

**POLITICS, POWER AND IDEOLOGY IN AMERICAN COMEDY
LATE NIGHT TALK SHOWS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS**

FARAH ABDUL-JABBAR MAHDI AL-MNASEER

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
2013**

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ANALYSIS**

By
FARAH ABDUL-JABBAR MAHDI AL-MNASEER

A Dissertation Submitted to
the School of Education and Modern Languages
Universiti Utara Malaysia
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

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Abstrak

Terdapat trend baru dalam rancangan temubual lewat malam (LNTSs) yang mengupas isu-isu politik. Presiden Amerika Syarikat, Barack Obama, mempamerkan pelbagai jenis hubungan kuasa dan ideologi politik dalam sesi wawancara beliau di rancangan temubual lewat malam meskipun LNTSs tersebut bersifat komedi. Walaupun banyak kajian telah dijalankan tentang hubungan antara LNTSs dengan wacana politik, namun kajian berhubung pemaparan kuasa dalam LNTSs agak terbatas. Kajian ini menyelidik asaskuasa Obama, hubungan kuasa serta ideologi politik beliau yang diperlihatkan dalam dua LNTSs, iaitu *The Late Show with David Letterman* dan *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Kajian ini memberitumpuan terhadap cara Obama mempamerkan kuasanya menerusi wacana politik beliau dengan menggunakan pendekatan analisis wacana kritis yang merangkumi aspek multimodal. Kajian ini menganalisis penggunaan bahasa dan gerak-tangan Obama menerusi transkrip yang diperolehi daripada sesi wawancara dalam kedua-dua rancangan tersebut. Pendekatan linguistik sistem fungsional (SFL) digunakan untuk menganalisis penggunaan bahasa, manakala analisis gerak-tangan dilakukan berdasarkan model eklektik perlakuan bukan lisan (*eclectic models of non-verbal behaviors*). Kajian menunjukkan bahawa Obama telah mengupayakan asaskuasa yang berbeza-beza dalam wacana politik beliau. Selain itu, beliau turut menggunakan taktik mempengaruhi dan berbagai jenis hubungan kuasa dalam interaksi beliau dengan kedua-dua pengacara rancangan tersebut, iaitu David Letterman dan Jay Leno. Kajian ini turut mengenalpasti ideksi peribadi, masadan ruang yang digunakan oleh Obama untuk menentang ideologi domestik dan politik antarabangsa beliau. Kajian ini turut membina kerangka konsep yang memadankan kuasa dan ideologi dengan wacana politik dalam konteks bukan tradisional, seperti LNTSs untuk menyampaikan maklumat politik kepada khalayak yang lebih besar.

Kata kunci: Asaskuasa, Analisis wacana kritis, Taktik mempengaruhi, Wacana politik, Ideologi politik, Hubungan kuasa

Abstract

There appears to be a new trend in transferring political issues through late night talk shows (LNTSs). The President of the United States, Barack Obama, displayed different types of power relations and political ideologies during the interviews despite the comedic nature of LNTSs. Although studies have been done on the relation between LNTSs and political discourse, only a limited number of studies have looked at the portrayal of power in LNTSs. The purpose of this study is to investigate Obama's bases of power, his power relations and his use of deixis to present his political ideologies in the two American LNTSs; *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. This study focuses on Obama's portrayal of power in his political discourse (PD) using critical discourse analyses (CDA) approach that incorporates multimodal aspects. The study analyzes Obama's linguistic and gestural variables in the transcripts collected through interviews in the two shows. The analysis of the linguistic data applies the systemic functional linguistics approach (SFL) while the analysis of the gestural ones is done in association with eclectic models of non-verbal behaviors. This study has revealed the different bases of power which Obama used in his PD, the influence tactics and the types of power relations which he employed in relation to the shows' hosts; David Letterman and Jay Leno. The study has also identified the personal, temporal and spatial deixis which Obama used to present his ideologies on domestic and international politics. The study conceptualizes frameworks in which power and ideology in PD can fit into a non-traditional context such as LNTSs in order to transfer political information to a much wider audience.

Keywords: Bases of power, Critical discourse analysis, Influence tactics, Political discourse, Political ideology, Power relations

Acknowledgments

This is a project that has taken a lot of time and extensive effort on my part and I am most thankful to Almighty Allah for helping me get through it. During the course of this project, I owe a lot of people my deepest gratitude and appreciation for their support.

I am heartily thankful to my dear supervisor Dr. Anne Althea Christopher for her encouragement, supervision and great support and valuable advice to accomplish this dissertation. I would like to say that she was and will be forever the supervisor, sister and close friend. I would also like to thank Dr. Muhammad Khairi Ahmed and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nurainibt. Yusoff for their valuable advice and support.

I would like to thank my parents for their love and continuous support and I hope they will be proud of me. A special thanks goes to my dear husband Noory for his support and encouragement. Also, I would like to thank my sister Dr. Raghad, my brother Dr. Ali and my sister-in-law Eng Saja who prayed for me day and night to finish my studies and to be happy.

I would like to thank my brother and friend Abdulla Hasson who supported me in achieving my dreams and to be happy forever. Special thanks to Mr. Sami who supported me throughout the years. I would also like to thank Dr. Kadhim Al-Mehrath for his encouragement and valuable advice. I would like to thank my friend Imelda for helping me deal with the relevant documents.

Lastly, I offer my regards and blessings to all those who prayed to Allah for me in order to get my PhD and be successful in my academic study.

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List of Abbreviations

PD	Political Discourse
LNTS(s)	Late Night Talk Shows
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
FTA(s)	Face-Threatening Acts

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Recently, studying political behaviour and examining the exercise of power in a world of changing political ideologies, has received more attention in order to understand how power is exercised in relation to politics. Accordingly, many researchers believe that power, ideology and dominance can be best identified through political discourse (henceforth, PD) (Allan & Garrett, 1998; Bayram, 2010; Chilvers & Burgess, 2008; Howarth, 1999; Karlberg, 2005; Mayr, 2008; McGregor, 2003; Muralikrishnan, 2011; Newman & Clarke, 2009; Stoddart, 2007; van Dijk, 2006, 2008; Wareing, 2004; Wilson, 1990; Wodak, 1988; Woolard, 2010).

Schaffner (1996) classified PD according to two criteria including functional and thematic. As far as the functional aspect is concerned, PD is formulated through politics to fulfil different functions according to the different political activities performed by the politicians. It is thematic because it deals with political issues, relations and ideas. PD is identified as being limited to formal political contexts and political actors and this includes politicians, political institutions, governments, and political media (Abdul-Jabbar, 2005; Chilton, 2004; Hart, 2005; Schaffner, 1996; Wilson, 2004; Wodak, 2009). Nowadays, politics tries to go beyond the theories that limit the PD's context. In Muralikrishnan's (2011) own words,

Political discourse comprises all forms of communication in and by political institutions or actors and all communication with reference to political matters. Political public relations, both internal and external,

news, commentary, film, talk shows, citizens' everyday talk about politics etc. are all sites of political discourse. (p.20).

Therefore, politicians can exercise power, ideology and dominance not only within political institutions but even within entertainment programs as is the case in late night television talk shows (henceforth, LNTSs) as long as they deal with politics (Borchers, 2002; Livingstone & Lunt, 1994; Martinez, 2003).

Livingstone and Lunt (1994) indicate that LNTSs convey interviews carried out between the host(s) and the guest(s) discussing topics which include those of common human interests and experiences of everyday life. American LNTSs are as old as the medium itself and have attracted large numbers of the population from all over the world with popular hosts like *Cannon O'Brian*, *Jon Stewart*, *Jay Leno*, *David Letterman*, *Oprah Winfrey*, *Jimmy Kimmel*, etc. Fernando (2003) states that, LNTSs have become a part of the American's social matrix since they are, as Timberg (2002) describes, "parallel, reflect, or mirror social change" (p.192). Politics can hardly be one of the topics for discussion in LNTSs but recently these non-traditional forms of media have received more attention since they play a very important role, not only in social aspects but in political ones as well (Baum, 2003; Golway, 2000; Kwak, Wang & Guggenheim, 2004; Mutz, 2001; Pfau, Cho, & Chong, 2001; Prior, 2003). More specifically, some of these entertainment LNTSs have become associated with political content such as *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *The Late Show with David Letterman*, *Late Night with Conan O'Brien* and *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. Throughout history, many American political figures have appeared on different American LNTSs such as *Richard Nixon*, *George W. Bush*, *Bill Clinton* and *Barack Obama*. (politico.com, 2012). These politicians knew that by

attending such talk shows they might run the risk of getting ridiculed or face tough questions, yet; they did believe that such programs nowadays have the potential to influence the population (Jones, 2010; Kurtz, 2002; Young, 2004).

Since 2008, Barack Obama, the 44th President of the United States has received much attention for being the first African-American President in America. His biggest supporters are the youth, African-Americans and poor people (Wang, 2010). Libert and Faulk (2009) stated that, "Barack Obama learned early that a mask of calm was as good as body armor" (p.18). His political ideologies and his methods of political presentations have attracted scholars to deal in depth with his political speeches. Many of his important speeches have been studied such as his speech on race (Boyed, 2009), his victory speech and his inaugural address (Horvath, 2009; Viberg, 2011; Wang, 2010). As far as the non-traditional forms of media are concerned, Obama as a presidential candidate and a President was interviewed many times in different LNTSs such as *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *The Late Show with David Letterman*, *Late Night with Conan O'Brien*, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, *The Oprah Winfery Show*, *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*, *The View*, *Tavis Smiley*, and *Jimmy Kimmel Live*. His PD in these LNTSs has not been investigated yet. Accordingly, it is the task of this study to investigate how his bases of power, power relations and ideologies shape his PD. Certainly, a politician like Obama who is a community organizer, a civil rights attorney, a constitutional law professor, a State Senator and a President of the United States can have different sources of power such as legitimate, reward, coercive, etc. Through these different institutional roles, he uses his power explicitly or implicitly to influence members of the

community trying to change people's ideologies and this study reveals the different dynamics he used in his PD to achieve these goals.

Consequently, for every interaction there must be levels through which the concept of power plays a very important role in determining the whole interactional process. A crucial way in which power is expressed and resisted is through language. Ng and Bradac (1993) believe that "language reveals power, language creates power, language reflects power, and language obscures or depoliticizes power (p.190-191)". In fact, there is no language situation involving either public or private discourse which is free from the effects of power, especially when dealing with PD. Power is not expressed explicitly in many cases but depends on the different bases of power and the types of relationships between the interactants. Dealing with politics and power means creating influence on the population and hence, presenting beliefs and ideas. In other words, power relations indicate presenting ideologies and within PD, political ideologies are intended. The identification of political ideologies can be carried out through different linguistic devices such as ideologically contested words, metaphors and ...(Fairclough, 2001). However, ideologies can be presented through referring to the participants, time and location of the events and simply put through using deixis.

Specifically speaking, dealing with the discourse dimensions of power and ideology means a critical discourse analysis (henceforth, CDA) must be carried out since it tends to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in texts or speech (McGregor, 2003; van Dijk, 1993). Generally, CDA is considered as the most comprehensive approach to develop a theory that inter-locates discourse, power and ideology (Fairclough, 2001). To identify the bases of power in Obama's PD, his

power relations and ideologies through CDA, different multimodal aspects are applicable. At the linguistic level, Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) systemic functional linguistics (henceforth, SFL) and deixis are used to provide details of the linguistic construction of the text. At the gestural level, body language including gestures, postures and facial expressions are identified in association with the linguistic aspects. In fact, recently more interest has been given to the broader multimodal conceptions (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Lamy, 2006; O'Halloran, Tan, Smith & Podlasov, 2011). Therefore, the SFL in association with Obama's body language work together to clarify how meanings can be made and interpreted clearly. Since Obama's PD in the American LNTSs has not been investigated yet; therefore, the current study is conducted to identify Obama's bases of power, his power relations with the hosts, and his use of deixis to present his political ideologies in the two American LNTSs namely, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* through a CDA.

1.2 Problem Statement

Generally speaking, persons, institutions, events or ideas can be described as powerful when they have recognizable impact on the society (Roberts, 2003; Turner, 2005). In fact, exercising power does not mean having bigger muscles than someone else. Wilson (2004) clarifies that, "power does not mean being bossy, manipulative or domineering. It means that one is ready to take control and is ready for the unexpected" (p.23). Actually, power may be exercised with friends, partners, kids, neighbours, work colleagues and sometimes even with bosses (Wilson, 2004). Power is multi-faceted and may take many different forms such as physical, military, disciplinary and political power (Thornborrow, 2002). Further, individuals speak to

each other exercising power in order to persuade, inform, comfort or lead to action intentionally or unintentionally. Significantly, power is closely associated with politics and in Horvath's (2009) own words, "Politics is a struggle for power in order to obtain certain political, economic and social ideas into practice" (p.45). All the definitions given concerning power resemble one important issue which is "control" but the definitions did not explain which devices can be used to have this control whether in politics or in other fields. Accordingly, power does not carry the meaning of control only but rather it implies the different means needed to be able to control.

Van Dijk (1989) states that the analysis of power structures requires dealing with different dimensions of power including "the various institutions of power, the internal power structures of these institutions, power relations between different social groups, and the scope or domain of the exercise of power by (members of) these institutions or groups" (p.29). He clarifies that the term *institution* stands for "government", "parliament", "state agencies", "the judiciary", "the military", "big corporations", "the political parties", "the media", "the unions", "the churches", and "the institutions of education" (p.29). Each of these institutions might have its unique genres and communicative events, and hence, people of different social positions, ranks, and statuses interact with each other within those institutions implementing different speech acts, genres, and styles of speaking (van Dijk, 1989). Yet, this is not necessarily always the case, especially nowadays, where politicians cleverly try to use all available means to influence the population. Recently, much interest has been given to the different means of mass media and television has been one of the most influential mediums as it has different genres, one of which is LNTSs. This genre of television programs deals with the public and attempts to present different social

actors, both males and females, in interviews ranging from celebrities, politicians, educators, religious leaders, journalists, doctors and academics (Jones, 2010; Martinez, 2003; Thornborrow, 2002; Timberg, 2002; Tolson, 2001; Wood, 2009). LNTSs convey experiences, knowledge, politics and they have also played a very influential role in the United State's presidential election campaigns (Coa, 2008, 2010; Hollander, 2005; Landerville, Holbert & LaMarre, 2010; Peck, 2008; Wood, 2009, Young, 2004).

However, people enjoy watching entertainment programs like LNTSs and politicians realize this fact and have noticed the increasing number of the population influenced by entertainment shows. Accordingly, they have followed a new trend in contacting their voters through these shows. Even though they might be ridiculed or misjudged, politicians try to contact the people and give a different impression about their characters. Presidential candidates such as *George W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama*, have appeared on LNTSs such as, *The Ellen Show, The Oprah Winfiry Show, The Tonight Show with Jay Leno, The Daily Show with Jon Stewart and The Late Show with David Letterman*. Specifically, Obama's appearance on the LNTSs constitutes the focus of this study.

As far as the LNTSs are concerned the guest-host relationship must convey power relationships emerging from different sources of power and applied through different influence tactics. Power can be of different resources including: legitimate, referent, expert, reward and coercive (French & Raven, 1959). In addition to the five bases of power including: legitimate, referent, expert, reward and coercive, French and Raven in 1965 added another basis of power which is "informational power". This one stands for "power based on information, or logical argument, that the

influencing agent can present to the target in order to implement change" (Raven, 1992, p.221). The taxonomy that is basically used in studying the bases of power depends fully on the five ones legitimate, referent, expert, reward and coercive given originally by French and Raven (1959). Moreover, the informational power is intended to provide information that changes the behavior of the target as is the case in the relation between supervisor-supervisee. Accordingly, French and Raven (1959) was adopted for this study.

Through the interactional process, the interactants use different bases of power depending on the different institutional roles possessed by the speakers. These bases of power determine to some extent the types of power relationships to be symmetrical, asymmetrical or solidarity. As far as Obama's PD in the LNTSs is concerned, he uses different bases of power to answer the hosts' questions. Since power is associated with the idea of influence, therefore, these bases are applicable through different influence tactics in order to perform different functions. This means exploring what types of power Obama uses in his PD and how they can fit into the different influence tactics through multimodal aspects. Another point is if there are different bases of power, it means different power relations can be identified between the guest and host. Again, the identification of these power relations can be carried out through the investigation of the different devices both at the linguistic and gestural levels.

In fact, when talking about political issues, certain ideologies are presented by the politician who intends to transmit these ideas and beliefs to the public. Accordingly, presenting political ideologies through using personal, temporal,

distalreferences formulate a very important point since they express exactly what ideologies are intended, by whom, where and when. Therefore references of person, time and place, i.e deixis, can play a crucial role in transmitting different political ideologies to the population. A guest like Barack Obama, who was interviewed as a presidential candidate and President of the United States bearing in mind different beliefs and goals, intends to create influence. Accordingly, exploring how his political ideologies are presented in the LNTSs can be questioned in this study. Different devices were used to present the ideologies through the context of situation. The use of *deixis* as a means to present political ideologies in entertainment LNTSs has not yet been investigated in CDA.

In sum, identifying the different bases of power and how they are exercised, the power relationships which Obama holds with the hosts and the use of deixis to present his political ideologies formulate a gap in the field of CDA as far as Obama's PD within the American LNTSs is concerned. In fact, despite the studies that were carried out to investigate the impact of LNTSs on the population, their relation to PD (Carter, 1987; Danileiko, 2005; DeLauder, 2010; Fernando, 2003; Kwak, Wang & Guggenheim, 2004; Matthes, Rauchfleisch & Kohler, 2011; Sarver, 2007) and the few studies that tackled Obama's PD through a CDA (Horvath, 2009; Catalano, 2011; Viberg, 2011; Wang, 2010); still no study has been conducted to investigate Obama's bases of power, his power relations and his use of deixis to express his political ideologies in the American LNTSs, *TheLate Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Accordingly, this study attempts to identify Obama's bases of power and his influence tactics, his power relations and ideologies through conducting a CDA for the multimodal aspects (linguistics and gestural).

1.3 Research Objectives

This research attempts to determine Obama's bases of power and power relations exercised in American LNTSs and how these relations are portrayed. Moreover, the study aims at exploring the deixis used to reflect Obama's political ideologies during the interviews. The more specific research objectives are:

1. To identify Obama's bases of power in relation to his influence tactics in the two American LNTSs, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*.
2. To determine power relations between Obama and the two hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno) through multimodal aspects.
3. To identify Obama's use of deixes to present his political ideologies in the LNTSs selected.

1.4 Research Questions

Specifically, the present study explores power dynamics in American LNTSs. The study attempts to investigate power relations in the two LNTSs, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Moreover, this study investigates Obama's use of deixis to express his political ideologies. In sum, to achieve the objectives of this study, three research questions are proposed to guide the investigation:

1. How are Obama's bases of power identified in relation to his influence tactics in the American LNTSs?
2. How are power relations between Obama and the two hosts portrayed through multimodal aspects in the interviews?

3. How does Obama use deixes to present his political ideologies?

1.5 Significance of the Study

It is hoped that this study will be of considerable interest at the theoretical and practical levels. The theoretical contributions involve the political and social levels. At the political level, this study will give the politicians and presidential candidates a clear view of how to deal politically with the population in a more sophisticated way. This study will show how politics, power and ideology are intertwined with comedy and entertainment. It also sends a message to all political figures and presidential candidates that there are different means that can open horizons of communication with the voters. At the same time, it portrays a different image of what people might typically perceive of a politician.

The social level indicates that this study will give talkshow viewers an opportunity to judge the whole idea of presenting politics in entertainment talk shows because some people still think that talk shows serve entertainment purposes only. This study focuses mainly on how these talk shows can perform the same function as news and political debates but in a different environment. Moreover, these talk shows can influence people to decide on their candidates since the politicians are trying either to present their different political ideologies as well as their policies through the shows or reveal part of their personal lives, characters and family relationships.

The practical contributions involve the media and personal levels. At the media level, this study presents model hosts who are considered as experts in their

field. The study also provides a clear cut image of how a host in an entertainment talk show can have different features that enable him/her to achieve three goals including: first, political figures' success in influencing the population; second, eliciting political information about different national and regional political issues and developments; and third, creating an environment of pleasure and entertainment. A host must know well how to lead the floor, when and how to make a political joke that makes people laugh, and at the same time, get information from the politicians or presidential candidates. Besides, a host can be a source of information in addition to the interviewers through the details he/she asks or gives before asking his questions.

Persoanlly,this study will contribute a lot to my country Iraq as far as politicians, members of parliament and presidential candidates are concerned, in addition to media producers. In a country which is still facing political problems in building a democratic society, politicians need to rethink of how to get to the Iraqi people and regain their trust. Entertainment talk shows of political content can help to soften the conflicts between the politicians and make them sit together with an expert host who can direct the interview towards a friendly environment. This can change the view of the Iraqi people that politicians are always talking about violence and the past and it is time for the new generation to think of political and economic developments of the country in an optimistic way. This study reveals the point that PD is not necessarily exercised within political programs but rather it can be a source of entertainment, and at the same time, of great influence on people, especially during the elections. This point contributes to the Iraqi media producers who need to shift politics to soft news like daytime or LNTSs. They need to create a new

generation of expert journalists, interviewers and TV program hosts who have knowledge, charisma and a sense of humor. This can help in refining the Iraqi political image as being able to discuss policies and ideologies in a calm and more peaceful environment.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The present study intends to enrich and upgrade some aspects featuring Obama's PD with a focus on the bases of power, power relations and political ideologies in American LNTSs through carrying out a CDA. The study focuses on the host and guest interaction in general and the PD of Obama in non-political context, i.e., entertainment LNTSs in particular. This study will deal with Obama from the point of view of his institutional role not only as the 44th President of the United States but also as being a prominent political figure and presidential candidate. This is related to the fact that his appearance on the talk shows started before his being elected in 2008 and, further, his political achievements can be traced back many years before becoming the President of the United States.

Two famous American LNTSs are selected to be the sample of the study including *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. From these two talk shows, six interviews with Obama are to be analyzed through a CDA including the application of the SFL approach and electical models of body language (Ekman, 2003; Ekman & Friensen, 1969, 1976; Dimitrius & Mazzarella, 1998; Lardner, 2002; McNeil, 1992; Neirnberg & Calero, 1971; Pease & Pease, 2004) with a focus on facial expressions and body movements to identify

Obama's bases of power, power relations and his use of deixis to express political ideologies.

This study tackles Obama's PD and his political ideologies indiscussing different political issues in the two famous American LNTSs, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. There are three reasons for deciding to select Obama to be the subject of the current study and these include: ethnicity, religion, and political beliefs. Barack Obama has gained great popularity, particularly among those who are of multicultural origins and among the young people in America as well as other regions of the world. His calm, cool character and his sense of humour enabled him to be an un-extraordinary President who came with the slogan "change can we believe in" ("CNETGlobal Inc.", 2012). He has tried to reach all American people through the media. Political interviews and speeches have not been the only focus that Obama relies on to contact the voters for his presidential election campaign. He has realized that even the non-traditional forms of media such as television talk shows nowadays attract people not only in America but also in different parts of the world. His continuous appearance in the famous American LNTSs including specifically, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, was one of his strategies to present his policies, future plans and achievements. However, he was not the first American sitting president to appear on television talk shows. *George W. Bush and Bill Clinton* appeared before him but Obama's appearance was remarkable because he has been the first African-American candidate and President in the history of the American nation. In addition, his PD must convey some discorsal differences which reveal the influence of his ethnic backgrounds. Accordingly, his character and personality makes him worthy of

in-depth study through a CDA in order to identify how he expresses his political ideologies using power of different types and being engaged in different power relations in entertainment LNTSs.

As far as religious aspects are concerned, Obama's name has his origins in the Muslim faith since his middle name "Hussein" is a Muslim name. Therefore, members of the Islamic faith consider him as one of their folks and, accordingly, focus was devoted to his religious beliefs, specifically being Muslim or not (Catalona, 2011; "The Guardian", 2010; Horvath, 2009). In addition, Obama, in many cases, has tried to express his sympathy and cooperation with the Muslim communities. In his interview with the Al-Arabiya news channel he said, "Now, my job is to communicate the fact that the United States has a stake in the well being of the Muslim world that the language we use has to be a language of respect. I have Muslim members of my family. I have lived in Muslim countries" (Kaitlin, 2009, p.55). The argument whether Obama is Muslim or not and his beliefs towards the Muslim countries could foster conciliation and healing with the Muslim communities in Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. Moreover, this might change the view that America is at war with Islam and Muslims ("The Guardian", 2010). Additionally, he addresses the world's great religions in order to let them know they are included in his vision. This can clearly be seen in an interview on the Al-Arabia when he said, "In all my travels throughout the Muslim world, what I've come to understand is that regardless of your faith-and America is a country of Muslims, Jews, Christians, and non-believers-regardless of your faith, people have certain common hopes and common dreams" ("The Guardian, 2010"). Thus, his character became of interest to people of different religious beliefs. Therefore, the religious

aspect in Obama's life put him under the lens of CDA as far as American LNTSs are concerned in which his political ideologies concerning Muslim countries such as Iraq, Libya, Syria and other countries in the Middle-east are revealed.

Politically, Obama as a presidential candidate and a President of the United States has spoken of the prospects for peace in the Middle East. In Iraq, Obama focused his plans to reduce the American troops and reduce the level of the American forces in the country since it is the Iraqi people's desire that American troops leave the country. His policy supports the reform process and transition to democracy in the Middle East ("The Guardian", 2010). Accordingly, deciding on worldwide policies through the United States led by Obama and his political ideologies and decisions, and how Obama can tackle political issues in non-traditional forms of media is worthy of in-depth study. Obama's global effect on the American society as well as on the Middle-East and North Africa, makes him a character worthy of study, in order to identify how he could bring politics to entertainment LNTSs.

There are several reasons for the selection of American LNTSs. First, LNTSs imply the perfect renderings of certain particular features concerning the roles of the speakers, the power relations and the interactional process. Second, they are a mix of debates, consultations and humour and can therefore, manifest how people share "normative judgments" (Gomez, 2005, p.58) and reflect their ideologies. Third, the participants of LNTSs, who are of different social and institutional roles, representing different institutions and having different attitudes and ideologies can provide rich material for analyses. In particular, the current study tackles the two

LNTSs including *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. These two talk shows are considered the most highly rated ones in America. According to the about.com talkshow, David Letterman is considered the king of LNTSs since he has a net worth of \$400 million and makes \$50 million a year. Jay Leno, according to the rating of this website, sits at No.2 with a net worth of \$250 million. In addition, Obama appeared in every talk show more than once before and after the elections of 2008 in which he appeared four times on *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* (IMDb.com, Inc., 2012). The talk shows deal with two periods of Obama's political life including his being a presidential candidate and as President of the United States. In 2007 he was interviewed in these two shows as presidential candidate. It was this period that put Obama under the focus of media. Finding his way to the public through these shows, he appeared after the elections more than once and for longer durations. This is in part due to the great influence these shows have on the American people as being the most entertaining LNTSs. Another point concerning these two talk shows is that their content focuses more on political issues and jokes and, particularly, on the presidential election campaigns. Finally, the hosts are expert comedians who consider their shows as a source of political information to many people who never like to watch the news or political debates and programs (Baum, 2003; Jones, 2010; Sarver, 2007).

1.6 The Researcher's Interest in the Study

American LNTSs emerge from seeing politicians as people who can enjoy transferring their political ideologies and political experiences to others in an amusing way. The study is of personal interest to me, the researcher, in that such a

scenario is not found in my country, Iraq, in which television talk is devoted to participants of authority who never want to be outside the realm of the PD context and having a sense of humour. The purpose for deciding on American LNTSs is that in my country, Iraq, no such programs are aired on television. Entertainment can hardly be a topic of interest for politicians in a country which is still facing different political conflicts where bombing, bloodshed and lack of life's resources, like electricity, constitute a daily burden for the people.

In addition, due to my academic field of specialization in the English Language, there are no English channels or programs aired in the English Language in Iraq. All the programs are presented only in Arabic. In practice, the English language is taught in schools and universities for academic purposes only and is never used in the media due to the policy of the Iraqi government which focuses on Arabic as being the mother tongue language in the country. The only program in English about Iraq hosted by Iraqi-born, Jasim Al-Azzawi, was released on Al-Jazeera in 2006 entitled, "Inside Iraq" (Aljazeera/ Inside Iraq, 2010, Wikipedia, 2012). The guests interviewed were politicians, decision-makers, legislators, experts, and academics from Iraq to Washington DC and beyond, debating about the situation and taking place within Iraq such as the "Mahdi Army", "Sectarian Militia", "Iraq's Internal Dilemma", "Saddam's execution", "Iraqi Political Deadlock", "Corruption and Incompetence", "Sectarian Policies" and such (Aljazeera/ Inside Iraq, 2010). There were different political debates that took place in the program and different political opinions about very sensitive issues in Iraq were dealt with. Some were only personal opinions of those political figures, some were judgments and expectations from the host in which those guests accepted or refused and argued

about aggressively. Accordingly, it is difficult for me to deal with such programs about my country in which the political line is not clear. In fact, politicians come and go and the government is still conservative about certain figures who might have loyalty to certain political parties. Therefore, as far as my personal knowledge as a researcher about the political situation inside Iraq is concerned, I am not able to deal with this program and have decided to deal with American LNTSs instead. More specifically, I tackled Obama's power and PD focusing on the interviews which are related to the Iraqi political issues and other countries in the region. So, in order to critically identify and analyze the ideologies associated with the political situation in my country, Iraq, as well as worldwide policies, I have decided to deal with Obama's bases of power, his power relations and political ideologies in LNTSs through a CDA. I intend to transfer the American political model to my country's political field and to the Iraqi media as well

1.8 Definition of Terms

Though different scholars defined terms differently, it is possible to provide a number of definitions of technical terms. For easier reference, the definitions are presented below in alphabetical order by the keywords used in the study:

Bases of Power: the sources of power which specify the type of power relations and influence in the interactional process (French & Raven, 1959).

Critical discourse analysis refers to discourse analysis research that primarily studies the ways social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted,

reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk, 1993).

Deixis conveys those features of language, which refer directly to the personal, temporal, or locational characteristics of the situation within which an utterance is taking place (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Ideology: van Dijk (1997) defines ideology as, "a form of self-schema of (the members of) groups, that is, a representation of themselves as a group, especially also in relation to other groups" (p.14).

Institutional actor refers to the speech acts, topics, genres, and interactional features in the interactional process that are controlled by the participant's role as well as his/her legal professional role (Reitzes & Mutran, 1994).

Multimodality: Chao and Thomaz (2011) define this term as "the nature of social actions, which leverage the multiple channels of speech, gaze, gesture, and other instrumental body motions to perform an intricate dance with the interaction partner" (p.9).

Political discourse is simply a discourse type with explicit reference to political content or political context; and this may include the discussion of politics anywhere (Abdul-Jabbar, 2005). It is studied in terms of general concepts such as power, conflict, control and domination (Shapiro, 1981).

Power relations: Greiner and Schein (1988) define power as: "a measurement of an entity's ability to control its environment, including the behavior of other entities" (p.64). The term *authority* is often used for "power perceived as legitimate by the

social structure". In addition, power relations refer to asymmetrical, unequal, and empowering relations that belong to a special class or group (Fairclough, 1995).

1.9 Organization of the Study

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the problem statement and describes the problem addressed including dealing with PD in a non-traditional genre of media which is LNTS. The chapter presents the research questions, and the intended objectives of the study. In addition, it tackles the significance and scope of the study under investigation.

In chapter two, the literature review discusses the components of the study including media and politics, the background of the LNTSs selected for the study, the approaches of CDA, the SFL approach and the body language models. In addition, the chapter presents some of the related studies.

