MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION
AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF THI QAR
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION FOR
HUMANITIES

وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Power in Lawyer – Witness Interaction

تحليل خطاب نقدي لمظاهر القوة في خطاب المحامي – الشاهد

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Keywords: CDA, Language and Power , Powerful Strategies , Question Forms, Question Functions

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل خطاب نقدي ، اللغة و السلطة ، استراتيجيات السلطة ، شكل الأسئلة ، وظائف الأسئلة

Abstract

This paper tackles critical discourse analysis in terms of power. It examines the language lawyers over witnesses in order to detect and reveal the use of language strategies and tools as a carrier of the ideologies of power. The researcher, therefore, uses Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional approach as a model to analyze the targeted data. Accordingly, the study aims at finding out the asymmetric relations among the different parties of the courtroom interaction and how power manifests itself by them, determining the linguistic manifestations of power and the tools that are used by lawyers and then analyzing critically the linguistic cues and indicators most frequently yielded in such trials, which reflect power. Based on these aims, it is hypothesized that the existence of different asymmetrical relations among the different parties of the courtroom interaction, such interaction is assumed to be controlled by the powerful participants such as lawyers and public prosecutors. This is reflected by employing different linguistic cues and indicators that reflect ideologies and degrees of power such as the different kinds and functions of questions.

It is concluded that powerful people including lawyers understand that ideologies including the ideologies of power are (re)produced, exercised and embedded through a discourse along with their discursive practice.

الخلاصة

يتناول هذا البحث تحليل الخطاب النقدي من حيث القوة. إنه يفحص لغة المحامي مع الشهود من أجل اكتشاف وكشف استخدام استراتيجيات وأدوات اللغة كحامل لإيديولوجيات القوة. لذلك ، يستخدم الباحث منهج(Fairclough) ثلاثي الأبعاد (1989) كنموذج لتحليل البيانات. وبناءً على ذلك، تهدف الدراسة إلى معرفة العلاقات غير المتكافئة بين مختلف أطراف التفاعل في قاعة المحكمة وكيف تتجلى القوة من خلالها، وتحديد المظاهر اللغوية للسلطة والأدوات التي يستخدمها المحامون، ثم تحليل الإشارات والمؤشرات اللغوية بشكل نقدي. بناءً على هذه الأهداف، يُفترض أن وجود علاقات مختلفة غير متكافئة بين مختلف أطراف التفاعل في قاعة المحكمة، يُفترض. وينعكس ذلك من خلال توظيف إشارات ومؤشرات لغوية مختلفة تعكس الأيديولوجيات ودرجات القوة مثل الأنواع والوظائف المختلفة للأسئلة.

من اهم الاستنتاجات أن الأشخاص الأقوياء بما في ذلك المحامون يفهمون أن الأيديولوجيات بما في ذلك إيديولوجيات السلطة يتم (إعادة) إنتاجها وممارستها ودمجها من خلال خطاب جنباً إلى جنب مع ممارساتهم الخطابية.

1. Introduction

Texts of courtroom interaction are considered among the important types of forensic texts. They are now a well-established area of study within the field of forensic linguistics and an important stage of the legal system and the judicial process and, thus, have a worldwide importance. The field of legal studies requires qualified people who have the ability to pay attention to different aspects of legal language in addition to the ability of understanding the different meanings and hidden ideologies in different contexts and contingency. Those people must be qualified in different aspects of both legal and linguistic tools and manifestations (Slaughter, 2002:1).

Tiersma (1993: 135) indicates that the interaction of participants during courtroom is constituted by and through the use of language, i.e. the system of legal court is entirely formed through the different kinds of

linguistic performance. This is the reason that linguists are able to offer a critical perspective of those performances to detect and analyze the hidden implications in the legal system (Luchjenbroers and Aldridge, 2008: 191)

Adopting the critical theories and approaches in studying and analyzing dominance, power and asymmetrical relations inside courtroom interaction, is of a great advantage for the sake of the disadvantaged position of vulnerable witnesses and suspects. The most important contribution of such studies lies in the fact that they could gradually help to develop and enhance changes in courtroom settings and the judicial system as a whole.

