aforementioned from getting idea the-obtaining of any amounts money with-any method for-need-your buy drugs so-go-you to-house the-victim because-knowledge-your of-her-being alone-her in this the-period since seen-her before she-wearing with-some the-jewellery the-gold so-go-you to house-her hiding-you knife between parts clothes-your and with-knocking on-the-door opened-she to-you so-went-you-inside and closed-you the-door behind-you and started-she to make cup of the-tea for-you and during her-found in-the-kitchen gave-her with-stab strong from the-side the-left got-out stomach and when resist-she-you and tried-she the-leave from the-kitchen stab-her with-several stabs other in-back and pulled-her time again to-the-kitchen and during tried-she the-holding of-tip the-knife did-you to-continue the-the-assault on-her by-give stabs to-her until fell-she floor so-hit-her to-her hits in-the-head and the-face then again give the-stabs in-area the-stomach until sure-you from death-her
1 2	S	*__What is your response to what was stated by the aforementioned__ that you had the idea of obtaining amounts of money by any*

156

3		*means because of your need to buy drugs? So you went to the*
4		*victim's house because you knew she was on her own and because*
5		*you saw her before wearing gold jewellery. So you went to her*
6		*house and knocked on the door and she opened the door to you*
7		*and you closed the door behind you and she started to prepare a*
8		*cup of tea for you and while she was in the kitchen, you stabbed*
9		*her a strong stab in the left side and her stomach which went*
10		*through her body and when she resisted you and tried to get out of*
11		*the kitchen, you stabbed her several times in her back and pulled*
12		*her once again into the kitchen. And while she was trying to hold*
13		*the tip of the knife, you continued to stab her until she fell on the*
14		*floor. So you hit her on the head and the face and then you*
15		*stabbed her in the stomach area again until you were sure she*
16		*passed away*
		الكلام ده محصلش و أنا مقلتش الكلام ده
		al-kalām da maḥaṣalš wa ʾana maʾultiš al-kalām da
		The-words this not-happen and I not-say the-words this
17	S	*This did not happen and I did not say this*

Using these loaded questions helps prosecutors to put on record evidence collected from witnesses and victims to build a narrative that is valuable for the prosecution case. In addition, PORs weaken suspects' narrative and challenge it because they present a contrasting narrative. At the same time, the fact that other witnesses are the sources of the information recorded strengthens the prosecutor's case in court. From a suspect's point of view, PORs are both restrictive and incriminating. Due to the length of these questions, suspects are more likely to forget that this is a question they need to respond to. In other words, it is problematic to answer the question with all the information that is built into it. Responses to these questions were all denials of the crime but they ranged from a denial + a shift of blame as in Example 8:

> Al-kalām da maḥaṣalš wa ʾana lam ʾamawituh wa huwwa īlli kān maʿahu al-silāḥ wa huwwa īllī ḍarabnī bi-l-silāḥ fī riglī wa ʾaḫūyā barḍu Aron maʿamalūš ḥāga wa miš huwwa īllī ʾataluh
>
> *This did not happen and I did not kill him and it was he who had the weapon and attacked me with it in my leg. And my brother, Aaron, also did not do anything to him and it was not him who killed him.*

to denials such as '*This is not true/ This did not happen*' or answers such as '*I do not know*' as in Example 9:

> al-kalām da maḥaṣalš wa ʾana maʾultiš al-kalām da
>
> *This did not happen and I did not say this.*

The shift of blame is a strategy we have referred to before in Chapters 5 and 6 and it shows how suspects continue to resist. However, it also shows how unaware they are of

how such questions will be used later in court. Based on the data extracts and the restrictive nature of PORs discussed in this section, it is clear that PORs are tools used by prosecutors not to gather information but to add specific incriminating details to the investigative record for future audiences, such as the judge and lawyers should the case go to court, regardless of the denial of the suspect.

7.6.2 Turn-final PORs

Turn-final PORs are similar to the turn-initial type (see section 7.6.1) in terms of the pragmatic function but they are different in form. As mentioned above they were not common on the data, but they play an interesting role in the discourse. As for structure, instead of having the *WH* part of the question in initial position, it comes at the end of the question (e.g. Example 10, lines 1-6). In most of the PORs, the prosecutors use metalinguistic verbs such as *say*, *respond* or nouns such as *response* which foreground the piece of information that is being communicated (Adel, 2006: 60). According to Mey (1998: 518), 'the metalinguistic use of the verb 'say' takes the utterance outside the actual situation-of-utterance and gives it a special discourse function' (i.e. that of a leading question). This current type of PORs is less problematic to answer than the first type because the *WH* tag at the end of the question makes it clear that this is a question and that it requires an answer.

(10)	[CORPT1]	
		قرر المتهم حبيب إبراهيم العادلي بالتحقيقات المتعلقة بوقائع التظاهر أن الاحتجاجات الشعبية تجاه النظام و سياساته بدأت منذ عام ٢٠٠٥ لسوء و تردي الأوضاع السياسية و الاقتصادية و الاجتماعية و لمشروع التوريث و زيادة حجم الفساد و طلب إسقاط النظام الحاكم، **فما ردك؟**
		qarar al-mutaham Habib Ibrahim El-Adli bi-l-taḥqīqāt al-mutaʕaliqa bi-waqāʾiʕ al-taẓāhor ʾann al-ʾiḥtigāgāt al-šaʕbiya tigāh al-niẓām wa siyāsātuh badaʾat mondo ʕām 2005 lisūʾ wa taradī al-awḍāʕ al-siyāsiya wa al-ʾiqtiṣādiya wa al-igtimāʕiya wa li-mašrūʕ al-tawrīṯ wa ziyādat ḥagm al-fasād wa ṭalab ʾisqāt al-niẓām al-ḥākim, famā radak?
		Stated the-suspect Habib Ibrahim El-Adly in-the-investigations the-related to-events the-demonstrations the-mass against the-regime and policies-its started-it since year 2005 because-of-degradation and deterioration the-conditions the-political and the-economic and the-social and because-of-plan the-bequeath-rule and increase amount the-corruption and demand toppling the-regime the-ruling, so-what response-your?
1 2 3 4 5	PR	*The accused Habib Ibrahim El-Adly mentioned in the investigations related to the events of demonstration that the mass protests against the regime and its policies started from 2005 for the degradation of political, economic, and social conditions, for the inheritance project scheme, the increase of corruption and the*

| 6 | | *demand for toppling the ruling regime, **so what is your response**?* |

Example 10 is an extract from Hosni Mubarak's interrogation in 2011 and he was being questioned about reasons for the revolution and protests that took place in January 2011. Mubarak before this extract denied having any knowledge about the protests. He even added that people were satisfied at the time and there are no reasons for their revolt. The prosecutor then follows up with the question in Example 10 where he uses Al Adly's, former Egyptian Minister of Interior, statement that the government at that time were aware of all the reasons for unrest in Egypt and that they took no precautions to stop them. Having the *WH* tag at the end of the question also makes the structure more controlling because it coerces the suspect to give an answer. This is clearly connected to what Bull (1994: 117) called an 'apparent conflict' between the question's syntactic form and its pragmatic role. Given that it is a question, it expects an answer, but the prosecutor is not waiting for this answer. He uses a POR as a final strategy after the suspect was resistant to his other questioning strategies. The prosecutor here is simply making a more institutionalized version of the interrogation record. So, the prosecutor's aim is to both record an alternative narrative and that the suspect did not answer the question.

PORs, generally, did not elicit additional details from most of the suspects: either they resist by using responses such as '*mahaşalš/ This did not happen*' or shift the blame to other people involved in the crime, which demonstrate that some suspects are not aware of the institutional pragmatic function of PORs. In other words, they do not realise that such an answer could harm their case more than help them, but the questions structurally coerce them to give a denial. Whereas, Mubarak's response to Example 10: '*This is basically incorrect because in 2005 we were performing constitutional reforms and the Ministry was changed at that time*' reveals that some suspects seem to realise the incriminating nature of the questions either due to their political training (e.g. Hosni Mubarak) or the advice of their lawyers (see Example 3 and 4). For example, in the Hosni Mubarak interrogations, the denial-only responses are only rarely found in relation to PORs. Instead, Mubarak decides to add an explanation to his denial. It has already been touched upon in Chapter 5 (section 5.5) that suspects' use of resistant emphatic responses harms their case because it emphasises their evasiveness and/or inability to answer. However, by adding an explanation, suspects were described to be the most resistant because not only do they reposition themselves as honest people, but also they reposition others as non-credible and show an awareness of the importance of

the information used in the record and its accessibility to future audiences (see Chapter 5, section 5.6 for detailed discussion.)

After categorising responses according to their degree of resistance in Chapter 5 (see Figure 5), I thought it is also important to categorise questions according to their degree of control and restriction. Figure 6 categorises questions discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 according to their pragmatic roles. Questions in Figure 6 are arranged from the least controlling (*yes/no and wh questions*: gather or confirm information) to the most controlling (Alternative narrative turn-final PORs). According to the pragmatic role questions play, suspects' responses also increased in resistance as they move down the figure.