Chapter three provides a detailed description of the methodology of the study. The procedures including data collection and data analysis as well as the analytical framework are addressed in this chapter as well.

Chapter four contains the analysis of the data including the interviews with Obama on the two LNTSs, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* and the results arrived at. Chapter five, which is the last chapter, provides the conclusions and recommendations for further research.

1.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter sets the basis for the whole dissertation. I have tried to present a background of the study in sections and subsections presenting details of almost all

the main issues that are to be discussed in detail in chapter two. The chapter presents the objectives of the study including exploring Obama's bases of power, his power relations with the two hosts of the shows selected, and his political ideologies presented through deixis. The study will be conducted through a CDA of the verbal and non-verbal aspects of the interactional process through the application of Fairclough's CDA approach on the two American LNTSs, *TheLate Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. The statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, significance and scope of the study were all put forward in the chapter. Moreover, for further clarification, I have provided some definitions of key terms at the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review provides extensive description and details of the literature review and research including the bases of power and influence tactics in Obama's PD, power relations, television talk shows and the use of the different types of deixis to express political ideologies in LNTSs. The scope of this literature review is expanded to include research that examined the dominant variables of the research questions in sections and subsections including: the role of mass media in society, entertainment media and its relation to politics, the American television talk show and its types, LNTSs, PD, theoretical background of the personality of Barack Obama with a focus on the cultural, religious and political aspects, in addition to the historical background of the selected LNTSs and their hosts. The chapter presents the earlier studies that were carried out in relation to Obama's PD and television talk shows. Further, topics including power typology, identity, ideology, CDA approaches, the SFL approach, multimodality and gestural aspects, institutional roles in LNTSs, and the different types of deixis are also reviewed within the chapter. Finally a summary of the whole content of the chapter is provided.

2.2 Mass Media and Society

Many studies have been carried out in the vast field of communication focusing mainly on how it takes place, its different models, components, structures, functions in society and its effects on other fields of study such as education, business, media, politics, etc. (Craig, 2008; Guvenen, 1998; Hunt, Tourish, & Hargie, 2000; Kinnick & Parton, 2005; McChesney, 2000; Paton, 2011;

Rosengren,2000; Welch & Jackson, 2007). O'Sullivan (2003) believes that societies have always needed effective and efficient means of transmitting information and mass communication is the outgrowth of this need. Littlejohn and Foss (2008) frame mass communication as "the process whereby media organizations produce and transmit messages to large publics and the process by which those messages are sought, used, and consumed by audiences"(p.273). Hartley (1997) maintains that mass communication is "a term used to describe the academic study of the various means by which individuals and entities rely information through mass media to large segments of the population at the same time" (p.14). He associates it with newspaper and magazine publishing, radio, television and film, as these are used both for disseminating news and for advertising (Hartley, 1997). McQuail (1994) considers mass communication as, "one of the processes of communication operating at the society-wide level, readily identified by its institutional characteristics"(p.7). In sum, mass communication refers to the public transfer of messages from a sender, through media or technology, to a large number of recipients. In Berger's (2002) own words, "the sender often is a person in some large media organization, the message is public, and the audience tends to be large and varied"(p.121).

Literary speaking, Rayan and Wentworth (1999) state that, "we live in a world that is saturated with mass-mediated communication" (p.15).Accordingly, mass media stand to all means of spreading cultural knowledge to the media audience.Recently, mass media have become the most powerful vehicles in the moulding of beliefs, attitudes, values and lifestyles because they can reach every home, town and country. It has invaded even the most remote communities living in the backyards of the modernizing societies (Anderson, 1991; Bignell, 2004). Alison

and Hanson (1999) believe that mass media play many different roles. For the audience, they are considered as sources of entertainment and information. For media workers, they formulate an industry that offers jobs and therefore incomes, prestige and professional identity. For the owners, mass media constitute sources of profit and political power. For society at large, they are used for transmitting information and values. Today, however, mass media have become much more than that since they are considered as a necessity in our daily lives. Nowadays, television, radio, and newspapers have great influence on people (whether positive or negative), especially on the younger generations (Alison & Hanson, 1999). Stadler (2004) points out that mass media constitute "a major socializing influence, a carrier of culture, a source of information, education and entertainment, an important factor in political communication and participatory democracy, and a communicator of ideological values and norms, attitudes and beliefs" (p.2). Of all mass media channels, television in particular, has great influence on identity formation, social relationships, self-esteem, economic and political positions (McQuail, 2005; Stadler, 2004).

Several studies have been carried out to identify the effects of television and its different programs on the different social and educational aspects such as the importance of education and reduction of poverty (Stadler, 2004) and health advocacy (Gupta & Sinha, 2010), etc. As far as politics is concerned, mass media play a very important and powerful role, since in Graber's (2004) own words, "they shape the perceptions of the political world that average people and political leaders hold" (p.1). Recent studies have investigated the role of mass media with a focus on different topics such as space building (Aho, 2004), terrorism and media (Biernatzki,

2002), and socio-political changes (Kumar, 2011). Consequently, mass media function as real dominating control during political changes, elections, times of war, and political violence. Therefore, politicians and presidential candidates depend fully on mass media to present their political perspectives and ideologies to affect their supporters and voters (Barber, 2004). Typically, television programs of political contents are of different genres such as the news, debates and the political programs which almost all deal with PD due to the nature of the interactants who are politicians and the nature of the topics that are politically centred. However, currently, there has been a new trend towards creating a new environment to transfer the political issues to what is currently called "soft news" and one of which is LNTSs (Baum, 2003; Baum & Jamison, 2006).

Generally, politics makes use of all forms of mass media, including even entertainment programs like television talk shows and specifically, LNTSs which constitutes the focus of the current study in which I (the researcher) intend to investigate Obama's bases of power and his influence tactics, his power relations, and his political ideologies through a multimodal analysis of the linguistic and gestural aspects. Thus, as politics has made its way to entertainment LNTSs, more interest has been given to this genre. Therefore, exercising PD in LNTSs still needs more investigation in order to understand how they integrate to perform different sophisticated functions.

2.3 Politics and Entertainment in Television

In a world of continuously changing politics, there is always a growing interest to develop new strategies to present ongoing political changes. Eventually,

politicians are always in need to contact the public and they can achieve this throughout the different means that mass media provide. Many studies have examined the important role of media in politics as well as the political socialization and these have been able to identify the different aspects concerning the positive contributions that non-traditional forms of media have to politics (Baum, 2003; Croteau & Hoynes, 2001; Eveland, McLeod, & Horowitz, 1998; Kwak et al., 2004; Mutz, 2001; Pew, 2004; Prior, 2003; Young, 2004).

Roughly speaking, the relation between entertainment and politics is described as being very much effective for effective democratic societies (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001). Carpini and Williams (2001) define entertainment media as "real sources of factual information; they spur the social and political debate and criticism towards the rulers; political information media are too evasive, politically irrelevant and disregard the overall situation"(p.163). Davis, Gilpin, Loken, Viswanath and Wakefield (2008) categorize the forms of entertainment media to include print media such as books and magazines, audio media such as radio and music, and audio-visual media such as television, movies, web-based media, and video/computer games.

The current study focused on television and, more specifically, on entertainment LNTS since comedy and humour can provide a catharsis from the tension caused through watching news, political reports and debates. Besides, nowadays people are troubled by the miseries, catastrophes and struggles they see in the news media. Therefore, it is their chance to enjoy watching entertaining talk shows and, at the same, to get political knowledge about what is going on in the political field from the politicians themselves (Fernando, 2003; Harris, 2002;

Zillmann, 2000). Jones (2010) describes politics as being "naturally interesting, dramatic, strange, unpredictable, frustrating, outrageous, and downright hilarious in ways that far exceed the reductive formulations of politics" (p.15). In addition, he coined a new term to refer to the relationship between entertainment media and politics which is "new political television" (p.15) that serves two functions. First, he states that television producers, audiences, and politicians have enthusiasm towards entertaining politics in newly creative ways. Second, he believes that politics can be "pleasurable" (p.15). This was summarized in LaMarre, Landervilles, and Beam's (2009) own words "the age of entertainment has arrived in politics" (p.8). Prior (2005) states that entertainment-oriented media is considered as a stable factor in today's political media environment.

Most importantly, even political analysts do believe that the role of the talk shows is crucial in politics since political events, now, are closely associated with what is being said, presented and performed by the politicians interviewed in these Shows (Fernando, 2003). The entertainment talk shows provide politicians one of their best opportunities to reach a large group of voters in a sympathetic way. In addition, the continuous appearances of the presidential candidates suggest that they do believe that their appearances in these television talk shows are politically influential (Baum, 2003; Baum & Jamison, 2010). This is exactly what Barack Obama has realized by appearing more than once on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, *Tavis Smiley*, *Oprah Show*, *Ellen show* and *The View* (Baum, 2003, 2008; IMDb.com, Inc., 2012; Whitehouse, 2012). The literature on the importance and effects of presenting politics to the public through LNTSs indicates that several

studies have been carried out in the fields of politics and media (Baum, 2003, 2008; Baum & Jamison, 2006; Gomez, 2005; Jones, 2010; Moy & Pfau, 2000; Pfau & Eveland, 1996; Prior, 2003; Weaver & Drew, 2001; Young, 2004, 2008). Some of the studies manifested negative findings concerning the role of entertainment talk shows in politics (Hollander, 1995; Pfau et al., 2001). Linguistically, what is still worthy of study and has not yet explored in American LNTSs is how power in PD can be presented in entertainment television talk shows through multimodal aspects, and more specifically, the linguistic and gestural ones since talking about politics means talking about authority, institutional, political and professional roles which imply power relations and political ideologies.

As far as power relations are concerned, particularly the involvement of Obama's PD in the LNTSs' interviews, the role of entertainment television talk shows is considered very influential for his political strategies. His continuous appearances have given him more opportunities to talk to his voters in a more sophisticated way and also, to send messages to the public not only in America but also in different regions and more specifically, the Middle East. He is able to attract many people to his personality through his sense of humour in revealing his political ideologies and developmental plans and achievements. He has realized the importance of these non-traditional forms in his political affairs as a means of contacting and informing people of what is going on in the political field. Therefore, investigating how PD can be framed in multimodal analysis of the linguistic and gestural aspects through the CDA approach in entertaining contexts is worthy of study. However, this study focuses on Obama and his appearances as a presidential candidate and the 44th President of the United States on the American LNTSs, the

identification of the bases of power, the types of power relations he holds with the expert hosts interviewing him, and finally the identification of his political ideologies through the use of deixis. Accordingly, an overview is required to be done in depth on the history of the American television talk shows, their developments, types, structures, and components.

2.4 American Television Talk Shows: An Overview

Since the current study deals with American television talk shows, it is only appropriate to present a background on the genre, its development and characteristics. Before talking about the theoretical background of television talk shows, it is necessary to define the genre itself. Gregori-Signes(2000) defines television talk show simply as "a program which provides entertainment through talk" (p.15). Niven, Lichter and Amundson (2003) define it as "An American and Australian English or chat show (British) where one person (or group of people) will discuss various topics put forth by a talk show host" (p.118). Carter (1987) indicates that television talk show is a language program which has received great attention due to its specific verbal communicative patterns and effects.

Gomiz (2005) maintains that talk shows did not develop overnight but through several decades and were preceded first by radio talk. Bruun (2003) points out that over two hundred television talk shows have been broadcast on television since the year 1948. The first of these talk shows were *The Joe Franklin Show*, *Small World with Edward R. Murrow*, and *Meet the Press with Martha Rountree*. In 1950, many other television talk shows were aired on Sundays and dealt with political and social issues. The talk shows then were of two types according to the time at which they were aired to involve day time talk shows and LNTSs. During the years 1960

and 1970, LNTSs became popular nationwide with a focus on hosts like *Dick Cavett*, *David Frost*, *Mike Douglas* and *Tom Snyder* who became household names through their personal interview styles (Morse, 1985). After that, daytime talk shows began to be aired more widely in the late 1970's. Further, their numbers increased by the end of the 1980s with a focus on social issues (Abt, 1996). By the 1980s, the television talk show format changed to include more confrontational interviews, with hosts such as *David Letterman*, *Phil Donahue*, *Maury Povich*, and *Oprah Winfrey* (Penz, 1996). After that, LNTSs got more interest than day-time television shows. Timberg (2002) considers LNTSs as a microcosm of society through which the society can test social and cultural issues.

The format of television talk shows includes interviews, discussions or questions from the audience, and moderated by a single host, multiple hosts, and stand-in hosts (Bruun, 2003, Dickerson, 2001). The hosts are often comedians who open the shows with comedy monologues (Niven *et al.*, 2003). Hinckely (1999) indicates that the basic premise of an American television talk show is to bring on popular entertainers or newsmakers to live interviews with a quick-witted host. As the ability of television to impact society grew, so did the need for the expansion of the television talk show format. Fortunately, as television reached more homes all over the world, television talk shows changed to include more entertainment and human-interest features (Gee, 1999). A variety of daytime television talk shows have covered a number of issues with very distinct methods of delivery. Serious issue-oriented programs like *Donahue*, *the Oprah Winfrey Show*, and *Charlie Rose* have been important vehicles for the discussion of important social issues. Other television talk shows have featured hosts interjecting their personal opinions to

guests while fielding questions from the audience (Gee, 1999). The audience would be entertained by the anecdotes of the guests or the improvised quips of the host or sidekick. They are characterized by a group of people who are learned or who have great experience in relation to whatever issue is being discussed.

Roughly speaking, the tremendous role of American television talk shows has been accompanied by various topics for discussion including public officials, celebrities, business and financial news, sports, sexual scandals, music, personal tragedies, current issues, and combinations of any of the above. The topics of interest for television talk shows are usually concerned with common human interests and experiences of everyday life such as relationships, health, education, etc. American television talk shows often feature celebrity guests who talk about their work and personal lives as well as their latest films, television shows, music recordings or other projects that they would like to promote to the public (Bruun, 2003; Livingstone & Lunt, 1994; Tolson, 2001). Recently, within television talk shows, controversial topics have become the trend (Livingstone & Lunt, 1994). Sometimes television talk shows serve valuable purposes by airing serious topics that are difficult to talk about in public, such as divorce, unemployment, AIDS, handicapped children, dangerous toys, and difficult family relationships (Hume, 2000).

Recently, politics has become an important part of American television talk shows, especially in LNTSs. Although politics is hardly the only subject for some American television talk shows such as *Rachael Ray*, *Late Night with Jimmy Fallon*, *Joy Behar show*, *Wendy Williams Show*, etc., yet some LNTSs such as *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* have political content. Recently, more interest has been given to politics in LNTSs, especially

during the elections in which political candidates try to appear on these shows in order to increase their popularity (Baum, 2004; Just, Crigler, Alger, Cook, Kern, & West, 1996; Holbert, 2005).

Television LNTSs, in addition to their major role, which is entertaining the audience, play a vital role in the political realm. Presidential candidates currently use comedy talk shows for campaigning. This relates back in history to Richard Nixon's performance on the sketch comedy program *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In*, to be followed later by candidates like Bill Clinton who played the sax on *The Arsenio Hall Show*, Hillary Clinton on *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, John McCain on *The Late Show with David Letterman*, Barack Obama on *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*, *The View*, *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Late Show with David Letterman*, in addition to many other candidates (Baum, 2005; IMDb.com, Inc., 2012). Some studies were carried out to identify the important role of LNTSs in creating an influence as far as voters and the large populations are concerned, not only in America but also in other regions, particularly the Middle-East, since the different presidential candidates appear on those entertainment talk shows to talk about their policies at the domestic and international levels. This interest increased in the 2008 presidential elections in which presidential candidates appeared more than once with David Letterman, Jay Leno, Jon Stewart, etc. (Tennant, 2012). This opened for scholars horizons of investigations and studies to be done on this genre (Duerst, Koloen, Peterson, 2001; Castronovo, 2007; Fernando, 2003; Hollander, 2005; Matthes, et al., 2011; Niven et al., 2003; Parkin, Bos, & van Doorn, 2003; Parkin, 2010). In addition to the studies that have been done on the role of LNTSs on politics, the current study adds new aspects of investigation of PD

by tackling the two LNTSs: *The LateShow with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, in analysis with the focus on Obama's bases of power, his power relations and his use of deixis to present political ideologies.

2.5 Late Night Talk Shows and the New Political Orientation

Since the impact of media on politics is increasing day by day, there is always a need for new media sources. Consequently, politicians could find their way through one influential genre which is LNTSs. Castronovo (2007) states that political information can be presented through different media forms such as radio, television news stations, internet websites and newspapers. Yet, in recent years, politics has got a new orientation towards occupying a place in LNTSs such as *The LateShow with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, etc. Politics has found its way to LNTSs due to two features. First, LNTSs have devoted much of their content to political jokes and second because there has been clear evidence that viewers tend to get much of their political information through non-traditional forms of media and basically from comedy LNTSs (Baum, 2003, 2004, 2005; Castronovo, 2007; Pfau et al., 2001; Sarver, 2007). In fact, media critics, politicians and scholars have realized the unprecedented role played by the LNTSs during presidential elections because they have "a democratizing effect on the campaign information" (Baum, 2005, p.16).

Larris (2004) states that the presidential elections for 1992 prepared the stage for a new arena of entertainment media and politics which he describes as "the watershed moment when politics began to cross over into new media formats on a more permanent and substantial basis" (p.20). In 1992, Bill Clinton appeared on *The*

Arsenio Hall Show and the MTV's *Choose or Lose* (Fernando, 2003; Larris, 2004). Yet, the interest of politicians in LNTSs flourished more during the 2000 presidential elections, when they realized that their appearance in such popular talk shows constitutes "de rigueur" to them to have contact with the voters that they may otherwise not reach through other forms of media as much as they can do through these programs (Davis & Owen, 1998; Golway, 2000; Pfau et al., 2001; Sarver, 2007). Further, such programs as Baum (2005) believes, recast their images to present their non-political persona and make them seem more human and caring about the average citizens as when John Kerry rode his motorcycle in the studio through his appearance on *The Tonight Show* and when Bill Clinton played the saxophone during his appearance on *The Arsenio Hall Show* (Baum, 2005; Fernando, 2003; Larris, 2004). Fernando (2003) points out that due to the importance of the LNTSs and their influence of people's perceptions of presidential candidates; it created new avenues of research. Fernando (2003) states that the keys to a successful impact of the LNTSs comedy depends on the reliance on current events as well as the personalities of the guests and the jokes that made up the monologues and sketches during the shows. Jones (2010) argued that LNTSs expanded the boundaries of PD in which politicians could appear occasionally in these programs. Specifically, LNTSs can create a new hybrid of the political realm in which political talk can be expressed through language that is common to average people (Jones, 2010). Evidently, Larris (2004) indicates that, in the last few years, candidates have appeared in more than one LNTS in order to soften their character traits and gain exposure to their voters.

Roughly speaking, LNTSs do not follow one particular convention but rather imply several genres such as comedy, variety shows and talk show genres. The shows such as *The Late Show with David Letterman*, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *The Late-Night Show with Cannon O'Brien*, *The Late Late Show with Craig Ferguson*, *The Caroline Rhea Show*, *Wayne Brady Show*, are samples of shows that share the contents of the LNTS genre. They are aired late at night, open with a monologue, reordered in front of the audience who are present in the studio and focus on presidency and presidential candidates and their miscues (Fernando, 2003, p.43; Nisbet, 2010). In addition, the LNTS genre is characterized through its talk show nature. Marc (1994) in his book, *Demographic vistas*, mentioned different examples concerning the nature of LNTSs when he said that,

Steve Allen, first host of *The Tonight Show*, singlehandedly invented the art of desk-and-sofa as it is still practiced today. A stand-up comedian, composer, musician, author, and actor, Allen brought a range to the role that has never quite been matched. Jonny Carson still does characters invented by Allen; David Letterman pays homage to "Steve Allen" each time he throws a pencil at the phony window behind him and sets off the sound effect of glass being broken. (p.141)

Another characteristic of LNTSs is that they can be a platform to elicit more information about the guests and particularly their personal interests, as for instance, when Bill Clinton played the saxophone in the *Arsenio Hall Show* and revealed his interest in rock music being influenced by Elvis (Fernando, 2003; Timberg, 2002). Another feature that characterizes LNTSs is that the monologue and the opening monologues include both facts and jokes coming from "real world news and real life public figures" in order to attract and entertain the audience as well (Gledhill, 1997,

p. 364). In the LNTS genre, the variety show is presented through comedy skits as for instance, David Letterman introduces "Top Ten Lists" and "Stupid Animals Tricks" (Fernando, 2003, p. 44). Abelman (1998) points out another feature in which the guests can show off their talents, present their personal albums and, accordingly, LNTSs in Abelman's own words "cultivate popular culture" (p.194).

Almost all the studies that were carried out to investigate the impact of LNTSs focused mainly on young people. These studies concluded that young people learn a lot about political campaigns through these programs (Cao, 2008; Hollander, 2005; Kwak et al., 2004; Landerville et al., 2010; Niven et al., 2003). Some studies have pointed out the importance of LNTSs as far as viewers' attitudes towards voting are concerned in which these shows have the largest impact on the presidential campaigns (Baum, 2003; Prior, 2003, Young, 2004; Young & Tisinger, 2003). Further, the effects of LNTSs have been investigated from different points of view with a focus on the public confidence in government (Fernando, 2003).

Talking about the positive and important role of television talk shows in the political realm does not mean that the findings are always positive. In fact, some studies have stated negative effects of LNTSs on the viewers and negative ratings of presidential candidates (Baumgartner, 2007; Baumgartner & Morris, 2006; Matthes et al., 2011; Moy & Pfau, 2000; Pfau et al., 2001; Young, 2004). The studies related the negative effects to the content of jokes which are described in Baumgartner and Morris' (2008) own words as being "built around simplistic, pre-existing negative stereotypes" (p.625). Matthes et al. (2011), in their study, pointed out that, negative

effects might result due to the complexity of humorous political content and the extent to which the implicit message is presented.

Appearances of political candidates on LNTSs have become a major part of election campaigns and political strategies due to the fact that people are no longer interested in politics in its traditional forms including news and political reports, but rather, prefer purely entertainment programs such as LNTSs (Fernando, 2003; Gledhill, 1997; Nisbet, 2010). Actually, LNTSs are worthy of study because hosts share common features including their quick wit and their ability to keep the flow of the conversation with whoever would be interviewed (Fernando, 2003; McNeil, 1996; Sarver, 2007) In Abelman's (1998) own words, "the host must be a showman, thinker, commentator, narrator, and enlightener all rolled in one"(p.198). Barack Obama has realized that he needs to find his way to the population throughout his continuous appearances on the different talk shows and particularly the LNTSs such as *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. He tends to present his political ideologies reflecting his new policy not only towards the Americans but also towards the world's politics such as the Middle-East, Afghanistan. Critically, being a democratic politician, Senator, presidential candidate and President of the United States interviewed in non-institutional contexts means further investigation is needed to investigate his PD. Therefore, the theoretical background concerning LNTSs, gives importance and priority to go further in investigating this genre through a CDA approach and to justify the selection of this genre in general and the two famous LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, in particular. Accordingly, this study attempts

to investigate Obama's bases of power and influence tactics, his power relations and his political ideologies in the context of the LNTSs.

2.6 The Tonight Show with Jay Leno

The Tonight Show is considered as one of the longest running LNTSs. When it was aired first, its name was *Tonight* to become later *The Tonight Show*. It was first hosted by Steve Allen and then, Jack Parr (McNeil, 1996, p.850). The latter, is considered the first who brought politics and political issues to the show. Then, *The Tonight Show* was hosted by Johnny Carson who led the show for 30 years and his goal in the show was mainly to entertain the audience (Abelman, 1998; Fernando, 2003). In 1992, Jay Leno became the new and up-to-date host of *The Tonight Show*. His experience as stand-up comedian for 20 years helped him to gain success when he became the host of *The Tonight Show*. He could attract a large number of the population exceeding other hosts who compete with him like David Letterman (Abelman, 1998; Fernando, 2003; Sarver, 2007).

Jay Leno is considered as "the reigning king of late night"(Janney, 2003, p.35) and it was "the center piece of NBC's late night line-up for decades" (Sarver, 2007, p.5). In 1995, *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* won two Emmy Awards for outstanding comedy, variety and music series (Sarver, 2007). He has interviewed different guests ranging from actors, comedians, musicians and, more importantly, politicians. Since *The Tonight Show* could attract about 5.7 million viewers, Jay Leno has occupied a crucial position in the American society and, especially, during the election campaigns since he devotes his jokes mainly to politics. As far as politicians are concerned, Jay Leno has interviewed many political figures such as

Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Hillary Clinton, Monica Lewinsky, Bob Dole, Al Gore, and Barack Obama (Dagnes, 2010; Sarver, 2007; Schultz, 2004).

The Tonight Show is 60 minutes in length and its interviews are divided into a six-segment format. The first part includes the monologue by Jay Leno at the beginning of the show and this monologue takes 10 minutes accompanied by reference to the current events and brief comedy sketches which are combined together. The second segment involves a full comedy sketch such as headlines. The third segment introduces the first guest and the interview is divided into two parts. The fifth segment stands for the appearance of the second guest. Finally, the show is closed with a musical performance which is sometimes substituted by a stand-up comedian. At the end of the episode, Jay Leno walks to the camera to thank and bid farewell ("NBC.com", 2012).

The studies which investigated *The Tonight Show* in relation to the other LNTSs such as *The Late Show with David Letterman* focused on the political perspectives and their effects on the population, particularly, on young adults' (Baum, 2003; Castronovo, 2007; Druckman, 2001; Duerst et al., 2001; Landreville et al., 2010; Niven et al., 2003). Yet, investigating these political perspectives in the social context of the LNTSs from a PD aspect still formulates a gap in the fields of PD and LNTSs. Further, power relations between a political figure like Barack Obama and hosts like Jay Leno and David Letterman have not yet been investigated and it is the task of the current study to investigate Obama's bases of power, his power relations, and his political ideologies in the LNTSs as being a non-traditional context of dealing with politics. Therefore, tackling a comedy LNTS like *The*

Tonight Show with Jay Leno, and dealing with critical political issues that can influence the policy in the world as a whole, makes it worthy of study.

2.7 The Late Show with David Letterman

Generally speaking, David Letterman, the host of *The Late Show*, is considered the most acerbic of the LNTS hosts who is willing to go to an extreme level to make a point (Fernando, 2003, Laufenberg, 2005; Sarver, 2007). He began his career as a TV weatherman and then, started to compete with Jay Leno for hosting *The Tonight Show* on NBC. Later, David Letterman decided to take an offer from CBS for a LNTS. In 1993 *The Late Show with David Letterman* started to be aired. Letterman occupied many positions and played different roles in television including a Kiddie show host, a late night movie host, and a weekend weatherman (Laufenberg, 2005). He uses caustic wit, mockery and sarcasm as devices to entertain the audience, who are entertained more by his monologue and the show favourites, "Top Ten list", "stupid pet tricks" and "know your current events". Moreover, he interviews celebrity guests and presidential candidates (Ellis, 2003, p.71). *The Late Show with David Letterman* won six Emmys for its outstanding comedy and variety of topics (Sarver, 2007). Yarwood (2004) believes that humor is an important means for politicians to connect with the audience and talk show hosts telling jokes is considered as one of the techniques to connect the politicians with their voters. Duerst et al. (2001), in their study, indicated that when David Letterman in his show consistently criticizes a political figure, people would consider these criticisms as valid since people do believe and trust the news of these LNTSs.

While Letterman does engage in some political humour, his guests typically come from main-stream Hollywood, including actors talking about their latest projects and musicians publicizing their latest releases. Additionally, many politicians appeared on *The Late Show with David Letterman* such as, Joe Biden Gorge W. Bush, John Kerry, Hillary Clinton, Al Gore, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama (Heit & Nicholson, 2010). Almost all the interviews focused on presidential campaigns and political achievements (Rhea, 2007).

However, not many studies have tackled *The Late Show with David Letterman* whether in politics, media or discourse. It was studied under the umbrella of comedy LNTSS in comparison with other shows such as *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* and *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. The studies done focused on the impact of those shows on the election campaigns and voters (Hollander, 2005), comedy variables (Lanreville et al., 2010; Young & Tisinger, 2006), examining audience (Sarver, 2007), the shows effectson young adults (Castrononvo, 2007), and laughter in media interviews (O'Connell & Kowal, 2004).

Obama appeared six times on Letterman's show as a presidential candidate and a President of the United States. He appeared four times in person in the show during the years 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009 and appeared twice in the "Top Ten list" during the year 2008 ("IMDb.com. Inc.",2012.). Through the interviews with David Letterman, Obama discussed different political issues and talked about his family and his habits as well (Baum, 2008). Being comedian and experienced in interviewing political figures and celebrities, gave Letterman the power to make jokes about his guests in which many records concerning the number of jokes he

made about his guests were the highest (Duerst et al.,2001; "Media Monitor.com", 2008). Therefore, as one of the most influential LNTSs which politicians partly rely on for their election campaigns makes it worthy of study in order to investigate PD in entertainment LNTSs.

2.8 Barack Obama: Personality and Career

The current study deals with Barack Obama's interviews on the two LNTSs *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Accordingly, this section provides an authorial background of his life, characteristics and political achievements in addition to the studies that tackled his PD in depth. Barack Hussein Obama was born on 4th August, 1961 in Honolulu. His father was a black man, Barack Obama Snr., from Kenya and his mother was a white woman from Kansas, Ann Dunham. His parents were divorced in 1967. At the age of 10 and therefore, Obama was brought up by his grandparents and though he lived in a white household, he was identified as a black man. Living in Honolulu/ Hawaii, led Obama to join the elite academy on a scholarship. He was one of the only three African-American students and he graduated in 1979. He attended Columbia University in New York and earned a law degree from Harvard University in Massachusetts. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Columbia University in New York City, where he also studied political science (Wang, 2010; Weatherson, 2011). Obama was elected as President of the Harvard Law Review Journal, the first African-American who could hold such a position. He worked at the Business International Corporation and New York Interest Research Group. Later, he worked in the social services organization in Chicago. He taught at the Law School at the University of Chicago, which later helped him to organize voter registration drives during the 1992 elections. He served as a Senator of States since 2004, and on the 20th

of January 2009, Obama became the 44th President of the United States. Moreover, he is the first African-American President in the history of the United States ("Pew research center", 2004, 2008; Wang, 2010). His voters and supporters were almost all young people, African-Americans and people looking for change for their nation (Weatherson, 2011).

Gatta (2010) expressed his opinion about Obama when he said that, "Obama's youthful presence was exciting to the American people. He represented a new age of American politics. There were high expectations as he was supposed to bring a new charismatic and substantive voice to the nation" (p.4-5). His speeches flourished the researchers to investigate his character, style, PD and ideologies with focus on his influential speeches (Boyed, 2009; Catalano, 2011; Horavth, 2009; Shayegh & Nabifar, 2012; Wang, 2010, Weatherson, 2011; Viberg, 2011). Despite the limited studies that have been carried out to investigate Obama's PD through using a CDA approach, there is still a need for further research to be carried out to investigate his power relations and ideologies in a new context of situation resembled in the LNTSs. The current study, then, attempts to fill the gap concerning investigating Obama's PD not only through his speeches but through analyzing his interviews. This study attempts to analyze Obama's bases of power, his power relations and ideologies in the two most popular LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Clearly, the different interactants carrying different identities and performing different institutional roles that can specify their discoural functions can add more depth to the investigation of power relations through a CDA approach.