Gibbons (2003: 202–27) indicates that vulnerable witnesses or suspects are in need to be helped to reveal any hidden ideologies that might affect their legal positions and they also in need to be protected from any abuses of power or dominance that lawyers might exercise against them. Therefore, it is necessary to *raise their awareness* of these different linguistic tools that are used during courtroom interactions such as questions, presuppositions, interruption, etc. and/or attempting to reproduce them in a way that balances the power of the different sides of interaction.

Tiersma (2008: 24) observes, "the nature of legal language is highly dependent on the communicative goals of its users". Such a kind of language, then, implies certain ideologies, either covert or overt. Scholars need to adopt such critical approaches in order to detect and analyze these ideologies, their aims and nature. These ideologies are employed by lawyers during presenting their cases in court interaction as they employ whatever available tools including the linguistic ones, to achieve the required aims.

Vandervelde (2010: i) emphasizes that it is rather significant for the different parties or interactants of any courtroom trial to identify their 'rights and duties'. Raising the awareness of the duties and rights for the dominated parties such as witnesses and suspects will facilitate achieving the goals of the legal system and to create balance in this kind of legal interaction.

2. Literature View

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Scholars engaged in the field of CDA, propose different definitions and provide a variety of statements about its nature and scope. Fairclough (1989), a pioneer in this field whose work has its intellectual impact on the writings of the CDA theories, states that CDA is trying to focus on the discourse strategies that provide legitimation of control and dominance and to resist the relations of inequality and dominance. Fairclough (1995: 132–3) offers a definition that explores in a systematic approach any 'opaque relationship' of producing texts, discourse, discourse practices and events within the wider social and cultural processes, relations and structures and how they are ideologically formed and shaped to embedding power, dominance and hegemony.

Accordingly, Fairclough considers CDA as a part of DA, but it aims to discover and detect the hidden elements in the social system(s) such as power and hegemony in order to denaturalize discourse and uncover the hidden ideologies in text and talk.

Van Dijk (1993: 249) sees that CDA actually wants to understand, expose, and resist social inequality. Hence, for him (ibid.: 252), one of the requirements of the study of CDA is studying and analyzing the

relationships between "discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships". van Dijk (1998:1) indicates that CDA tackles the issues of power abuse, dominance, inequality, etc. that are reflected in discourse production within social contexts. It, besides, aims to detect inequality, the ways of resistance in different social settings and, the ways dominant groups exercise their power and dominance over the dominated ones.

In the same vein, van Dijk (2001:325) extends the definition of CDA and describes it as an "analytical research" that detects not only the level above linguistic dimension but also to show the ways, methods, and types of power resistance during interaction of social, legal and political context by adopting an explicit stance. As CDA asks about how discourse is positioned in the enactment of social, political, historical contexts and structures, van Dijk (2000: 353- 4) expands the key notions that are central to the study of CDA into *dominance, hegemony, class, gender, discrimination, race,* etc. In other words, CDA aims to offer a different mode of theorizing, methods of analysis, and application throughout the whole field rather than forming a new school, direction, or specialization next to the other many *approaches* in the field of discourse studies (ibid.).

However, Wodak (1995: 204) believe that CDA approaches are not about analyzing the opaque relations alone, but also the hidden structures and ideologies of the dimensions of social inequality, discrimination, domination, and control produced by using language, the interaction between language and society, and the relation between the methods of analysis and the targeted analyzed elements.

Wodak (2001: 1) indicates that the reason of defining CDA as basically concerned with studying and analyzing whatever opaque and

transparent social structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language use. This kind of study takes into consideration the different notions of class, power, ideology, hierarchy and gender in addition to other static or dynamic social variables which are all seen as relevant and necessary for any process of interpretation or explanation of text (ibid.). In other words, CDA aims to critically investigate social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, signaled and legitimized by language use in the discourse (Wodak, 2001:2; Wodak and Meyer, 2001:2).