Question	
↕	1. *yes/no and WH questions*: gather or confirm information 2. *And/wa-prefaced questions:* narrative building 3. *yes/no and WH questions*: implied accusations 4. *And/wa-prefaced questions*: evaluative questions 5. PORs:

	ii. *Formulaic PORs*
	    iii. *Turn-initial Alternative narrative PORs*
	    iv. *Turn-final Alternative narrative PORs*

Control	

Figure 6. Question control scale

For instance, when asked *yes/no and WH* questions, suspects were invited to provide their version of the story and their responses were long and narrative-like. *And/wa-*prefaced questions that aim at constructing the suspect's narrative are next in the control scale. They have the same role as the first category and are inviting suspects to respond, but the presence of the preface *and/wa* makes the question more challenging because the prosecutor is linking suspects' responses to his questions and is signalling the important details by the use of *and/wa* (Chapter 6, section 6.5*)*. When questions involve implied accusations (see Chapter 5, section 5.4), they are more challenging to the suspect because prosecutors embed presuppositions or imply incriminating details in their questions resulting in more resistant responses. Evaluative *and/wa*-prefaced questions (Chapter 6, section 6.6) take control a step further because prosecutors invite suspects to comment on conflicting details in their responses. Put On Record questions are the most controlling questions in the study due to their institutional role. Formulaic PORs ask suspects to respond to the charges, which is an essential step before the case file is used in court. Alternative narrative PORs do not expect an answer from suspects

and they are controlling because pragmatically they do not invite suspects to provide a narrative. On the contrary, they provide the prosecution's and complainant's narrative. The above analysis of responses and questions demonstrates that some answers are not asked to be answered (Bull, 1994) which was the starting point of this chapter. Prosecutors design them with their eyes on the future audiences and how they will receive such information. However, when suspects, such as Hosni Mubarak, answer them, they manage to strengthen their case and respond to the institutional alternative narrative. In the next section, I investigate the role of audience in the design of questions.

7.7   PORs and future audiences

In Chapter 5, future audiences and the role they play in the responses of suspects were analysed and in this chapter, the ways in which prosecutors direct their talk to future audiences is illustrated. Stokoe and Edwards (2008) state that interviewers directly address the tape or the record that will later be used by lawyers or the jury. While interviewers addressing the tape in front of interviewees makes them aware of the presence of future audiences, they might not know who the audiences are exactly and how they are going to use their statements (see Chapter 5). Haworth (2013) supports Stokoe and Edwards (2008) and adds that interviewers are aware of the existence of future audiences, or what she termed 'the overhearers', and she even considers them to be within the category of 'addressee' in terms of audience roles (see Chapter 3). Prosecutors in my data designed each of their PORs keeping in mind the aim of an interrogation record and the role it plays in the judicial process. Therefore, they designed such questions with the intention of recording the institutional version of events that evidentially builds up the prosecution case to be read and accessed by the judge and lawyers. Table 12 illustrates who prosecutors consider to be their main audiences when asking PORs and how they view suspects who receive these questions.

Table 13. Audience roles in PORs-Prosecutors

Audience roles	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Main Addressee: judge, lawyers	+	+	+
Marginalized Addressee: Suspects	+	+	+
Auditor: Clerk	+	+	+

Audience roles	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Eavesdropper	-	-	-

Even though PORs are asked by the prosecutor in the interrogation room, I argue that the prosecutor, as shown in this chapter, does not expect an answer from the suspect. Therefore, audience roles in Table 12 differ from Haworth's (2013) model (see Table 3). The main addressees for PORs become the judge and the lawyers who will be in the trial. They are addressed through the interrogation record and they are known, ratified and addressed by the prosecutor (3 +s). I argue that judges and lawyers are promoted to main addressees even though they are not present in the interrogation room. The suspect, on the other hand, gets demoted to the category of a marginalised addressee whose responses are not considered relevant at this point. Auditors (i.e. clerks) are also known and ratified (2 +s), but, unlike the case of suspects (see Tables 7 and 8), they are also addressed by the prosecutor (1 +). We have noted examples where the clerk is addressed by the prosecutor while he is taking down the record (see Chapter 4). Other than the demotion of suspects to the role of marginalised addressees, interrogation records in the current study had other signs that the prosecutor was addressing the record.

(11)		[BEAT] First suspect
		ما قولك فيما جاء بأقوال كل من شهود الواقعة في محضر جمع الاستدلالات المؤرخ في 2009/4/17 الساعة الثالثة مساءً والمحرر بمعرفة الملازم أول توم ضابط مباحث قسم [..] و هم كل من راين و كليف و هنري تلوناه عليه كاملاً تفصيلاً
		mā qawluk fīmā gāʾ bi-ʾaqwāl kullin min šuhūd al-wāqiʿa fī maḥḍar gamʿ al-ʾistidlālāt al-mūʾaraḫ fī 17/4/2009 al-sāʿa al-tālita masāʾan wa al-muḥarar bi-maʿrifat al-mulāzim ʾawal Tom ḍābiṭ mabāḥiṯ qism […] wa hum kullin min Ryan wa Cliff wa Henri **talawnāh ʿalayhi kāmilan tafṣīlan**
		What response-your about-what mentioned in-statements all of witnesses the-incident in report collect the-evidence the-dated in 17/4/2009 the-hour the-three PM and the-written with-knowledge the-lieutenant Tom officer investigation station the-[…] and they each of Ryan, Cliff and Henry we-read-it to-him full in-detail
1 2 3 4 5	PR	***What is your response to*** what was mentioned in the statements of all the incident's witnesses in the evidence collection report dated on 17/4/2009 at 3 pm which was written by lieutenant Tom, the investigation officer of [...] station and they are Ryan, Cliff and Henry. (***We read to him the full report and in detail***)
		الكلام ده محصلش و أنا لم أموته و هو اللي كان معه السلاح و هو اللي ضربني بالسلاح في رجلي و أخويا برضه أرون معملوش حاجة و مش هو اللي قتلة
		Al-kalām da maḥaṣalš wa ʾana lam ʾamawituh wa huwwa īlli kān maʿahu al-silāḥ wa huwwa īllī ḍarabnī bi-l-silāḥ fī riglī wa ʾaḫūyā barḍu Aron maʿamalūš ḥāga wa miš huwwa īllī ʾataluh

		The-word this not-happen and I not kill-him and he who had with-him the-weapon and he who attack-me with-the-weapon in leg-my and brother-my also Aaron not-do-to-him anything and not him who kill-him
6 7 8 9	S	*This did not happen and I did not kill him and it was he who had the weapon and attacked me with it in my leg. And my brother, Aaron, also did not do anything to him and it was not him who killed him*
		...
		ما قولك فيما جاء بمحضر التحريات المحرر بمعرفة الملازم أول توم ضابط مباحث قسم [...] في 2009/4/17 الساعة الرابعة والنصف مساءً تلوناه عليه
		mā qawluk fīmā gāʾ bi-maḥḍar al-taḥariyāt al-muḥarar bi-maʿrifat al-mulāzim ʾawal Tom ḍābit mabāḥiṯ qism […] fī 17/4/2009 al-sāʿa al-rābiʿa wa al-niṣf masāʾan **talawnāh ʿalayh**
		What response-your about-what stated in-report the-investigations the-written with-knowledge the-general Tom officer investigation station […] the-dated 17/4/2009 the-hour the-four and the-half night (read-it-we to-him
10 11 12 13	PR	*What is your response to what was stated in the investigation report that was written by knowledge of the general Tom, the investigation officer of [...] station on 17/4/2009 4:30 at night (**we read to him**)*

In Example 11, when the prosecutor introduces witness statements to suspects or any pieces of evidence that he wants the suspect to comment on, he uses phrases as in lines 5 and 13: 'talawnāh ʿalayhi kāmilan tafṣīlan'/ *'We read to him the full report and in detail'*. In cases like Example 11, the prosecutor could be seen as following the hierarchy of audience roles shown in Table 12. He addresses his talk to the main addressees represented in the judge and defence lawyers, who will check the procedures followed by the prosecutor.

Analysis of audience roles is essential, because it illustrates the important role future audiences play in the shaping of interrogation records and in the judicial process as a whole. They are responsible for the case once it leaves the interrogation room and hence they are invited in as main addressees at points. Therefore, I think that prosecutors need to make suspects more aware of who their future audiences are and why they are addressed during the interrogation in some kind of caution or right to silence statement (see Chapter 8). This, for example, will make questions such as PORs and statements as the ones in Example 11 less opaque.

7.8   Conclusion

The fact that interrogation records are very important as a legal document in the courtroom, including the Egyptian courtroom, explains why prosecutors pay special

attention to certain details that need to go on record. According to Drew (1992: 476), 'talk's production for an overhearing audience can 'shape' the management of sequences and the interactional work achieved in them'. In addition, Coulthard (1996) and Aldridge and Luchjenbroers (2007) investigated how speakers include information in their speech for the future audiences which affects the style and the information recorded on the record which has important consequences for hearers both in interrogation and courtroom settings (see Chapter 3). Future audiences in my data are represented by judges and lawyers: prosecutors use PORs to highlight key details on the record for them to have easy access.

In terms of form and structure, PORs has two types of form: turn-initial and turn-final PORs. In turn-initial questions, the most prevelant type of PORs in my data, the WH-question and the metadiscursive nouns come at the beginning of the question. Turn-final PORs is the second form of PORs in the data and they are characterised by ending with a WH-question and metadiscursive noun and these were used with professional suspects only (i.e. Hosni Mubarak, Alaa Mubarak and Embezzlement case 1). Both types of structures have proven to be problematic to answer due to the level of detail found in the questions. Due to their loaded nature, suspects find it difficult to differentiate which elements they need to respond to. In terms of pragmatic functions, PORs were categorised into two types of functions: formulaic and alternative narrative. Formulaic PORs aimed to make suspects aware of their accusations and make sure they understand them. In addition, they aimed to record for the future audiences that suspects were informed of their accusations. Alternative narrative PORs, on the other hand, aimed to put on record the institution's narrative which weakens the suspect's case and builds the prosecution case.

The prosecutor's aim in this case is dual: he wants to put on record both the alternative witness narrative embedded in his question and that the suspects did not answer the question. These results make us revisit Bull's (1994) claim that some questions are designed not to be answered. Prosecutors, by asking PORs, do not expect suspects to give specific details. Rather, they want to record a certain version of events that contradicts that of the suspect. To respond to PORs, suspects generally gave minimal answers such as '*I do not know/remember*' to such questions, which suggests that they are unaware of how such questions harm their cases in court. However, suspects with high-status who were asked turn-initial PORs responded to them using explanations and long answers and attempted to shift the blame away from them,

showing their awareness of the incriminating nature of the question. While it is normal for prosecutors to build a narrative that strengthens the institutional case in court, I believe that PORs are opaque, at the moment, because they do not invite suspects to respond. In addition, suspects are not made aware of future audiences and why prosecutors are putting these details on record. Therefore, I recommend that prosecutors use cautions or even prefaces to PORs to help suspects understand how their statements will be used by future audiences.