2.9 Identity Meaning and Types

In social psychology, the notion of "identity" has been related to research on social roles and positions of individuals in social structures (Balmer, 2001; Brewer, 2001; Deaux, 2001; Dickson & Kenneth, 2006; Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002; Hogg & Terry, 2001; Scollon, 1996; Smith, 2004; Stets & Burke, 2000; SurrIDGE, 2007). Tracy (2002) defines "identity" as "the core aspects of the selfhood which each person possesses as being stable and fixed" (p.17). For Rummens (1993), it is the distinctive character possessed by an individual, or shared by members of a social category or group. The term, "identity" is used to understand people and their roles in the community including their feelings, desires and interests since they are part of the person and exist as long as the person is a participant in structured relationships (Brubacker & Frederick, 2000). Identities can be seen through racial and ethnic-language groups, social class, material status, gender and age which are necessary when people fill out forms. According to the different possessed identities, societies can categorize their members (Stryker, 2002).

Typically, there are two types of identities: personal and social (Layder, 2004). The personal identity refers to those qualities and features that are strictly individual while the social identities refer to the knowledge of a social group. The social identities locate the person in relation to a social category, position and status (Fiske, Gilbert, & Lindzet, 2010; Layder, 2004; Postmes & Jetten, 2006). Augoustinos and Walker (1995) draw a distinction between the personal and social identities by suggesting that if someone asks a question like "who are you?" and the answer might be, "I'm highly strung", or "I worry a lot", it means that the person is talking about his personal identities; while answers like, "I am a psychology

student", "I am Australian" means that the person is talking about his social identities (p.98). Simon (2004) states that the distinction between personal and social identities tends to uncover the active, regularity role of the self in group contexts. In fact, social identity has been mainly conceptualized as a variable depending upon the different social positions which individuals occupy in society. It can help to conceive how membership of certain groups can affect the perception of self and personal values and vice versa (Hannum, 2007; Tajfal, 1982).

Commonly, group members interact with each other, holding different positions and the roles associated with these positions are rather fixed societal and cultural products (Simon, 2004). Hannum (2007) points out that social identity inform the individual of how to lead and respond to other people and vice versa. Therefore, social identity is the person's knowledge that he/ she belongs to a social category or group. Literary speaking, a social group is "a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or review themselves as members of the same social category"(Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p.34). The social categories in which individuals place themselves are parts of a structured society and exist only in relation to other contrasting categories such as black vs. white and each has more or less power, prestige, status, and so on. (Stets &Burke, 2000).

When these two competing identities, i.e., personal and social, are taken together seriously, four minor kinds of identities become visible. Tracy (2002, pp.18-19) outlined four types of identities including master, interactional, personal and relational identities. The first kind is "master identities", referring to those aspects of personhood that are presumed to be relatively stable and unchanging such as gender,

ethnicity, age, and national and regional origins. These identities do not change and can be established through ways people of different identities interact with each other. The second kind is called "interactional identities" referring to specific roles that people take on in a communicative context with regard to specific people; for instance, a person can be a friend in one context and employee in another. The interactional identities differ from the master identities; yet related to them sometimes, as for instance, a school teacher and a nurse are expected to be females. The third kind is "personal identities" standing for personality, attitudes, and character. These identities are expected to be stable, unique and invoked. Unlike the master and interactional identities, personal identities are frequently contested in which others do not grant a person to be, for instance, honest or thoughtful. The last kind is "relational identities" referring to the kind of relationship that a person holds with another person in a specific situation. In this case, types of interactional relations are identified as being equal, partly equal or superior. These identities are highly variable and moreover, can be negotiated (Tracy, 2002). The actual fact, identities help to provide people with a sense of belonging and relatedness and help people locate themselves in their social world. Moreover, they provide people with self-respect and self-esteem which don't occur independently but rather result from others' acceptance. However, these functions of identities imply interconnections with the notion of face (Simon, 2004) (For more details on "Face in interaction", see section 2.11).

People's different identities can be presented in language differently since in different social situations, individuals elaborate different linguistic codes. In fact, identifying individual's identities can be done through the use of pronouns, as for

instance, *I* as compared with all other pronouns is higher than in a working class group. In other words, *I* is the greatest among the upper class. So, for some people the pronoun *I* is very much used in their discourse while sometimes it is absent in some other individual discourses (Bernstein, 1975, p.40). Tajfel (1982) maintains that the *self* is a duality which consists of the *I*, a conscious and knowing subject, and the *Me* which is known to the *I*. This separation does not mean that they represent two separate and autonomous aspects of reality because the *I* and *Me* cannot be dissociated within the self. In fact, people's attitudes of others formulate the organized *Me* to which one reacts as *I* and as a result *the Self* emerges from the interaction between the *I* and *Me*. Further, a distinction is made between personal and social identities through the use of the pronouns "me" and "we" (Brewer, 2001; Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Thoits and Virshup (1997) indicate that, "Individual "me" social identities are identifications of the self as a certain kind of person, whereas collective "we" identities are identifications of the self with a group or category as a whole" (p.106).

In the realm of politics, identities can affect conceptions of legitimacy, shared interests, and policy choices, as well as preferences for political leaders and parties (Adbelal, Herrera, Johnston & McDermott, 2009). Accordingly, identities can help in identifying Obama's use of deixis to express his political ideologies. Specifically speaking, talking about identities in social contexts leads us to talk about ideologies because individuals communicate while each has his/her own values, attitudes and beliefs (for more details on "ideologies" see section 2.15).

McGregor (2003), in his study about CDA, points out that the three major tenets of CDA include social structure, culture, and language. Social structure refers to the class, roles, age, ethnic and gender identities. Culture is shaped by the social structure and refers to the members' professional culture, socialization, and member profile such as being part of the middle class, white, black and woman. Finally, language refers to the words and language that we use to shape our identities within the social and cultural constraints. Accordingly, identities constitute the main components of the CDA approach in order to identify relationships, knowledge and beliefs through three levels of analysis including, the actual text, the discursive practices, and the social context which justifies the need for dealing with the institutional roles of their interactants as well as the different discursive practices (McGregor, 2003).

2.10 Institutional Roles in Late Night Talk Shows

Generally speaking, Bruke (1991) states that, "among the important things named are positions within social structure that carry shared expectations for behaviour, i.e., *roles*" (p.2). Roles are considered as "key units of social structure" (Reitzes & Mutran, 1994, p.313). Dinka and Lundberg (2006) indicate that within a group, different members have different roles. Roles help to synchronize actions performed by the group and are specifically defined as, "the modal behaviour of occupants of a position" (Argyle, 1969, p.277). The concept of role has been investigated by many scholars in different fields such as sociology, psychology, social psychology, and sociolinguistics (Bayyurt, 1996; Dinka & Lundberg, 2006; Gardner, 2003; Haig, 2011; Kleine, Kleine & Laverie, 2005; Tates, Meeuwesen, Elbers & Bensing, 2002). Goffman, in 1959, proposed three levels in which individuals adopt and act out roles during interaction. These three levels according to

which individuals perform their roles include role-performing (a person performs his/her role in the social context), role-taking (individuals take on the role of others), and role-making (a person produces and reproduces roles according to the social context). In other words, individuals identify themselves and are identified by others as holding particular social statuses or positions, as for instance, caring for a child stands for a woman's identity as a mother (Stryker, 2000). Stryker (2000) states that one's roles in society determine to a large extent his/her own identity, as for instance, a politician would consider first and foremost how the outcome of a particular dispute may influence the election campaign and, accordingly, the politician would look for the choices that consider only the behaviours that make good politics.

Thomas (1986) divided roles into two types: "social roles" and "discourse roles" (p.92). Social roles refer to the social relationship between one interactant and another while discourse roles refer to the relationship between the interactants and the message (Thomas, 1986). Social roles imply power, rights, and obligations of the participants such as a doctor, engineer or teacher. There are three types of roles including: interpersonal roles, activity roles, and social roles. Interpersonal roles refer to the relationship among the participants of an interaction such as friends, strangers, family members, and colleagues. Activity roles refer to "the relationship obtaining between one interactant and another in that particular activity type where the interaction occurs". Social roles stand for "the roles which the individual occupies in society" (Tanaka as cited in Ay, Aydin, Ergence, Gokmen, Issever, & Pecenek, 2009, pp.238-241).

Generally, an interaction that takes place within an institution or an organization constitutes institutional interaction in which the interactants perform institutional roles. Blackmore (2010) assumes that the institutions of governments and businesses are run by individuals who play institutional roles in which their criteria of judgment cope exactly with that of the institution they serve and who are mostly professionals and experts. Evidently, individuals' identities are shaped and revealed by the roles they encounter with other individuals in the daily contexts. As far as media context is concerned, Giles's (2002) believes that, "a given media text creates positions for participants whose contributions are framed by their status in that particular text" (p.604). More specifically, Ay et al. (2009) specify the interactants' roles within the media genre, the television talk show, to involve interviewer/host/presenter, interviewee/guest and studio audience (p.39).

Timberg (2002) maintains that the most governing principle of the television talk show is that everything that occurs during the show is framed by the host who characteristically has a high degree of control over both the show and the production team. From a conversational point of view, the host possesses a high ability for conversing and leading the discussion in the talk show. From a production point of view, the host is the managing editor. From a marketing point of view, the host is the label that sells the product. From the power and organizational point of view, the host's star value is the fulcrum of power in contract negotiations with advertisers, network executives, and syndicators. Strictly speaking, without a brand-name host, a show may continue but it will not be the same. Thornborrow (2007) assumes that, "A talk show television or radio program would not be popular without a popular host" (p.15). The television talk show is often built around the

personality of the host who functions as both the emcee and the moderator. The hosts serve as moderators when they have multiple guests (Thornborrow, 2007). Television talk show hosts definitely stamp a show with their personalities and, further, they fulfil a designated role that is necessary for its success. They may ask questions or make humorous remarks according to the requirements of the show. The hosts are aware of the fact that they offer a public service, and hence appear as experts, educating their audiences and, at the same time, entertaining them (Timberg, 2002).

Abt (1996) believes that to become the host of a talk show is a complicated career path; yet, most well-known hosts have a background in journalism or entertainment. The talk show host appears in the vast majority of episodes, providing the show with a stable central figure. In recognition of the importance of the job, many talk shows are named after the host such as *The Late Show with David Letterman*, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, *Tavis Smiley*, *Oprah Show*, and *Ellen show*. In fact, having an identifiable host makes it more likely that viewers will watch the show since the host is the central element of the talk show. Whether mediating discussions, bringing in experts to educate the audience, or entertaining them or interviewing celebrities or politicians, the talk show host is the face of the show (Thornborrow, 2007). Almost all the hosts are comedians, experts, writers, and at the same time, are aware of the norms and rules specified to the roles they are performing, including being hosts and interviewers. Currently, they are playing a very important role in the election campaigns since they connect the presidential candidates to their voters through discussing their different ideologies and strategies.

Gregori-Signes (2000) states that television talk shows feature a panel of guests, usually consisting of a group of people who are learned or who have great experience in relation to whatever issue is being discussed on the show. Sometimes, a single guest is interviewed to discuss his/her work or area of expertise with a host or co-host. This leads us to two types of television talk shows depending on the guests. The first type involves a presenter plus celebrity guests, who appear singly or in pairs to talk about current events/movies/books/scandals. These are generally well-behaved affairs —often the celebrity guest approves a list of questions beforehand —and the atmosphere can be one of backslapping and bonhomie, although the very best presenters do gain a reputation for sly digs at their guests (Deshotel, 2003). These shows usually have a regular, daily evening slot, and purport to reflect what is going on in the world, with guests and cynical humour. The second type of television talk show does not involve celebrity guests, although the presenters may be celebrities and have become brand names in their own right. These are issue-based television talk shows, in which the guests have unique contributions to make about subjects like: "My boyfriend turned out to be a girl", "I stole my daughter's man" or "I'm too fat to fly"(Deshotel, 2003, p.4). These shows purport to deal with the reality of human existence, and provide a forum involving contributions from the presenter, guests, and members of the studio audience and telephone callers. The guests in television talk shows are sometimes seated and sometimes introduced to enter from backstage. The guest interview is often the highlight of the talk show. Whether it is a celebrity for a national talk show or a local politician on a public access channel talk show, the talk show host should be prepared in advance to discuss the relevant issues with the guest. Some guests

require the questions to be asked in advance while others submit a list of talking points they want to get across to the host prior to the show (Deshotel, 2003).

As far as the current study is concerned, the guest (Barack Obama) and the hosts (Jay Leno and David Letterman) perform different social and interpersonal roles and these different roles, in addition to their different identities, would specify the types of power relationships holding between the interactants. Identities and roles of the participants in which a politician is being interviewed in entertainment talk shows, means PD is taking place in a non-traditional context and hence, it would imply the presentation of the different ideologies since PD, roles and identities are associated with the notion of ideology expressed through multimodal aspects.

2.11 Discursive Practices in Relation to Identity and Role Identifications

Davis and Harre (1990) introduced the concept of "positioning" to refer to the process by which individuals are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants (p.40). Stryker (2000) refers to the term "position" as the socially recognized categories of actors (p.57). In other words, positions can be predicators of the person's behaviour in certain categories as for instance a woman can be a mother, teacher, doctor, etc. and in each position she performs different practices. McCall and Simons (1978) describe the term role identity as "the character and the role that an individual devises for himself as an occupant of a particular social position" (p.68). This means that persons who name themselves according to the context of a position suggest a new type of identity which is called "role identity". Role identities are formulated and maintained within social interaction through self-presentation and altercating to be understood through social interaction

with others (Bruke, 1991, p.2). The communication process requires the implementing of multiple identities. Sometimes, these identities can be visible and shape how people talk, while others might be presented through the different ways each person expresses himself/herself (Miller, 2000).

Clearly, identities are closely associated to the "discursive practices" in a reciprocal relation (Lloyd & Gillard, 2010; McGregor, 2003; Tracy, 2002). Young (2007) explained that discursive practices stand for the construction and reflection of social realities through actions that require identity, ideology, belief, and power. These refer to the activities performed by people throughout the interactional process. In McGregor's (2003) own words, "discursive practices refer to rules, norms, and mental models of socially acceptable behaviour in specific roles or relationships used to produce, receive, and mental models of socially acceptable behaviour in specific roles or relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret the message" (p.4). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) associated this concept with the discursive practices which may position individuals in a particular way or allow the individuals to position themselves. Tracy (2002) defines discursive practices as simply "talk activities that people do"(p.21). These discursive practices are preferred to the term "talk" because discursive practices present talk not as a single action but rather as an activity that contains different parts and kinds, ranking from narratives, speech acts, dialects or even interaction structures. Discursive practices involve the ways of being in the world that signifies identities as when people learn to be mothers, daughters, members of ethnic groups, volunteers, etc. (Gee, 1990). They stand for the spoken and non-spoken rules and conventions that lead individuals and determine how they can interact with others performing different social and

institutional roles (McGregor, 2003). Discursive practices may stand for simple talk or a large one. Moreover, they may focus on something done by an individual or they may refer to actions requiring more than one party. Table 1 represents the kinds of discursive practices categorized by Tracy (2002, p. 23).

Table 1

The Kinds of Discursive Practices

Simple Discourse Practices		
No	Discursive Practices	Description
1	Person-referencing practices	Words used to address others and to refer to self/others
2	Speech acts	Social acts performed through talk: includes criticizing, informing, praising, directing
3	Sounds of Speech	Dialect and accent; ways of using one's voice (Loudness,rate, pitch quality)
4	Language Selection	The meaning of choosing one language, another, or a combination in talking(e.g., English, Spanish, Vietnamese)
Complex Discursive Practices		
1	Interaction structures	Expected ways to pair utterances, rules about taking turns
2	Directness style	The relative directness or indirectness with which a speaker expresses self
3	Narratives	structure, content, and style of stories
4	Stance indicators	The linguistic,vocal, and gestural means of conveying an attitude toward a topic or the conversational partner

Note. Adopted from "Everyday Talk. Building and Reflecting Identities" by K. Tracy, 2002, New York, p.22. Copyright 2002 by The Guilford Press.

The current study tends to investigate Obama's multimodal aspects in which his linguistics and gestural aspects are to be identified to investigate his bases of power, his power relations and his use of deixis to present his political ideologies through a CDA. This requires the identification of the different discursive practices through which power relationships can be identified. A very important point to put into consideration is that, the discursive practices are closely associated with the notion of "face" since people interact while they are trying to achieve acceptance and to be liked and appreciated (Tracy, 2002, p. 20).

2.12 Questions in Late Night Talk Shows

Questions are an important resource for managing broadcast talk. With the help of the different question and answer invitations, the transition from one topic to another can easily take place. They can restrict the focus of topics, set up expectations for an appropriate next action or just select the speaker (Heritage, Greatbatc & Roth, 1995). To examine question-answer formal properties in television talk shows, it is important to take into account the institutional roles assigned to speakers, the interactional roles they assume themselves, the relevance of the topic, the assumptions and the more or less controlling role of the show host. Clayman and Heritage (as cited in Dalineiko, 2005) point out that news interview questions can express particular aspects of the public roles of the interviewer and interviewees. Questions can also express elements of the personal identities of both.

Television talk shows are organized in terms of questions and answers in which the talk show host directs the questions expecting answers from the guests (Penz, 1996). In addition, in Penz's (1996) own words, "questions are used by the

institutional representative to control the flow of information" (p.102). They occupy a central role in the structure of the television talk shows and are quite effective in presenting political information to the public. At the same time questions reveal the show host's personality since every host has his own style of controlling the interview. This means that besides controlling the interaction, questions may constrain the discourse according to which the syntactic choices of the interviewer himself/herself may structure the guest's responses (Harris as cited in Penz, 1996). In other words, the form of a question influences what will be regarded as an appropriate answer. Therefore, the television talk show interviews do not follow a certain formal construction of responses but rather they follow the host and his/her forms of questions used to elicit information (Ilie, 1999).

Generally speaking, questions are utterances that are syntactically interrogative and are perceived by language users as answer eliciting. Moreover, requiring an answer is often interpreted as requiring or expecting information. These answer-eliciting and information-eliciting questions are considered as standard questions; yet, not all interrogatives are standard questions (Ilie, 1999). In fact, apart from informative answers, questions can bring out other types of responses, such as answers involving confirmation, granting of permission and meaningful gestures. Those kinds of questions are regarded as non-standard ones. In television talk shows the host's use of questions is closely related to the purpose of interaction, which is to challenge, evaluate, express, accept or reject ideas, opinions and points of view, to handle controversies and to benefit the audience. This is one of the reasons why not all questions are meant to elicit answers. According to Danileiko (2005), there are three types of questions classified according to form and function. These

questiontypes include the formal, complex, and functional questions (p.14). Most importantly, dealing with the different forms of questions means a reference must be made to the forms of responses given to them. There are two categories of questions: the formal and functional.

The formal categories of questions consist of yes/no questions, declarative questions, tag questions and wh-questions. The yes/no questions provide respondents with a choice between positive and negative possibilities. According to Penz (1996) such questions that can receive "a minimal answer, "yes" or "no", tend to receive these kind of answers in asymmetrical discourse situations" (p.112). In other words, if one of the participants has more power than the other, the answer often tends to be just "yes" or "no". The guest may interpret the question as an invitation to give details since one of the goals of LNTSs is to transfer political information to the public as much as possible (Danileiko, 2005).

Danileiko in her findings states that in television talk shows, wh-questions often function as story openers in which they allow the guests to present their own stories and opinions. Penz (1996) claims that wh-questions control discourse in asymmetrical speech because they are used to request the information from respondents at the lower hierarchical end. Other researchers point out that in asymmetrical relationships between interactants, wh-questions are less controlling than yes/no questions, declarative questions and tag-questions because they do not set the respondent's answer to a high degree(Bennett, 1995; Danileiko, 2005, Kress & Fowler,1979).

The information-eliciting questions require information, but not necessarily a verbalized answer. This question is primarily meant to get certain information,

verbalized or not. The guest can either verbally respond or answer the question by just nodding or shaking his/her head(Ilie, 1999).

Example (2-5): You were in Canada pretty recently?

The action-eliciting questions require a request to perform an action and stand up. These questions are directed to the audience attending the television talk show in the studio (Ilie, 1999).The mental response-eliciting questions require neither a verbalized nor a non-verbalized answer, but a silent acknowledgement of, and preferably agreement with, the speaker's message (Ilie, 1999). These questions function rhetorically and attempt to elicit no response at all, but rather, are meant to reinforce some kind of awareness in the guest as the example indicates (Ilie, 1999).

Example (2-6): Can I just say this about Europe, and I know this sounds very ignorant.

(p. 981).

Ilie in 1999 studied these three types of questions in detail in a study entitled "*Question-response argumentation in talk shows*". According to his study, the expository questions tend to occur in the introductory utterances of the show host at the beginning of the interview. Expository questions do not elicit a verbalized response. They occur in initial positions and usually there are no preceding utterances that they hint at as, for instance, "*I know you...*" (Ilie, 1999, p.980). In addition, the rhetorical questions according to Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) are "interrogative in structure" but they have "a force of strong assertion" (p.240). The speaker does not expect an answer to it. Ilie (1999) states that rhetorical questions

are used to achieve opinion manipulation, power manipulation when used by counsels, and power challenging when used by witnesses. Moreover, they shape arguments and influence public opinions. This can happen by defending or attacking particular points of view or by reaching a shared agreement. Below is an example taken from Ilie (1999, p.980):

Example (2-7): You are kidding?

Xiang (2012) investigated a new form of question which was hypothesized originally by Heritage and Roth (1995). Xiang (2012) calls it "statements" (p.160) indicating that statements that perform the function of questions are common in institutional talk and everyday conversation. In sum, the theoretical background concerning the different types of questions and the responses that are required for them, can help in the identification of the different power relationships holding between Obama and the two hosts: David Letterman and Jay Leno in the selected LNTSs as far as the CDA approach is applicable.

2.13 The Concept of Face in Interaction

Dealing with the identities, roles and the discursive practices within the interactional process, means that the notion of "face" must be clarified in the realm of the investigation. The necessity of connecting those terms together can be identified first through defining the term *face* itself which is related back to Goffman (1955) who was the first person to investigate the term. Goffman was followed by Brown and Levinson (1987) who applied the term to politeness strategy (Haugh, 2009; Haugh & Chiappini, 2010; Tracy, 2002). For Goffman (1967). The term "face" is defined as,

The positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself (p.5).

Goffman's definition states that face implies the meaning of the social aspects and self-presentation. Further, the definition implies that the self-image is associated with some social attributes such as being polite, flexible, persistent or nice. In addition, he associates the notion of *face* with the social roles and identities of people to specify the kind of behaviour they would follow (Dippold, 2009). Goffman (1967) proposed the term *contingency* in association with the notion of face in which "a participant must ensure that a particular *expressive order* is sustained... so that anything that appears to be expressed by them will be consistent with his face" (p.9). A person's face is an image of the self that is based on social expectations. It addresses the questions, "Who am I supposed to be in this situation?" and "What behaviors are expected of me?" (Radford, Radford, Connaway & DeAngelis, 2011, p.434). Due to the fact that one's sense of face has to be constantly established and maintained in how one acts, Goffman (1967) proposed the term "line" to refer to the actual pattern of verbal and non-verbal acts that are used to express how one sees oneself in a specific situation (p.5). Brown and Levinson (1987), in their book *Politeness*, give a similar definition to that of Goffman's (1967) as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (p.61).

For Tracy (2002), face is considered as an accomplishment which people attempt to have in order to be liked and appreciated in the community. Leung and

Chen (2001) relate face to "the respect, pride, and dignity of an individual as a consequence of his/her social achievement and practice of it" (p.34). Haugh and Chiappini (2010) state that face is "internally consistent" and is "supported by judgments" displayed by others (p.2). In other words, in the interactional process, face involves evaluation of others (Haugh & Hinze, 2003).

After categorizing identities into four types, Tracy (2002) related the concept of face to the personal identities (gender, age, ethnicity, etc.) and relational identities (equal or unequal) (p.20-21). In other words, face refers to the participants' understanding of their relatedness to a particular group and relationships they must perceive to other members. Tracy (1999) focused on the relation between face and identity by connecting face to particular situated identities that people bring into the interactional process. However, face and identity rest on the features of face as referring to the person's immediate claims about himself in the interactional process, while identity stands more for personal identity features. Arundale (2009) considers face to be not equivalent with identity stating that face is a dyadic phenomenon, whereas identity is an individual one and hence, it is a much broader phenomenon.

Brown and Levinson (1987) indicate that every person has two faces including positive and negative face carrying two meanings: "saved" and "lost" face (p.44). Positive face refers to "the desire to be appreciated and approved of by the selected others", while negative face "refers to the want to be unimpeded and free from imposition" (Tracy, 1990, p.210). Positive face is considered as the need of the person to be connected with a sense of belonging to the group. It is the person's desire to be accepted. Yule (2010) proposes the idea that negative does not mean

"bad" but rather it refers to the "opposite of positive". Evidently, it refers to the need of the person to be independent. Positive face refers to the person's desire to be accepted by others while negative face refers to the person's desire to be unimpeded and free from any imposition (Tracy, 1999). In fact, Brown and Levinson (1978) added another aspect of the face. They state that if someone said something whether verbal or non-verbal contrary to the negative face, it is a "face-threatening act" (henceforth, FTA) such as a request, offer, while if the threatening was to the positive face then it would imply disagreement, guilt, apologies (p.70). In addition, speech acts like requests, suggestions, threats, and warnings are to threaten one's negative face while disapproval, disagreement, complement and insults are to threaten one's positive face (Vilki, 2006).

Consequently, FTA requires the need to preserve one's self-esteem in interaction and this Goffman (1967) calls "face-saving" (p.50). Brown and Levinson (1978) emphasize the point that since FTAs are routinely committed, then face saving strategies are recognized universally as being necessary for the interaction to proceed. Yule (2010) indicates that a positive face saving act that emphasizes the positive face tends to show solidarity and draw attention to common goals, as for instance, "Let's do this together...", "You and I have the same problem, so..." (p.9). A face-saving act that emphasizes the negative face expresses concern about imposition, as for instance, "I'm sorry to bother you..." and "I know you're busy, but..." (Yule, 2010, p.9).

When people's images are threatened, they tend to engage in face-work strategies. Face-work strategies are considered as communicative devices that aim to

be consistent with one's face needs. These are tactics that speakers tend to use to present face threatening acts (Goffman, 1967). There are two types of face-work strategies "preventive" and "corrective" (Goffman, 1967). The preventive face-work strategy is employed when the speaker tends to avoid an FTA and thus save face; while the corrective face-work strategy is used when an FTA has already taken place and the person attempts to correct the wrong doing and restore the damaged face. Goffman (1967) suggests different types of face-work strategies including rituals (greetings and closing), corrective process (apology and acceptance of an apology), avoidance process, and poise.

Brown and Levinson (1987) associate face to the politeness strategies since people tend to behave in a polite way in order to be liked and to achieve their goals. Leech (1980) defines politeness as "strategic conflict avoidance" (p.19). Yanagiya (1999) defines it as "an activity serving to enhance, maintain, or protect face"(p.2). The politeness phenomenon serves positive and negative face. Vilkki (2006) points out that the kind and amount of FTA and politeness strategies are determined by the weightiness of the different speech acts applied by the speakers and hence, a reference must be made to the turn-taking system which is considered as one of the mitigating and FTA devices in the interactional process. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), there are five different levels of politeness strategies including the on record "without redressive action", on record "with redressive action" addressing positive face, on record "with redressive action" addressing negative face, off record action and finally, no threatening face action to be performed (pp. 68-69). These different politeness strategies are stated clearly in the figure given below:

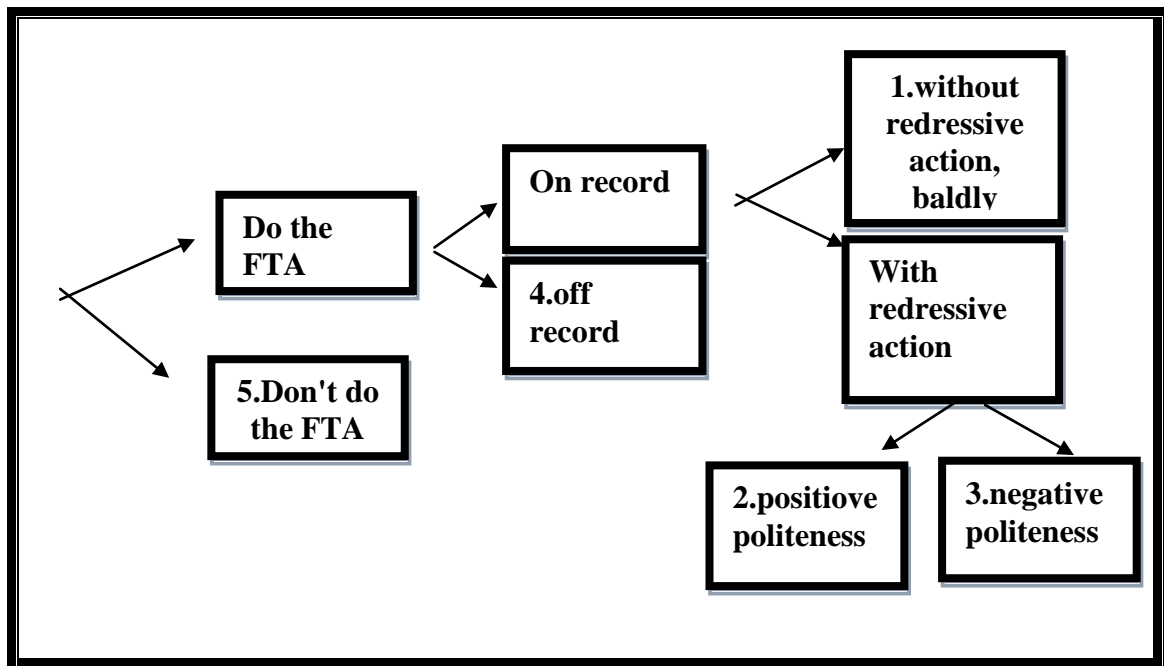


Figure 2.1: Face-Threatening Act Strategies

Figure 2-1. Face threatening act strategies. Adopted from "Universals in language use: Politeness phenomena" by P. Brown & S. Levinson, 1978, p.74. Copyrights 1978 by Cambridge University Press: New York.

A very important point that needs to be clarified is that a distinction should be made between the two terms, "on record" and "off record". Huang (2007) explains the meaning of the term "on record" as, "the speaker performs the face threatening act directly", while the meaning of the term "off record", is that "the speaker performs the face-threatening act indirectly" (p.212). Further, Brown and Levinson (1978) state the point that doing FTA on record stands for the unambiguous attributable intention and it tends to be direct and clear and it is almost all performed through using the imperative mode. Further, it can be done baldly without redressive to the hearers, face or with redressive action, and this can be achieved through positive and negative politeness strategies. Examples of doing the FTA are given below:

Example (2-9): Give me a pen. (Bald on record)

Example(2-10):How about letting me use your pen. (On record-positive politeness).

Example(2-11): Could you lend me a pen. (On record-negative politeness).

Example(2-12): I forgot my pen. (Off record).

The positive and negative politeness strategies can be carried out through different techniques and one of them is using "hedges" and "boosters" (Buitkiene, 2008, p.17). In Buitkiene's (2008) own words, hedges are "a means of toning-down utterances and statements in order to reduce the riskiness of what one says, to mitigate what may otherwise seem too forceful, to express politeness or respect to strangers and superiors" (p.17). Hedges involve different forms including modal verbs (e.g. may might), modal adjuncts (e.g. possibly, perhaps), modal nouns (e.g. possibility, probability), verbs that carry doubt meaning (e.g suggest, seem) approximators (e.g. roughly, sort of), particles (e.g. you know, I think), *that* clauses with modal auxiliary verbs and also tag questions (Buitkiene, 2008; Hoyer, 1993; Hyland, 2000). Boosters are also considered as toning-down expressions which are used to emphasize solidarity such as "of course" and "clearly" (Hyland, 2000, p.1). Basically, hedges and boosters are considered negative politeness strategies; yet, sometimes they are considered positive politeness strategies depending on the context of situation (Buitkiene, 2008).As far as the current study is concerned, power relations can be identified in relation to the type of face and politeness strategies used by both guest and hosts.