CDA, for Widdowson (2000) is "the uncovering of implicit ideologies in texts as it unveils the underlying ideological prejudices and therefore the exercise of power in texts". Richardson (2007:1) considers that CDA analyzes the way individuals and institutions use language by adopting interdisciplinary theories and methods while Crystal (2008:123) indicates that CDA is "a perspective which studies the relationship between discourse events and sociopolitical and cultural factors, especially the way discourse is ideologically influenced by and can itself influence power relations in society."

Apparently, the different proposed definitions of CDA range from being the greatly political, institutional and interactional, that socio-culturally highlighting the relationships between power manifestations such as dominance, inequality, bias, etc, and their effects on the dominated groups and individuals, to the minor matters that tackle issues like the way language and discourse are related to both society and individual people.

CDA emphasizes the idea that language use, whether it is spoken or written as some kind of social practice, implies a form of dialectical interaction and relationship between a particular discursive event on one

hand and the situation, institution and social structure that frame it on the other, which ultimately shape that discursive event. This proposition explains the manifestation of dominance and power in the institutional courtroom interaction.

To conclude, CDA can be defined as critically analyzing the hidden structures, ideologies of social control, power, dominance, inequality, discrimination as exercised, constituted and legitimized in language.

2.2. Language and Power in the Courtroom Trials

As the justice system depends on the system of power and dominance hierarchy, Gibbons (2003) observes this system in courtroom is mostly reflected in the language behavior of the participants whether they are powerful or powerless. Wang (2006) believes that power in courtroom means the ability to achieve the person's aims and goals, the extent of the freedom of achieving and completing these aims and goals, and the degree of imposing will on others.

Gibbons (2003) adds that it refers to the ability of individuals or groups of carrying out wills and desires even with the existence of resistance and the ability to control others' behavior and actions. Conley and O'Barr (1998: 170) note that "power may exclude, but those excluded remain on the scene, ready to turn local-level episodes of oppression into moments of resistance."

Lakoff (1973:23) indicates that through the use of linguistic structures, the more dominant, expertise and skilled people can reflect their power and he also warns from abusing and victimizing people as a result of this abuse. Heydon (2005:194) reports that one of the distributions of power

manifestations in legal institutional interaction is "the process of eliciting a confession" or any information that enforce their position. Heydon (2005:145-6) also concludes that those who work in the legal system, courtroom trials for instance, have more power recourses and access to many '*institutionally guaranteed*' discursive tools such as topic management of initiating, forcing, ignoring, limiting and ending, the right to ask questions and requiring answers, "hijack" the floor, controlling and limiting the witnesses' replies by exercising "interactional authority" on them, controlling the sequence of the adjacency pairs of the interaction, dealing with the suspect's statement out of its contexts, etc.

According to the critical discourse analysis theories of language, powerful people and their control of the occasion lead to uncovering the linguistic structural manifestations of power in texts during the interaction (Dastjerdi et al., 2001:258; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:89).

Van Dijk (2006:376) identifies different "*types of power"* that are employed and exercised during legal courtroom interaction according to the different varieties and resources. He considers language as one of these recourses which is not limited to the (content) but also to the (structure). He presents many strategies that can be used such as, (de-) topicalization of meanings; using specific speech acts; manipulating explicit or implicit information; using certain lexicalization or specific expression and realization of intonation, tone, volume, speed, and/or text layout, letter type, photos; using metaphors, more or less precise or specific local meanings and other rhetorical figures; mentioning authoritative sources such as evidence, etc.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data Collection

The chosen data for analysis of this paper are taken from the 6 American courtroom interactions between layers and witnesses. Table (1) illustrates the details of data identification.