CHAPTER 8: Discussion and Conclusion

8.1   Discussion

This study has investigated the discursive practices of both prosecutors and suspects in Egyptian interrogations to contribute to the field of forensic linguistics generally and the field of interrogations more specifically. Analysis of these practices brings us back to the central aim of this thesis discussed in Chapter 1: to challenge and change public perception of Egyptian interrogations, which are currently opaque. By investigating the everyday mundane questioning and response tactics and by highlighting the importance of a close linguistic study of the interrogation context, this thesis opens up the discussion about Egyptian interrogations and the important role prosecutors play. The study can be situated within the literature on institutional discourse and demonstrates how qualitative discourse study provides new insights and builds on previous findings. From a theoretical point of view, the study has identified both a range of suspect resistance strategies and prosecutor patterns of control and power; it has also emphasised the role of the record-making system in Egypt and the kinds of textual travel that the interrogation undergoes from oral conversation to judicial record; and it has revealed the important role of audience in the process of conducting and recording interrogations. Therefore, the current study is a contribution to the field of discourse analysis, pragmatics, institutional talk and the field of language and the law more generally. These contributions were discussed in the thesis, but they are worth summarising here in the conclusion.

Researchers interested in police interviewing emphasise that such interviews are 'non-accusatory' and are a fair and impartial information gathering stage in the judicial process (Oxburgh et al., 2016: 148). Interviews are described as a means to get reliable information from interviewees 'to assist in the overall strategic decision-making process to decide if there is sufficient and reliable evidence to proceed with the enquiry' (Oxburgh et al., 2016: 148). Impartiality, as suggested by the analysis in this thesis, is a challenging task that faces prosecutors because there is a continuous tension between their institutional role of getting accurate information and 'best' evidence and the need to act on behalf of victims and complainants, as well as regarding the rights of suspects. The use of protocols and questioning procedures during interrogations have been suggested as means of making interrogations transparent but also they are 'insurances' (Yoong, 2010: 703) that prosecutors are not accused of any misconduct and/or that

suspects are not mistreated during the process of interrogation (see section 3.4.1). However, such protocols do not always prevent biased interviewing as in the UK cases of Jimmy Savile and Ian Watkins, where the media exposed the alleged police bias against complainants and in favour of the celebrity suspect (Smith, 2013; BBC, 2017).

Recently, forensic linguists have also focused on the importance of questions in interrogations and their aim in the legal process (Oxburgh et al., 2016). Moreover, they have investigated the continuous existence of subjectivity in records even with the introduction of audio-recordings affecting the aim of interrogations. What has been noted throughout this thesis is that guilty suspects are not expected to confess from the start and prosecutors, on the other hand, are trained to collect evidence for the institutional case record and to use language and questions to push suspects to get this evidence (see chapters 6 and 7) without mistreating the suspects. In other words, analysis discusses how prosecutors and their everyday questioning tactics transform evidence into an institutionally acceptable version. In this study, it is proposed that questions are used to elicit evidentially detailed narratives (Chapter 6) that are valuable for the prosecution, and are also evaluative tools of suspects' narratives and responses. Moreover, they were found to put alternative narratives on record (Chapter 7) transforming evidence to that more supportive of the prosecution case. These are undoubtedly powerful tactics with a strong prosecution bias. While these tactics show prosecutors to hold a more powerful status during the interrogation, data analysis has also demonstrated that suspects resisted prosecutors' power and negotiated the information recorded by prosecutors (Chapter 5).

Throughout this thesis, it has been discussed that the use of a qualitative discourse pragmatic approach can give substantial insight when dealing with hand-written records. The records, even though limiting, can be used to investigate the effectiveness of questioning strategies and suspects' reactions to them. There has been an ongoing discussion of the shortcomings of using qualitative methods, but in cases where it is difficult to use quantitative methods due to the quality and the form of the data, qualitative analysis gives a detailed linguistic perspective on the nature of interaction. Analysis reveals that the while prosecutors have power and control in the interrogation room, interrogations are still places for negotiation and a struggle for control over which version of events gets recorded on the interrogation record. Prosecutors' question designs were found to be mainly addressing future audiences for whom they are building a damaging image of the suspects (e.g. PORs in Chapter 7). In

both Chapters 6 and 7, questions were designed to both challenge the suspect's story and to support the institutional alternative version of events recorded by prosecutors. The analysis also shows that questions were designed to record information that suits the agenda of the prosecutors. The next section discusses the significance of the methodology used.

8.2   Significance of findings

In Chapter 1 (section 1.5), the methodology used in the present study was described as data-driven rather than a single-theory driven study. Results of this study have shown that using a data-driven, mixed-methods methodology may be the 'best way' forward when analysing data that is limited in ways such as that analysed in this study (see Chapter 4 for more details). Since this study investigates the language of interrogations in a new language (i.e. Arabic) and in a new context (e.g. Egypt), I did not want to use a single methodology or focus on pre-selected or limited aspects of the data. Choosing a specific method would have limited the analysis and the findings because it would have focused the attention on a given task or feature. Choosing a data-driven methodology allowed for a wider perspective because analysis worked bottom up. In other words, linguistic features found in interrogation data and the theoretical and methodological frameworks discussed in the study were decided after the data was closely considered. Data-driven methodology was used in other interrogation related studies (e.g. Harris, 2009; Heydon, 2005). Both Harris (2009:340) and Heydon (2005) recommended this mixed-method approach where linguistic theories are more 'toolkits' that are combined to give a 'richer and more rounded picture'.

Adopting a purely conversation analysis (CA) approach would have been optimal to describe the interaction and how different participants construct their narrative in an interrogation. However, due to the lack of audio- or audio-visual recordings in the Egyptian context, using CA was impossible to use and on its own. However, I did use CA research to inform my study and develop my analysis. CA, however, would not have given insight into the role of future audiences and the socio-legal context in Egypt. I was also aware of and keen to use corpus linguistic methods, but due to the fact that the data was collected in hand-written form, it was also difficult to carry out a purely corpus linguistic analysis. An ethnographic method, which would have been revealing, was not suitable, also, because of the nature of the topic and the unavailability of participants who are willing to invite a linguist in their interrogation

rooms. Using a mixed-method approach, on the other hand, has allowed me to use the important aspects and tools from each method. In the present study, a discourse pragmatic method combined with interactional sociolinguistics was used to discuss how different speakers construct their narratives, how they signal their power and the role of future audiences in the construction of narratives and its effect on the discourse.

Interactional sociolinguistics as a method allows for the use of a mix of other methods. For example, I have relied on pragmatic tools to explain the function *and/wa* prefaces play in an interrogation setting. Pragmatics was also used to analyse the different function of '*I do not know*' responses and their roles. It has also allowed me to draw on discourse analysis tools when looking at the lexical choices of both interrogators and suspects and how they negotiated the information and meaning. The study has also dealt with the concept of institutional discourse where discourse analytic tools together with CA tools were also used when looking at topic selection, the structure of talk and the form and function of questions. Corpus tools were used to validate and enrich the qualitative analysis. More importantly, interactional sociolinguistics takes into account the setting of the social interaction, and it has allowed me to look into the interrogation culture and history in the Egyptian context and to take into account how different suspects construct their identities through their narratives.

To sum up, a mixed-method discourse analytic approach was used to investigate the Egyptian interrogation context, with the aim to make this legal context less opaque to the public and analyse the everyday mundane questioning techniques. I think that these aims were met in this thesis. Egyptian interrogations were analysed with special focus on the questioning strategies used by prosecutors and analysis produced recommendations to improve and develop interrogations in Egypt. As is discussed in the next section, findings could be applied to practitioners working in different fields such as doctors, social workers, classrooms and so forth where institutional discourse is at play. Moreover, this study is not only of use for researchers interested in legal contexts. Findings (as discussed in the next section) are also important for linguists and Arabic linguists, in particular, who are interested in questions, question forms and their pragmatic functions and implications, as seen in Chapter 6. Another strength of this study is that both the methodology and findings could be applied to many wider contexts which deal with interviews such as media and job interviews. Therefore, this

study is an addition to both practical and theoretical fields. The next section discusses the findings of the analysis chapters and how the study adds to the existing literature.

8.3   Summary of results

Chapter 4 exposes the processes of recording Egyptian interrogations, making them less opaque. The chapter discusses the different processes that shape the production of interrogation records and the challenges of analysing this record. It, first, illustrated how the record is transformed from a spoken form (that of prosecutors and suspects) to a written one (that of the clerk). The presence of a clerk in the interrogation room and the possible effect he has on the record were also investigated. The argument that records taken contemporaneously in an interrogation room are verbatim records and true representations of the discourse happening during an interrogation is an idealised argument. Linguists who have dealt with such records (e.g. Coulthard, 1996 who studied problematic cases of police interviews in the UK that occurred before the introduction of audio-recording) noted the various manipulations in the record due to the lack of clear guidelines on record making or even deliberate manipulations that led to miscarriages of justice. The subjectivity of information recorded was also found in countries such as the Netherlands, which audio-record their interviews (Komter, 2012). In addition, the fact that the clerks responsible for the interrogation record are not linguistically trained was pointed out, as well as some of the consequences of leaving out important linguistic features such as overlaps, pauses and interruptions from the record. The hand-written records examined here make it difficult to know whether the transcript represents the exact utterances of participants or whether the clerk made any changes to the record. I have highlighted different linguistic features that characterise Egyptian interrogation records such as the use of legal language, shift of registers and punctuation. Based on the discussion in this chapter, this study opens up a new research context for other researchers to look at and discuss. The chapter points out how interrogations could be analysed both in the Egyptian and other contexts using a discourse pragmatic method with an interactional sociolinguistic angle, a method that would allow researchers getting involved in a qualitative analysis of sensitive and politically loaded texts to deal with them in an objective and reliable way. It has also situated the thesis amongst the studies related to textual travel and builds on these, showing the different ways that an analyst could deal with such 'travels' in their data.