2.14 Turn-taking in Relation to Power Identification

In television talk shows, the roles of speaker and hearer are entitled by the host and the guest respectively, who know very well the roles set to them taking turns successively. McDonough and Shaw (1993, p.159) said that, "Within the "framework" of the conversation, "turns" have to take place if the conversation is not to be totally one-sided. Certain strategies [for taking, holding, and relinquishing turns in conversation] have to be put into operation by the speaker. Sacks (1992) defines the turn as being composed of at least one "turn-constructive unit" which may be any sort of "projectable" unit in the language (p.40). Projectability (Sacks *et al.*, 1974; Schegloff, 1984; Sacks, 1992, Sidnell, 2010) is a central feature that provides for the next speaker the possibility of not only identifying turn completion but also predicting it before it occurs, to anticipate transition-relevance points, and to locate the upcoming place of where to begin to speak (Selting, 2000; Tanaka, 2001, Auer, 2005).

Moreover, Edelsky (1981) points out that speakers are more concerned with completing topics than with structural units. She defines "turn" as instances of on-record speaking, with the intention of conveying a message. She also draws a distinction between "turn" and "floor", since it is often difficult to determine who has the floor, such as in situations where a turn is constructed collaboratively by more than one speaker. The right to speak in interaction is referred as "the floor". In other words, the floor is the activity taking place or the topic being discussed, often done in collaboration. Rules of turn-taking tell us how to get the floor, to hold the floor, and to give up the floor. Getting on the floor, holding the floor, and giving up the floor, involve a whole series of signals, some of which can be rather subtle (Jaffe

&Feldstein, 1970). Generally, the person who is speaking has the most rights over the floor (Heldner & Edlund, 2010). Schegloff (2000) and Taboada (2006) presupposed that the most significant aspect of the turn-taking process is that, in most cases, it proceeds in a very smooth fashion. Speakers signal to each other that they wish to either yield or take the turn through syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic means. Turn-taking is studied under conversational analysis or discourse analysis, which is related to ethno-methodology and pragmatics. The person who speaks first becomes a listener as soon as the person addressed takes his/her turn in the conversation by starting to speak (Schegloff, 1972).

In addition, Sacks *et al.* (1974) indicated that the turn-taking system is characterized by two components: "turn-constructive component" and "turn-allocation component". The turn-constructive component is a type of unit that a speaker may produce, such as, a sentence, a clause, a phrase, or any audible sound. Once under way, the unit projects a completion point, that is, a point at which that type of unit would be completed. To begin with any unit, the producer is entitled to the amount of time it would take to complete that unit, as having a turn for that unit. When completed, a turn-transition relevance place would be reached, at which point a change of speaker is found to occur. The turn-allocation component refers to a number of turn-allocation techniques which are available to speakers including those that are provided by current speakers selecting the next speaker and those in which self-selection would be used to begin the next turn (Psathas, 1995).

As far as television talk shows are concerned, the turn's length is considered a very important device for identifying power relationships. Identifying clearly the

content, length, the direction and topic control helps in identifying the types of power relations (Buitkiene, 2008).

The turn-taking system has certain irregularities which include: interruption and overlap (Zimmerman & West, 1975). These two variables are inter-located in which sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between them. The difference between interruption and overlap was stated clearly by many scholars (Benett, 1981; Cerny, 2010; Tannen, 1983; Zimmerman & West, 1975, Li, 2001; Wynn, 1995). Tannen (1983) indicates that overlap is unintentional in which it occurs naturally in simultaneous speech. Interruption takes place intentionally to perform certain functions. Yet almost all linguists and discourse analysts give a clear cut definition for both of them. Zimmerman-West (1975) defines interruption as, "a violation of speakers' turn at talk" (p.34). Overlap, on the other hand, is defined as "simultaneous speech in general, which can be mechanically or objectively defined" (Waynn as cited in Cerny, 2010, p.3). In the interactional process, interruption, on the one hand, takes place when a speaker cuts the words of the other speaker in which the previous speaker's words could not be defined as the last word. Overlap, on the other hand, takes place when a speaker's word could not be defined as the last word (Stolts, 2008, p.3). Interruption can be seen through different points of view. They are defined interms of three points of view including whether the speaker interrupts the hearer successfully (Bennet, 1981), or presents his intention (Tannen, 1986) or none of them (Zimmerman-west, 1975). Li (2001) sets two types of interruptions, namely, intrusive and cooperative. Cooperative interruption refers to the support given to help the current speaker, and accordingly, it presents the interrupter's high involvement and solidarity (Li, Yum, Yates, Aguilera, Mao & Zheng, 2005).

Intrusive interruption is more competitive and causes threat to the ongoing conversation through disrupting the speaker (Li, 2001). Functionally, Li (2001), in his findings, sets three subcategories for the cooperative interruption including: "agreement, assistance and clarification"; while the intrusive was subcategorized into "disagreement, taking floor, topic change and tangentialization" (p.269-270). Due to the interruption role in the identification of power relations, Obama's power relations are to be identified at the textual level in which interruptions can perform certain functions and affect the interactional process.

Interruption is associated with power and control and accordingly it is a variable that has received interest in relation to power. (Zimmerman-west,1975; Li,2001; Ferguson, 1977; Coates,2004). According to Danileiko (2005), interruptions are considered "typical of conversational interaction and therefore are present in talk shows interaction" (p.20). In terms of power, Danileiko (2005) divides interruptions into two types, named, "power –oriented" and "non-oriented power" (p.20).The first type which is "power-oriented" is considered "impolite, rude and intrusive"; while the second type, the "non-oriented power", stands for "empathy, affection, solidarity, concern or interest" (Danileiko, 2005, p.21). Further, she provides three different social variables to calculate the weight of the speech acts implied in the interactional process including: first, the social distance between the hearer and the speaker, and this implies a symmetric social dimension of similarity or differences; second, the relative power which implies an asymmetrical social dimension of the relationships holding between the interactants; and third is the cultural ranking of the speech acts. The second aspect, which is "relative power" is

of basic concern to the current study which investigates Obama's bases of power and his power relations in the American LNTSs selected for this study.

The notion of face, politeness strategies and turn-taking have been of interest in different fields such as pragmatics, anthropology, sociolinguistics, communication, psychology and sociology (Aundale, 2009; Chen, 1993; Dippold, 2009; Haugh, 2009; Haugh & Chiappini, 2010; Heldner & Edlund, 2010; Heritage & Roth, 1995; Lerner, 1996; Locher & Watts, 2005; Rui, 2008; Schegloff, 2000; Spencer-Qatey, 2008; Taboada, 2006; Vilkki, 2006; Yanagiya, 1999). Finally, the theoretical background concerning identities, institutional roles and discursive practices can shape the different values and beliefs which constitute the ideologies each person has in mind. More specifically, the application of ideologies has its different contexts, one of which is PD through which political figures present their ideologies- one of the core questions under investigation in the current study.

2.15 Political Discourse and Ideology

Tackling a politician like Barack Obama in relation to entertainment LNTSs of political concerns in a study, requires further investigation concerning politics and its relation to ideology and power. Generally, a politician is a person who is paid for his/her political activities after being elected or appointed (van Dijk, 1998). Bayram (2010) believes that, "politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice" (p.24). Evidently, only those discourses of politicians that are produced in institutional settings, such as governments, parliaments, or political parties, are considered political. Accordingly, components like political actors, political activities, and political institutions are to be studied in

the field of PD. PD is considered as a sub-category of discourse, and it is defined differently from different points of view. Drew and Heritage (1992), on the one hand, define PD as, "the professional realm of the activities of politicians" (p.78). This means that the discourse must be produced by the speaker in his/her professional role of a politician and in an institutional setting (Abdul-Jabbar, 2005). Shapiro (1981), on the other hand, believes that, "the study of PD should be in terms of general concepts such as power, conflict, control, or domination" (p.243). This means an analysis of PD is simply an example of a discourse type without explicit reference to political content or political context; and this may include the discussion of politics anywhere. A confusing situation may be raised out of these concepts since some of them may be employed in different forms of discourse. Wilson (2004) states that "by treating all discourse as political, in its most general sense, it may be in danger of significantly overgeneralizing the concept of political discourse" (p.398). Despite the different points of views, PD conveys the point that the meanings of words become transformed in terms of who uses them (van Dijk, 2001).

As far as the interactional process is concerned, PD does not only involve the political actors but also involves the recipients (masses, the public, the people, the citizens, etc.) (van Dijk, 1998). PD is not a genre, but a class of genres identified in terms of social domains, namely that of politics (van Dijk, 1998). Abdul-Jabbar (2005), in her study, identified the linguistic features that distinguish PD as being a class of genres to be included at the morphological level (suffixes and prefixes), lexical level (vocabulary), syntactic levels (word order and passive tense), semantic level (connotations), and rhetorical levels (metaphor, irony, rhyme and illustration).

Bayram (2010) states that PD is based on two criteria: "functional" and "thematic". It is functional because it is considered as the result of politics and performs different political activities. It is thematic due to its topics concerning political issues (p.5).

Bayram (2010) concluded that PD is:

a result of politics and it is historically and culturally determined. It fulfills different functions due to different political activities. It is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, political ideas and political relations. (p.27)

Generally, almost all the studies of PD tackled the different aspects of text and talk of the politicians and the political institutions (Hart, 2005; Mihas, 2005; van Dijk, 2005, 2006; Wilson, 2004; Wodak, 2007). Since PD can be defined clearly in terms of professional politicians and political institutions, therefore, almost all the studies focused on analyzing PD from a contextual point of view. The studies on politicians and political contexts have been dealt with through discourse, critical and rhetorical approaches (Abdul-Jabbar, 2005; Bayram, 2010; Chilton, 2004,2005; Hart, 2005; Horvath, 2009; Pederson, 2004; Wenden, 2005).

PD, in comparison with other types of discourse such as media, education and medicine, is prominently ideological (Van Dijk, 2006). In fact, ideologies are considered as systems of abstract thought applied to public matters and this makes this concept central to politics. This implies a relation between politics and ideology. Adams (2001) states that the meaning of politics stands for the sense of direction and people's perceptions for having a better society as this is the aim of ideology itself. Political parties and politicians are associated with ideologies because they want to attract voters to realize their visions concerning achieving improvements.

Thus, having explained the meaning of politics and PD, it is of great importance to point out the meaning of ideology and its relation to the current study.

The word "ideology" consists of two words originally in Greek, i.e. *edios* and *logos*. The first one, *edios*, refers to the concept or idea and the other one refers to knowledge. To put it simply, ideology stands for the ideas and opinions of human beings and it is built by a dominant group of people to influence their ideas or opinions (Persada, 2011). Since it is not easy to influence the ideology of others because members of a society have the right to accept or refuse others, ideologies, therefore, the dominant group tends to use different strategies in order to persuade and communicate the ideology to the society in order to be legitimate and acceptable (Persada, 2011).

Thompson (1990) states that ideology refers to the social forms and processes within which, and by means of which, symbolic forms constitute the social world. Further, he describes the study of ideology as "the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds" (p.45). Erikson and Tedin (2003) define ideology as, "a set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved" (p.64). Taiwo (2007) refers to ideology as the attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life, which shape the individual's and group's perceptions and through which reality is constructed and interpreted properly (p.221). For van Dijk (1998), ideologies are "the world views" through which "social cognition" is formulated (p.258). He states that ideologies are socially shared in which there are no private and personal ideologies. In other words, ideologies are considered as representations of the different aspects of the world contributing power, domination and

exploitation. Evidently, ideology tends to create actual change in society or transfer a set of beliefs or ideals (van Dijk, 2001).

Rejai (2003) proposed five dimensions of ideology including: cognitive (knowledge and belief), affective (feelings and emotions), evaluative (norms and values), programming (plans and programs, and social-base (participating groups and collectivities) (p.3). Ideology has been of major concern in many academic disciplines including communication, linguistics, translation and cultural studies (Bayram, 2010; Luke, 2002; Muqit, 2012; Van Dijk, 2001, 2006; Wodak, 2007). Ultimately, ideologies can lead political actions since they provide ideals to believe in them, to pursue them, and to fight to achieve them. In fact, almost all political parties base their political actions and programs on the notion of ideology and so a new term emerges to include political and ideology and that is "political ideology" (Adams, 2001). Bardes, Shelley and Schmidt (2006) define the term "political ideology" as "a closely linked set of beliefs about politics" (p.14). Political ideologies provide their adherents with well-organized theories that propose goals for the society and the means by which those goals can be achieved. These political ideologies involve values and as far as the American society is concerned, two major ideologies are *liberalism* and *conservatism* (p.14). Liberalism is, "a set of beliefs that includes the advocacy of positive government action to improve the welfare of individuals, and tolerance for political and social change" (p.14). Conservatism is "a set of beliefs that includes a limited role for the national government in helping individuals, support for traditional values and lifestyles, and a cautious response to change" (p.15). Conservatism plays a very important role in the Republican Party

while liberalism is of influential force within the Democratic Party and it does not dominate the party in the same way as the conservatives do.

In fact, van Dijk (2004) states that political ideologies permeate the whole political field. To determine the political ideologies that control the different political fields as far as the current study is concerned; table 2 includes van Dijk's (2004) classification of the political fields and their types.

Table 2
The Political Fields and their Types

The Political Fields	Their Types
Overall systems	Democracies (based on democratic ideologies)
Overall acts and processes	Government, coalition building, elections
Everyday political practices	Parliamentary debates, demonstrations
Group relations	Domination and resistance, government opposition
Fundamental norms and values	Equality and independence that are constitutive categories of ideologies
Specific political attitudes	Legislation (such as abortion or divorce)

Note. Adopted from "Politics, ideology and discourse" by T., A. van Dijk, 2004, in R. Wodak (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Copyrights 2004 by Barcelona: *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*.

In sum, political ideologies are concerned with the different aspects of a society such as economy, education, health care, labor law, immigration, race, environment, military, and established religion. It should be emphasized though that discourse should be conceptualized also in terms of its *context* structures (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992). In van Dijk's (2004) own words, "Contexts are subjective participants' definitions of communicative situations" (p.30). Specifically, contexts

control all the aspects of discourse production and comprehension and accordingly, PD is defined in terms of political contexts (van Dijk, 2004). It is very important to relate PD to categories involving *who is speaking, when, where and with/to whom* in order to specify the aspects of the political situation (Gumperz, 1982). Accordingly, it is clear people have ideologies and through the text and talk, these ideologies are revealed discursively. Political ideologies are studied and identified through using different linguistic forms such as lexical items, syntactic structures such as active and passive voice, metaphors or topoi, arguments, implications; yet, identifying political ideologies through deixis in all their types still formulate a gap in PD and political ideology, especially when dealing with them in entertainment LNTSs. Despite the fact that polarization, including the referential pronouns US-THEM, is widely used to reveal the political ideologies in PD, still other referential deixis and gestures can represent the context of situation to identify political ideologies.

Since political ideology largely concerns itself with how to allocate power and to what ends it should be used, the current study focuses on identifying Obama's political ideologies and how these ideologies are presented in entertainment LNTSs through multimodal analysis and specifically through the identification of the different deixis and referential gestures and postures. Linguistically, these ideologies are likely to feature such categories as "setting" which includes time and location, event or actions and participants. According to Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL approach, these are referred to through the terminologies of field, tenor and mode including the topic, the relations between interactants and the medium through which the messages are transferred, hence the multimodal aspects (linguistics and gestural). These linguistic and discourse aspects are needed to show that the text is

systematically relevant for discourse production and comprehension (van Dijk, 2004). In other words, personal, time and location deixis are needed in the identification of ideologies (see Section 2.21).

2.16 Bases of Power and their Influence Tactics

Literally speaking, the meaning of power conveys the capacity to influence, and, the influence itself results from exercising power. Accordingly, almost all the definitions of power share common aspects including "influence", "power", "decision making", "authority" (Swasy, 1979, p.340). French and Raven (1959) describe the relationship between power and influence as involving, "a dyadic relation between two agents which may be viewed from two points of view: (a) What determines the behaviour of the agent who exerts power? (b) What determines the reactions of the recipient of this behaviour?" (p.150). This relation between power and influence has been of interest to many researchers (Boonstra & Gravenhorst, 1998; French & Raven, 1959; Karlberg, 2005; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Rajan & Krishnan, 2002; Raven, 2008; Turner, 1991, 2005; Overbeck & Park, 2001; Yang & Cervero, 2001; Yukl, 2005).

Due to the multidimensional construct of power, French and Raven (1959) proposed a taxonomy of the bases of power involving *legitimate power*, *referent power*, *expert power*, *reward power*, and *coercive power* (p.156-163). These are considered as the most usable model for understanding power relations in social, industrial, organizational, and interactional disciplines (Kim, Pinkely, & Fragale, 2005; Munduate & Gravenhorst, 2003; Stott & Drury, 2004; Thornborrow, 2002; Tyler, 2001). However, the first basis of power is *legitimate power* which refers to the

relative position and duties of the holder of the position within an organization (Wagner, 2005). In fact, it stands for the formal authority delegated to the holder of the position. Simply put, it refers to people holding formal and official positions and hence it refers to job titles such as teacher, supervisor, President and Prime Minister. Further, it refers to the agent having power over the target when the target believes that the agent has a lawful authority to influence the target (Kim et al., 2005; Lussier & Achua, 2010). It stems from internalized values. In French and Raven's (1959) own words, "The agent, O, has a legitimate right to influence the target, P, and that P has an obligation to accept this influence" (p.159). In other words, the meaning of the legitimate power implies some sort of standards that are to be accepted by people.

The second basis of power is *reward power* which refers to the degree to which a person can give others a reward of some kind. Aguinis, Simonsen and Pierce (1995) indicate that it is based on the agent's ability to offer a reward. French and Raven (1959) state that, "reward power depends on O's ability to administer positive valences and to remove or decrease negative valences" (p.156). The third basis of power is *coercive power* which stands for the applications of the negative influences on people and it is considered as the least effective form of power (Wagner, 2005). French and Raven (1959) point out that, "the strength of coercive power depends on the magnitude of the negative valence of the threatened punishment multiplied by the perceived probability that P can avoid the punishment by conformity" (p.157). Coercive power is considered as problematic and it can lead to dissatisfaction. Usually, it can be seen clearly through threats and punishments. Normally, both reward and coercive power depend on others (targets) believing that the agent can provide them with the desired reward or can punish them (Munduate & Gravenhorst,

2003). These three bases of power are related to position power according to Northouse (2010) who defines it as, "the power a person derives from a particular office or rank in a formal organizational system" (p.8). It stands for the formal position and authority a person gets from his/her position in an organization or society, often backed by policy or law. Further, it exists when one person is higher than another in an organization.

The fourth and fifth bases of power are *expert power* and *referent power* and these are closely associated with specialized knowledge and skills. As far as expert power is concerned, a person can possess power if he/she has special knowledge and experience in a specific field (French & Raven, 1959). In other words, if the target knows that the agent has knowledge and is in fact an expert in a certain field, then, this will lead the target to perceive private acceptance (Munduate & Gravenhorst, 2003). Another basis which is compatible with expert power is *information*. It refers to the information or logical argument presented by the target to influence the behavior of the agent. It is based on the factual validity of the information. In fact, informational power is considered as having advantages over other bases of power, since it mainly leads to cognitive changes in the target (Munduate & Gravenhorst, 2003). Concerning the referent power, a person can influence others, feelings due to personal acceptance, approval and self-esteem (Kim et al., 2005). This means that referent power emerges from one's personality being liked and respected by others, as for instance, when celebrities can influence people. Typically, it is associated with personal charisma, charm and admiration. These two bases of power are related to *personal power* which refers to the influence capacity a

person derives from being seen by followers as likable and knowledgeable (Northouse, 2010). In sum, these five bases can be summarized as in table 3.

Table 3

Taxonomy of the Bases of Power

The bases of power	Description
Legitimate power	Power due to position
Reward power	Power that depends on the ability of the person in power to confer rewards.
Coercive power	Power that relies on using negative influence to get people to do things
Expert power	Power derived from skills and expertise in an area
Referent power	Power or ability to persuade and influence others

Note. Taxonomy of the bases of power. Adopted from "Studies of social power," by J. French and B.H. Raven, 1959, *Institute for Social Research* in D. Carwright (Ed.), *Studies in Social Power*, p.150-167. Ann Arbor. Copyright 1959 by Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for social research.

Typically, there are two capacities of effective power in the interactional process: access to resources of power (bases of power) and the ability to obtain cooperation (the exercise of power, i.e. influence) (Kanter, 1979). While power stands for the ability of an agent to alter a target's behavior, intention, and attitude; *influence* refers to the actual use of power (French & Raven, 1959).Faeth (2004) clarifies the relation between power, authority and influence as follows:

Influence is the means through which power and authority are transacted. Power is defined in terms of potential or capacity for action. In the same way, authority refers to the organizational or situational mediators of

power. Together, power and authority determine the resources and perceptions that undergird social interaction (p.19)

The actual exercise of the bases of power is carried out through the different influence tactics. In other words, Faeth (2004) states that, influence stands for the processes by which power is exercised and authority is legitimated. Dealing with the different sources of power means there must be influence tactics to represent these different sources of power. Accordingly, different researchers have attempted to develop different taxonomies of influence tactics (Dubrin, 1991; Kelman, 1958, 1974; Kipnis, 1976; Kipnis, Schmidt & Wilkinson, 1980; Marwell & Schmitt, 1967; Yukl & Falbe, 1990; Yukl & Tracy, 1992; Yukl, Guinan & Sottolano, 1995). In addition, many studies have been carried out to investigate the influence tactics in different fields, especially in leadership, management, meta analysis, workplace strategies, etc. (Chiun, 2008; Fu & Yukl, 2000; Higgins, Judge & Ferris, 2003; Lee & Saleh, 2008; Meng, 2008; Sparrowe, Soetjipto & Kraimer, 2006; Tepper & Taylor, 2008).

The influence behaviour attempts to create change in the behavior or attitude of an individual or group of individuals and, accordingly, three types of influence relationships can be identified depending on the relation between the interactants (agent-target). These influence tactics can be described as "directions of influence attempts". These directions of influence attempts are called, "upward influence" (superior-target), "downward influence" (subordinate-target) and "lateral influence" (peer-target) (Faeth, 2004, p.19). As far as the influence tactics and their directions are concerned, Yukl (2000), Yukl, Falbe and Young (1993), Yukl and Michel (2006) and Yukl and Tracy (1992), have devoted almost all their research to

develop taxonomies of influence tactics and their directions. Yukl (2006) provides 10 influence tactics dividing them into primary and secondary influence tactics. The primary influence tactics involve: *rational persuasion*, *inspirational appeal* and *consultation*; while the secondary influence tactics involve *pressure*, *legitimizing*, *exchange*, *coalition*, *ingratiation*, *personal appeal* and *upward appeal* (p.249-253).

Pressure refers to demands, threats, or intimidation to increase the target's ability to respond before asking him/her to do anything. *Legitimizing* seeks to establish the legitimacy of a request by indicating that the agent is presenting the request, claiming it to be consistent with organizational policies, rules and traditions. *Exchange* refers to offering an exchange of favours with the target and this includes promising to share a benefit in the case of getting help from the target. *Coalition* seeks the aid and support of others to persuade the target to do something. *Ingratiation* tends to bring the target in a good mood and encouraging him/her to think favourably of the sender before requesting the target to do something. *Personal appeal* refers to the target's feelings of loyalty and friendship before asking the target to do anything. Finally, the *upward appeal* refers to the involvement of a third party to create the influence and it is also considered as a coalition influence tactic but is used when other tactics are unsuccessful. *Rational persuasion* refers to the use of logical argument and evidence to influence and persuade the target. *Institutional appeal* arouses enthusiasm through appealing to values and ideals. *Consultation* tends to involve the target in the planning of the strategies, activities, etc. (Kim et al., 2005; Yukl, 2000; 2006; Yukl & Michel, 2006; Yukl & Tracy, 1992). Table 3 presents the details of the influence tactics, their uses, forms and conditions.

Table 4

Behavioral Influence Tactic, their Forms, Uses and Directions

Type of influence tactic	Uses	Their forms	Direction of influence attempt
Legitimizing tactics	To establish the legitimacy of a respect or command	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Providing evidence of prior precedent. 2. Showing consistency with organizational policies and rules 3. Showing consistency with professional role expectations. 4. Getting a request approved by higher authority. 5. Verifying documentations such as written rules, policies, contracts, plans or memos from authorized figures. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Downward influence attempts 2. Lateral influence attempts
Rational persuasion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To present arguments and factual evidence that a proposal or request is important and feasible. 2. To emphasize the benefits of a request or proposal for the target person as an individual 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The agent emphasizes the potential benefits for the organization. 2. The agent may explain the benefit of a request for the target person's career, improve the person's skills, or make the person's job better and easier. 	Upward influence attempts
Inspirational appeal	To develop enthusiasm and	<p>The target person's desire :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To be important 	

	commitment by arousing strong emotions and linking a request or proposal to the target person's needs, values, hopes and ideals.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. To feel useful 3. To accomplish something 4. To make an important contribution 5. To perform an exceptional feat 6. To be a member of the best team 7. To participate in an existing effort to do things better 	Downward influence attempts
Consultation	To increase the target person's motivation to carry out a request or support a proposal by involving the person in determining how it will be done	Presenting detailed policy, plan or procedure.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Downward influence attempts 2. Lateral influence attempts
Exchange	To reward the target person	Trustworthy to actually provide the promised rewards.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Downward influence attempts 2. Lateral influence attempts
Personal appeal	Asking someone to do a favor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To ask the target person to carry out a request or support a proposal 2. To emphasize the close relationship between the agent and the target before asking the favor 3. To say that you need to ask for a favour 	Lateral influence attempts
Ingratiation	To make the target person feel	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. giving compliments 2. showing respect 	1. Downward influence

	accepted and appreciated	3.acting friendly 4. being helpful	attempts 2.Lateral influence attempts
Coalition tactics	The agent gets assistance from other people to influence the target person	1. To have other people talking to the target 2. To bring to meeting someone who will help to present a proposal to the target 3. To use prior endorsement of coalition partners	1.Upward influence attempts 2.Lateral influence attempts
Pressure	To invoke the possibility of unpleasant consequences	1.threats 2.warnings 3.repeated requests 4.frequent checking for the completion of requests	Downward influence attempts
Upward appeal	The agent seeks help from someone with authority over the target	1.Asking a third party 2.Asking someone with higher authority to find a solution	1.Upward influence attempts 2.Lateral influence attempts

Note.*Behavioral influence tactics, their uses, forms and directions.* Adopted from "leadership in organizations", by G. Yukl, 2006, p.249-253. Prentice-Hall. Copyrights 2006 by Upper Saddle River, New York/ Direction of influence attempts are adopted from "Power, authority and influence: A comparative study of the behavioral influence tactics used by Lay and Ordained leaders in the Episcopal church" by M.A. Faeth, 2004, p. 19. Copyrights 2004, Falls church: Virginia

French and Raven's (1959) bases of power have wide applications in organizations and institutions and have been the focus of many researchers in different disciplines such as organizations, leadership, management, education, medical fields (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006; Bass, 2000; Berson, Shamir, Avolio &

Popper, 2001; Cangemi, 1992; Eagly & Carli, 2003; Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy, 2006; Page & Wong, 2000; Peterson, 2004; Russell & Stone, 2002); yet, still more investigation needs to be done as far as politics and LNTSs are concerned. Consequently, to identify what bases of power Obama uses and how these can fit into the different influence tactics exercised in his PD, French and Raven's (1959) taxonomy of the bases of power and Yukl's (2000, 2006) influence tactics are adopted for the analysis of Obama's multimodal aspects in *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* through a CDA approach.

2.17 Types of Power Relations in Interaction

Foucault (1978) believes that, "power is everywhere not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (p.93). For him, power is not a thing but a relation and accordingly, it is clearly stated that a power relationship is said to hold between two or more persons if they can control each other's behaviour or thoughts (Allwood, 1980; Bratt-Paulston & Tucker, 2003). Turner (2005) points out that the exercise of power is universal and indispensable feature of social organizations including political, organizational and an institutional life. Investigating power relations in different aspects has been of interest to many researchers who tried to identify and understand the relations between language and power, power relations in the workplace, power relations and gender, and power dynamics (Boonstra & Bennebroek, 1998; Buitkiene, 2008; Castells, 2007; Karlberg, 2005; Piccione & Razin, 2009; Ronny, 2011; Souter, 2008; Turner, 2005).

Bratt-Paulston and Tucker (2003) clarify that power relationships are non-reciprocal in that no two persons can have power in the same area of behavior and

therefore, can be either equal or unequal between people. Locher (2004) conceptualized the idea that the exercise of power takes place in and around a relationship, negotiating symmetrical and asymmetrical relations holding between interactants. In fact, the relations called *older than, parents of, employer of, richer than, stronger than, and nobler than* are all "asymmetrical" because they imply differences of power control. This relation is called "more powerful than" (Bratt-Paulston & Tucker, 2003, p.160). In other words, the relationship is considered asymmetrical if one or more persons can control the behavior or thoughts of one or more other persons in a certain respect without the latter person(s) being able to control the former person(s) in the same respect. A relationship between a student and teacher, for instance, is considered an example of asymmetrical power relations (Baker & Ellece, 2011). Another set of power relations can be seen in examples such as: *attended the same school, have the same parents, practice the same profession,* and others. These relations present "solidarity" which stands for "symmetrical" relations (Bratt-Paulston & Tucker, 2003, p.160). In other words, when power is more or less equal, the relation is symmetrical (Kramarae & Spender, 2000). The concept of solidarity does not stand for all personal features but rather, it refers to political membership, family, religion, profession, sex and birthplace. These symmetrical power relations are reciprocal in nature.

Additionally, Lukes (1974) distinguished between "power as domination" and "power as capacity" (p.23). *Power as domination*, on the one hand, was described by Lukes (1974) as "A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very want" (p.23). Wartenberg (1990) classified power as

domination to convey the meaning of "power to" and "power over" (p.27). "Power to" may also refer to relations representing forms of resistance that public relations practitioners may use to counter dominance (Newman & Clarke, 2009). *Power over* relations refer to decision-making which is characterized by control, instrumentalism, and self-interest. These relations highlight issues of social conflict, control, and coercion. These relations are basically found in the political field since politicians tend to control others carrying in mind one main goal which is acquiring more power as an end by itself (Karlberg, 2005).

Taylor and Boser (2006) argued that *power as a capacity*, on the other hand, is considered as neutral in itself with two critical dimensions. The first one deals with the nature of the relationship between social agents as either being *adversarial or mutualistic*. In adversarial power relations, two or more social agents seek to exercise power over another. Mutualistic power relations would reflect those in which two or more social agents are working in cooperation with each other. The second dimension refers to the balance of power between parties. Power as capacity relations may be balanced and unequal among social agents and hence symmetrical (p.114). Karlberg (2005) emphasizes the point that together mutualistic and adversarial power relations constitute two parallel and mutually exclusive relational categories of power as capacity according to which people can either exercise "power with" one another in a mutualistic manner, or exercise "power against" one another in an adversarial manner (p.10).