Table (1): Data Identification

Case No.	Date	City Court	Case Name	Arguers in front of The Court
10-CR-15709	23/8/2011	The Circuit **Court of Cook** County, **State of Illinois**	**The People of State of Illinois** as Plaintiff vs. **Tiawanda Moore** Defendant	For the People: **Ms. Mary Jo Murtaugh, Ms. Catherine Malloy** For the Defendant: **Mr. Robert Johnson**

3.2 Model Description:

The first stage is concerned with the examination of the formal linguistic features of texts or "discourse fragment" including the visual verbal and visual texts. This stage provides researchers with an amount of freedom and flexibility of choosing whatever linguistic elements that are suitable and fit for the targeted data as Fairclough himself indicates that this stage is "selective"

Interpretation:

The second stage is concerned with the exploration of the processes of production (writing, speaking, and designing) and consumption (reading, listening, and viewing) of texts, i.e., the relation between text and interaction as follows:

i. The situational context which represents the time and place of the production of texts.

ii. The inter-textual context which represents the different participants of the discourse in addition to looking for additional information about or from producers and their product. Thus, both of these two contexts are "central for the process of interpretation" (Janks, 1997: 37).

Explanation:

The third stage is concerned with the level of the socio-cultural discursive practice represented by the covert ideologies of "power behind discourse" that are hidden behind the entire process and governs the relations of power in discourse. Analyzing critically any discursive practice at this level aims at revealing the shaping of ideological patterns and the socio-cultural practices of the used discourse and language strategies and tools.

Moreover, Fairclough (1989: 2) emphasizes that each stage of this model requires a different mode of analysis which has its own nature and aims. The first stage is description, i.e., 'text analysis'. It limits itself to the description of the text as an object; the second stage is interactional, i.e., 'processing analysis'. It goes through the participants and their interaction from a cognitive perspective; and the third stage is explanatory, i.e., 'social

analysis'. It aims to explain the social events and structure and their effect on both the participants and the process of interaction.

Fairclough (1989/1996: 163) indicates that

> the objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them and to accomplish this objective, explanation becomes a matter of seeing a discourse as part of processes of social struggle within a matrix of relations of power.

Therefore, Davidson (1986: 226) stresses, analysts must "write a micro-physics of power; this will lead one to view power not as an homogenous domination of one group or class over another, but as a net-like, circulating organization".

Janks (1997:27) believes that the three dimensions are inter-dependent and ***"mutually explanatory"*** i.e. it is free to begin with any kind of analysis or dimension as long as ultimately all the dimensions will be included and the texts are described, interpreted, and explained. The model presents a multiple analytic starting point.

This model of analysis moves beyond the description of linguistic levels ***'whatness'*** to reach the ***'howness'*** and ***'whyness'*** levels of explanation and interpretation. This assumes that the selection of discourse elements is never value-free or innocent, but they are ideologically

motivated. This model tries to detect and discover the social process and the embedded ideologies within them. i.e., the hidden agenda. Moreover, throughout the stages of interpretation and explanation that follow the process of description, researchers have tried to demystify texts that are ideologically shaped and produced to detect relations and patterns of power and dominance that are created and formed by discoursal and societal structure.

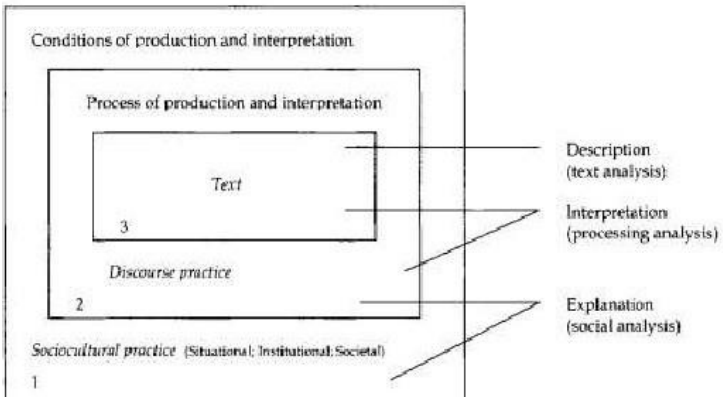

Figure (1):

The Stages of Fairclough (1989) Model of Analysis

4. Data Analysis

4.1 The Description Stage

Table (2): The Description Stage

Question Forms	Freq.	Question Functions	Freq.	The Powerful Tools and Strategies
Declarative	**45**	Leading	**35**	Dominating Q-A sequence
Wh. Q.	**10**	Direct	**5**	Presupposition
Yes-No Q.	**58**	Closed	**55**	Turn-Taking