Chapter 5 deals with the concept of resistance in Egyptian interrogations by focusing on one of the frequent response patterns: '*I do not know*'. This chapter identified a frequent resistance strategy employed by suspects during interrogations and examines whether the use of resistance is productive in stating suspects' points of view on the record or whether these are dismissed by interrogators. The chapter also tests Harris' (1991) scale of evasion in the context of interrogations. Most importantly, it studies the context in which suspects felt the need to be resistant, the questions that trigger them and how effective the strategy is in producing a reliable record. To do this, all eighteen case records were used as a corpus, representing Egyptian interrogations, against which suspects' resistance was tested. Overall, results of this chapter support previous literature that finds that suspects are expected to resist and evade incriminating questions. However, from investigating response strategies in the data, it becomes clear that suspects do not only resist and evade, but also emphasise their stance and resistance by using responses such as '*I do not know*', particularly when they use '*I do not know*' while giving supplementary explanations. In addition, suspects have used different resistance strategies to maintain their honest and innocent status in relation to the alleged crimes, depending on the kinds of questions asked.

In respect of the questions asked, my findings are that the degree and strength of resistance differs according to the restriction and control found in the questions posed. In particular, focus was on three main question types in the data, '*do you know*', '*questions with implied accusations*' and '*POR*' questions, all of which, it was found, result in different kinds of resistance from suspects. In the case of '*do you know*' questions, it was found that the wording of the question affects how resistant a suspect could be. For instance, when answering '*do you know*' questions, suspects were found to follow up their '*I do not know*' responses with longer explanations (than in the other types) making it seem as though they are responding cooperatively to the question, while actually resisting its intent. As for '*questions with implied accusations*', it was found that suspects considered them to be more challenging questions because prosecutors embedded in their questions implied accusations that weaken suspects' narratives and hence weaken their credibility when the case moves to court. In this section, suspects were found to use of shift of blame in addition to '*I do not know*' responses as an emphasis on resistance to embedded accusations. With PORs, suspects were the most resistant due to the controlling nature of the question.

Overall, the study of all the different '*I do not know*' responses reveals that even when suspects were asked questions with a fairly similar structure such as PORs or '*do you know*' questions, they were found to respond differently. For example, the responses ranged from '*I do not know*' and '*I was not informed*' to '*I do not know*' with an explanation tagged onto it. A closer look at the latter feature, '*I do not know*' with explanation, revealed that resistance is also closely related to suspects' awareness of the importance of the information that goes on the interrogation record and how well trained they are in the legal system either because of their education, status or lawyer advice. This was especially obvious in the case of professional suspects such as Hosni Mubarak and his sons, Alaa and Gamal, who were well-informed about the legal field. In contrast to worker suspects, when the Mubaraks were asked a POR they provided long answers offering a counter narrative, showing their awareness of the consequences of the prosecutors' narrative embedded in the question. Suspects in embezzlement cases 1 and 2 also shared this awareness, because of their high status and their educational background. Overall, results in this chapter support the argument that 'the concept of evasions' is to perform damage control or resistance to damaging inferences (Clayman, 2201; Harris, 1991). In addition, it shows how resistance is a 'normal procedure' caused by the design of questions and their 'adversarial' nature (Clayman, 2001: 403). The strength of the analysis produced in this chapter is that it makes us return to the idea of the negotiation of power in institutional discourse (Heydon, 2005). The existence of such negotiation tactics as a norm in Egyptian interrogations might help change the public perception of what goes on in the interrogation room. Suspects having competence in such linguistic strategies allows them to record their own perspective on the record.

What has been shown throughout the analysis of Chapter 5 is that even though I am working with a hand-written interrogation record, which could be limiting, performing a discourse pragmatic analysis on the data does help identify and highlight interactional patterns in the data. Chapters 6 and 7 take a closer look at the functions of two types of question in Egyptian interrogations. The analysis of the data in these two chapters did not simply depend on classifying questions according to their syntactic forms, but also required me to analyse the pragmatic function that lies behind the prosecutors' choice of using a certain question form, an approach used by other researchers such as Harris (1991). Chapter 6 built on the findings of Chapter 5 and used a discourse pragmatic method to reveal/uncover the pragmatic roles *and/wa*-prefaced

questions play in the data. *And/wa* was investigated in a new context for Arabic, namely interrogations, with a special focus on its legal significance. *And/wa* as a linking word in the Arabic linguistics literature is described as the being the most common device and its role in writing is thus considered to be redundant and non-significant, unlike other conjunctions (see section 6.2). Findings in Chapter 6 argue for a more important and essential role for *and/wa* in institutional discourse. Other than its use as a linking word, *and/wa* is used as both a narrative building and evaluative tool. In other words, prosecutors use it to preface questions that aim to invite suspects to give their own version of the narrative, which is later challenged by the prosecutors. These challenges are used to build an evidentially valuable narrative that is important to the institution, such as indication of the intentions of the suspects and their cognitive state at the time of the crime. *And/wa* is also found to be used as an evaluative marker, which signals the stage where the prosecutor begins to challenge a suspect's version of the narrative and starts to transform it into a narrative that fits his interrogating agenda: casting doubt on the suspect's narrative and making him seem more culpable. In this chapter, the negotiation taking place between suspects and prosecutors over what information needs to be foregrounded in the interrogation record starts to get clearer. *And/wa* in the evaluative phase signals a relationship of conflict between what a suspect claims in his narrative and the prosecutor's hypothesised narrative. This finding contributes to and augments the literature that investigates *and* and *so* prefaces in discourse.

The use of *and/wa*-prefaced questions in this study supports the view of prefaces as marks of judgement or evaluation of information (Heritage 1994), as signs of connection between interaction links (Heritage, 1998) and signs that the interrogator's evaluation of information is an attempt by him to transform information on the record to better suit his agenda (Johnson, 2008). Some of the evaluative markers found in the data are words such as '*sabab'/ 'reason', 'iṣrārak'/ 'insist'*. These markers have a dual role in the discourse: first they make 'explicit' relations between turns (Hoey, 1994: 67) and they also implicitly attempt to weaken the suspect's credibility (Chapter 6, Example 7, lines 12-13). This questioning strategy, while challenging and incriminating, still invites suspects to share their own version of events and expects an answer from suspects. The use of *and/wa*-prefaced questions results in long and detailed narratives from suspects, revealing them as part of productive questioning technique used by prosecutors to invite suspects to negotiate over the evidence being recorded by the clerk. While prosecutors are seen to pursue their institutional goals, suspects are not left out of the process and

instead, they are invited to respond to the questions. This interactional feature of *and/wa*-prefaced questions emphasises the strategic quality (Thornborrow, 2005) of interrogations and how questioning strategies help prosecutors fulfil their goals. In addition, results contribute new information on their use in Arabic, adding to existing research on prefaced questions in English and other languages in other institutional contexts.

Chapter 7 shifted focus from questions that aim at constructing narratives, or highlighting contradicting details in a suspect's narrative, to a less inviting and restrictive type of question: Put on Record questions. Analysing PORs was an interesting and thought-provoking section of the current study. It discusses the ongoing conflict between the interrogation record as a representation of the institutional voice on the one hand, where the prosecutor is responsible for presenting and supporting a narrative other than that of suspects, and the calls for having impartial interviews where suspects are truly given a voice and are treated as individuals and not just a means to follow an institutional agenda on the other. Data in Chapter 7 provides a useful development in direction for the analysis in Chapters 5 and 6. While examples in 5 and 6 show how suspects are generally invited to give their narratives and also resist giving incriminating information, examples in Chapter 7 show the institutionally powerful side of questions. PORs do not invite suspects to answer. They record the institutional version of events that will be dealt with in more detail during the trial phase. PORs were found to join phases of evidence gathering and of institutional undermining of suspect narratives. In adversarial systems, such as in the UK, these phases take place separately, where police officers collect evidence and suspects are later examined in the interview and court as to the value of the evidence collected. They are first asked to give their own narrative with minimal interruption and only questioning that aims to develop that narrative and then the questioning/interrogation stage which challenges problematic aspects of the suspect's story in relation to other witnesses and the complainant(s). With PORs, prosecutors state the institutional version of evidence, which at the same time challenges suspects' narratives. Having questions that aim to record an alternative narrative caused me to reflect on the concept of negotiation of power and control in institutional discourse. While in the first two analysis chapters, through their own strategies, suspects are found to be able to negotiate which information gets recorded, in the last chapter prosecutors do not aim to negotiate. On the contrary, towards the end of interviews when other questioning strategies have been exploited and failed, prosecutors

simply record their versions taking the power and voice away from suspects. The focus in this stage of interrogation is on the future audiences and the future of the record for that matter, rather than being on the suspects and impartiality. Results have also shown that suspects with a political background or with legal advice were at advantage when faced by PORs because they were aware of the strategy used and continued to try and modify the narrative that finally gets stated on the record. These all have implications for the usefulness of the record, access to equal justice, and the strategies currently used in interrogations in Egypt discussed in the next section.

To sum up, the discussion of this study's findings has demonstrated that the study and the methodologies used to analyse the data have helped reveal the complex nature of the hand-written interrogation record, the role of textual travel and the many contributors to the actual interrogation record. It has also highlighted the highly inter-connected processes of responding and questioning and revealed the close relationship they have. In undertaking the analysis, I have looked at patterns, even if they were not so frequent, that help explain the Egyptian interrogation process and that can feed into future studies on interrogations.

8.4   Strengths and Weaknesses

One of the strengths of the current study is the fact that it investigates a variety of case types. Rather than dealing with two or three cases using a case study approach, I have made the choice to carry out a data-driven study using transcripts of different crimes. Given that the study of language and the law is still a budding field in the Arabic speaking world, I believe that using a data-driven approach is vital at this stage. This approach allowed me to gain more insights into Egyptian interrogations, especially suspect interrogations, and to analyse the common linguistic patterns found in this genre. It has also allowed for discussing the discursive features found in the data, their effect on the discourse and their functions. Comparing these features in different case types provides useful information to inform and train interrogators on the effectiveness of their questioning strategies.