Despite the different studies that have been carried out to investigate power relations in different institutions and between different interactants such as patient and doctor,

students and teacher and politicians, there is still a need for further investigation to identify power relations between the guests and hosts in American LNTSs. Dealing with PD resembled through the personality of the guest Barack Obama and the hosts of the LNTSs of political content, still formulates a gap in the field of CDA in which multimodal aspects can be analyzed to identify the types of power relations (symmetrical, asymmetrical) between Obama and the hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno) since dealing with politics in entertainment LNTSs is considered a new orientation in the fields of politics, media and CDA.

2.18 Discourse, Politics and Critical Discourse Analysis

Generally speaking, it is very important to know how the language of utterances is related to the aspects of the interactional process. In other words, it is necessary to interpret even those utterances which bear an indirect and controversial relationship to language. This can be seen clearly through a discourse analysis. Discourse, according to Potter and Wetherell (1987) refers to all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds. It is a broad term that ranges from linguistics, sociology, philosophy and other disciplines. Discourse, simply, refers to text in context (van Dijk, 2001) and according to Fairclough (1989) it refers to, "the whole of interaction of which a text is just a part" (p.24). Bayram (2010) indicates that discourse refers to expressing oneself using words and further, the different discourses can be used to assert power and knowledge, and to resistance and critique. More specifically, texts formulate syntactic forms that reflect the ideological organization of a particular area of social life and PD is one of those areas. The components of PD including the professional actors, topics and institutions are analyzed through carrying out a PD analysis. Van Dijk (1998)

associates PD analysis to CDA since PD analysis tends to analyze and interpret PD and it is at the same time a critical enterprise or approach. Bayram (2010) states that it is common knowledge that politics is concerned with power as far as making decisions, controlling resources, or controlling others, behaviours and values are concerned. Accordingly, issues like politics, power, dominance, inequality and ideology can be best described, interpreted, analyzed and criticized through a CDA.

A CDA approach is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of text and talk, which views language as "a form of social practice" and attempts "to unpack the ideological underpinnings of discourse that have become so naturalized over time that we begin to treat them as communicative, acceptable and natural features of discourse" (Fairclough, 1989, p.20). More specifically, Fairclough (1995) provides a useful definition that encapsulates most other definitions of CDA:

[CDA is the study of] often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the capacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power. (pp.132-133)

Leitch and Palmer (2010) state clearly that there must be areas of commonality underpinning this diversity for CDA to count as a methodological approach. Moreover, they point out that this commonality is to be found in the key terms that constitute the bases of CDA including *critical*, *discourse*, and *analysis*. This leads CDA to be seen from different points of view. First, CDA may be seen as

a branch of critical scholarship and has a focus on social problems and associated power dynamics including systems of domination and instances of resistance (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010). Second, it may be considered as part of the so-called "turn to language" in social science and as a subset of the burgeoning field of discourse analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Philips & Hardy, 2002). Third, it is believed that researchers study discourse through an analysis of texts in context, rather than as isolated objects, and hence, it implies an emphasis on *context* analysis (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Cornelissen, 2008; Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1997). Accordingly, it is clear that CDA can be united by its critical focus on the ways in which knowledge, subjects, and power relations are produced, reproduced, and transformed within discourse. According to Meyer (2001), context is arguably an under-theorized area within the CDA approach. However, one major difference within CDA definitions of *context* lies between those that emphasize the cognitive dimension of context and those that do not. Van Dijk (2001, 2006), like Wodak (2006), has become increasingly concerned with the cognitive dimension of context.

Further clarification is provided by Wodak and Meyer (2008) who propose that CDA is characterized by a number of principles. First, all its approaches are problem-oriented, and thus necessarily interdisciplinary and eclectic. Second, the common interests of CDA lie in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic investigation of semiotic data. Third, CDA researchers also attempt to make their own positions and interests explicit while retaining their respective scientific methodologies and while remaining self-reflective of their own research process. It is the attempts to reveal what is hidden in the text of different ideologies that lead to the exercise of power (Widdowson, 2000).

For Alvesson, Hardy and Harley (2008) the selection of texts is a critical component of any method associated with CDA because it provides the underlying justification for the validity and significance of the insights offered by the analysis. Musson and Duberley (2007) confirmed the same point of view by stating that, "justifying text selection is further complicated by the active role of researchers in selecting and sometimes – as in the case of interviews – creating the texts they analyze" (p.149). Another important point associated with CDA is that, multiple rather than single texts are generally analyzed, establishing the inter-textual relations between the chosen texts. As Phillips and Hardy (2002) argued, "It is not individual texts that produce social reality, but structured *bodies* of texts of various kinds – discourses – that constitute social phenomena" (p.82).

The CDA approach is associated with Halliday's SFL due to its solid analytical foundation which focuses on the point that language shapes and is shaped by society (Faiclough, 1992). A very important point concerning CDA is that it gives a considerable account for multimodal phenomena. In fact, closely associated with Halliday's SFL is multimodality which involves "the interaction of multiple semiotic resources such as (spoken and written) language, gestures, dress, architecture, proximity and in film for example lightening, movement, gaze, camera angle, etc." (O'Halloran et al., 2011, p.2). Currently, more interest is given to multimodal conceptions since it has been stated clearly that both linguistic and non-linguistic resources construct discourse and accordingly through the multimodal aspects, meanings can be created and associated by the text (Faiclough, 1992; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; O'Halloran et al., 2011). As far as LNTSs are concerned, the elements of text, social problems, ideologies, and power relations constitute major

aspects that encouraged me to carry out a CDA for the multimodal aspects including the linguistic and gestural aspects to identify Obama's bases of power, his power relations and ideologies. For the selection of the appropriate methodology; I will shed light on the major approaches of CDA in the next section.

2.19 Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis

Wodak and van Dijk (2000) indicate that the roots of CDA lie in classical rhetoric, text linguistics and sociolinguistics, as well as in applied linguistics and pragmatics. The notions of ideology, power, and gender together with sociological variables are related to the interpretation and explanation of the text. Gender issues, issues of racism, media discourse, PD, organizational discourse and dimensions of identity research have become very prominent and many studies have investigated these dimensions (Ashforth, Harrison & Corley, 2008; Bayram, 2010; Blommaert & Bulcean, 2000; Breeze, 2011; Cots, 2006; Horvath, 2009; Leitch & Palmer, 2010; Keenoy, Marshak, Oswick, & Grant, 2000; Meyer, 2001; Muralikrishnan, 2011; Tenorio, 2011; van Dijk, 2006; Viberg, 2011; Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). The methodologies differed greatly in all these studies according to the aims of the research and the particular methodologies applied: small qualitative case studies can be found as well as large data corpora, drawn from fieldwork and ethnographic research. Generally speaking, despite the fact that there are different approaches of CDA, it is possible to categorize the major and most prominent ones which share areas such as power, control, inequality, literacy, and ideology. Accordingly, and in order to justify the selection of the appropriate methodology to identify the bases of power, power relations, and ideologies in LNTSs and answer the questions under

investigation, I would like to highlight Foucault, Wodak, Fairclough and van Dijk's approaches of CDA.

2.19.1 Michel Foucault's Governmentality Approach

Commonly, Foucault's ideas concerning CDA have been very influential. His major task was to focus on "what it means to be a human being instead of how it is to be a human being" (Muralikrishnan, 2011, p.22). Michael Foucault has a special and prominent place in CDA, not because of his conceptions of the power and governmentality link, but rather because he extended the notion of discourse and allowed researchers to go beyond the oral performances and the written document (Kendall & Wickham, 2006). For Foucault, CDA basically focuses on power and critique while other theorists preferred to look for ideology. Foucault's opposition to the concept of ideology is related to the fact that it is implicated in unacceptable universal truth claims and rests on a humanist understanding of the individual subjects (Foucault, 1978, Muralikrishnan, 2011). For him, actions performed by people are the products of the discursive practices and objects are not social facts, but rather subjects that can bring things to presence through language. Therefore, a relationship between power and language can be seen as social constructions produced through social discourses which position them in power relations (Muralikrishnan, 2011). This is why, Wodak (2004) points out that Foucault's predominant influence in CDA, lies in his insistence on the social critique more than being the mere source for a definition of discourse. According to Foucault, discourses are considered as knowledge systems that inform social and governmental technologies which constitute power in society. Foucault (1980) states clearly his point of view indicating that:

Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application. (p.98)

Foucault (2001) believes that, "discourse transmits and produces power, but at the same time, undermines and exposes it" (p.15-16). Stahl (2004) maintains that power according to Foucault, is a core constituent of all discourses and an important aspect that encourages individuals to participate in discourses. Basically, Foucault (1978) has been very much interested in the criteria that specify views which are considered as legitimate contributions. A point of criticism for Foucault's concept of power is that he did not talk about power as being the ability to control others or force them to do one's willing (Stahl, 2004).

2.19.2 Norman Fairclough's Discourse as Social Practice Approach

Norman Fairclough is one of the key figures in the realm of CDA and his approach anchored in his 1989 and 1995 research on language, ideology and power and he developed a very influential terminology including, *dominance, resistance, hybridization of discursive practices, technologisation of discourse and conversationalisation of public* (Tenorio, 2011, p.190). As Wodak and Meyer (2009) explained, Fairclough highlighted the semiotic reflection of the social conflict in discourses, which translated his interest in social processes (i.e. social structures, practices and events). Fairclough believes that our language, which shapes our social identities, interactions, knowledge systems, and beliefs, is also shaped by them in turn (Fairclough, 1989). Theoretically, Fairclough (1989) has developed his approach

to correct the vast negligence in relation to the significance of language in creating, maintaining and changing the social relations of power.

Practically, Fairclough (1989) believes that awareness is the first step towards emancipation and it has a great emphasis on raising the level of people's consciousness concerning what they do or utter. He considers language as a social process, part of the society, and socially conditioned. Moreover, he focuses on three elements of discourse, namely, *text*, *interaction*, and *socialcontext* (Fairclough 1989, p. 25). Fairclough (2001) provides three dimensions for CDA including: *description*, *interpretation*, and *explanation* (pp. 21-22).

Description is concerned with the formal properties of the text. i.e. vocabulary, grammar and textual structure. These formal properties have three types of values (*experiential*, *relational*, and *expressive*) of which the analysis can be carried out. The experiential values refer to the way the producer of the text experiences the natural and social world around. These can be determined in text through the vocabularies focusing on the schemes classification, ideologically contested words, rewording and over-wording, and ideological significant meaning relations including synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough adopted Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL because it does not only focus on words and sentences but rather it deals with longer texts and collection of texts. Following the SFL approach, Fairclough views text as a form of multifunctional perspective in which sentences in a text can be analyzed in terms of articulation of these functions, which are called *representations*, *relations* and

identities (Fairclough, 1995, p.56). Muralikrishan (2011) clarified the meaning of these terms as follows:

- Particular representations and contextualizations of social practice (ideational function)- perhaps carrying particular ideologies.
- A particular construction of the relationship between writer and reader (as, for instance, formal or informal, close or distant).
- Particular constructions of writer and reader identities (for example, in terms of what is highlighted-whether status and role aspects of identity, or individual and personality aspects of identity).

(p.24)

Though SFL focuses mainly on the analysis of the linguistic features, it still indicates that there are other modes that reveal meaning in different cultures and these can be identified through the non-linguistic aspects (Halliday & Hasan, 1985). According to Meurer (2004), the use of SFL can help in the analysis of both verbal and the non-verbal (gestural) aspects of a multimodal analysis. For the current study, multimodality involves the analysis of the text and facial expressions, gestures and body postures since non-verbal signals complete the meaning of the actual text.

The relational values are concerned with social relationships, euphemistic expressions, and markedly formal and non-formal words. These can be identified throughout the grammatical features including the modes of sentences, modality, and the use of pronouns. Expressive and metaphorical words formulate an important part of the analysis of vocabularies for the experiential values and can be

identified grammatically through the types of processes, use of nominalizations, active/passive and positive/negative sentences. Moreover, emphasis is given to the expressive modality; simple sentences linked together, logical connectors, coordination and subordination, and lastly, referral means used in the text. Finally, the analysis of the textual structures concentrates on the interactional conventions, participants' control of the turns of others and the larger scale structures (Fairclough, 2001).

Interpretation focuses on the relationship between text and interaction. At the level of text analysis, Fairclough (2001, p. 119) identified further levels of analysis entitled "surface of utterance", "meaning of utterance", "local coherence", and "text structure and point". Analysis at the surface level deals with grammar, phonology and vocabulary. According to Fairclough (2001), the meaning of the utterance at the interpretation level, "is a matter of assigning meanings to the constituent parts of a text" (p.119). This can be done through semantic (propositions) and pragmatic (speech acts) interpretations. "Text structure" and "point" deal with how the whole text hangs together through matching the text with one of a repertoire of schemata and representations of characteristic patterns. The point, in this level, stands for the interpretation of the text as a whole (Fairclough, 2001, p.119). *Speech act* is defined by Searle (1969) as "an action such as making a statement, giving orders, asking questions, making appointments" (p.16). According to Taylor and Cameron (1987), speech does not imply only "to say something" but rather "to do something" (p.44). Austin (1967) sets three types of acts including the locutionary, illocutionary and prelocutionary acts. The locutionary act refers to the act of producing a form of words with sense or reference, while the illocutionary act refers

to investing utterance with communicative force such as giving promises, warnings, or assertions. Finally, the prelocutionary act stands for the achieved speaking of all the previous ones. Searle (1969), who developed the work done by Austin on the types of speech acts, added a further sub-division for the illocutionary acts, specifically to include what he called "essential condition" (p.39). These include assertive (stating and complaining), directives (commanding and requesting), commissives (promising and offering) and expressive (thanking, forgiving, blaming) (Taylor and Cameron, 1987, p. 48).

Fairclough (2003) believes that the primary activity of CDA stands for the analysis of written and oral texts that are deemed to be politically or culturally influential to a given society. However, the text-analytic activity cannot be done in isolation; rather, the analyst must always take into account the larger context in which the text is located. Therefore, there are four situations within the communication process framed in forms of questions including: "what's going on", "who's involved", "in what relation" and "what's the role of language" in "what's going on" (Fairclough, 2001, p.123-124). Social situations concerning *what's going on* can be identified through activity types, topic and purpose. The two dimensions concerning *who's involved* and *in what relations* are related to each other. The dimension *who's involved* is identified through subject positions which are multi-dimensional. It can be derived from the activity type and the institution ascribed to social identities. This creates different situations that might have different positions of speaking and listening such as the roles of the hearers and speakers. The question *in what relations* can be determined by such relationships between members in different situations and also of power and social distance and relationships. Finally,

"the role of language" is identified throughout using the language as a tool to elicit information (Fairclough, 2001, p.124). Further, going back to the dimensions of CDA, the explanation level stands for the relationship between interaction and social context. The purpose of this stage is to portray discourse as part of a social process determined by social structures. In sum, CDA tries to unite, and determine the relationship between three levels involving the actual text, the social context and the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2001).

As far as ideology and power are concerned, Fairclough (2001, p.2) presented the assumptions of a "common sense" which are present implicitly in the interlocations among people in that they are usually unaware of their existence. These common sense assumptions have a close relationship with power because these ideological presuppositions exist in the social conventions and the nature of the conventions depends on the power relations that cover them. Consequently, ideology is closely associated with language because using the language is the commonest form of social behaviour which relies mostly on the common sense assumptions. Finally, Fairclough (1989), in his CDA, focuses on the phenomenon of naturalization as having a connection with the ideological common sense. In the process of naturalization and creation of the common sense, the type of discourse appears to lose its ideological character and tends to merely become the discourse of the institution itself. This means that the struggle on power seems to be neutral, and being neutral means having no ideological load. The fact that discourse loses its ideological load, paradoxically, will have a fundamental ideological effect and this idea is expressed by Fairclough (1989, p.92) as, "ideology works through disguising its nature, pretending to be what it is not". In other words, naturalization occurs but

people can hardly, if ever, understand that their routine and usual behaviours create ideological effects on the society.

2.19.3 Teun Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach

In doing CDA, van Dijk (2008) has offered some practical principles and guidelines emphasizing the point that there is no special school or approach to work on. Moreover, he considered it as an interdisciplinary approach, and for researchers, it is convenient to take an eclectic approach using the findings of other cultures, countries, and other humanities disciplines. He does not look at CDA as a branch of discourse analysis, like conversation analysis or psycho-discourse analysis. Van Dijk (1988) states the fact that given the power of the written and spoken word, CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analyzing, and critiquing social life reflected in the text. In the domain of CDA, most of his critical works have been concerned with prejudice and racism in discourse (van Dijk, 2005). Literally, CDA requires an account of intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture to reveal how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts (van Dijk, 1993).

Van Dijk emphasizes, in his methodology, on the socio-cognitive discourse analysis stating that it is significant in CDA, communication, and interaction (Wodak, 2008). For van Dijk (1995), it is the *socio-cognition*--social cognition and personal cognition that mediates between society and discourse. Van Dijk (1995) defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of

group members" (p. 18). In this sense, "ideologies ... are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize...socially shared attitudes" (p.18). Hence, ideologies indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions. Further, van Dijk (1995) focuses on the mental representations of individuals during such social actions and interactions as the "models" and for him, "models control how people act, speak or write or how they understand the social practices of others" (van Dijk, 1995, p.22). Van Dijk (1995) believes that CDA needs such mental representation models that include concepts, values, norms and images shared in social groups and activated in discourse (Tenorio, 2011). Accordingly, van Dijk's "mental representations are often articulated along *us* versus *them* dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms" (p.22). Analyzing and making explicit this contrastive dimension of *Us* versus *Them* has been central to most of van Dijk's research and writings (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996, & 1998). Further, van Dijk focuses on aspects including coherence, lexical and topic selection, rhetorical figures, speech acts, propositional structure, and turn-taking systems (Tenorio, 2011). To summarize, van Dijk's perceptions concerning his socio-cognitive approach implies that CDA can be carried out through:

1. Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants
2. Analyzing groups, power relations and conflicts involved
3. Identifying positive and negative opinions about *Us* versus *Them*

4. Making explicit the presupposed and the implied
5. Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions.

(van Dijk, 1998, p. 61- 63)

2.19.4 Ruth Wodak's Historical Approach

Ruth Wodak and his colleagues framed a "historical approach" to CDA (Ahmadvand, 2009, p.9). The distinctive feature of this approach is that it attempts to use all the background information in analyzing different layers of a spoken or written text. Wodak (2001, p. 69-70) has summarized the features of the historical approach to CDA as given below:

1. This approach is interdisciplinary. It acknowledges the intricacy of the relationship between language and society.
2. This interdisciplinary nature could be seen both in theory and practice. Therefore, Wodak's approach combines argumentation theory and rhetoric with Halliday's Functional Linguistics.
3. This approach is problem-oriented rather than emphasizing some special language issues.
4. Methodology and theory are chosen through eclecticism.
5. In this approach the analyst is always on the move between theory and empirical data.
6. Historical context will go under investigation and will be incorporated into the analysis of discourse and texts.

Wodak (2002) focuses on referring to CDA as a "school" or a "program" which many researchers find useful and reliable (p.2). This program or set of principles has changed over the years. In addition, he draws a distinction between discourse analysis and CDA in that the "constitutive problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach of the latter, are separated from endorsing all of the above points" (Wodak, 2002, p.2).

Wodak (2009) emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) maintain that CDA is mainly concerned with identifying the relationship between language and power. In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. Therefore, texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies, all contending and struggling for dominance. In fact, taking into account the insights that discourse is structured by dominance and that dominance structures are legitimized by ideologies of powerful groups, simplify the analysis of the possibilities of resistance to unequal power relationships that appear as societal conventions. According to this view, dominant structures both stabilize and naturalize conventions. In other words, the effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are obscured in stable and natural forms. Resistance, then, is seen as the breaking of conventions, of stable discursive practices, in acts of "creativity" (Wodak, 2008).

For Wodak (2002), CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research. An important perspective in CDA is related to the notion of "power" in that it is very rare that a text is the work of any one person. Strictly speaking, for Wodak, the definitions of the terms *discourse*, *critical*, *ideology*, *power* and so on are also manifold (Wodak,1996).

Assuredly, LNTSs dealing with politics such as, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, have become a major arena for the discussion of lay public opinion on a range of issues, from individual, personal dilemmas and relationships to broader social problems and concerns. Moreover, power relationships and the different ideologies that can be identified within those television talk shows form major components for the current study. Therefore, the introduction concerning CDA and the reference to its major approaches are closely associated to the current study because they provide the framework for the analysis of the data under investigation. Accordingly, dealing with power relations means a CDA must be carried out to analyze the multimodal aspects as far as the text and context of those television talk shows are concerned.

In essence, the principle of analysis for CDA is the text since texts are considered as social actions presenting meaningful and coherent instances of spoken and written language use including written texts, spoken face-to-face interaction and gestural aspects. CDA tends to link the text (micro level) with the structures of power through discursive practices (macro level) (Fairclough, 2000). Fairclough (2002) does believe that discourse analysis involves power and ideologies that are

closely connected to the past and current context and this means different people can interpret it differently since they carry in minds different backgrounds, knowledge and power positions. In other words, he states that the "right" interpretation does not actually exist but a plausible and more adequate interpretation might be provided. Fairclough's (1989, 1995, 2001, 2003) approach of CDA is adopted for the current study since it refers to a rather grand-theory-oriented position and focuses its linguistic manifestations on discourses, on particular elements of dominance, difference and resistance. According to this approach, social practices including social relations, social identities, cultural values, and consciousness are dialectically related elements of semiosis. This approach oscillates between a focus on structure and a focus on action. The multimodal aspects of the interviews between Barack Obama and the two hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno) are to be analyzed in order to identify Obama's bases of power, his power relations and political ideologies.

2. 20 Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics

Michael Alexander Kirwood Halliday, an Australian linguist, developed the SFL model which is usually considered as the main foundation of CDA and other theories in pragmatics (Wang, 2010). Critical linguists analysing the text depend on Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) model, because they aim at "isolating ideology in discourse and showing how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes" (Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew, 1979, p.155). Evidently, and in order to exemplify the link between CDA and SFL, Sheyholami (2001) maintains that, "language is a social act and it is ideologically driven" (p. 2). Commonly, there are two assumptions indicating this: first, Halliday's

point of view considering language as a social act and second, critical linguists' point of view that speakers can make choices concerning vocabulary and grammar, consciously or unconsciously and these are principled and systematic. Typically, SFL is considered as a useful tool for a CDA because it includes a fusion of syntactic, semantic, and semiotic approaches. Halliday (1985) states that since language differs according to the context of situation in which these linguistic variations are referred to as "register", there are three categories according to which text can be analyzed (p.12). These categories are field, tenor and mode (Halliday, 1985, p. 12). "Field" refers to the topics and actions carried out in the interactional process, "tenor" stands for the interactants, and "mode" refers to the channel in which the whole interactional process is taking place as being written or spoken or both (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1989). Following Halliday, these critical linguists view language in use as simultaneously performing three metafunctions:

A- Ideational Function:

Wang (2010) states that through the ideational function the speaker or writer embodies his experience of the phenomena in the real world including his reaction, cognitions, and perceptions. Patpong (2009) frames it to be used "for creating, maintaining and revising knowledge in the form of meaning" (p. 198). Further, this function tends to provide new information and communicate a content which is unknown to the hearer. Basically, the ideational function is represented by the transitivity system in grammar which considers the clause as the meaningful grammatical unit since it stands for the transmission of ideas (Iwamoto, 2001). Further, Haig (2011) sets two types of metafunction that accumulate each other for the ideational function including the experiential and logical ones. The experiential

metafunction stands for the presentation of life experience in a grammatical system of configuration of certain aspects including process, participants and circumstance. All these are termed under the system of TRANSITIVITY (Patpong, 2009). Thompson (1996) defines the transitivity system as "a system for describing the whole clause" (p.78). Basically, it involves the type of processes through which different participants are recognized and labelled in relation to the process verb used in the clause. It is concerned with ways in which grammatical features are identified in sentences and paragraphs. Consequently, the component of this system involves the participants, processes and circumstances. It has been very popular in critical linguistics because this model provides a means of discovering certain linguistic structures of the text implying the meaning of the world view and the ideological stance of the reader or speaker. This system has six processes including: material processes, mental processes, relational processes, behavioural processes, verbal processes, and existential processes. These processes perform different functions involving doing, being, sensing, behaving or existing.

The material processes are those ones in which something is done and these are expressed through three components (the actor, the action verb, and the goal of the action) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Thompson (1996) categorized two types in relation to the process to be 'intentional' or 'involuntary' (p.79). In addition, there is another extra element called "circumstances" which provides extra information concerning place, time, manner duration, condition, etc. (Halliday, 1994).

Example (2-13): John (actor) killed (verb) an elephant (goal).

(Goalty, 2004, p.119).

The mental processes stand for such phenomena as "perception" (see, look, etc.), "reaction" (like, please, etc.), "cognition" (know, believe, convince, etc.). The mental processes involve two components: "sensor" and "phenomenon". In other words, the mental processes involve the meaning of feeling and thinking and can be expressed through three sub-categories of verbs including cognition verbs of thinking, knowing, understanding, etc. ; verbs of liking, loving, fearing, hating, etc.; verbs of seeing, hearing, (Halliday, 1994, 2004). The relational processes include two types: *attributive* that attributes a certain object; and the *identifying* which expresses the identical properties of two entities and, further, they show the relation between one concept and another.

Example (2-14): John is a stupid politician (Attributive)

Example (2-15): John has a guitar (Identifying)

(Goatly, 2004, p.119).

The verbal processes refer to exchanging information and convey verbs such as, say, tell, talk, praise, boast and describe. The verbal processes have main participants including: "sayer", "receiver", and "verbiage".

Example (2-16): I said I am happy.

(Iwamoto, 2001, p. 80).

The behavioral processes express physiological and psychological behavior, as, for instance, breathing, smiling, crying, staring.

Example (2-17): John shouted.

(Goatly, 2004, p.119).

The existential processes stand for what exists or happens. Typically, Halliday (1994) states that existential sentences are recognized through the verb "be".

Example (2-18): There is a girl in the garden.

(Wang, 2010, p.33).

In essence, every language system contains logical relations such as *and*, *or*, *if*, *because*, *then*, and *so*. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) describe these logical connectors as being "realized not by configuration but by iteration: one clause bonded with another clause, or one group or phrase with another group or phrase" (p.23).

B. Interpersonal function:

Halliday (1971, 1985) states that the speaker uses language to perform different communicative roles such as to inform, question, greet, persuade, and the like. The interpersonal function tends to express social and personal relations (Wang, 2010). It is expressed through "mood" and "modality". Mood, on the one hand, shows the role of the speaker in the speech situation and the role assigned to the addressee. It can be expressed through declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses.

Example (2-19): Declarative: They drink coffee.

Example (2-20): Interrogative: Do they drink coffee?/What do they drink?

Example (2-21): Imperative: Drink! Let's drink.

(Halliday, 1994, p.42-43).

Modality, on the other hand, is considered as one of the most important systems in the social communication since it can express the speaker's judgment towards the topic and reveal the social relationship, scale of formality and power relationships. It refers to intermediate ranges between the extreme positive and the extreme negative and is expressed through the use of personal pronouns, notional verbs, tense, direct and indirect speech.

C- Textual Function:

Halliday (1971, 1985) believes that even though there might be two sentences which can be identical in their ideational and interpersonal functions, they are certainly different in the textual function. Basically, without the textual function, it is difficult to make any use of language at all (Iwamoto, 2001; Wang, 2010). Halliday (1985, 1994, 2004) indicates that textual metafunction is mainly concerned with the creation of the text. In other words, it conveys the presentation of both the ideational and interpersonal meanings as information that can be shared by the speaker and listener in different contexts of situations. One of the major textual systems is "theme", the resource for setting up a local context for a clause by selecting a local point of departure in the flow of information. In other words, it provides the speaker with strategies for guiding the listener in his/her interaction of

the text (Batubara, 2008). Themes can be expressed differently in declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses. As far as declarative clauses are concerned, themes are conflated with subject. In interrogative clauses the theme element involves the finite verb operator and for the imperative clauses, themes are expressed through the verbal group functioning as predicator (Corbett, 1992; Halliday, 1994).

The analysis of multimodal aspects involves SFL. Specifically, multimodality, discourse analysis and CDA share a commitment to the SFL analysis of the text itself, in addition to understanding it in the social political context (Simpson, 1993). The current study investigates Obama's bases of power, power relations and ideologies through a CDA which requires both the textual as well as the gestural analysis of the interviews carried out with Obama in the LNTSs selected for the study. The multimodal aspects include the linguistic and the gestural (facial expressions, gestures and postures) modes to be dealt with specifically in description and analysis through a CDA in which Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL approach is adopted for the analysis of the transcribed texts.

2.21 Deixes Types and Context of Situation

Almost all the studies that have been carried out to investigate language features, in general, and discourse, in particular, state that words become meaningful in the context of situation in which they are used. In theory, context refers to those elements of a situation that could affect the text in some way to get understanding, such as the effects of time, place, ideology, or relationships (Abdul-Jabbar, 2005; Brown & Yule, 1983; Graber, 2001; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Huckin, 1997; Polito, 2011; Renkema, 1993; Trask, 1995). In fact, to establish a relationship between

language and context, speakers use different demonstratives, pronouns, adverbs, and other grammatical features. These features provide deictic information in which they tell about the location of the person in space and time; yet not the size, shape, colour of that person (Crains, 1991). Specifically, as far as the study of language in context is concerned, deixis is considered as the most obvious linguistic feature in which such a relationship is reflected. Originally, *deixis* means in Greek means "pointing" or "indicating" (Wales, 1990). Verdonk (as cited in Christopher, 2009) states that, "human beings are cognitively primed to relate the space, time, persons, and objects in the world around them to their own subjective position, that is, to view them from their own point of view" (p.73).

Brown and Levinson (1987) define deixis as "the ways in which language encoder grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance" (p.54). According to Yaranmadiland Olfati (2011), it refers to "the phenomenon where in understanding the meaning of certain words and phrases in an utterance requires contextual information" (p. 2686). In other words, deixis refers to words that have semantic meanings with the denotational meaning that constantly change depending on the time and place.

Basically, deixis deals with the relationship between the text and the situation in which that text is used and it is considered as one of the most important elements of textual cohesion (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Deictics encode specific aspects of the speech event and can only be understood in the immediate

context and, accordingly, the different deictic expressions are mostly used in face-to-face interactions (Renkema, 1993).

There are various types of deixis such as temporal, spatial, and personal (Fillmore, 1982). These different types have different orientations depending on the sender or addressee. Temporal deixis expresses aspects of an event through reference to the tenses (past, present and future). Specifically, it is possible to refer to a fixed point in time which is independent of the speaker, as for instance, *1991* or *last week*. Smith (2003) indicates that temporal deictics refer to the speaker's time in the *here* and *now* adverbials. He, further, explained that the time of speaking or speech time is the default orientation point, and hence, it is considered as basic to language. Temporal deixis is expressed by time adverbials such as *now, then, today, last Wednesday, while chewing, tomorrow, yesterday, tonight, next*, etc. (Helder, 2011; Hensgens, 2005). A very important point that needs to be stated is that not all temporal references are deictics because temporal references including calendar and clock time are considered as non-deictic temporal references such as *on November 24, 2006* or *at 7.00 p.m. on Sunday* (Helder, 2011, p.160).

The spatial category, as Simpson (1993) states, is a category of locative expressions and these expressions are presented through prepositions denoting place and direction that function to identify positions of people and objects that are related to the speaker and addressee. Crain (1991) maintains that spatial deixis is considered more basic in language than temporal deixis. In Fillmore's (1982) own words, spatial deixis is defined as "that aspect of deixis which involves referring to the locations in space of the communication act participants; it is that part of spatial semantics which

takes the bodies of the communication act participants as significant reference objects for spatial specification" (p.37). Thomas (1995) indicates that spatial deixis refers to "the marking in language of the orientation or position in space of the referent of a linguistic expression"(p.9). Dixon (2003) specifies the categories of spatial adverbs *here/there, nearby/ far away* or locatives *in the valley, out of Africa*. Demonstratives include *this/ that*, verbs of motion *come/ go, bring/ take*. The demonstrative pronouns, *this/ that* along with their plural forms are considered as the most obvious deictic terms.