		Cross	**11**	Speech Act
		Loaded	**10**	Observing Maxims
		Review	**5**	Asking Questions
		Information Checking	**119**	Summarizer So
		Information Seeking	**20**	Repetition

4.2 The Interpretation Stage

i. Question Forms, Question Functions, Speech Act Forces, Observing Maxims

The opposing lawyer deliberately avoids using any *free open Wh-questions*, i.e., questions that allow the witness to provide answers in a narratively. This is due to *the illocutionary force* of such kinds of questions that call the witness to provide long narrating answers. Therefore, the witness is obliged to provide short, direct and brief answers *observing the requirements of the maxims of quantity, relevance and manner.*

The opposing lawyer uses *declarative-leading question* twice in order to lead and force the witness to show an agreement. Such questions provide the opposing lawyer with the force to oblige the witness not to present opinions or narrate his version of the events, i.e., they have *an illocutionary force* that obliges the witness to show direct agreement rather than providing long answers. They also create a *perlocutionary force* over the minds of witness and the audience as they provide the opposing lawyer with the ability to present evidence as facts rather than argumentative information. The opposing lawyer uses such questions in the following:

*Q. **You said** you **didn't have the password** to the phone?*
*Q. **And you said** he indicated to you which file he wanted?*

The opposing lawyer uses such questions to dominate the witness's answers which ultimately serve his legal position. Furthermore, the opposing lawyer uses *Yes-No closed* questions that require minimum replies rather than long narrative answers. This represents a kind of exercising power and dominance over the witness and the whole process of interaction.

i. 'Summarizer So', Presupposition, Speech Act Force

Then the defence lawyer uses the *'Summarizer So'* in order to show his control of the situation after the last cross-examination when the witness is forced to admit what the opposing lawyer has just proposed. Here, the defence lawyer uses *'Summarizer So'* with an alternative form of question to lead his witness to what he wants to show in front of the court members. This kind of use reflects the powerful style of lawyers in presenting their cases and evidence before the court. Using an alternative question forces the witness to choose from one of the available options of the questions provided by the defence lawyer. The *locutionary force* of such alternative question is the ability to present evidence as facts in front of the court members which creates a *perlocutionary force* that aims to affect the minds of others.

The orientational function of the '*Summarizer So'* in the above excerpt is to emphasize the force and enhance the impact of what has been stated before. It also aims to repair any occurred damage that might have resulted from the previous cross-examination process of the opponent lawyer. The defence lawyer uses '*Summarizer So'* to force his witness to concede and reiterate with his proposed suggested presupposition. This leads to influence the others' positions and way of thinking, especially the jury

members, in the form of a repetitive and destructive line of questioning directing them on the lawyer behalf.

ii. Presupposition, Person-Targeted

Concerning *presupposition*, the opposing lawyer asks the last question forcing a strong *presupposition* that *'the witness copies all the files on the device'*. This presupposes that the process of copying was done after all.

*Q. Did you burn copies of **all** the files on the phone?*

This usage of such a presupposition trigger forces a mental influence over the minds of others as they help the opposing lawyer change others' positions and attitudes. This is due to their *perlocutionary force* of presenting evidence as facts should be taken for granted even without been noticed by hearers.

This *presupposition* assumes that the police have and acquire all the files of the plaintiff, yet they choose the ones implicating the witness to the crime which violates the civil right of the witness. This represents the adoption of the strategy of targeting the witness himself and his actions, i.e., *person-targeted strategy*.

iii. Pre-list questions, 'Summarizer So', Nailing down

The opposing lawyer uses the first two questions as a *pre-list questions strategy*. It aims at extracting information as possible as he could, yet the asked questions are about information mentioned before. This means that they are carrying a hidden agenda, i.e., *illocutionary force* which is soon revealed by using the *'Summarizer So'* question. This adopted strategy ensures the dominance of the opposing lawyer over the witness's minds forcing him to show a repeated agreement. This implies *a perlocutionary effect* which achieves the aim of *nailing down* the witness. The nailing down is represented by indicating and focusing on the

contradiction of 'not having a password of the device' yet 'they manage to copy all the files on the device'.