In this study, reference has been made to the different discursive features that are used both by prosecutors and suspects. Examples of these are the use of *and/wa-*prefaced questions, the use of Put On Record questions and 'I do not know' responses. Analysis of such features has revealed the structure and functions of Egyptian interrogations in relation to different criminal cases and categories of suspect. It is worth

noting, however, that the findings of this study are not restricted to the Egyptian context per se. The methodology and analysis used in the current study are applicable to other Arab contexts, for example, and also internationally. I believe that the findings are relevant and applicable to all studies investigating interrogations, questioning strategies and issues of resistance and control. This brings us to another reason for the strength of the current study, which is the use of more than one perspective to approach the data, namely discourse analysis, pragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics. Approaching the data using knowledge from these different but related fields allowed for analysing interrogations more fully and identifying aspects such as the role of future audiences and their effect on questions and responses. This has also affected the generalizability of the findings.

They have also helped me pinpoint the challenges in my data, such as dealing with transcripts (Chapter 4), and how to handle them. I have learnt to accept the limitations of my data and how to make use of the linguistic patterns in my dataset even if they are not audio-recorded. Third, while not being a legal professional presents challenges, it also allows me to look at the data from a different perspective rather than simply focusing on formalities and legal procedures. For example, this is how the use of *and/wa*-prefaced questions and PORs came to my attention. This highlights the importance of the use of linguistic experts in the legal fields in Egypt and worldwide. In addition, I want to raise the awareness of the importance of informing and training prosecutors on questioning and the limitations of transcripts and how they affect the information passed on to judges and lawyers.

8.5 Contributions and implications

8.5.1 Contributions

In Chapter 3, I discuss how some studies focus more on the best strategies to be used to gather information from suspects and witnesses (Oxburgh et al., 2010). The strength of this study, however, is that it does not focus on what is the optimum practice. Instead, it developed a methodology to analyse what prosecutors actually use in their everyday mundane interrogations. In other words, the emphasis is on the norm and not the ideal, which aims to be more helpful and useful for informing prosecutors about the strategies they are actually using and whether they need development or improvement. Another advantage of focusing on the norm is to help familiarise the public with what takes place in interrogations and makes the process less opaque through media coverage and

academic debates. This transparency will help open up discussion of the existing strategies and might eventually lead to change in the image of prosecution in the eyes of the public. This study has also aimed to discuss the important role prosecutors play in the legal system. They are legally responsible for representing the voices of victims and complainants and for pursuing the institution's goals. At the same time, they are required to make sure that suspects' rights are respected in the process of building their case. By clarifying this tension between the institutional record and victims' and suspects' rights, the study opens up for discussion and further research the roles of prosecutors, tactics they use, and their effect on suspects' responses.

Because the study aims to have a social impact, once data was collected, prosecutors and human rights NGOs were contacted to explore the possibility of sharing the project's findings and using them in any formal training that lawyers, police officers and junior prosecutors undergo. Some prosecutors have informally expressed their willingness to use the results in their work; however, they stated that prosecutors do not usually get any training about how to question suspects and that such knowledge is developed through experience, which is another challenge. Moreover, several institutions such as El Nadeem Centre in Egypt, an NGO that deals with rights of detainees and victims of rape and abuse, were contacted and they have agreed to share my results with their volunteers and lawyers. The main social change that I hope my study will have on the system is to shed light on the importance of linguistic training for prosecutors and any legal professionals and that such training could improve the questioning techniques and the roles and rights of both the interviewer and interviewee. In April 2016, El Nadeem Centre was closed down and they were asked to stop their line of work, which might affect the willingness of people responsible to work with me for training purposes. Nevertheless, this does not totally negate the social impact of the present study; some judges and prosecutors might read the study and try to implement some of the changes themselves. In addition, since the aim is to change public perception, I might try to approach the media to discuss findings of the study and the importance of Forensic Linguistics as a field, following successful public dissemination in other countries, such as a recent parliamentary briefing in the UK that discussed forensic linguistics and its scientific value (Forensic Linguistics (Standards) Bill 2015-16). It is also useful to share with other Arabic-speaking countries findings of the study to encourage more future research and discussion and also with, for example, the UK,

Australia, and USA who could find the techniques revealed in the project useful for training police officers.

8.5.2 Implications and recommendations

This thesis is considered to be a call for the importance of linguistic training for both prosecutors and clerks. One of the interesting findings of the study is the fact that suspects such as Hosni Mubarak respond more fully to questions and were more aware of the degrees of control. I argue that this is due to either their involvement in the political field, which has introduced them to such awareness, or to their consultation of lawyers who advise them how to respond and maintain their non-guilty image. Therefore, I suggest that interrogators need to make suspects more aware of the future audiences and how some of the questions are meant to clarify details for these future audiences. This will help, for example, make questions such as PORs less opaque to suspects and will probably be more inviting for suspects to respond more fully, making the record more impartial. On a related note, I also suggest that both prosecutors and clerks need to be made more aware of the linguistic power that is present in their language. In their training process, if they receive any (see Chapter 2), emphasis is put on the legal and psychological side more than on linguistics. However, I believe that language is equally if not more important in the process of producing an effective and vauable interrogation record. Therefore, I believe that sharing with prosecutors information about how their questions' design has a great effect on suspect responses could inform how they might ask questions in later interrogation sessions.

Based on the analysis and results, I also believe that a concept similar to a caution or Miranda Rights is needed in Egypt. If suspects are warned by police officers who arrest them that anything they say can be used in evidence and that they have a right to silence, this may make it clearer to suspects the journey that their statements make and how they can be used in court. This brings us back to the concept of making the judicial system less opaque. However, the process is not that simple; much research in Europe and the US has demonstrated that suspects do not fully understand cautions and are not aware of what they mean in the justice system (e.g. Ainsworth, 2008; 2010; Rock, 2007). So this thesis opens up discussion of the introduction of a caution in Egypt and more research is needed on how this could affect the interrogation process.

The study also advocates the importance of having audio- or even video-recordings of interrogations. Even though the discourse pragmatic method used was

able to point out important features in Egyptian interrogations, the records are limited in nature. In Chapter 4, we noted the different linguistic features, such as high and low register and legal terms and punctuation, that participants are recorded as using. Not having an audio- or video-recording of the events taking place in the interrogation room makes it impossible to have a clear analysis or explanation of the linguistic choices made in the record, hence leading to speculation regarding whether such linguistic choices were the result of clerks or participants. What I aim to achieve by this study is to raise prosecutors' awareness of the usefulness of their current recording methods and of the interrogation record as it is now. What I mean by 'usefulness' here relates to whether the outcome of the process is reliable as a record in trials even from the point of view of a defence lawyer, who I do not really deal with in this study, but is one of the future audiences of the record. I suggest the need for revisiting the effects of working with just a hand-written record as opposed to records made from recordings. The use of contemporaneous notes can lead to omissions or changes, due to lack of awareness and the many co-narrators contributing to the record of the suspect's interview, such as the clerk, prosecutor and even translators, depending on the case. I recommend future research comparing the original discourse in the interrogation room, prosecutors' questions and what is recorded by clerks on the record. This would allow analysts to have a better understanding of, for instance, any common omissions, the textual travel and how interchanges between prosecutors and suspects are formulated by the clerk to fit the institutional agenda. Another important field of research is the clerk himself. The system of choosing clerks and the training they receive is very opaque at the moment. I believe that the more research done on their roles and their training, the more insight the institution will get about their practices. More research also needs to be done on the nature of the recording system and what other systems could be used to get better results such as audio- or video-recordings.

8.6   Conclusion

In the conclusion of this study, I want to go back to Svartik's (1968) quote on the effect forensic linguists could have on society in Chapter 3. I believe the study of interrogations and prosecution practices has a direct impact on society because it offers some suggestions for developing legal communication and making it more accessible and understandable. Even though I was working with what might be considered a limited text, the discourse pragmatic method used for analysis was able to identify the

complexities of the text and reasons for the conflict between suspects' and prosecutors' narratives.

References

Agar, M. 1985. Institutional discourse. *Text*. **5**(3), pp.147-168.

Ainsworth, J.E. 1993. In a different register: the pragmatics of powerlessness in police interrogation. *Yale law journal.* **103**(2), pp.259-322.

Ainsworth, J.E. 2008. "You have the right to remain silent… but only if you ask for it just so": the role of linguistic ideology in American police interrogation law. *International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law.* **15**(1), pp.1-22.

Ainsworth, J.E. 2010. Miranda rights. Curtailing coercion in police interrogation: the failed promise of Miranda v Arizona. In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The Routledge handbook of forensic linguistics.* London: Routledge, pp.111-125.

Ainsworth, J.E. 2014. *Lost in translation? Linguistic diversity and the elusive quest for plain meaning in the law*. In: Cheng, L., Kui Sin, K. and Wagner, A. eds. *The Ashgate handbook of legal translation*. England: Ashgate, pp.43-56.

Aldridge, M. and Cameron, S. 1999. Interviewing child witnesses: questioning strategies and the effectiveness of training. *Applied developmental science*. **3,** pp.136-147.

Aldridge, M. and Luchjenbroers, J. 2007. Linguistic manipulations in legal discourse: framing questions and 'smuggling' information. *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law*. **14**(1), pp.85-107.

Aldridge, M and Luchjenbroers, J. 2008. Vulnerable witnesses and problems of portrayal: a considerations of videotaped police interviews in child rape cases. *Journal of English Linguistics.* **36**(3), pp.266-284.

Alfahad, A. 2015. Equivocation in Arabic news interviews. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. **35**(2), pp.206-223.

Al Saeed, N. [Forthcoming]. Egyptian interrogation records: considerations for translation. In: Hanna, S.F, El-Farahaty, H. and Khalifa, A. eds. *The Routledge handbook of Arabic translation.* London: Routledge.