Personal deixis, according to Trask (1999), "...allows distinction among the speaker, the addressee, and everyone else"(p.68). Yang (2011) identifies a three-part division for personal deixis including the first person pronoun "I", second person pronoun "you" and third person pronouns "he, she, it" and their plural forms. The pronoun "I" is used by the speaker to refer to himself/herself in the presence of the addressee and "we" similarly refers to the role of the speaker and possibly the addressee, not as a single entity but rather as a member of group (Adetunji, 2006; Yang, 2011). Personal deictics distinguish gender and number. The first person pronoun refers to the speaker; the second person pronoun refers the addressee; while the third person pronoun refers to neither, i.e. the speaker nor the addressee. Personal deictics have been of interest to scholars for the important role they play in the whole interactional process. Further, personal deictics reflect the social status of the referents in which the choice of a pronoun depends to a large extent on the nature of the speaker's relationship to the addressee. Most importantly, of those pronouns are the two pronouns "us" and "them". Specifically, "us" is considered as a conceptual pronoun that is related to "me"; while "them" is related to all people(Hawkins, 2000).

Ideologically, these two pronouns can represent the speaker's beliefs and attitudes and hence, they are very important for the current study in representing Obama's political ideologies.

In addition to the previously mentioned deixis, there are two other terminologies of deixis including "social" and "discourse" deixis (Fillmore, 1975; Levinson, 1983; Lyons, 1977). Fillmore (1975) defines social deixis as, "the study of that aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs" (p.76). Social deixis includes personal deixis and it is, further, subdivided into two categories including *relational and absolute*. The relational category, on the one hand, refers to the relations between the a) speaker and referent; b) speaker and addressee; c) speaker and bystander; d) speaker and setting. The absolute category, on the other hand, includes forms which are reserved for two specific kinds of speech act participants, namely, *authorized speakers and authorized recipients* (Bennett, 2005, p.79). Discourse deixis refers to the semantic values of an epistemic nature in which they provide objective information and facts about the world or sometimes they may be employed metaphorically. Yang (2011) refers to it, simply, as the "deixis in text" since it has to do with the choice of lexical or grammatical elements which indicate or otherwise refer to some portion or aspect of the ongoing discourse which is something like, "the former" (p.129). Commonly, the term "discourse deixis" is associated with deictics like *now, today, etc.* and non-deictics time semantics as in *earlier, later, the preceding x, etc.* Bennett (2005) points out that discourse deixis involves spatial and temporal references of the discourse itself. More specifically, discourse deixis is realized through indexical deictic expressions, such as personal

and possessive pronouns, adverbials, verbal categories of person and tense, in addition to politeness and phatic formulae.

Crain (1991) presented the conceptual deixis entitled, "canonical situation of utterance" which means that, "the speaker is at zero point of the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the deictic context" (p. 20). In other words, locations in the utterances of the speaker are related to the speaker's position, and when speakers exchange turns during the interactional process, then the deictic center shifts accordingly.

Another term that can be used interchangeably with deixis is "indexicals", which refer to the words that have semantic meanings depending on the context of use. Manning (2001) indicates that all deictics are indexes but not all indexes are deictics. The difference between deixis and indexicals has been characterized by Kaplan (1989) who distinguished two aspects of indexicals including: character and content. Content is stable when it has a fixed and stable function as, for instance, proper nouns; while character is the function that determines the content in different contexts of utterances, as in for instance, the character of "I" is a function whose value, for each context, stands for the speaker or agent of that context (Kaplan, 1989).

Due to the importance of deixis in language, different studies tackled the deictic expressions in different forms and genres of language (Bennett, 2005; Hank, 2005; Kuo, 2001, 2002; Manning, 2001; Methven, 2006; Rossella, 1996; Simpson, 2003; Yang, 2011). PD is no exception in which studies have investigated

politicians' use of deictics for different personal, political, ideological, persuasive or even manipulative purposes since all these different purposes depend on both the context of situation and the speaker's intentions (Persada, 2011; Polito, 2011; Yarahmadil & Olfati, 2011).

Politically, a President who leads a country must have ideologies that he/she wants the society to have as well so that his/her policy would be accepted accordingly. Expressing ideology can be done through using different linguistic features such as pronouns, nouns, phrases and sentences that constitute the text of speech. Van Dijk (1995) states clearly that ideologies are highly abstract and should be realized in concrete text and talk that describe social issues, as for instance, terrorism or racism. Moreover, he relates ideology to the context of situation in which ideologies are presented through the context of situation, i.e., through pointing out the "who, when, and where" structures of context. Therefore, deixis is considered as one of the linguistic features through which context of situation can be identified and hence, through which a person can present and express his/her different ideologies. With regards to CDA, deixis is considered as one of its methods (Polito, 2011). Despite the studies that were carried out to investigate the PD of Barack Obama's use of deixis (Boyd, 2009; Catalano, 2011; Horvath, 2009; Wieczorek, 2009) there is still a need to expand the investigation to involve expressing his ideologies in entertainment LNTSs. Accordingly, the current study, attempts to analyze Obama's use of deixis in order to express his ideologies. Closely associated with the deictic expressions are the multimodality aspects and the gestural aspects in face-to-face interaction in which verbal expressions are linked to gestures.

Accordingly, both the verbal and non-verbal aspects can be analyzed critically through the CDA approach.

2.22 Multimodality: Linguistic and Gestural aspects

Generally speaking, people communicate with each other expressing their ideas, attitudes and feelings using different modes such as verbal, gestural, visual, audio and spatial modes. Dealing with the spoken or written text may involve two or more of those different modes and accordingly, it is called a "multimodal text" (Anstey & Bull, 2010). Barnlund (2008) proposes the idea that it is the meaning-making accomplished by interacting people through a variety of expressions, performances and displays that are accomplished by written, verbal and nonverbal formulations. In fact, speech is not limited to words only but rather speakers tend to use a different range of semiotics. Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001) in their book, *Discourse as data: A Guide to analysis* refers to body language such as gestures, facial expressions, etc. as "semiosis" which is defined as "meaning-making through language, body language, visual images, or any other way of signifying" (p.229). In fact, speakers use gestures and facial expressions to transmit their ideas and express themselves, just as with sounds, images, and other communicative modes. The listeners also answer and respond through using similar forms such as nods, grunts, quizzical looks, etc. (Kurland, 2000).

Non-verbal behaviour plays a very important role in social life in which people within the interactional process send a large portion of signals to each other consciously or unconsciously, accompanied by their actual talk (Korte, 1997). Guffey, Kathleen and Rogin (2010) state clearly that understanding messages

requires more than listening to spoken words in which nonverbal cues play an important and powerful role in the interpretation of the messages sent. Non-verbal aspects involve all unwritten and unspoken messages, whether intentional or unintentional but almost all non-verbal cues are used intentionally in coordination with spoken words.

Recently, there has been great interest and research concerning the role of non-verbal behaviour in the communication process. The point is that even when texts are essentially verbal, talk is interwoven with gestures and postures, facial expressions, and body movement, to such an extent that it cannot be properly understood without reference to these nonverbal features (Buck & vanLear, 2002). Riggio and Feldman (2005) summarized the importance of using nonverbal aspects:

Nonverbal communication is used to convey power and status, it is used to express love and intimacy, it is used to communicate agreement, to establish rapport, and to regulate the flow of communication. Nonverbal communication is pervasive, ongoing and it is part of virtually every human endeavor" (p.4).

For the purposes of the current study, the focus is on body language. Body language is described by Goman (2008) who associates it with the context indicating that, "To uncover its true meaning, body language needs to be understood in context, viewed in clusters, evaluated for congruence with what is being said, assessed for consistency, and filtered for cultural influences" (p.12).

Typically, all nonverbal aspects are influenced to a large extent by our cultural heritage and this means that non-verbal behaviour is bound to culture.

Adamopoulos and Lonner (2001) emphasize the point that culture is communicated through generations and as it influences the verbal language, it also has noticeable influence upon the nonverbal behaviour. Obviously, since there are differences among cultures, the meanings of the nonverbal aspects differ from one culture to another. Some studies have attempted to investigate and determine the non-verbal differences among the different cultures (Briton & Hall, 1995; Constantino, 2005; Sharifabad & Vali, 2011). For the current study, dealing with American LNTSs in which the hosts are Americans and Obama, the guest, is African-American, and since verbal aspects are bound to culture, therefore, the nonverbal behaviour is no exception as it is influenced by culture too. In fact, multimodality is annotated by discriminating between the description of the non-verbal expressions and their functions in the interactional process (Koutsombogera, Touribaba & Papageorgiou, 2011). Specifically speaking, body language involving facial expressions, gestures and postures are to be analyzed together with the linguistic properties of the text. The next sub-sections present, specifically, the categories of body language in relation to their meanings as far as the American culture is concerned, in addition to some reference to their meanings in the African-American culture as well.

2.22.1 Facial Expressions

Li and Jain (2005) define facial expressions as "the facial changes in response to a person's internal emotional states, intentions, or social communications" (p.247). Facial expressions are responsible for a huge proportion of nonverbal communication. They involve different powerful cues that are displayed in relation to body parts from the head region, including the eyebrows, mouth and lips (Ekman, 1978; Freitas-Magalhaes, 2006). Generally speaking, facial

expressions carry different meanings that are closely associated with the different situations and relationships persons face and hold with each other. Guffey et al. (2010) indicate that the face can display over 250000 expressions and these facial expressions can replace the verbal message, some of which are "raising or lowering the eyebrows, squinting the eyes, swallowing nervously, clenching the jaw, smiling broadly" (p.59). Myles (1989) maintains that through facial expressions, people express their feelings because feelings reflect emotional states and reactions which can either reinforce or negate the verbal messages. Russell and Fernandez-Dol (1997) indicate that "when we turn our eyes to the face of another human being, we often seek and usually find a meaning in all that it does or fails to do" (p.3).

The studies that have been carried out on the facial expression program include many assumptions, theories and methods; yet, Russell and Fernandez-Dol (1997, p.11-12) presented a prototype of the facial expressions, assumptions, premises and applications, some of which are given below:

1. There are a small number (seven plus or minus two) of basic emotions.
2. Each basic emotion is genetically determined, universal, and discrete.
3. The production and recognition of distinct facial expressions constitute a signalling system.
4. Any state lacking its own facial signal is not a basic emotion. Therefore, discovering which facial expressions signal the same emotions provides a list of universal emotions. The seven candidates found so far are happiness surprise, fear, anger, contempt, disgust, and sadness.

5. All emotions other than the basic ones are subcategories or mixtures of (patterns, blends, combinations) of the basic emotions. For example, anger includes fury and annoyance as its subcategories' (which should therefore share anger's facial signal).

In sum, facial expressions are taken to be universally understood signals that can be visible while they carry hidden meanings of events (Ekman & Friesen, 1975; Russell & Fernandez-Dol, 1997). The most important point concerning facial expressions is their universality according to which, "Universality studies have been conducted to identify the distinct facial expressions of emotions" (Ekman, 1973; Ekman, Sorenson & Friesen, 1969; Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002; Matsumoto, 2001; Matsumoto, Keltner, Shiota, Frank, & O'Sullivan, 2008). Accordingly, there is strong evidence for the universality of seven facial expressions. Exclusively, these seven distinct facial expressions are anger, contempt, disgust, joy, sadness, and surprise (Argyle, 1988; Ekman, 1978, Ekman & Friesen, 1975; Ekman, O'Sullivan & Matsumoto, 1991; Keltner & Ekman, 2000; Matsumoto, 2001; Russell and Fernandez-Dol, 1997). A summary of Ekman and Friesen's (1976) facial expressions and their non-verbal cues is given in table 5.

Table 5.

Facial Expressions and their Non-Verbal cues

Expressions	Non-verbal cues
Happiness	raising and lowering of mouth corners
Sadness	lowering of mouth corners, raise inner portion of brows
Surprise	brows arch, eyes open wide to expose more white, jaw drops slightly
Fear	brows raised, eyes open, with the mouth opens slightly
Disgust	upper lip is raised, nose bridge is wrinkled, cheeks raised
Anger	brows lowered, lips pressed firmly with eyes bulging
Contempt	raising of one side of the mouth into a sneer or smirk.

Note: Adopted from Measuring facial movement by P. Ekman & W.V. Friesen, 1976 in *Environmental Psychological and nonverbal behaviour*, 1(1), p.56-75. Copyright: 1976.

As far as the current study is concerned, verbal cues including happiness, sadness and such are added to the transcription instead of the non-verbal cues and this is related to the point that the details included within the non-verbal description will affect on the clarity of the transcription and make it look messy. I'll use the descriptions for the identification of the facial expression but the transcription of the different facial expression includes only the verbal cues.

The smile is the most noticeable facial expression because it sends a very effective message. It is likely to put other people at ease and make them feel accepted and comfortable (Knapp & Hall, 2007). As far as the American culture is concerned, the smile expresses pleasure and accordingly, it carries the same meaning as in other parts of the world; yet, it has different functions, depending again on the situation and the type of the relationship, as for instance, a woman smiling to a man

or to a baby. Literally speaking, a smile in the American and African-American cultures can be used to convey either affection, politeness, or disguise true feelings. Nierenberg and Calero (1971) indicate that there are three common smiles: *the simple smile, the upper smile and the abroad smile* (p.14). The simple smile is with teeth unexposed and it is seen when someone is not engaging in any activity. The upper smile is when the upper incisors are exposed with eye-to-eye contact between the interactants and it is commonly used for greeting. The broad smile is associated with laughing in which both upper and lower incisors are exposed and this smile expresses happiness (Nierenberg & Calero, 1971).

In American television talk shows, the sense of humour controls the whole environment because these talk shows tend to entertain the audience and, at the same time, send a message. Yet, different facial expressions can be categorized such as anger, surprise, etc. As far as the current study is concerned, these different facial expressions are to be analyzed in relation to the linguistic properties of the text in order to answer the questions under investigation.

2.22.2 Gestures and Postures

Kruass and Hadar (1999) refer to gestures as the specific bodily movements that can reinforce verbal messages of expressing thoughts or feelings. Gestures stand for the movements made by the head, shoulders, legs, feet, hands, arms and fingers. Hornby (2002) specifies the meaning of gestures as the movements of the body parts including, basically, the head and hands. Commonly, together the head, trunk and shoulder when used with the hands and arms refer to feelings and ideas. Gestures can be more effective when they are purposeful in which they must reflect what is being

said. Most importantly, there is a direct relationship between the status, power, and prestige a person possesses and the number of gestures or body movements he/she uses. In other words, realizing the importance and acknowledging when and how and according to which culture gestures can fit, a person can have successful relationships with others. Culturally, the use of gestures in communication varies from one culture to the next. Certainly, the different gestures like almost all non-verbal behaviour are the products of cultural influence and again in different cultures, gestures stand for different meanings. As far as the American culture is concerned, approval is expressed through making a circle with the thumb and forefinger; while in other Western cultures nodding the head up and down signifies agreement (Pease, 1988). Another gesture that is commonly used in America is beckoning people to come and this can be done with the palm up.

Ekman and Friesen (1969, p. 49-98) outlined five major types of body movements including: *emblems, illustrators, affect, displays, regulators* and *adaptors*. First, emblems refer to gestures that replace words and have a direct hand gesture. These differ from one culture to another, as for instance, the OK sign, or the V for victory in the American culture. Saying "hello" in America is done through waving with the whole hand moving from side to side (Knapp & Hall, 1997, Pease, 1981). Second, the illustrators are small movements that punctuate ideas, as for instance, when referring to something on the left side, this can be done either through referring to it by hand or turning the head or the whole body. They are directly linked with words and are used to describe the size of something. Third, affect stands for the unconscious movement which communicates emotional meaning such as smiling or frowning, in addition to the body movement as such relaxing or showing tension.

Fourth, the regulators tend to control, monitor and coordinate the other person speaking, as for example, when someone nods the head as a sign to let the speaker continue what he/she is saying. Further, a person smiles or makes "mm-hmm-humm sounds" in order to show agreement or that he/she is listening to the person speaking. This mostly happens in the African-American culture in which African-Americans tend to make listening sounds such as "um hmm, yeah, yeah" (Brilhart & Galanes, 1995). Fifth, the adaptors refer to gestures that are of personal needs such as scratching to relieve or rubbing the nose. These adaptors are of three types including: self adaptors which belong to the individual person and alter adaptor which is directed to the other person in the interactional process, such as when removing lint from someone's jacket. Finally, the object adaptors stand for gestures that are focused on objects such as doodling on a Styrofoam coffee cup (Devito, 2002; Dimitrius & Mazarella, 1998; Knapp & Hall, 1997; Nierenberg & Calero, 1971; Oijen, 2007).

The studies that have been carried out on body language focused mainly on gestures and their meanings since they are the most apparent cues of non-verbal behaviour (Ekman, 2003, Pease & Pease, 2004). Pease & Pease (2004) in the front page of their book, "Body language: How to read other's thoughts by their gestures" clarify that, "It is a significant fact that people's gestures give away their true intentions". Moreover, Nierenberg and Calero (1971) in their book, "How to read a person like a book", and Dimitrius & Mazarella's (1998) "How to understand people and predict their behaviour-anytime, anyplace", focus on gestures in which they have been tackled in detail in different contexts. The different gestures as well

as their different meanings have been presented in a clear description in table 6 in order to reveal how these gestures can be identified and interpreted.

Pease and Pease (2004) point out that hands are considered as the most important tools in the communication process. One of the most important gestures for the hands is the open palm which is closely associated with truth, honesty, allegiance and submission. They state that when people want to express openness and honesty, they will have one or both palms open out to the other person(s) and say sentences like "I didn't do it", "I'm sorry if I upset you" (p.33). The palms are considered the least noticed but the most powerful body gesture as in Pease and Pease's (2004) own words, "*Palm Power* invests its user with the power of silent authority" (p.36). Basically, there are three main palm gestures: the *Palm-Up* position, the *Palm-Down* position and the *Palm-closed-I finger-Pointed* position (Pease & Pease, 2004, p.36). The first type which is the *Palm-up* position is used to present submissive and non-threatening attitude. The other type of palms position is when the palm is facing downwards to present authority in which it is used to give orders and commands. The *Palm-closed-finger-pointed* stands for negative attitudes and people using it are described as being aggressive, rude and belligerent (Pease & Pease, 2004).

A sub-category of gestures is postures which convey a great deal of information, as for example, bowing, slouching, sitting with legs crossed, leaning, and arms crossed on the chest (Ekman,2003).Ekman (2003) refers to body cues that display different postures as those including the torso, arms and legs. All these postures have meanings and convey different information about the state of the

person. For all gestures and postures to be understood clearly, the context is considered an essential element (Dimitrius & Mazzarella, 1998). In sum, Lardner (2002, p.38) provides a table in which gestures and postures and their inferences are determined as is shown in table 6.

Table 6

Gestures and Postures and their Inferences

Non-verbal behaviour	Interpretation
Brisk, erect walk	Confidence
Standing with hands on hips, sitting with legs crossed	Readiness, aggression
Foot kicking slightly	Boredom
Sitting with legs apart	Open, relaxed
Arms crossed on chest,	Defensiveness
Walking with hands in pockets, shoulders hunched	Dejection
Hand to cheek	Evaluation, thinking
Touching, slightly rubbing nose	Rejection, doubt, lying
Rubbing the eye	Doubt, disbelief
Hands collapsed behind back	Anger, frustration, apprehension
Locked ankles	Apprehension
Head resting in hands, eyes downcast	Boredom
Rubbing hands	Anticipation
Sitting with hands clasped behind head, legs crossed	Confidence, superiority
Open palm	Sincerity, openness, innocence
Pinching bridge of nose, eyes closed	Negative evaluation
Tapping or drumming fingers	Impatience
Steepling fingers	Authoritative
Patting/ fondling hair	Lack of self-confidence, insecurity
Tilted head	Interest

Stroking chin	Trying to make a decision
Looking down, face turned away	Disbelief
Biting nails	Insecurity, nervousness
Pulling or tugging at ear	Indecision

Note: Adopted from What you didn't say, speak volumes: How body language can be used to understand others by C.M. Lardner, 2002, p.38. Copyrights 2002 by *Michigan Bar Journal*, 2(2).

As far as the current study is concerned, determining the gestures and postures of the interactants relying on the descriptions given by Dimitrius & Mazarella, 1998 Lardner, 2002; Nierenberg & Calero, 1971; Pease & Pease, 2004; helps to clarify the meaning of what is being said, how it is being said and for what purposes. According to the theoretical framework of the CDA, the multimodal contents involving the gestural aspects are to be analyzed as one unit in relation to the linguistic ones.

2.23 Earlier Studies in the Related Areas

Due to the importance given to the exercise of power in non-traditional forms such as LNTSs, scholars, recently, have directed their interest towards investigating this genre and its different interactional components. Although politics, power relations and LNTSs have been explored separately from different aspects in many studies, power relations and politics in LNTSs is still relatively unexplored according to the researcher's knowledge, especially in the case of Barack Obama being interviewed by David Letterman and Jay Leno. In this section, the researcher presents a research literature that includes some earlier studies that investigated power relations, LNTSs and Obama's PD in order to develop a rationale for the study under investigation. Till now the investigation of power relations in LNTSs still in

progress and it is the task of the current study to explore power relations, PD and LNTSs through conducting a CDA in relation to Barack Obama and the two hosts: David Letterman and Jay Leno.

As far as LNTSs and politics are concerned, several studies were carried out to investigate the relation between them. Carter (1987) studied the relationship between personal narratives and their contexts by developing an analytical framework and applying it to the personal narratives told by guests on *The Tonight Show* and *The Late Night with David Letterman*. Three episodes of each program, containing a total of twenty-two personal narratives, were videotaped. The analytical framework included the structure, function, and criteria for the tell ability of the personal narratives as well as the setting, participants, ends, act sequence, forms of speech, norms, and genre of the show. Results indicated that the teller, the purpose for telling, and the type of story told are reflections of the physical setting, the psychological scene, the participants, the norms of interaction and interpretation for the situation, and the specific genre. The analytical framework used was an effective methodological instrument for identifying the relationship between narratives and context.

Munson (1993) offered a very comprehensive study of American television talk shows attempting to reappraise the genre, its structure, its characteristics and its cultural position and the shape it offers for audience participation as a postmodern phenomenon. In addition, he investigated the question of how television talk shows construct knowledge, reality, culture, politics and the self.

A study by Gregori-Signes (2000) tackled the Tabloid Talk show to investigate the structures of these shows through question-answer types and turn-taking system focusing on the generic activity through a conversational analysis methodology. The non-verbal behaviours were analyzed in relation to the verbal ones to determine whether the answers given by the guests were influenced by the drop or rise in pitch of the question. In addition, the study linked language use with the non-linguistic acts such as facial expressions, kinesics and proxemics. The analysis revealed that talk show hosts have the highest number of turns and they dominate the turn-taking system. Further, it was observed that the hosts guaranteed fair participation of the guests interviewed. The study concluded, also, that the audience showed lower degree of participation.

Timberg (2002) explored how the formal television elements that constitute the ritual space of the talk show establish and contextualize the socio-centrality of the star host examining, specifically, the comedy of *Johnny Carson* and *David Letterman*. Fernando (2003) studied the effect of LNTSs on political figures in which he used survey and focus group discussion techniques for data collection. The methodology used for the analysis of the data included three communication theories: agenda-setting, framing, and the two-step flow. The findings of this study established a link between the LNTSs and the perception of the political figures and this relation defined the Late-Night Effect and pointed out its importance as being a new tool for politicians to contact their voters and affect them.

Kwak et al. in 2004 investigated the relationship between entertainment talk shows and political engagement among young adults. The findings of the study

stated that the use of television entertainment LNTSs can be related back to the three variables of political efficacy, political trust, and vote likelihood. Further, the study indicated that the use of LNTSs as a resource for political understanding may foster political inefficacy and political mistrust among young adults.

Danileiko (2005) examined the question construction in the American comedy talk show *Late Night with Conan O'Brien*. The study dealt with the formal and functional questions, their functions, and their effects on the structure of the interviews. The data included four interviews with celebrity guests which were recorded on video tapes and transcribed. Different themes were dealt with including guests' work projects, funny situations, their hobbies and their personal life. A conversational analysis methodology was used to analyze the language and the non-verbal behaviour in the answers. The findings of the study concluded that LNTSs displayed various degrees of spontaneous and purposeful talk and that the semi-institutional nature of talk shows displayed discursive features of casual conversation and institutional discourse. Further, the study stated clearly that questions in the *LNTS Canon O'Brien* had different functions and could belong to different categories.

Gomez (2005) studied the interpersonal semantics of the LNTS, *Bill Bihar's Politically Incorrect* in which he provided an overall outline of two main areas of interpersonal semantics including appraisal and involvement. The findings of the study indicated that the semantics of appraisal and involvement was closely associated with the notion of positive face in order to construct intimacy in the

interactional process, on the one hand, and to conduct turn-allocation technique as away to exert control over the interactional process, on the other hand.

Sarver (2007), in his study, tackled the potential political effects of late night comedy talk shows including the audiences of the hosts *Jay Leno*, *David Letterman*, *Canon O'Brien* and *Jon Stewart*. The study was conducted through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies in order to investigate the relationship between late night viewership and citizens' engagement with the political world. The findings of this study stated that viewers of the LNTSs were politically sophisticated and were low news media consumers.

DeLauder (2010) analyzed the 2008 presidential elections coverage in the two LNTSs *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* in order to determine how they confront the relation and tension between the news and entertainment. The study was conducted through a rhetorical analysis in which comedic devices such as satire, parody, irony, wordplay and invective were investigated in these two shows. The study concluded that the two shows served as a forum for PD that invited people to participate through gaining political knowledge, sharing comments and directing questions to the government and in doing so LNTSs could serve as advocates for civic engagement.

A study by Matthes et al. (2011) was carried out to investigate the content and effect of humorous LNTSs with a focus on political parody. The study was conducted through a content analysis in addition to examining the effects of late night political parody on competence evaluations of politicians. The findings of this

study stated that political parody could decrease competence ratings of the politicians only for individuals who have interest in political knowledge due to the fact that viewers must possess some knowledge and understanding of the political affairs in order to be able to understand the implicit message transported through the political parody in the show.

As far as Obama's PD is concerned, a study by Horvath (2009) was conducted to investigate his PD. Obama's inaugural address was analyzed through a CDA in which the ideological components were stated and it was embedded in Fairclough's notion of ideology residing in the text. The findings of the study specified the ideological components and prominent words that were used in Obama's speech. Boyed (2009) studied the issues of race, racism and identity in Barack Obama's speech on race. The study was conducted through a CDA and focused on the contextual and linguistic aspects in Obama's speech and the findings of the study indicated that Obama used a wide variety of strategies to arrive at a collective identity and that recontextualization played a major role in realizing this type of identity.

Wang (2010) analyzed, in his study, Obama's presidential speeches and he based his analysis on a CDA and SFL. He analyzed the speeches through transitivity and modality in order to be able to identify the ideology and power found in these speeches. The findings of his study pointed out that Obama used simple words and short sentences in order to make his language easy and colloquial. Besides, as far as the transitive method was concerned, Wang stated that Obama uses material process and a process of doing in his speeches to reveal the government's achievement.

Finally, concerning modality, Wang (2010) concluded that Obama used modal verbs, tense and first person pronoun in order to present worldwide situations including the political, economic, religious, and cultural aspects.

Baseer and Alvis (2012) studied the art of linguistic spin in Obama's three popular speeches during 2002-2008. The transitivity model proposed by Halliday was adopted for the analysis of the linguistic spin. The study concluded that Obama used, in his speeches, material processes of action and mental processes of affection as well in order to be able to gather people around him. The study stated that Obama was interested in using location and reason circumstances to be more objective. Moreover, Viberg (2011) conducted a qualitative study and analyzed Obama's and George Bush's inaugural speeches from a post-colonial perspective. The study was conducted through a CDA in which the pronouns and ideologically contested words were analyzed. The findings of the study showed that there was a connection between colonial and neo-colonial ways of thinking. Another study was conducted by Jarrell in 2011 to examine Obama's rhetorical style during the 2008 presidential election campaign in which a total of six speeches were selected for the analysis. The study concluded that Obama's style changed after he took office in 2009.

In addition, a study was done by Catalano (2011) that examined Obama's 18th, 2008 Philadelphia speech through a semiotic analysis and CDA. In this study, emphasis was given to the message in which themes including metaphors and metonymy, in addition to pronouns and other deixis, were analyzed. The findings of the study stated that the effectiveness of Obama's speech lay in the way in which he

played on the emotional impact of the issue of race in order to persuade the Americans to vote for him through using metaphors, metonymy and deixis.

More recently, a study was conducted by Shayeg and Nabifar (2012) to explore the phenomenon of power in Obama's political interviews. This study attempted to underscore some of the methods Obama used to hint at on the degree of power to his addressees. The result of the study indicated that Obama, a dominant political figure, manipulated more material processes through using "I" and "we" pronouns, more religious statements and longer turns. This study was done to investigate Obama's use of power dynamics in seven interviews of political nature.

Clearly, throughout the related studies given, no study has tackled Obama's bases of power and power relations in LNTSs such as, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Further, as far as Barack Obama is concerned and the interest given to study and analyze his PD in TV interviews, political programs, and his speeches, no study has yet been done to investigate his PD in the non-traditional forms of media such as LNTSs through a CDA. Besides, very limited studies tackled the non-verbal behaviour of the interactants in the LNTS interviews, especially, through a CDA approach. Accordingly, the current study attempts to investigate Obama's bases of power, the power relations holding between him and the two hosts: David Letterman and Jay Leno, and finally, his use of deixis to express his political ideologies through a textual and multimodal analysis of the data collected.

2.24 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented a detailed description of the major components of the current study. The mass media and its effect on society at the different levels, and more specifically, at the political level were tackled. Moreover, the chapter introduced the new trend of politics as occupying an important place in entertainment programs and more specifically, in LNTSs. The history, format, development, and studies concerning LNTSs, in general, and the two American LNTSs, *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, in particular, were dealt with in details. The multimodal aspects including the verbal and non-verbal modes were introduced in the chapter. As far as the linguistic aspects are concerned, identity, institutional roles, discursive practices, PD, CDA, and its different approaches were extensively dealt with in the literature review. The chapter also included deixis and their types, and SFL with regards to non-verbal behaviour, facial expressions, gestures and postures and the different models adopted for the coding and analysis of those aspects were presented. Further, the chapter outlined some related studies on the related areas in order to justify the need for the current study which attempts to identify Obama's bases of power, the power relations he holds with the two hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno), and his use of deixis to present his political ideologies in the two LNTSs *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* through a CDA of both the verbal and nonverbal aspects of the interactional process.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three presents the steps the researcher followed in the collection, interpretation and analysis of the data chosen for the study. The sections focus on how the specific approaches help in providing reasonable findings that could give accurate answers for the questions proposed concerning the identification of Obama's bases of power, the power relations he holds with the two hosts: David Letterman and Jay Leno, and his use of deixis to reveal his political ideologies. The study was carried out through a CDA approach and this chapter includes the detailed descriptions of the analytical procedures followed. In addition, a summary of the whole chapter is provided.