iv. Repetition, Lexical Landscaping, Status-Reduction, Person-Targeted Strategy

In this excerpt, the opposing lawyer emphasizes the seriousness of the point of *'acquiring the password*' by using such questions as ***'didn't have the password'*** or ***'he did not have it'***. This type of choosing and using vocabulary, i.e., *lexical landscaping*, helps the opposing lawyer affect both the witness and the court members. This ultimately changes their minds and attitudes. This leads to questioning the witness's behavior and actions and putting doubts on his sayings and testimony, which paves the way to pass the question of *'burning all the files'* in a way forces the court to connect between the two incidents of *'not having the password yet burning all the files on the phone'* which appears as a contradiction to his previous sayings, i.e. irrational and illogical behavior. This represents adopting the *strategy of attacking the witness* by the opposing lawyer, i.e., adopting the strategies of *status-reduction and person-targeted*.

Repeating what the witness has already stated is a powerful strategical tool that allows the opposing lawyer to force the witness to show an agreement and leads him to accomplish what the opposing lawyer wants. This puts the witness in a position where he cannot deny what is stated and implied by the opposing lawyer. That is why the witness *flouts the maxims of quantity and manner* of the questions that requires *a Yes-No* answer.

*Q. Did the officer indicate **he did not have it**?*
*A. He just told me it was **locked**.*

After that, the opposing lawyer uses a *'Summarizer So*' question that forces the witness to agree with the opposing lawyer proposed

presupposition which is clear from the repeated witness answer of using 'no' and 'didn't' twice.

v. Connector 'And', Observing Maxims, Topics

The opposing lawyer also uses *connector 'And'* in order to force the witness to *observe the maxim of relevance*. This device facilitates the opposing lawyer's task of forcing the witness to provide answers related to the question asked, and to *resist any topic change*.

The last powerful tool used by the opposing lawyer is his ability to *end the topic* and the process of cross-examination. This occurs after the opposing lawyer becomes convinced that his aim of directing the questions is achieved.

i. Presupposition

However, the opposing lawyer continues pressuring the witness and directing questions on the same issue. These adopted strategies, of exercising power and achieving dominance by repeating the *same propositional content* with the tactic of *lexical landscaping,* are successfully managed to force the witness to show an agreement with the opposing lawyer's suggested presupposition. This again motivates the defence lawyer to raise another objection which is accepted by the court.

?Q. of the three times, you only heard one male voice
.A. There were two male voices that I heard
*?Q. **Didn't you just say** you only heard one male voice*
.A. I said I recognized one male voice
*Q. **Didn't you just say** that besides officer Alejo's voice, you heard a female ?voice*
A. I said beside Officer Alejo's voice, there was another male voice and a .female voice
*THE COURT: counsel, I believe you asked him if he recognized another .male voice. **He said no**. That's my notes*

MR. JOHNSON: Yeah, I followed up –

.THE COURT: I think it's a semantical misunderstanding

This reaction of the court helps the witness keep his right and save him from the opposing lawyer's pressure, control and dominance

4.3 The Explanation Stage:

The relationship between the two participants of the examination is clearly an unequal one, with the lawyer firmly in control of the way the examination process develops and the amount and the method of witness's contribution to it, and taking no trouble whatsoever to mitigate the demands he makes of him.

Thus, the opposing lawyer's questions might be quite hard as they put the witness in corner and prevent him from providing any further information more than required. This means forcing the witness to observe *the maxims of relevance and quantity.* That is why the lawyer uses a series of *closed yes-no questions* rather than *open Wh-questions* that allow the witness to narrate his side of the events. This clearly reflects the desire of the lawyer to dominate and control the flow of the witness's information in a way serving his legal position. It is also noticeable that there is no acknowledgement of, still less thanks for, the information the witness supplies.