Al Saeed, N. [Forthcoming]. The language of Egyptian interrogations: a study of suspects' resistance of implicatures and presuppositions in prosecution questions. In: Kurzon, D. and Kryk-Kastovsky, B. eds. *Legal pragmatics.* John Benjamins publishing.

Alshamrani, H. 2011. *Diglossia in Arabic TV stations. Journal of King Saud University-Languages and Translation*. **24**(1), pp.57-69.

Anees, I. 1966. *Min asrar Al-lugha.* Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop.

Archer, D. 2005. *Questions and Answers in the English Courtroom (1640-1740): a sociopragmatic analysis.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Atkinson, J. M. and Drew, P. 1979. *Order in Court: The organisation of verbal interaction in judicial settings*. London: Macmillan.

Auburn, T., Drake, S. and Willig, C. 1995. "You punched him, didn't you?": versions of violence in accusatory interviews. *Discourse and Society.* **6**(3), pp.353-386.

Badawi, E. 1973. *Mustawayat al-arabiyya al-mu'assira fi misr*. Cairo: Dar Al-Ma'arif.

Badawi, E., Carter, M.G. and Gully, A. 2004. *Modern written Arabic: a comprehensive grammar.* London: Routledge.

Baldwin, J. 1985. The police and tape recorders. *Criminal Law Review.* [1985], pp.695-704.

Bassiouney, R. 2009. *Arabic sociolinguistics: topics in diglossia, gender, identity, and politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp.9-27.

BBC. 2017. Ian Watkins child abuse: South Wales police criticised. [Online]. [Accessed 30 August 2017. Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-41039284 .

Beach, W.A. and Metzger, T. 1997. Claiming insufficient knowledge. *Human Communication Knowledge.* **23**(40), pp.562-588.

Bednarek, M. 2008. *Evaluation in media discourse: analysis of a newspaper corpus*. London: Continuum.

Belal, A. 2013. *Principles of the Egyptian criminal law: the general part.* Cairo: Dar Al Nahda Al Arabiya.

Bell, A. 1984. Language style as audience design. *Language in Society.* **13**, pp.145-204.

Benneworth, K. 2009. Police interviews with suspected paedophiles: a discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society.* **20**(5), pp.555-569.

Benneworth, K. 2010. Sexual offences. Negotiating paedophilia in the investigative interview: the construction of sexual offences against children. In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The Routledge handbook of forensic linguistics.* London: Routledge, pp.139-154.

Berk-Seligson, S. 2009. *Coerced confessions: the discourse of bilingual police interrogations.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bernard-Maugiron, N. 2008. *Judges and political reform in Egypt.* Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Blommaert, J. 2005. *Discourse: a critical introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bolden, G.B. 2010. Articulating the unsaid via and-prefaced formulations of others' talk. *Discourse Studies.* **12**(1), pp.5-32.

Bucholtz, M. 2000. The politics of transcription. *Journal of Pragmatics*. **32**, 1439-1465.

Bull, P. and Mayer, K. 1993. How not to answer questions in political interviews. *Political Psychology.* **14**, 651-666.

Bull, P. 1994. On identifying questions, replies and non-replies in political interviews. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology.* **13**, pp. 115-131.

Butters, R. 2010. Trademark linguistics: trademarks: language that one owns. In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The Routledge handbook of forensic linguistics.* London: Routledge, pp.351-364.

Caldas-Coulthard, C.R. 1994. On reporting reporting: the representation of speech in factual and fictional narratives. In: Coulthard, M. ed. *Advances in written text analysis*. London: Routledge, pp.295-308.

CARM. 2017. Conversation analytic role-play method: a pioneering approach to communication skills training. [Online]. [Accessed 24 August 2017]. Available from: http://www.carmtraining.org/home

Clayman, S. E. 2001. Answers and Evasions. *Language in Society.* **30** (3), pp.403-442.

Clayman, S.E. and Heritage, J. 2002. *The news interview: journalists and public figures on the air.* UK: Cambridge University Press.

Clayman, S.E., Elliott, M., Heritage, J. and McDonald, L. 2006. Historical trends in questioning presidents 1953-2000. *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* **36**, pp.561-583.

Conley, J.M. and O'Barr, W.M. 1998. *Just words: law, language and power.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Cotterill, J. 2003. *Language and power in court: A linguistic analysis of the O. J. Simpson trial.* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cotterill, J. 2010. Interpersonal issues in court: rebellion, resistance and other ways of behaving badly. In: Locher, M. A. and Graham, S. L. eds. *Interpersonal pragmatics.* Berlin: De Gruyter, pp.353-379.

Coulthard, M. 1986. *An introduction to discourse analysis*. London: Longman.

Coulthard, M. 1994. *Advances in written text analysis*. London: Routledge.

Coulthard, M. 1996. The official version: audience manipulation in police records of interviews with suspects. In: Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. and Coulthard, M. eds. *Texts and practices: readings in critical discourse analysis*. London: Routledge, pp.166-178.

Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. 2010. *The Routledge handbook of forensic linguistics.* London: Routledge.

Coulthard, M., Johnson, A. 2007 (ed. 1). *An introduction to forensic linguistics: language in evidence*. London: Routledge.

Coulthard, M., Johnson, A. and Wright, D. 2017. *An introduction to forensic linguistics: language in evidence*. London: Routledge.

Coupland, N. 2010. Accommodation theory. In: Jaspers, J., Ostman, J. and Verschueren, J. eds. *Society and Language Use*: *Handbook of Pragmatics Highlights*, Vol. 7. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 21-27.

D'hondt, S. 2009a. Others on trial: the construction of cultural otherness in Belgian first instance criminal hearings. *Journal of Pragmatics.* **41**(4), pp.806-828.

D'hondt, S. 2014. Defending through disaffiliation: the vicissitudes of alignment and footing in Belgian criminal hearings. *Language & Communication.* **36**, pp.68-82.

Drew, P. 1992. Contested evidence in courtroom cross-examination: the case of a trial for rape. In: Drew, P. and Heritage, J. eds. *Talk at work: interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.470-520.

Drew, P. and Heritage, J. 1992. *Talk at work: interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Drew, P., Raymond, G., and Weinberg, D. 2006. *Talk and interaction in social research methods*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE.

Eades, D. 1994. A case of communicative clash: aboriginal English and the legal system. In: Gibbons, J. ed. *Language and the law*. London: Longman, pp.234-264.

Eades, D. 2000. 'I don't think it's an answer to the question': silencing Aboriginal witnesses in court. *Language in Society.* **29**(2), pp.161-196.

Eades, D. 2008. *Courtroom talk and neo-colonial control.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Eades, D. 2010. *Sociolinguistics and the legal process.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Eades, D. 2016. Erasing context in the courtroom: construal of consent. In: Ehrlich, S., Eades, D. and Ainsworth, J. eds. *Discursive constructions of consent in the legal process.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.71-90.

Edwards, D., 2008. Intentionality and mens rea in police interrogations: the production of actions as crimes. *Intercultural pragmatics*, **5**(2), pp.177-199.

Ehrlich, S. 2001. *Representing rape: language and sexual consent.* London: Routledge.

Ehrlich, S. and Sidnell, J. 2006. 'I think that's not an assumption you ought to make': challenging presuppositions in inquiry testimony. *Language in Society.* **35**(5), pp.655-676.

Ehrlich, S., Eades, D. and Ainsworth, J. 2016. *Discursive constructions of consent in the legal process.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

El-Ansary, M. 2017. *The role of the public prosecution in Egypt's repression.* [Online]. Project on Middle East Democarcy. [Accessed 24 August 2017]. Available from: http://pomed.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/POMEDAnsaryEgyptReport.pdf

El-Farahaty, H. 2015. *Arabic–English–Arabic legal translation.* London/NewYork: Routledge.

El-Farahaty, H. 2016. *Translating lexical legal terms between English and Arabic. International Journal for the Semiotics of Law.* **29**(2), pp.473-493.

El-Nadeem Center. 2011. *Diaries of a revolution under military rule.* Cairo: El-Nadeem Center.

El-Nadeem Center. 2013/2014. *Diaries of torture.* Cairo: El-Nadeem Center.

El-Nadeem Center. 2014. *During the first 100 days of Sisi's rule.* Cairo, El-Nadeem Center.

El-Nadeem Center. 2016. *Archive of torture.* Cairo: El-Nadeem Center.

Elwan, T.M. 1989. *The office of prosecutor in Egypt.* M.A. thesis, San Jose State University.

Englebretson, R. 2007. *Stancetaking in discourse: subjectivity, evaluation, interaction.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Fairclough, N. 1989. Language and power. *London and New York: Longman Group UK*.

Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: the critical study of language.* London: Longman.

Fareh, S. 1998. The functions of and and wa in English and Arabic written discourse. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics.* **34,** pp.303-312.

Ferguson, C.A.1959. Diglossia. *Word.* **15**(2), pp.325-340.

Fishman, J.A. 1967. Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*. **23**(2), pp.29-38.

Forensic Linguistics (Standards) Bill 2015-16. (HC, 2015-16).

Fowler, R. eds. 1979. *Language and Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Fox, G. 1993. A comparison of 'policespeak' and 'normalspeak': a preliminary study. In: Sinclair, J.M., Hoey, M. and Fox, G. eds. *Techniques in description: spoken and written discourse*. London: Routledge, pp.183-195.

Fraser, B. 1999. What are discourse markers. *Journal of Pragmatics*. **31**(7), pp.931-952.

Garfinkel, H. 1967. *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Gee, J.P and Handford, M. 2012. *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis*. UK: Routledge.

Gibbons, J. 1994. *Language and the law*. London: Longman.

Gibbons, J. 2003. *Forensic linguistics: an introduction to language in the justice system*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gibbons, J. and Turell, M.T. 2008. *Dimensions of forensic linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Gibbons, J. 2008. Questioning in common law criminal courts. In: Gibbons, J. and Turell, M.T. eds. *Dimensions of forensic linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.115-130.