3.2 Research Design

The proposed study is a qualitative research that attempts to accumulate existing information and data following the content analysis approach using a critical lens. Typically, qualitative research can assist in interpreting and understanding the complex reality of a given situation. Schostak (2002) emphasizes the point that the qualitative researcher pays much greater attention to the individual cases and the human understanding that feature those cases. Further, the qualitative researcher strives to understand the views of the actors in the social context. Rees (1996) indicates that, "Qualitative research involves broadly stated questions about human experiences and realities, studied through sustained contact with people in their natural environments, generating rich, descriptive data that helps us to understand their experiences and attitudes" (p.375). More specifically, the qualitative research

gives special attention to the subjective side of life and focuses upon the social construction of such things, as for instance, intelligence, behavioural problems, ideologies, relations and so on (Flick, 2009).

In addition to being a qualitative research, this study was carried out through a content analysis approach. Neuman (1997) defines content analysis as "a technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text. The 'content' refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated (p.272). Moreover, Heunendorf (2002) points out that a qualitative content analysis serves three main uses including the description of the data, hypothesis testing and facilitating inferences. Hence, it is clear that this approach goes beyond the process of counting words or extracting objective content from the text to examine meanings and themes. Rather, it leads the researcher to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner. Moreover, it is mainly an inductive approach that tends to examine the topics and themes and the inferences drawn from them in the data (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). A content analysis includes three phases: preparation, organizing and reporting of the data under investigation. It is basically concerned with humans communication, mass media and politics (Babbie, 2001; Berez, 2007; Cole, 1988; Kohlbacher, 2006). Theoretically, it involves three approaches depending on the degree of involvement of the inductive reasoning of the analysis. The first approach is the conventional qualitative content analysis in which the coding of the different categories is derived directly and inductively from the data using the grounded theory. The second approach is the directed qualitative content analysis in which initial coding is carried out relying on the application of a theory or relevant research findings and then, during the data analysis the researcher

immerses himself/herself in the data. This approach allows themes to emerge from the data and it is used to validate or extend a conceptual framework or theory. The third approach is called the summative qualitative content analysis and it starts with counting the words and then extending the analysis to include latent meanings and themes. This approach tends to be more or less quantitative in the early stages but actually its goal is to explore the usage of words in an inductive manner (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p.310).As far as the current study is concerned, the directed qualitative content analysis approach is more appropriate since it is used to analyze interviews transcripts in order to reveal relations and information concerning peoples' behaviours and thoughts to develop a conceptual framework. Accordingly, the approach is also more appropriate for the current study which investigates the bases of power, power relations and ideologies through analyzing multimodal aspects (linguistic and gestural) since its goal is to gain better understanding and knowledge of the phenomena under investigation. In sum, the qualitative content approach is appropriate in order to find out the structural properties of these phenomena (power, politics, and ideology in entertainment talk shows).

This study is a case study of Obama's PD, his power relations and his political ideologies in the American LNTSs of political content. A case study tends to answer questions of "how" and "why" and this is exactly the focus of the current study which attempts to answer how Obama uses his different bases of power in different contexts. Another point is that, a case study would be appropriate when it is not possible to manipulate the behaviour of the interactants who are the focus of the study (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2003). In addition, this case study is of the exploratory and descriptive type in which it explores and describes Obama's bases

of power, his power relations and his use of deixis to reveal his political ideologies in the context of the entertainment LNTSs.

The study was carried out through a CDA in which Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) theoretical framework was adopted relying on Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL approach to analyze the linguistic aspects and a combination of non-verbal models involving, Ekman, 2003; Ekman & Friensen, 1969, 1976; Dimitrius & Mazarella, 1998; Lardner, 2002; McNeil, 1992; Neirnberg & Calero, 1971; Pease & Pease, 2004, for the interpretation of the gestural aspects. A CDA approach is appropriate since it deals with social problems and, especially, the relations between discourse and society. In other words, it focuses on relations of power, dominance and inequality and the ways these are reproduced and resisted in the talk and text of the different social groups (van Dijk, 1995). A CDA approach reveals the hidden relations of dominance and their underlying ideologies. Another point is that it pays attention to all levels of discourse including grammar, rhetoric, speech acts, pragmatics and interactional strategies. Further, it doesn't confine itself to the verbal aspects of discourse but rather it includes other semiotic dimensions such as pictures, gestures, music, sounds, etc. (van Dijk, 1995). Therefore, the CDA approach is appropriate for the current study in order to answer the questions under investigation and achieve its objectives.

The data collected involved the videotapes and transcripts of six interviews of Obama on the two LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Obama appeared on those interviews more than once as a presidential candidate and as President of the United States. The study involved a

multimodal analysis including the analysis of Obama's linguistic and gestural aspects. Consequently, both the verbal and non verbal aspects assisted in giving more accurate results concerning the questions under investigation.

3.3 Sample of the Study

The current study dealt with the interviews of Barack Obama on the two LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. The sample included six interviews of those two LNTSs in which Obama was interviewed more than once as a presidential candidate and as a President of the United States. From each talk show, three interviews were analyzed which resembled the total number of the interviews carried out with Obama on the shows. Accordingly, the consistency of the selection of the data was associated with to Obama's professional roles, the number of the interviews and their total duration as well.

The interviews were selected from up-to-date American LNTSs which are aired at different channels (*The Late Show with David Letterman* is aired on the CBS channel and its duration is 62 minutes with commercials, while *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* is aired on the NBC channel and its duration is 62 minutes with commercials as well). The *Late Show with David Letterman* was first aired in 1982 (CBS.com, 2012) while *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* was initially aired in 1992 (NBC.com, 2012).

The first show is *The Late Show with David Letterman* and Obama appeared four times during the years 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009 ("IMDb.com, Inc.", 2012).

Obama was interviewed as a Senator of States, a presidential candidate and President of the United States. As far as *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* is concerned, Obama appeared four times during the years 2006, 2007, 2009 and 2011 as a Senator of State, a presidential candidate and as a President of the United States.

The focus of the current study was on the identification of Obama's bases of power (as presidential candidate and a President) since not too much focus was given to him as a Senator of States, and further, to deal with the more recent interviews. Accordingly, the data involved the interviews with Obama during the years 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2011. The length of the interviews differs in which some interviews last about seven to fifteen minutes while others last about twenty to thirty minutes. Practically, if the interviews are related back to the timing of interviewing Obama, it is clear that when Obama was interviewed as a presidential candidate, he was interviewed not in a whole interview but as one of the guests who was interviewed in the same episode. This is related to two reasons: first, his appearance was just to contact his voters as part of his election campaign through the most famous TV programs in America; and second, after being a President of the United States, he could realize the great impact of these shows on the population and so, he devoted much of his time to full interviews in order to talk about his achievements and the fulfillment of the slogan of his election campaigns. The details of the sample of the study are included within table 7. The table gives the title of the television talk show, the interview dates, and duration. In addition, Obama's institutional roles during his appearance on the shows are referred to in the table as well.

Table 7

The LNTSs and the Interviews Selected for the Study

Title of the Talk Show	Obama's Status and Profession	Date of the Interviews	Duration of the Interview
The Late Show with David Letterman	Presidential Candidate	9 April 2007	18 minutes
	President of the United States	10 September 2008	30 minutes
	President of the United States	21 September 2009	33minutes
The Tonight Show with Jay Leno	Presidential Candidate	16 October 2007	16 minutes
	President of the United States	19 March 2009	25 minutes
	President of the United States	25 October 2011	25 minutes
	Total:	6 Interviews	2 hours and 45 minutes

Note: These dates are taken from the official websites (IMDb.com, Inc., 2012; Pew, 2008; The New York Times, 2012). Copyrights, 2007, 2008,2009, and 2012.

3.4 Data Collection

Polkinghorne (2005) states that the data serve as the ground on which the findings are based. Since this is a qualitative content analysis study, the data was selected using purposeful sampling which according to Creswell (2008), "applies to both individuals and sites" (p.214). At the same time, the purposively selected data can inform the research questions under investigation (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Consequently, the LNTSs which were selected for the study could provided extensive data about real life as people visualize it. The data selected provides rich information concerning the features, knowledge, ideological interpretations and the basic themes related to PD. The interactants or the two hosts, David Letterman and Jay Leno, are expert hosts and are very famous due to their unique style and the experience they have in their field as LNTS hosts. In addition, the guest, Obama, has the charisma

and the ability to express his points of view, both verbally and non-verbally, to transmit his ideas and beliefs to the population. Specifically, the selection of the data is related to the rich material the interviews provided. Accordingly, it was possible to identify Obama's bases of power, his power relations, and his political ideologies. Therefore, these two Shows share common aspects that make them of great importance for the current study and for the consistency of its findings and conclusions. Finally, it is very important to mention that data collection was completed by May 2012 and this is why other interviews which were carried out with Obama in the same two LNTSs concerning 2012 election were not included in this study.

The two American LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* were selected to be the data of the current study involving audio-visual material of Obama's videotaped interviews and transcripts. The study involved the identification of Obama's bases of power, his power relations and his political ideologies through a CDA approach in which both the verbal and non-verbal aspects were analyzed using different techniques. The data collection involved both videos as well as the transcripts of the interviews. The videos and the transcription of the interviews were taken from the public official websites such as Whitehouse You Tubes, the New York Times, the NBC and CBS channels. Other interviews of which their transcription could not be found including David Letterman's 2007 and 2009 interviews were transcribed by Neutron Solutions transcription services in Kuala Lumpur (n.d.). The transcribed copies were modified following Jefferson's (1984) transcription conventions in which the non-verbal behaviour, timing of the consequence of the verbal and non-verbal aspects,

interruptions and pauses were added. Moreover, Obama's texts were arranged in numbered lines. I used the EUDICO Linguistic annotator ELAN (4.3.2) and EUDICO stands for the European Distributed Corpora Project (Rosenfelder, 2011, p.2). ELAN software was used to reproduce the transcription following Jefferson's (1984) transcription conventions. This software is a time-aligned tool for multi-level annotation of video and audio data (Berez, 2007). Hellwig (2003) points out that ELAN is designed for the analysis of not only verbal language but also for sign language and gestures. Moreover, he states that it can be used by anybody for the purposes of annotation, analysis and documentation. The modification of the transcription was done according to Jefferson's (1984) transcription conventions which serve two objectives: to preserve the details of talk as it is actually produced, while at the same time, remaining simple enough to yield transcripts that are accessible to a general audience. Table 8 presents the annotation conventions adapted from Jefferson (1984).

Table 8

Transcription Annotation Conventions

Convention	Name	Use
[text]	Brackets	Indicates the start and end points of overlapping speech
=	Equal sign	Indicates the break and subsequent contribution of a single utterance.
(#of seconds)	Timed pause	A number in parentheses indicates the time, in seconds, of a pause in speech.
(.)	Micropause	A brief pause, usually less than 0.2 seconds.
. or down arrow	Period or down arrow	Indicates falling pitch or intonation
? or up arrow	Question mark or up arrow	Indicates rising pitch or intonation
'	Comma	Indicates a temporary rise or fall in intonation
!-	Hyphen	Indicates an abrupt halt or interruption in utterance.
>text<	Greater than/less than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more rapidly than usual for the speaker.
<text>	Less than/greater than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more slowly than usual for the speaker.
°	Degree symbol	Indicates whisper, reduced volume, or quiet speech
ALL CAPS	Capitalized text	Indicates shouted or increased volume speech.
Underline	Underlined text	Indicates the speaker is emphasizing or stressing the speech.
:::	Colon(s)	Indicates prolongation of a sound.
(hhh)		Audible exhalation
•or (.hhh)	High dot	Audible inhalation
(text)	parentheses	Speech which is unclear or in doubt in the transcript.
((italic text))	Double parentheses	Annotation of non-verbal activity.

Note: Adopted from Transcription annotation. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. ix-xvi) by G., Jefferson (1984). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

To add more accuracy to the transcription, the timing of the consequence between the speech and the non-verbal action was added to the transcription as well. More accuracy was achieved through using the ELAN software in which I could control the rate of the videos in order to annotate the non-verbal movements of both interactants (guest and host). Further, I listened to the multiple replays of the utterances many times in order to make sure that what I typed was an accurate representation of what was said. Having finished the modification of the transcription and adding the timing and the non-verbal movements, I checked the transcripts of the interviews again with the videos in order to confirm the non-verbal behavior annotated and the exact timing. Then, all the transcripts of the interviews were pooled together and scrutinized in order to unify the descriptions of the non-verbal movements of which some were universal movements and others were private depending on the scene itself. In sum, the data collection included the collection of a total of six videotapes with their transcripts of Obama's interviews on the two LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*.

3.5 Data Analysis

To analyze the data, six interviews of the famous *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, were analyzed with a focus on Obama's bases of power, his power relations and his use of deixis to reveal his political ideologies. Having collecting the data including the videotapes, the transcripts and adding the non-verbal behaviour to the transcription, the next step was arranging the transcripts of the interviews in which Obama's texts were numbered. A hand analysis was used in addition to using the ELAN (4.3.2) annotation software due to many reasons. First, the data collected was less than 500

pages of transcripts and according to Creswell (2008), "data that is more than 500 pages requires the use of some computer software" (p.246). Second, I preferred to work directly on the data to have a hands-on feel for it. Third, the ELAN (4.3.2) annotation tool provided me with the ability to control the rate of the videos and the recording of the timing of the speech and the non-verbal aspects through watching and replaying the videos many times with rate control.

To conduct a content analysis of the interviews, I coded the texts into manageable categories on a variety of levels including the unit of analysis, meaning unit in order to develop categories and themes. The unit of analysis refers to a great variety of objects of study such as a person, a program or an organization and sometimes it refers to whole entities such as interviews or diaries (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Weber (1990) refers to it as parts of the text that are coded including words and phrases that are written in the text itself. Accordingly, and for the purpose of analysis, units of analysis stand for the coding of the extracts from the interviews. The meaning units are coded and Graneheim and Lundman (2004) define meaning unit as "words, sentences or paragraphs containing aspects related to each other through their content and context" (p.106). For Krippendorff (1980, p.45), it is "a keyword and phrase". Therefore, the meaning unit refers to the phrases or sentences and the non-verbal movements associated with them that were identified through using Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL approach.

Coding stands for data reduction through data organization (Schildt, 2009). Creswell (2008) maintains that, "codes are labels used to describe a segment of text or an image" (p.251). Krippendorff (1980) indicates that creating categories formulate

the core aspect of the qualitative content analysis. This process allows the researcher to see what's there in the text for the purposes of sorting, categorization, comparison with initial hypotheses/problem statement, and refinement of design. In fact, the characteristics of a coding system include its ability to accurately capture the information relevant to the research problem. The information, in turn, is useful in describing and understanding the phenomenon being studied. Coding categories are influenced by the purpose and context of the study. Also, if the documents were transcribed then, "it is possible to read the contents of the passages together, and review the range of data coded there and proceed to code to finer categories" (Schildt, 2009, p.12). The coding of the material in the transcripts of the interviews involved the context, participants' perspectives and ways of thinking, processes, activities and relationships. The coding of the data was done according to Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) three-dimensional approach of CDA in which the formal properties at the description stage were identified and interpreted and explained through the interpretation and explanation stages.

The analysis of the data was led by the three research questions under investigation. The data were analyzed one by one through coding extracts from the selected interviews. The analysis included the verbal and the non-verbal aspects in three stages of analysis (descriptive, interpretive and explanatory). After analyzing the interviews related to the three questions, the common themes in both talk shows: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, were identified in a whole section. The interviews of *The Late Show with David Letterman* were analyzed first because Obama's first appearance as a presidential candidate was on this show in April 2007. This means that after analyzing all the

extracts of *TheLate Show with David Letterman*, analysis was done for the extracts of *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. The questions set for the current study were answered through a CDA approach relying on Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL approach and a combination of the non-verbal models (Ekman, 2003; Ekman & Friensen, 1969, 1976; Dimitrius & Mazzarella, 1998; Lardner, 2002; McNeil, 1992; Neirnberg & Calero, 1971; Pease & Pease, 2004). Accordingly, the analysis provided clear findings concerning the identification of Obama's bases of power, his power relations in relation to the hosts and his use of deixis to present his political ideologies in order to develop a conceptual framework.

3.6 Analytical Framework

The current study attempted to investigate Obama's bases of power, the power relations he held with the hosts: David Letterman and Jay Leno, and his use of deixis to express political ideologies. The study was conducted through a CDA approach since this approach can reveal the hidden relations providing detailed descriptions of the production, internal structure, and overall organization of the text. In addition, it provides a critical dimension in its theoretical and descriptive accounts of the text. As the study focused on the identification of the events, actions, states, relations of power in LNTSs, Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) three dimensional analytical framework was adopted:

Stage1 (Description stage): This stage presents the first dimension which is of concern with the text. In this stage the text's linguistic properties were described at the grammatical, the interpersonal and textual levels. At the grammatical level, the analysis relied on the application of Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL model of

transitivity including the ideational function in which the six processes (material, mental, relational, behavioural, verbal and existential), the participants and circumstances were identified. Halliday (1976) states that the transitivity system represents "all phenomena and anything that can be expressed by a verb: event, whether physical or not, state, or relations" (p.159). The transitivity system specifies the processes, participants and circumstances which represent our conceptions of the world. At the interpersonal function, the different modes used in the interviews were identified. The textual function involved cohesive devices and logical connectors due to their major role in the interpretation and explanation of the whole text. The textual level involved the identification of the interactional conventions including turns, interruptions, and controlling topics. In addition to the textual features, the gestural aspects were tackled in identification together with the linguistic aspects they associated with.

Stage2 (Interpretation stage): This stage concerns the second dimension including the discursive practices. In this stage, the data were analyzed at the contextual level in which contents, subjects, relations and connections were interpreted including the multimodal aspects (linguistic and gestural). The contents, specifically, involve the activities, topics and purposes which are performed through subjects who are identified through their identities and institutional roles.

Stage3 (Explanation stage): This stage presents the third dimension including the social practices. In this stage, the social effects of the discourse were explained at the societal, institutional, and situational levels. This stage connects the

multimodal aspects together and justifies their presence in the text and their relation to the context in which they occur.

Rose (2005) emphasizes points of view which determine "the need for a critical approach to analyze the visual texts in terms of the cultural significance, social practices and power relations in which it is embedded; and that means thinking about the power relations that produce, are articulated through, and can be challenged by, ways of seeing and imaging" (p.3). Therefore, Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) approach was appropriate to the multimodal analysis of the linguistic and gestural aspects of this study. To explore Fairclough's three dimensions adequately in this study, a variety of techniques and tools were adopted from different sources (Ekman, 2003; Ekman & Friensen, 1969, 1976; Dimitrius & Mazzarella, 1998; Lardner, 2002; McNeil, 1992; Neirnberg & Calero, 1971; Pease & Pease, 2004) in order to describe, identify and interpret the meaning of the gestural aspects. These different models provide different reliable tools for the identification of the different facial expressions and body gestures and postures, in addition to interpreting their meanings in relation to the linguistic features that were described, interpreted and explained. Specifically, the analysis was carried out as follows:

1. To answer Research Question 1 concerning the identification of Obama's bases of power in relation to influence tactics, French and Raven's (1959) five bases of power are to be identified in relation to Yukl's (2006) taxonomy of influence tactics through Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL approach in which the identification of the linguistic features was carried out according to the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. The

ideational function was mainly concerned with identifying the linguistic aspects through the transitivity system including the different processes, participants and circumstances. The interpersonal function focused on the identification of modes, while the textual function focused on the use of the logical connectors. Further, gestures, postures and facial expressions were identified in association with the linguistic aspects.

2. To answer Research Question 2 concerning the identification of Obama's power relations with the two hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno) turn-taking, interruptions, topic controlling, processes and modes associated with the body language were analyzed together.
3. To answer Research Question 3 concerning the use of deixis to reveal Obama's political ideologies, I relied on the identification of the three types of deixis (personal, temporal, spatial) to be interpreted and explained in relation to the context of situation in which they were taking place.

3.7 Reliability and Validity

Patton (2001) states that validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analyzing results and judging the quality of the work done. Golafshani (2003, p.601) writes that, "To ensure reliability in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness is crucial"(p.106). Stiles (1993) explains that reliability refers to the trustworthiness of observation or data. As far as the current study is concerned, reliability and its trustworthiness were insured in different aspects. First, the size of the data was crucial in which, theoretically, the reliability of the research was closely related to the amount of data collected and analyzed. Second, the research approaches

including the qualitative content analysis, CDA, SFL, and the non-verbal models were disclosed. Third, I (the researcher) engaged directly and closely with the data and repeatedly listened to the interviews and watched them through using the ELAN annotation software (version 4.3.2) with a control over the rate of the videos. Fourth, the themes and interoperations were grounded by linking them to excerpts from the data including the transcribed texts of the interviews. Fifth, the process of coding the text entailed many steps including the segmentation of the text, coding the text into meaning units and identifying Obama's common general themes. These processes gave trustworthiness to the data since all the data could fit in the same steps of the analysis. Therefore, this study was reliable since the analysis was carried out extensively and in depth throughout the rich data including Obama's six interviews on the two LNTSs *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*.

As far as the validity of the study is concerned, Johnson (1997) points out that, there are three types of validity in qualitative research methodology including: 'descriptive validity', 'interpretive validity' and 'theoretical validity' (p.78). Descriptive validity refers to the accuracy of the data. Interpretive validity refers to the degree that the participants' viewpoints, thoughts and experiences are accurately understood and reported by the researcher. Theoretical validity stands for the degree that the theory fits the data analyzed to be credible (Johnson, 1997).

Descriptive validity, in this study, was obtained through the accuracy of the videotapes and the transcription of the data used for the analysis. The clarity, arrangements and the detailed description of the multimodal aspects (linguistic and

gestural) represented the descriptive validity. In Maxwell's (1992) own words, "the transcription of the videotapes portrays the unfolding of events in an accurate manner" (p.44). Thomson (2011) believes that "descriptive validity forms the base on which all the other forms of validity are built upon" (p.78). Accordingly, adding the timing through using the ELAN time-aligned annotation software (version 4.3.2) was essential to determine the time of the speech and the non-verbal actions in the interviews.

The current study has interpretive validity related to the interpretation of the non-verbal aspects including the facial expressions, gestures and postures. Thomson (2011) indicates that, "For the researcher to assure an accurate evaluation of the act he/she has to look for clues in the transcript (the participant may later refer to it as an act of anger or frustration) or in body language (may have a smile or be laughing)" (p.79). The validity of the identification and interpretation of the body language during the interviews in association with Obama's talk are very important to the study in terms of interpretations in order to see how bases of power, power relations and ideologies are understood and reported in the analysis. Maxwell (1992, p.49) believes that, "Interpretive validity is inherently a matter of inference from the words and actions of participants in the situations studied". Therefore, Obama's perspectives can be interpreted and his ideologies identified through the orientations expressed in his utterances and his body language and this adds another point for the study to be interpretatively valid.

Finally, the use of the CDA approach relying on Halliday's SFL and the models used for identifying and interpreting body language all together served to

achieve the objectives of the study and answer the questions under investigation. For the study to be theoretically valid, Auerbach & Silverstein (2003) believe that, "the theoretical constructs must fit together" (p.85). In addition, coding the data relying on the transitivity system, modes conventional functions and the non-verbal models mingled together in a coherent construct within Fairclough's three-dimensional model in which the patterns, concepts and themes were identified from the data fitted together to describe the phenomena under investigation. Therefore, this study is theoretically valid since the data can fit the analysis carried out through the different approaches and methods used for the identification and analysis of Obama's bases of power, his power relations and his use of deixis to present his political ideologies.

3.8 Ethical and Legal Considerations

According to the American Psychological Association ethical guidelines, certain research projects do not require the informed consent of participants. In addition, archival research, which relies on published, publicly available data, does not require informed consent. All other research projects mandate the informed consent of participants, which is typically achieved by having them sign a consent form. As far as the current study is concerned, almost all the data was available to the public on the official websites of the White House, NBC channel and the official websites of the two LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, in addition to many other legal websites which offer the videos and the transcripts of the interviews.

3.9 Chapter Summary

Chapter Three has discussed the research methodology that was used to answer the questions under investigation and has justified the objectives of the study. The chapter presented details and descriptions of the steps that were followed to carry out a reliable and valid analysis of the data collected. Together with the research context, this chapter described the working procedures with respect to data collection, processing of the data and the adopted approach and models for the analysis to simplify the analytical work in the remaining chapters of the dissertation.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

Based on the CDA approach, six interviews of Obama's appearance on the two American LNTSs, the Late Show with David Letterman and The Tonight Show with Jay Leno were analyzed. This study was designed to examine Obama's PD in non-traditional forms of media such as LNTSs. This study was carried out to achieve three major objectives including : (i) identifying Obama's bases of power and his influence tactics, (ii) identifying his power relationships with the hosts, and (iii) examining Obama's use of deixis to present his political ideologies. All have been investigated through the multimodal aspects including the linguistic and gestural ones. Through the careful analysis of the data including Obama's interviews in the *Late Show with David Letterman* and *the Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, divergent evidence has emerged. Based on Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) CDA approach in which the multimodal aspects including Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL and the gestural aspects were basically applicable to the data, the following sections present the study's in-depth findings and interpreting them in relation to the related studies when appropriate. In sum, this chapter presents the analysis of the data including Obama's interviews on the two American LNTSs: *the Late Show with David Letterman* and *the Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Further, the chapter tackles Obama's common themes. In addition, further explanations and discussions on the results of the analyzed data are given. Finally, a summary of the findings and the general discussions carried out in this chapter are presented as well.

4.2 Analysis of the Interviews

McGregor (2003), following Fairclough's critical approach, states that CDA tends to determine and unite the relationship between the three levels of analysis including: the text, discursive practices and social context. This chapter deals with the analysis of the interviews carried out with Barack Obama during his appearances on the two LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *the Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. As stated in the methodology chapter, the current study is a case study tackling Obama's PD using a qualitative content analysis through a CDA. Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) approach to CDA is adopted for the analysis of the multimodal aspects (linguistic and gestural) of the data in order to answer the questions under investigation concerning the identification of Obama's bases of power, his power relations with the two hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno) and his use of deixis to present the political ideologies. In order to carry out all in-depth analysis of the data, the analysis was organized according to the following steps:

1. The interviews were numbered from 1-6 of which 1-3 stood for David Letterman's interviews and 4-6 stood for Jay Leno's interviews.
2. The questions under investigation were analyzed one by one in depth. The analysis involved the multimodal aspects (linguistic and gestural) according to the three stages of CDA: description, interpretation and explanation.
3. The data were coded according to Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001) descriptive stage to identify the textual features of the text in the form of "a mini reference manual" (2001, p.91). Each question was answered

through selecting extracts from each interview. The extracts involved the analysis units with their line numbers.

4. The meaning units were identified into categories according to the transitivity system of Halliday's (1985, 1994, & 2004) SFL approach and the different types of deixis. The transitivity system involved the identification of the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. The ideational function included identifying processes, participants, and circumstances. The six processes: material, mental, verbal, relational, behavioural and existential processes were identified in the extracts (see section 2.18). The interpersonal function included the identification of modes and modality while the textual function included the identification of the cohesive devices and logical connectors.

4.3 A Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's Bases of Power

Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2001) states that a CDA is carried out in three stages of analysis: description, interpretation and explanation in order to explore the relationship between the text and the social context. As far as the identification of the bases of power and their influence tactics are concerned, the first stage involved identifying the linguistic and gestural properties of the text. Then, these properties were interpreted in relation to the interactional process and were explained in relation to the social context. According to Northouse (2010), the bases of power fall under two categories: the positional and personal bases of power. Positional power includes the legitimate, reward and coercive; while personal power, which is considered more effective includes the expert and referent power. In order to identify the bases of power, the French and Raven's (1959) model of the bases of power is to

be used for the analysis of the data in relation to Yukl's (2006) taxonomy of influence tactics through Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL approach at the three levels (ideational, interpersonal and textual). The ideational level included the identification of the linguistic aspects through the transitivity system including the different processes, participants and circumstance. The interpersonal level included the identification of modes, while the textual levels focused on the use of the logical connectors. The linguistic aspects in association with the gestural ones were interpreted and explained to identify Obama's different bases of power (legitimate, expert, referent, reward and coercive) and his influence tactics. The following subsections involve analyzing extracts from the interviews carried out with Obama in *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*.

4.3.1 David Letterman 2007 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 013 [We'll (.) blow (.) smoke (1:44) ((*left palm-*
014 *closed-finger-pointing position*)) in the face of the Iranian
015 President.

As far as the linguistic aspects are concerned, lines (013-015) contain a declarative sentence formed of a material process involving the actor "we" which stands for Obama and other Senators, the material verb "blow", the goal "smoke" and the circumstance "in the face of the Iranian President". Concerning the gestural aspects, Obama uses a hand gesture which is the "closed-finger-pointing position". Through the material process, Obama is talking metaphorically, directing his speech towards the Iranian President using the personal pronoun "we". This is a form of showing consistency with the organization members and hence, this refers to

the legitimating influence tactic (Yukl, 2006) which in its turn refers to the legitimate power. The connection between smoking cigarettes is used metaphorically to indicate that Obama is using his authority (legitimate power) to express the type of the relationship towards Iran and the Iranian President. The circumstance "in the face of the Iranian President" is associated with the hand gesture "left palm-closed-finger-pointing position" which is a universal hand gesture used to express a kind of warning or threat (Pease & Pease, 2004). The actual use of power is presented in the form of threat (Yukl & Michel, 2006). This gesture is related to the pressure influence tactic resulting from Obama's legitimate power since this action is associated with his authority to fulfil what he is saying. The legitimating and pressure influence tactics, presented verbally and through the use of the hand gesture, clarify what Obama would like to do using his legitimate power even though metaphorically.

Extract (2):

Obama: 097 we gotta train up (5:25) ((*right hand rises straight up into*
 098 *the center*)) the Iraqi forces more effectively (5:28) ((*angry*
 099 *face*)) But what we can't do is simply (5:30) ((*right palm-*
 100 *down position*)) stay the course, that we've been on over the
 101 last several years, it's not working

In extract (2) lines (097-098) the material process involves the actor "we" to refer to Obama and other Senators, the verb "gotta train up", the goal "Iraqi forces" and the circumstance "more effectively". The linguistic properties of this sentence are associated with the hand gesture including "right hand rises straight up into the center". Clearly through using the personal pronoun "we", Obama is showing his consistency with the other Senators and the policies they follow.

Accordingly, he is using his legitimate power which is exercised through the legitimating influence tactic. The verb "train up" is exemplified with the "right hand rises straight up into the center" to confirm that an action will be taken which is the training of the Iraqi forces and this stands for verifying policies and hence, implies legitimating influence tactics.

Consequently, Obama tries to send the message which says that there are good things America is planning to give to the Iraqis and training their forces to be able to protect their country in the region is one of those plans. In lines (099-100), Obama is using the logical connector "but" in order to give more details about the policies concerning the Iraqi political issue. He uses the personal pronoun "we" again in order to state that his power is positional which means he is using his legitimate power. The negative sentence with the modal verb "can't" refers to the incapability of sending more American soldiers to Iraq. The negative sentence is preceded by an angry facial expression in order to state that this action is not accepted and is not considered at all as one of the solutions. In line (101), Obama uses the negative sentence "it's not working". This negative sentence refers to the whole previous policy which Obama describes as not working. Consequently, he is verifying details of the policy and judging it and this means that he is exercising the legitimating influence tactic. Accordingly, Obama is using the expert basis of power. This knowledge enables him to conclude that what has been done earlier is not working and this implies rejecting the previous policy.

4.3.2 David letterman 2008 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 086 The economy is not working for middle class families,
087 incomes (4:50) (*both palms curled facing each other*
088 *wagging into the center*) have gone down, people don't (4:52)
089 (*both hands spread open*) have healthcare, you've got
090 foreclosures all across (4:53) (*right hand moves horizontally*)
091 the country...