In sum, all the above linguistic tools and strategies grant the opposing lawyer a powerful advantage to control and direct the whole process of interaction and also dominance over the witness replies and attitudes. This leads the defence lawyer to redirect the examination process to deal with any possible harm that might be done as a result of this cross-examination process.

This extract reflects the lawyer's attempts to challenge the witness's testimony and aims at discrediting the witness's way and approach of handling the evidence in a way that is called the technique of *'status reduction'* which is widely used during trials in courtroom cross-examination process. This kind of interrogation shows the degree of ideological power and even power abuse over the witness which leads to unwanted domination that might jeopardize the witness's personality and reputation and leads to a violation of his rights of fair trial procedure.

In an attempt to reproduce what is stated by the opposing lawyer. The lawyer could ask the witness one question that might be a substitute for the whole excerpt as:

Did you or anyone else have the password for the phone?

(or)

Who has the password of the phone?

However, the lawyer's hidden ideology of adopting the *'small-step approach'* strategy is to present the facts in front the court bit-by-bit, i.e., in a long clear way to achieve his aim of *'over-explicitness'*.

However, the defence lawyer and the witness should refuse and reject such implication and forcing this kind of presupposition suggested by the opposing lawyer. This is because it implies that the witness is somehow guilty by referring to owning the password. The defence lawyer should exercise his legal power of raising an objection for the aim of protecting his witness's legal position.

All the above questions show a high degree of dominance and power over the interaction and the choice of any topic and the ability to continue with it and resist any attempt to change it. The defence lawyer's aim of this series of clearly selected questions with their hidden ideologies of

dominance over the interaction is to reach the final intended adjacency pair of the lawyer-witness interaction:

Q. Did you copy the entire recording?
A. Yes, ma'am, I did.

This adjacency pair aims to show the court members and audience that the witness did not target any specific file but he copied the entire recording. This leads to reject and face the allegations of the opposing lawyer and also to affect the minds of the court embers and audience and ultimately influences the final results and verdict of the case.

Choosing the topic, repetitions, lexical landscaping, modality represent the linguistic powerful tools that the defence lawyer uses to control the witness's answers and lead him to provide the desired answers. This skillful usage of the questions reflects the lawyer experience of controlling the minds of both the witness and the audience in away showing that the witness is cooperative and that nobody is forcing him to provide information. The defence lawyer aims to show that his witness is voluntarily providing the required information in spite of the fact he is not. The witness should be aware that all the questions asked by his defence lawyer carry hidden agenda, ideologies and aims. One of them is to build the witness's credibility and status in order to change and enhance the court members position towards the witness. The witness should show a high degree of cooperativeness with his lawyer and respond in a way observing all the maxims of interaction in order to create a maximum effect over others.

In an attempt to reproduce the above excerpt, the defence lawyer could ask one question about the nature of such divisions by saying for example:

Tell us about this division?

Or

What is this division?

Controlling the number of questions asked represents one of the defence lawyer powerful tools that helps him create 'display talk' in order to maximize the effects on others and influence them, i.e., *achieving over-explicitness.*

4. Conclusion

It is concluded that language is an ideologically driven social act. Therefore, discourse meanings should be analyzed in relation to cultural, social, institutional ideological contexts, place and time. Any choices whether they are consciously or unconsciously by speakers or writers are assumed to be systematic or principled. Analyzing any discourse practice including courtroom interaction should not be isolated from (or without taken into consideration) the institutional and social practice within the embedded texts.

Powerful people including lawyers understand that ideologies including the ideologies of power and dominance are (re)produced, exercised and embedded through a discourse along with their discursive practice. Due to the training, skills, expertise and knowledge of the lawyers in addition to their constitutional, legal and institutional rights; they have a great advantage of accessing the different power tools that grant them control, access and power over the witness and consequently over the whole process of interaction. The nature of power relations in the courtroom is discursive and CDA tries to detect and reveal these exercised and negotiated relations. During the analyzed data of the study, the researcher tries to target and focus on those power relations among the lawyers and

witnesses and the way of reflecting them by adopting and using the different linguistic strategies.

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