Giles, H. 1973. Accent mobility: a model and some data. *Anthropological Linguistics*. **15**, pp.87-105.

Giles, H. and Powesland, P.F. 1975. *Speech style and social evaluation*. London: Academic Press.

Giles, H., Coupland, N. and Coupland, J. 1991. Accomodation theory: communication, context and consequence. In: Giles, H., Coupland, J. and Coupland, N. eds. *Context of accommodation: developments in applied sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1-68.

Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. US: Harvard University Press.

Goffman, E. 1981. *Forms of talk*. US: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Grant, T. 2008. Approaching questions in forensic authorship analysis. In: Gibbons, J. and Turell, M.T. eds. *Dimensions of forensic linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.215-229.

Grant, T. 2010. Text messaging forensics: Txt 4n6: idiolect free authorship analysis?. In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The routledge handbook of forensic linguistics.* London: Routledge, pp.508-522.

Grant, T. 2013. Txt 4N6: method, consistency and distinctiveness in the analysis of SMS text messages. *Journal of Law and Policy.* **21**(2), pp.467-494.

Greatbatch, D. 1988. A turn-taking system for British news interviews. *Language in Society.* **17**(3), pp.401-430.

Grice, H. P. 1975. Logic and conversation. In Cole, P. and Morgan, J. L. eds. *Studies in syntax and semantics III: speech acts*. New York: Academic Press, pp.183-198.

Habermas, J. 1984. Questions and counterquestions. *Praxis International*. 3, pp.229-249.

Haddington, P. 2007. Positioning and alignment as activities of stancetaking in news interviews. In: Englebretson, R. ed. Stancetaking in discourse subjectivity, evaluation, interaction. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp.283-317.

Hale, S. 1999. 'Interpreters' treatment of discourse markers in courtroom questions. *Forensic Linguistics.* **6**(1), pp.57-82.

Hale, S. 2010. The need to raise the bar: court interpreters as specialized experts. In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The routledge handbook of forensic linguistics.* London: Routledge, pp.440-454.

Halliday, M. and Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English.* London: Longman.

Hall, P. 2008. Policespeak. In: Gibbons, J. and Turell, M.T. 2008. *Dimensions of forensic linguistics.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.67-94.

Hamza, M. No date. Discourse markers in written Arabic. *Teachers College Researchers Journal.* **1**(1), pp.232-243.

Harris, S. 1984. Questions as a mode of control in magistrates' courts. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language.* **49**, pp.5-27.

Harris, S. 1989. Defendant resistance to power and control in court. In: Coleman, H. ed. *Working with language: a multidisciplinary consideration of language use in work contexts*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 132-164.

Harris, S. 1991. Evasive action: how politicians respond to questions in political interviews. In: Scannell, P. ed. *Broadcast talk*. London: Sage publications, pp.76-99.

Harris, S. 1994. Ideological exchanges in British magistrates courts. In: Gibbons, J. ed. *Language and the law*. London: Longman, pp.156-170.

Harris, S. 1995. Pragmatics and power. *Journal of Pragmatics.* **23**(2), pp.117-135.

Harris, S. 2001. Being politically impolite: extending politeness theory to adversarial political discourse. *Discourse & Society.* **12**(4), pp.451-472.

Harris, S. 2011. Interrogation and evidence: questioning sequences in courtroom discourse and police interviews. In: Candlin, C.N. and Sarangi, S. eds. *Handbook of communication in organisations and professions.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp.277-298

Haworth, K. 2006. The dynamics of power and resistance in police interview discourse. *Discourse & Society.* **17**(6), pp.739-759.

Haworth, K. 2009. *An analysis of police interview discourse and its role(s) in the judicial process.* Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham.

Haworth, K. 2010. Police interviews in the judicial process.' In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The routledge handbook of forensic linguistics*. London: Routledge, pp.169-181.

Haworth, K. 2013. Audience design in the police interview: the interactional and judicial consequences of audience orientation. *Language in Society.* **42**(1), pp.45-69.

Heffer, C. 2005. *The language of jury trial: a corpus-aided analysis of legal-lay discourse*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heffer, C. 2007. Judgement in court: evaluating participants in courtroom discourse. In: Kredens, K. and Gozdz-Roszkowski, S. eds. *Language and the law: international outlooks*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp.145-179.

Heffer, C., Rock, F. and Conley, J. M. 2013. *Legal-lay communication: textual travels in the law*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heritage, J. 1985. Analyzing news interviews: aspects of the production of talk for an overhearing audience. In: Van Dijk, T. A. ed. *Handbook of discourse analysis vol. 3.* New York: Academic Press, pp.95-117.

Heritage, J. and Sorjonen, M.L. 1994. Constituting and maintaining activities across sequences: and prefacing as a feature of question design. *Language in Society.* **23**, pp.1-29

Heritage, J. 2002. The limits of questioning: negative interrogatives and hostile question content. *Journal of Pragmatics*. **34**(10), pp.1427-1446.

Hesson, A.M. and Pichler, H. 2016. Interpreting 'I don't know' use by persons living with dementia in mini-mental state examinations. *Patient Education and Counseling.* **99**(9), pp.1534-1541.

Heydon, G. 2003. Now I didn't mean to break his teeth: applying topic management to problems of power asymmetry and voluntary confessions. In: Sarangi, S. and van Leeuwen, T. eds. *Applied linguistics and communities of practice*. London: Continuum, pp. 81-97

Heydon, G. 2004. Establishing the structure of police evidentiary interviews with suspects. *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law*. **11**(1), pp.1-28.

Heydon, G. 2005. *The Language of police interviewing: a critical analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hinds, M. and Badawi, E. 1986. *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English*. Beirut: Libraire du Liban.

Holt, E. and Johnson, A. 2010. Socio-pragmatic aspects of legal talk: police interviews and trial discourse. In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The Routledge handbook of forensic linguistics*. London: Routledge, pp.21-36.

Huang, Y. 2017. *The Oxford handbook of pragmatics*. UK: Oxford University Press.

Huber, M. 2007. The Old Bailey proceedings, 1674-1834: evaluating and annotating a corpus of 18th-and 19th-century spoken English. *Annotating variation and change*. **1** [no page no.]

Human Rights Watch. 2017. *Egypt: events of 2016.* New York: Human Rights Watch.

Hutchby, I. 2002. Resisting the incitement to talk in child counselling: aspects of the utterance I don't know. *Discourse Studies*. **4**, pp.147-168.

Hymes. D.H. 1972. On communicative competence, In: Pride, J. and Holmes, J. eds. *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, pp.269-293.

Ibrahim, S. 1997. *Šaraf*. Cairo: Dar El-hilal.

International Bar Association Human Rights Institute (IBAHRI). 2014. *Seperating law and politics: challenges to the independence of judges and prosecutors in Egypt.* London, pp.1-156.

International Commission of Jurists. 2016. *Egypt's judiciary: a tool of repression.* Geneva, pp.1-88.

Jabbari, M.J. 2012. Diglossia in Arabic: a comparative study of the Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*. **12**(8), pp.23-35.

Jeffries, L. 2010. *Critical stylistics: the power of English.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Johnson, A.J. 2002. So…? Pragmatic implications of so-prefaced questions in formal police interviews. In: Cotterill, J. ed. *Language in the legal process.* London: Palgrave, pp.91-110.

Johnson, A.J. 2005. *Ask me a story. Police interviewing: the pragmatic effects of questions in elicited narratives.* PhD. Thesis, University of Birmingham.

Johnson, A.J. 2006. Police Questioning. In: Brown, K. ed. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics.* Elsevier, pp. 661-672.

Johnson, A.J. 2008. 'From where we're sat…' negotiating narrative transformation through interaction in police interviews with suspects. *Text and Talk.* **28**(3), pp.327-349.

Johnson, A.J. and Wright, D. 2014. Identifying idiolect in forensic authorship attribution: an n-gram textbite approach. *Language and the Law- Linguagem e Direito.* **1**(1), pp.37-69

Kask, K. 2012. Dynamics in using different question types in Estonian police interviews of children. *Applied Cognitive Psychology.* **26**, pp.324-329.

Kayed, O. A. 2007. *Explanation of criminal law: investigations- criminal case- the trial.* Cairo: Dar El Nahda El Arabiya.

Khalil, A. 2008. The general prosecutor between the judicial and executive authorities. In: Bernard-Maugiron, N. ed. *Judges and political reform in Egypt.* Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, pp. 59-70.

Komter, M. L. 1994. Accusations and defences in courtroom interaction. *Discourse & Society.* **5**(2), pp.165-187.

Komter, M. L. 2002. The suspect's own words: the treatment of written statements in Dutch courtrooms. *International Journal of Speech Language and the Law.* **9**(2), pp.168-192.

Komter, M. L. 2003. The construction of records in Dutch police interrogations. *Information Design Journal.* **11**(3), pp.201-213.

Komter, M. L. 2003. The interactional dynamics of eliciting a confession in a Dutch police interrogation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction.* **36**(4), pp.433-470.

Komter, M. L. 2006. From talk to text: the interactional construction of a police record. *Research on Language and Social Interaction.* **39**(3), pp.201-228.

Komter, M. L. 2012. The career of a suspect's statement: talk, text, context. *Discourse Studies.* **14**(6), pp.731-752.

Komter, M. L., and Malsch, M. 2012. The language of criminal trials in an inquisitorial system: the case of the Netherlands. In: Tiersma, P. M. and Solan, L. eds. *The Oxford handbook of language and the law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.408-420.

Labov, W. and Fanshel, D. 1977. *Therapeutic discourse: Psychotherapy as conversation*. New York: Academic Press.

Labov, W. and Waletzky, J. 1997. Narrative analysis: oral versions of personal experience. *Journal of Narrative and Life History.* **7**, pp.3-38.

Lagally, K. 1992. ArabTEX, a system for typesetting Arabic. In: *The 3rd conference and exhibition on multi-lingual computing: Arabic and Roman Script,*1992, Durham. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leo, R.A. 1998. Miranda and the problem of false confessions. In: Leo, R.A. and Thomas, G.C. eds. *The Miranda debate: law, justice and policing.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, pp.271-282.

Leo, R.A. 2008. *Police interrogation and American justice.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Levinson, S.C.1992. Activity types and language. In: Drew, P. and Heritage, J. eds. *Talk at work: interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.66-100.

Linfoot-Ham, K. 2006. Conversational Maxims in encounters with law enforcement officers. *Speech, Language and the Law*. **13**(1), pp.23-54.

Luchjenbroers, J. and Aldridge, M. 2007. Conceptual manipulation by metaphors and frames: dealing with rape victims in legal discourse. *Text & Talk.* **27**(3), pp.339-359.

Machin, D. 2008. News discourse 1: understanding the social goings-on behind news texts. In: Mayr, A. ed. *Language and power: an introduction to institutional discourse.* London: Continuum, pp. 62-89.

Machin, D. and Mayr, A. 2012. *How to do critical discourse analysis: a multimodal introduction*. London: Sage.

MacLeod, N.J. 2010. *Police interviews with women reporting rape: a critical discourse analysis.* Ph.D. thesis, Aston University.

Maley, Y. 1994. The language of the law. In: Gibbons, J. ed. *Language and the law*. London: Longman, pp.11-50.

Maryns, K. 2013. 'Theattricks in the courtroom': the intertextual construction of legal cases. In: Heffer, C., Rock, F. and Conley, J. eds. *Legal-lay communication: textual travels in the law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.107-125.

Maryns, K. 2014. The interdiscursive construction of irresponsibility as a defence strategy in the Belgian Assize Court. *Language & Communication*. **36**, pp.25-36.

Matoesian, G.M. 2010. Multimodality and forensic linguistics. Multimodal aspects of victim's narrative in direct examination. In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The Routledge handbook of forensic linguistics*. London: Routledge, pp.541-557.

Matsumoto, K. 1999. And-prefaced questions in institutional discourse. *Linguistics*. **37**(2), pp.251-274.

Max Plank Institute. 2008. *The Leipzig glossing rules: conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*. Available from http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua /resources/glossing-rules.php

Mayr, A. 2008. *Language and power: an introduction to institutional discourse*. London: Continuum.

Mayr, A. 2008. Discourses of higher education: enterprise and institutional change in the university. In: Mayr, A. ed. *Language and power: an introduction to institutional discourse*. London: Continuum, pp.26-45.

Meissner, C.A, Redlich, A.R., Michael, S.W., Evans, J.R., Camilletti, C.R., Bhatt, S. and Brandon, S. 2014. Accusatorial and information-gathering interrogation methods and their effects on true and false confessions: a meta-analytic review. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. **10**(4), pp.459-486.

Nasr, H., Crystal, J. and Brown, N. J. 2004. Criminal justice and prosecution in the Arab world: a study prepared for the United Nations development program. [no place].

Nevile, M. Making sequentiality salient: and-prefacing in the talk of airline pilots. *Discourse Studies*. **8**(2), pp.279-302.

Newbury, P. and Johnson, A. 2006. Suspects' resistance to constraining and coercive questioning strategies in the police interview. *International Journal of Speech Language and the Law*. **13**(2), pp.213-240.

O'Barr, W.M. 1982. *Linguistic evidence: language, power and strategy in the courtroom.* New York: Academic Press.

Oxburgh, G.E., Myklebust, T. and Grant, T. 2010. The question of question types in police interviews: a review of the literature from a psychological and linguistic perspective. *International Journal of Speech Language and the Law*. **17**(1), pp.45-66.

Oxburgh, G.E., Myklebust, T., Grant, T. and Milne, R. 2016. *Communication in investigative and legal contexts: integrated approaches from forensic psychology, linguistics and law enforcement.* UK: Wiley Blackwell.

Oxburgh, G.E., Fahsing, I., Haworth, K. and Blair, J.P. 2016. Interviewing suspected offenders. In: Oxburgh, G.E., Myklebust, T., Grant, T. and Milne, R. eds. *Communication in investigative and legal contexts: integrated approaches from forensic psychology, linguistics and law enforcement.* UK: Wiley Blackwell, pp.133-157.

Pichler, H. and Hesson, A. 2016. Discourse-pragmatic variation across situations, varieties, ages: I don't know in sociolinguistic and medical interviews. *Language and Communication.* **49**, pp.1-18.

Pomerantz, A. 1980. Telling my side: "limited access" as a "fishing" device. *Sociological Enquiry.* **50**(3), pp.186-198.

Pomerantz, A. and Heritage, J. 2013. Preference. In Sidnell, J. and Stivers, T. eds. *The handbook of conversational analysis.* UK: Wiley-Blackwell, pp.210-228.

Richardson, J.E. 2007. *Analyzing Newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis.* London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Rock, F. 2001. The genesis of a witness statement. *Forensic Linguistics.* **8**(2), pp.44-72.

Rock, F. 2007. *Communicating rights: the language of arrest and detention.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rock, F. 2010. Witnesses and suspects in interviews. collecting oral evidence: the police, the public and the written word. In: Coulthard, M. and Johnson, A. eds. *The Routledge handbook of forensic linguistics.* London: Routledge, pp.126-138.

Rock, F., Heffer, C. and Conley, J. 2013. Textual travel in legal-lay communication. In: Heffer, C., Rock, F. and Conley, J. eds. *Legal-lay communication: textual travels in the law.* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.1-32.

Ryding, K.C. 2005. *A reference grammar of Modern Standard Arabic.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. and Jefferson, G. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turntaking for conversation. *Language.* **50**(4), pp.696-735.

Schegloff, E.A. and Lerner, G.H. 2009. Beginning to respond: well-prefaced responses to wh-questions. *Research on Language and Social Interaction.* **42**(2), pp.91-115.

Schiffrin, D. 1987. *Discourse markers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scoboria, A., Mazzoni, G. and Kirsch, I. 2008. 'Don't know': responding to answerable and unanswerable questions during misleading and hypnotic interviews. *Journal of Experimental Psychology Applied.* **14**(3), pp.255-265.

Scott, M. 2012. Wordsmith Tools Version 6. Liverpool: Lexical Analysis Software.

Shalaby, A. 2012. *Asrār muhākamat al-qarn*. Cairo: Nahdet Masr.

Shuy, R.W. 1998. *The language of confession, interrogation, and deception*. London: Sage.

Simpson, P., and Mayr, A. 2010. *Language and power: A resource book for students*. London: Routledge.

Sidnell, J. 2010. *Conversation analysis: an introduction*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Smith, J. 2013. The Jimmy Savile transcript should be required reading for police. *The Guardian.* [Online]. 16 October. [Accessed 30 August 2017]. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/oct/16/jimmy-savile-transcript-police-interview-abuser

Snook, B. et al. 2012. Let 'em talk!: a field study of police questioning practices of suspects and accused persons. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*. **39**(10), pp.1328-1339.

Soliman, S. 2010. *Public prosecution and its accusatory and investigative authority: a comparative study between islamic sharia and ordinance law, the Egyptian, French, and Lebanese law and some Arab legislations.* Cairo: Dar el Nahda el Arabiya

Statham, S. 2016. *Redefining trial by media: towards a critical-forensic linguistic interface.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Stokoe, E. and Edwards, D. 2008. 'Did you have permission to smash your neighbour's door?' silly questions and their answers in police-suspect interrogations. *Discourse Studies.* **10**(1), pp.89-111.

Tadros, A. 1994. Predictive categories in expository text. In: Coulthard, M. ed. *Advances in written text analysis*. London: Routledge, pp.69-82.

Taha, K., Jarrah, M.A. and Al-Jarrah, R.S. 2014. The discoursal Arabic coordinating conjunction Wa (And). *International Journal of Linguistics.* **6**(4), pp.172-183.

Thornborrow, J. 2002. *Power talk: language and interaction in institutional discourse.* Harlow, Longman.

Thornborrow, J. 2012. Narrative analysis. In: Gee, J.P and Handford, M. eds. *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis.* UK: Routledge, pp. 51-65

Tiersma, P. 1999. *Legal language.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Van der Houwen, F. and Sneijder, P. 2014. From text to talk in criminal court: prosecuting, defending and examining the evidence. *Language and Communication.* **36**, pp.37-52.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1981. *Studies in the pragmatics of discourse.* The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Varó, E.A. 2008. Legal translation. In: Gibbons, J. and Turell, M.T. eds. *Dimensions of forensic linguistics.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.95-111.

Williamson, T. 2006. Towards greater professionalism: minimizing miscarriages of justice. In: Williamson, T. ed. *Investigative interviewing: rights, research, regulation.* UK: Willan Publishing, pp.147-166.

Winter, E.O. 1994. Clause relations as information structure: two basic text structures in English. In: Coulthard, M. (ed.) *Advances in written discourse analysis.* London: Routledge, pp.46-68.

Wright, A. and Alison, L. 2004. Questioning sequences in Canadian police interviews: constructing and confirming the course of events? *Psychology, Crime and Law.* **10**(2), pp.137-154.

Wright, D. 2013. Stylistic variation within genre conventions in the Enron email corpus: developing a text-sensitive methodology for authorship research. *The International Journal of Speech, Language, and the law.* **20**(1), pp.45-75.

Wright, D. 2014. *Stylistics versus statistics: a corpus linguistic approach to combining techniques in forensic authorship analysis using Enron emails.* PhD. thesis, University of Leeds.

Yacoub, M.A. 2015. Diglossic situation of Arabic language in Egypt: is low variety planned to get standardized? *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research.* **3**(1), pp.382-387.

Yagi, S.M. and Ali, M.Y. 2008. Arabic conjunction wa: a conflict in pragmatic principles. *Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguistics.* **44**(4), pp.617-627.

Yoong, D. 2010. Interactional norms in the Australian police interrogation room. *Discourse and Society.* **21**(6), pp.692-713.