In extract (2) lines (086-087), Obama uses a negative sentence formed of a material process including the actor "the economy", the process "working" and the recipient "for middle class families ". In line, (088-089), Obama uses a declarative sentence with a material process including the actor "incomes", the process "gone down" confirmed through the non-verbal behaviour which is "both palms wagging into the center". In lines (089-090), Obama uses a negative sentence formed of an identifying relational process in which the token is "people", the identifying verb phrase is "don't have" and the values are "health care". The hand gesture used in association with this sentence is, "both hands spread open". In the same extract and specifically in lines (090-093), Obama uses a declarative statement formed of a relational process in which the token is the third person pronoun "you", the identifying verb "have got", the value "foreclosures", and the circumstance "all across the country". In association with the circumstance, Obama moves his right hand horizontally. In this extract, Obama is using expert power. This basis of power is used practically through the relational persuasion influence tactics because Obama is trying to present argumentation and factual evidence concerning the situations in the United States. The gestural aspects involve the hands spread open to confirm the relational influence tactic. This gesture confirms the fact that people don't have

healthcare. Another hand gesture is when the right hand moves horizontally in relation to the circumstance "all across the country" to generalize the whole issue and reinforce Obama's knowledge concerning the situations in the United States in different regions.

Extract (2):

Obama:

167 I think George Bush (.) did (1:02) *((both palms curled facing*
168 *each other wagging into the center))* the right thing by going
169 after(1:04) *((left palm-closed-finger pointing position))*
170 *((serious face))* the Taliban in Afghanistan (.) and I would
171 have done the exact same thing, and the big difference
172 between myself (1:11) *((right hand opens in front of the*
173 *chest))* and George Bush I think would have been to stay
174 (1:13) *((right palm index finger and thumb pointing forward))*
175 focused on Afghanistan, not get distracted (1:17) *((right hand*
176 *tilts forward and to the right side to show trajectory))* by
177 (.)Iraq.

In extract (2) lines (167-170), Obama uses a declarative sentence formed of a mental process formed of the senser "I" referring directly to Obama, the process "think" and the phenomenon "George Bush did the right thing...". In this sentence, Obama presents his knowledge concerning what George Bush did in Afghanistan. To confirm the goal "the right thing" Obama uses both his palms wagging into the center and so, he is talking confidentially about this issue. Further, he uses his "left-palm closed-fingers pointing position" with a serious face in association with the phenomenon "the Taliban" to confirm his perception concerning the action of going after the terrorists and that fighting them was a good decision.

Obama uses the logical connector "and" followed by the declarative sentence "I would have done the exact thing". This sentence is formed of a material process in which the actor is "I" referring directly to Obama himself, the necessity modal verb "would have been", the process "done" and the goal "the same thing". In the same extract, Obama uses another mental process followed by a complement clause "I think would have been to stay focused on Afghanistan and not to be distracted by Iraq". In this sentence, the word "focused" is portrayed through using the right palm index finger and thumb pointing forward while the word "distracted" is portrayed through tilting the right hand forward and to the right side to show trajectory. However, through the linguistic and gestural aspects, Obama is clarifying the exact difference in action between him and Bush. In sum, He presents prior precedents and verifies policies concerning the war in Afghanistan. Accordingly, he uses his legitimate power, as a Senator of States and a presidential candidate, through the legitimating influence tactics.

4.3.3 David Letterman 2009 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 121 Even when the economy is going well, one of the great
 122 (4:16) *((both palms curled facing each other swing in the*
 123 *center))* things about the US economy is it's dynamic (4:18)
 124 *((both hands index fingers roll over one another in the*
 125 *center))* and so (.) people are starting (4:2) *((both fists*
 126 *wagging from one side to another))* their own businesses,
 127 they are moving to better jobs, they are deciding to move to
 128 another state (4:26) *((left hand rises up in loose point))* in
 129 search of new opportunities so there is always (4:29) *((left*

130 *palm-closed-finger-position rolls forward and back into the*
131 *center*)) turnover in terms of employment.

In extract (1) lines (121-125), Obama begins his sentence using the conjunctive logical connector "even when" to connect two relative clauses, "the economy is going well" and "it's dynamic". These two declarative sentences are formed of the relational attributive process. The attribute "dynamic" is portrayed through rolling the index fingers over one another to confirm the process. These two sentences represent Obama's knowledge through presenting argumentation concerning the economy in the United States. Accordingly, Obama uses the expert basis of power to portray a person who could set professional policies to change the economy in the United States. His expert power is revealed through the relational persuasion tactic in which Obama, in lines (125-129), gives more declarative sentences to support his point of view of how the economy is dynamic. He uses the material process in these sentences including the actor "people" and the personal deictic "they", the processes "starting" and "moving", and the goals "their own businesses" and "better jobs".

Further, Obama uses another declarative sentence formed of a mental process in which the senser is "they", the process is "deciding" and the phenomenon is "in search of new opportunities". He emphasizes his words through using his hand gestures in which he refers to people starting their own businesses through wagging both his fists from side to side. In addition, the expression "in search of new opportunities" is associated with raising his hand up in a loose point to state that the process of search can be open involving high expectations. In lines (129-131), Obama gives a declarative sentence formed of an existential process concluding,

"there is always turnover in terms of employment". The word "turnover" is portrayed through rolling the left palm-closed-fingers-position forward and back into the center in order to refer to the situation itself as being turned over due to the actual economic changes.

These sentences are related to each other in which the actor and the senser in all are the people of the United States and the goal in all stands for the improvements people seek in developing their own businesses and jobs. Obama is using his knowledge concerning employment and how the Americans are trying to improve their living in accordance with the new economic changes taking place. This means, he uses his expert power as a politician and as a President who devoted his election campaign and policies to develop the economy of the United States and so has great knowledge concerning the economic issues. The expert power is exercised through the relational persuasion tactic in which Obama presents logical argumentation concerning the changes taking place. So, he wants to state the point that his policies are of great benefit to the Americans.

Extract (2):

Obama: 587 Here is what we know - the folks (4:35)((*left palm*
588 *index finger pointing down*)) who killed 3000 Americans,
589 they (4:41) ((*right palm closed-fingers position with the*
590 *thumb and index finger tip touching and pointing forward*))
591 were based in Afghanistan...
602 MY CENTRAL (5:01) ((*left palm index finger tip*
603 *and thumb touching each other rises straight up and*
604 *wagging into the center*)) OBJECTIVE (.) is making sure
605 that we take those folks out. They cannot cause harm (5:05)

606 ((left palm index finger tip and thumb touching each other
607 rise straight up and wagging into the center)) to the United
608 States (5:09) ((serious face)).

In the first part of extract (2) lines (587-591), Obama uses a mental process with the relative clause "what we know" preceded by the adverb place "here". This sentence indicates that Obama wants to present certain information concerning the political situation. The declarative sentence, "The folks who killed 3000 Americans, they were based in Afghanistan", in lines (587-588), is formed of a material process including the actor "the folks" and its deixis "they", the process "were based" and the circumstance "in Afghanistan". The relative clause "who killed 3000 Americans" refers back to the folks and this declarative sentence provides more information concerning what they have done. The actor "the folks" is referred to through using the left palm index finger pointing down to refer to those people who died. The verb process "were based" is portrayed through using the right palm closed-fingers position with the thumb and index finger tip touching and pointing forward in order to refer specifically to the location of those folks.

In the second part of the extract Obama shouts using a declarative sentence in lines (602-605), emphasizing the expression "My central objective" and using the process "making sure", the relative clause "that we take those folks out". The word "central" is portrayed through using the left palm index finger tip and thumb touching each other rising straight up and wagging into the center to refer specifically to his concern. In lines (605-608), Obama uses a negative sentence formed of a material process including the actor "they" referring to the folks Obama talked about earlier, the process verb is "cause" and it is used with the ability modal

auxiliary "can", the goal "harm" and the recipient "to the United States". Obama uses his left palm index finger tip and thumb touching each other rising straight up and wagging into the center in association with the word "harm" to confirm the threat facing the United States. Further, he expresses a serious face in association with this sentence in order to indicate that he is angry about this critical issue and is looking forward to facing it.

Clearly, in this extract, Obama uses the legitimate basis of power exercised through the legitimating influence tactics. Consequently, he is verifying certain evidence concerning the war in Afghanistan, presenting prior precedents concerning what is going on, and providing details of the policies that he wants to do there to protect the United States.

4.3.4 Jay Leno 2007 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 170 We ::: (04:46) (*right hand opens to the right side*) do not take
 171 money from lobbyists. We don't (04:48) (*both palms curled*
 172 *facing each other wagging into the center*) take money from
 173 federal registered lobbyists (.). We don't (04:50) (*right hand*
 174 *moves backward*))) take money from PACs because my
 175 attitude is that if we're going to change (04:52) (*right palm*
 176 *index finger pointing forward*) Washington, then part of ::: the
 177 thing that we've gotta change is (04:54) (*right palm-down*
 178 *position wagging into the center*) the influence of money in
 politics.

In extract (1) lines (170-171), Obama uses a negative sentence formed of a material process including the actor "we", the process verb "don't take", the goal

"money", and the recipient "from lobbyists". This sentence includes the hand gesture "the right hand opens to the right side" in association with the negative form "don't take". In lines (171-173), he uses another negative sentence formed of a material process as well including the actor "we", the negative verb phrase "don't take", the goal "money" and the recipient "from federal reiterated lobbyists" This sentence is confirmed through the hand gestures "both palms curled facing each other wagging into the center". In lines (173-174), he uses a third negative sentence also formed of a material process including the actor "we", the negative verb phrase "don't take", the goal "money" and the recipient "from PACs". In this sentence, he uses another hand gesture including "the right hand moves backward" to refer to PACs as a source of money.

Consequently, Obama clarifies his point of view concerning the reason behind the policy he uses in his campaign, especially raising money from the different sources he mentioned. In lines (174-178), he uses a declarative sentence in order to present his own reasons through using the logical connector "because". This sentence is formed of a relational identifying process including the token "my attitude", the identifying verb "is" and the value "that if we're going to change Washington, then part of the thing..." . The value is formed of the relative conditional clause "that if...". The "if" clause is formed of the material process including the actor "we", the process "change" and the goal "Washington". The process is associated with the right palm index finger pointing forward to refer to where the process of change is going to take place. The main clause is formed of the relational identifying process including the token "part of the things...", the identifying verb "is" and the value "the influence of money on politics". The value

"the influence" is portrayed non-verbally through using the right palm-down position wagging into the center in order to refer to the authority of creating an actual change.

In this extract, Obama, as a presidential candidate, shows consistency with the people working in his campaign through using the personal pronoun "we" indicating that he as well as the people working with him in his campaign don't take money from the lobbyists, federal lobbyists or even the PACs. Accordingly, he is using the legitimate power exercised through the legitimating influence tactics. Further, he uses his own experience as a presidential candidate to provide factual argument concerning the sources of money which the candidates might collect for their campaigns. This means, he uses the expert power exercised through the relational persuasion influence tactics in which Obama is trying to emphasize the potential benefits of his campaign and the change he wants to bring to the whole political situation in the United States. This implies criticizing the previous policies which were followed during the election campaigns.

Extract(2):

Obama: 233 People (06:37) (*both palms curled facing each other wagging*
234 *into the center*) :: the American people on Social Security or
235 healthcare, they know (06:40) (*left hand open wagging*
236 *vertically in the left side with the eyes looking down*) these are
237 tough problems and what they want is, I think, an honest
238 assessment of what it's going to take to solve (06:44) (*both*
239 *hands rise straight up into the center*) the problem and not a
240 lot of petty-back fighting and grandstanding. And hopefully
241 that will be an (06:46) (*right palm up position wagging into*
242 *the center*) effective strategy in the campaign.

In extract (2) lines (233-234), Obama uses a declarative sentence formed of a mental process, "People the American people ... they know these are tough problems...". Obama, in this sentence, uses both his palms curled facing each other wagging into the center in order to confirm what he is talking about. Further, the sensing verb "know" is associated with the hand gesture "left hand open wagging vertically in the left side with the eyes looking down" in which Obama tries to confirm his point of view and recalling what exactly people think and want. In lines (238-240), Obama uses another mental process in his declarative sentence in which the senser this time is the personal pronoun "I" and the mental process verb is "think" followed by the complement clause "an honest assessment of what it's going to take to solve the problem....". This mental process is portrayed through using both hands straight up into the center in order to refer to Obama's openness and the ability to solve problems in a different way from what had been done before. In lines (241-242), he uses another declarative sentence to add more information concerning the policy to solve the problems facing the healthcare system. He uses the logical connector "and" followed by the circumstance "hopefully" with the complement clause "that will be an effective strategy in the campaign".

In this extract, Obama provides factual argument concerning the Americans and their realization of the problems facing their systems and, more specifically, the health care system. Accordingly, he is using the expert power applied through the relational persuasion influence tactics emphasizing the potential benefits of his election campaign. He points out that, problems can be solved not through fighting but through honesty and good assessment and hence, he uses his expert power to influence the population.

4.3.5 Jay Leno 2009 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 185 The problem is what was happening (7:08) (*right hand tilts*
186 *forward and to the right side to show trajectory*) for years,
187 where people (7:10) (*right hand rises up in loose point*) were
188 able to take (7:11) (*right hand drops down into the center*)
189 huge excessive risks with other people's money, putting the
190 (7:15)
191 (*right hand moves horizontally*) entire financial system at risk
192 and there were (7:17) (*both hands curled facing each other and*
193 *wagging into the center*) (no checks, there were (7:19) (*both*
194 *hands curled facing each other and wagging into the center*) no
195 balances, there was (7:20) (*left palm index finger pointing*
196 *down*) nobody overseeing the process. And so what we're (*both*
197 *palms open brought close to each other and wagging into the*
198 *center*) going to be moving very aggressively on (.) even as we
199 try to fix the current mess (.) is make sure that (7:28) (*right*
200 *palm-down position spread open in the right side*) before
somebody makes a bad bet you say, (7:31) (*right hand rises*
straight up into the center) hold on, you can't do that.

In lines (185-187), Obama uses a declarative sentence formed of a relational identifying process "the problem is what was happening for years...". The circumstance "for years" is portrayed through the hand gesture "the right hand tilts forward and to the right side to show trajectory" in which the hand movement describes the expression "for years". In lines (187-196), he describes the financial system during the past years through using negative sentences formed of the existential process, "there were no checks", "there were no balances", "there was

nobody overseeing the process". These sentences are confirmed through the hand gestures "both palms curled facing each other wagging into the center".

In lines (200-201), Obama uses a verbal clause with the sayer "you", the verb "say" and the verbiage "hold on, you can't do that". Obama uses two imperative sentences to state what can be done as far as the mess in the financial system is concerned. To confirm the threatening act of the two imperative sentences, Obama uses the right palm-down position to state that he has the authority to give orders and change certain situations. Obama, in this extract, uses two bases of power: expert and legitimate. The expert power is exercised through the legitimating influence tactic. He uses his own experience in the economic field and tries to provide evidence of prior precedents and verifying policies concerning the financial system and how it was working before. In addition, Obama uses his legitimate power exercised through the legitimating and pressure influence tactics. He uses the personal pronoun "we" to show consistency with his government as a President. He is presenting legitimacy and a policy to fix the financial problems. The word "aggressively" and the imperative sentences "hold on" and "you can't do that" present Obama's legitimate power exercised through the pressure influence tactic in which he states that if there are problems in the financial system, then, it should be fixed by dealing with those who are considered responsible for causing them.

Extract (2):

Obama: 396 we're doing a diagnostic (15:52) (*left hand open wagging*
397 *vertically in the left side with the eyes looking down*) on each of
398 the banks, figuring out what are their capital levels? Can they
399 sustain lending? And then I think we're going to (16:00) (*both*

400 *palms curled facing each other wagging from side to side*)
401 separate out -- those banks that are in good shape, we're going to
402 (16:02) (*right palm-down position*) say to them, all right,
403 you're on your own; (16:05) (*right palm-down position*) go
404 start lending again. Those banks that still have problems, we'll
do a
405 Little more intervention to try to clean some of those toxic assets
406 off their books. But I (16:15) (*left hand opens wagging*
407 *vertically in the left side*) actually have confidence that we'll get
that done.

In extract (2) lines (396-399), Obama uses a declarative sentence formed of a material process including the actor "we", the process "doing", the goals "a diagnostic" and "figuring out what ..." and the recipient "on each of the banks". Obama associates his sentence with the hand gesture "left hand open wagging in the left side with the eyes looking down". He wants to confirm the issue he is talking about and by looking down he is trying to recall what exactly he and his government are trying to do. In lines (399-404), Obama adds more information concerning his economic policy through using the declarative sentence formed of the verbal process, "we're going to say to them..." and the verbiage including the imperative clause "go start lending again". This clause is portrayed through using the right palm-down position to manifest the authority he has so that he can give orders. In lines (406-407), he uses a declarative sentence formed of the relational identifying process, "actually, I have confidence that we'll get that done". He uses his left palm wagging vertically on the left side in association with the circumstance "actually" to confirm that he is going to get policies accomplished.

In this extract, Obama uses the personal pronoun "We" in lines (396, 399,404&407) in order to show consistency with his government members because they are the ones who will help him in achieving his policies. Further, he talks about the procedures he and his government will follow to fix the economic system in the United States focusing on presenting different solutions. In addition, the use of the imperative form "go start lending again" stands for Obama's authority as a President to control the fulfillment of the policies which he set earlier. In the last line of this extract, Obama emphasizes the point that he has set his plans to change the economic system and he can guarantee that these plans are to be accomplished. All these legitimating influence tactics which are confirmed through the different gestural aspects indicates that he is using the legitimate basis of power. Obviously, through using the legitimating power presented through showing consistency with his role expectations as a President, in addition to presenting his policy, he points out that he trusts his government members and trusts his leadership as well to achieve all.

4.3.6 Jay Leno 2011 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 172 ...al Qaeda is (07:05) (*right hand drops down into the center*)
 173 weaker than anytime in recent memory. We have taken out
 174 (07:08) (*left hand rises up to a precise point*) their top
 175 leadership position. That's been (07:11) (*both hands spread open*
 176 *into the center*) a big accomplishment.

In extract (1) lines (172-173), Obama uses a declarative sentence formed of a relational attributive process including the carrier "al Qaeda" and the attributive "weaker than anytime" in addition to the circumstance "in recent memory". In this sentence the description of the attributive "weaker" is portrayed non-verbally

through the hand gesture which is "right hand drops down into the center". In lines (173-175), Obama uses a declarative material process formed of the actor "we", the process verb "taken out" and the goal "their top leadership position". The reference to the goal is portrayed through using the left hand rising up to a precise point in order to confirm the expression "top leadership". In lines (175-176), he provides another statement which is a conclusive one formed of a relational identifying process "that's a big accomplishment". The reference to the adjective "big" is manifested non-verbally through using both hands spread open into the center in order to refer to the size of the accomplishment.

In this extract, Obama presents his argument concerning the situation of al-Qaeda in reference to his achievements. He tries to state the fact that he knows well what al-Qaeda was before and what it is nowadays and this means that he could have done something. In sum, he is using the expert basis of power applied through the relational persuasion influence tactic. Further, Obama uses the personal pronoun "we" to refer to himself, his government and the American army. He shows consistency in his role expectations as well as to his government and army. The material process "have taken out their top leadership position" refers to the authority of being able to take such a decision and accomplishing it. Providing evidence of what was done to face al-Qaeda and make it weaker, stands for Obama's achievement as a President who could minimize the threat from al-Qaeda. Accordingly, Obama uses the legitimate basis of power exercised through the legitimating influence tactics.

Extract (2):

Obama: 268 You know, look, we have (12:47) (*both hands rise straight up*
269 *wagging into the center*)) gone through the worst financial crisis,
270 the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. People are
271 hurting out (12:55) (*right palm index finger pointing to the right*
272 *side*)) there, and they've been hurting out there for a while. And
273 people were having (12:59) (*both fists rise straight up into the*
274 *center*)) a tough time even before the crisis. You know, incomes,
275 wages, we are all (13:02) (*right palm-down position moves*
276 *horizontally*))flat. Costs of everything from college to health care
277 to gas to food, all of it was (13:06) (*left hand rises up to a further*
278 *point*)) going up...

In lines (268-270) Obama gives a sentence formed of a material process including the actor "we", the process "going through", the goals "the worst financial crisis" and "the worst economic crisis", and the circumstance "since the Great Depression". This sentence is associated with both hands rising straight up into the center in order to confirm the process of going through the economic crisis. More clarification is presented in lines (270-272) through the mental process including the senser "people", the process "are hurting" and the circumstance "out there". The place circumstance is portrayed non-verbally through using the right palm index finger pointing to the right side.

In lines (274-276), he uses the declarative sentence formed of the relational identifying process, "incomes, wages were all flat" where the adjective "flat" is portrayed through the hand gesture, "right palm-down position moves horizontally". Then, Obama gives more sentences to refer to the people's economic situation. In addition, he uses the material process in lines (278-280), "Costs of everything ...it was going up" and portrayed through raising the left hand to a further point.

Through the identification of the linguistic and gestural properties of the text in this extract, it is clear that Obama is presenting details of the economic situation in the United States. Obama uses the expert and referent bases of power. The expert power is exercised through using the relational persuasion influence tactic since Obama presents factual argument concerning the crisis (relational persuasion tactics). However, he tries to point out the need for a new policy to develop the economic system (inspirational appeal). Accordingly, he is using the expert and referent bases of power exercised through the relational persuasion and inspirational appeal influence tactics. In sum, Obama tries to arouse people's emotions concerning their need for a new economic system that can change their current situation after all the pressure they felt during and after the financial crisis in the United States.

4.4 Discussion of Question One

This study intended to identify Obama's bases of power and identify his influence tactics. Through the literature review chapter, it was clear that dealing with power relationships must have its sources of power. Most importantly, power in its turn must be exercised through certain forms of actions resembled in the power influence tactics. As far as PD is concerned, this study began by exploring Obama's bases of power in the two American LNTSs, *the Late Show with David Letterman* and *the Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. Although, both variables including the bases of power and the influence tactics were discussed in relation to other researches in different fields such as education, management, organizations and medical fields (ch.2, section 2.16), it is very important to understand what specific types of power

relationships are used and how they are exercised in relation to certain influence tactics in PD and, more specifically, in the non-traditional form of media which is LNTSs.

According to French and Raven (1959), there are five bases of power but through analysing Obama's interviews on the LNTSs, the results pointed out that he used only two bases including the legitimate and expert ones. Occupying different political roles including Senator of States, presidential candidate and a President means performing different discursive practices. Tracy (2002) indicates that there is a reciprocal relationship between Fairclough's discursive practices and role identity and this was clearly identified in the analysis of the data. In other words, this justifies why Obama used certain forms of structure to present his ideas and values in which his political identity determined his PD. Accordingly, Obama's professional roles as presidential candidate and as a President of the United States shaped to a large extent the social structure of his PD. This supports Adbelal et al.'s (2005) conception of identity and its affect on legitimacy (ch.2, section 2.9). As was stated in the literature chapter; that social structure is one of the major aspects of CDA (McGregor, 2003) which implies a relation between the political identities and the basis of power as the data analysis indicated. The legitimate and expert bases of power were identified in relation to the different forms of Yukl's (2006) influence tactics. However, according to the results of the analysis using the same bases of power while performing two different social roles or political identities implied different functions and even using different linguistic forms and body language to present them.

In his interviews with David Letterman in 2007 and 2008 and with Jay Leno in 2007, as a presidential candidate, the analysis showed that Obama used the legitimate and expert bases of power almost all equally in his PD. The legitimate power was ranked first and then, the expert power, but with a slight difference which is related to the purpose behind using each one of them. This supports Raven's (2008) view that the motivation behind using certain bases of power rather than others is related to the purpose being to attain certain goals and outcomes. In other words, this means that the agent will try to choose the basis of power that helps him/her to accomplish and achieve his goals. However, use of the legitimate power means that Obama was performing his roles in the social context of the interactional process having role-performing in interaction (Goffman, 1959). This is why Obama tended to use his legitimate power more than other types. Since the CDA approach implies a focus on roles and, more specifically, an institutional role, the current study indicated that institutional roles are not specific to political institutions but rather it accompanies the individuals other identities even in non-institutional contexts like LNTSs.

The legitimate basis of power is exercised through two influence tactics including the legitimating and pressure. Basically, the legitimating influence tactics were the most common forms through which Obama's legitimate power was identified including specifically:

1. providing prior evidence
2. showing consistency with organizational policies
3. showing consistency with his professional role expectations
4. and verifying policies.

At the linguistic level, Obama used two processes in presenting his forms of power including the material and mental processes. As far as the material process is concerned, basically, Obama used almost all of it in the future tense and through two forms including showing consistency with the organizational policies and the professional role expectations. This implies the point that being the future President means that he is a man of action. Specifically, he is talking about his recent and future goals as far as the different political issues and economic policies are concerned while the mental process was mainly devoted to providing prior evidence and verifying policies. These material processes were transitive statements including details through the actors, material verbs, goals, recipients and circumstances. The use of these statements to provide information is related to the fact that Obama wanted to present his messages to the public clearly. Accordingly, Matthes et al.'s (2011) study concluded that the negative effects of the LNTSs on the candidates resulted from the implicit meaning of their messages and the complexity of their humorous political contents. Obama tried to avoid these two points completely, getting what he wanted to the population. Clearly, through giving detailed information, the legitimating influence tactic of showing consistency with the organizational policies was manifested linguistically through the personal pronoun "we" to refer to the Senators of States including Obama himself or those working in his election campaign. In addition, he showed consistency with his professional role through using the personal pronoun "I" to refer directly to his own abilities to conduct policies. As far as the hand gestures are concerned, legitimate power was exercised through the left/right closed-fingers-pointing position which is a universal gesture referring to warring or threat. Accordingly, it represented the pressure

influence tactic. Another hand gesture was associated with positive sentences which involved, "both palms curled facing each other wagging into the center" and "right/left palms rising straight up into the center". These were used to confirm the statements.

The expert power was exercised through the legitimating and relational persuasion influence tactics. As far as the legitimating influence tactics were concerned, the expert power was identified through providing prior precedents and verifying policies. The relational persuasion tactics included presenting argumentation and factual evidence. Specifically speaking, the expert power was presented basically through using negative sentences formed of the mental and relational identifying processes because they stand for recalling information concerning the different political and economic issues discussed. The use of this type of power was devoted to criticizing the previous policies. Through showing the contradiction between the previous and the current policies, Obama wanted to achieve his goals and direct the people towards his new policies. The negative sentences were exercised through different hand gestures including, "right hand opens to the right side", "both hands spread open", "left hand moves horizontally", "both palms wagging into the center". The facial expressions associated the negative mood included Obama's serious and angry facial expressions. This implies Obama's dissatisfaction concerning the problems at the domestic and regional levels.

As a President of the United States, Obama also used the legitimate and expert bases of power but his structural forms differed. Instead of using only two or more types of processes, Obama expressed his own ideas, values and experiences

using many processes. This can be related back to the point that he has more authority to cover different legitimacies and policies. While exercising his legitimate power, Obama relied heavily on using the declarative and imperative sentences. This implies no relation between the imperative form in association with the professional role in LNTSs. The declarative sentences were majorly formed of the material process in addition to using other processes such as the relational and mental processes. The legitimate power was identified through the legitimating influence tactics including showing consistency with the organization and verifying policies. As far as the expert power is concerned, Obama used declarative and negative sentences formed of the relational process with its two forms, the identifying and attributives more than other processes. He used the relational process because he wants to show the relations between concepts in order to present how things were related to each other as far as the old crisis and policies and the recent economic changes and the political policies are concerned. In addition, he used the existential, material and mental processes. The use of more types of power is closely associated with representation of the different experiences and this is related to the "common sense" of the CDA approach (Fairclough, 2001).

The expert power was identified through the legitimating and relational persuasion influence tactics. The legitimate influence tactics included showing consistency with organization and providing recent evidence while the relational persuasion tactics included presenting argumentation and factual evidence concerning the different political and economic issues that were discussed during the shows.

From a gestural perspective, the legitimate power was almost all associated with the threatening act and showing authority through the hand gesture, the "right/left palm down-position". Additionally, Obama tried to use hand gestures which portrayed specifically what he intended to say. These gestures presented emphasis in order to attract the population for what specifically he wanted to say and this added more clarity to his messages both verbally and non-verbally. The expert power was basically portrayed non-verbally through different hand gestures and facial expressions. The hand gestures involved confirming the negative statements which he used through wagging both palms into the center and having serious facial expression. Even as a President, he kept expressing his dissatisfaction through criticizing the previous policies showing how deeply the economic and political issues worldwide were affected. A very important point about Obama, as President, is that he used two different hand gestures to portray the relational process in its two forms. The relational identifying process was confirmed through the common hand gesture for Obama which is "left hand open wagging vertically into the left side". The relational attributive hand gestures were used for describing the different attributives used. These involve "right hand drops down", "both hands spread open to show size" and "right palms-down position moves horizontally". In sum, whether as a presidential candidate or a President, he used the legitimate and expert bases of power and this is due to the major role of LNTSs in which it is considered as a means of transforming political information to the public as was stated in Castronovo's (2007) study on the role of LNTSs in politics.

4.5 A Critical Discourse Analysis of Power Relationships

Lee and Low (2010) point out that different theoreticians share the same idea concerning the point that "power should be conceptualized as a relationship

between or among persons" (p.590). In other words, relations of power can be identified through the communication process. According to Buitkiene (2008), power relations "...have a tendency to be hidden in modern societies both at the institutional level and in face-to-face-discourse" (p.15). Hiding power or revealing it can be done through different linguistic forms such as using politeness strategies, hedges, boosters...etc. For the purpose of the current study, I intend to identify and reveal the hidden power relations taking place between the interactants in the LNTSs critically. As far as the CDA approach is concerned, the identification of power relations requires linking both the textual level of analysis and the socio-cultural level and the mediator between both levels in the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2001, Wodak, 1995). Therefore, language which is the most important means of communication can be used to influence and control, in many ways, the whole communication process (Allwood, 1980).

To carry out an analysis to identify the types of power relationships between Obama (the guest) and the two hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno), I analyzed the extracts coded relying heavily on Halliday's SFL, Levinson and Brown's (1987) FTA politeness strategies and the elected model of gestural aspects (Ekman, 2003; Ekman & Friensen, 1969, 1976; Dimitrius & Mazarella, 1998; Lardner, 2002; McNeil, 1992; Neirnberg & Calero, 1971; Pease & Pease, 2004). To identify the types of power relations holding between Obama and the two hosts (Letterman and Leno), the analysis was carried out through the following steps:

1. The turns of the hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno) and the guest (Obama) were analyzed at three stages of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. At the description stage, the analysis was carried out through the

grammatical and textual levels in order to identify the linguistic and gestural properties of the text. The grammatical level included Halliday's SFL metafunction which analyzed the text according to the ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. The ideational meaning (transitivity system) stands for the identification of people and events. Therefore, identification of participants and processes could lead to the identification of the power relations holding between the participants. This is confirmed by Haig (2011) who states that power relations in a text depend on the different roles of the participants and their different roles in the clauses they produce in the communication process. The interpersonal meaning included analysing modes and modality since both are needed to identify the politeness strategies used. The modes include declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences while modality includes identifying clearly the positive and negative politeness strategies. Modes and modality play a very important role in the identification of politeness strategies and hence, the types of power relationships (asymmetrical, symmetrical and solidarity) between the host and guest (Buitkiene, 2008; Hoyer, 1997). Finally, the textual meaning included identifying the logical connectors through which the coordination of the text itself and with respect to its context of situation was stated. At the textual level, according to Fairclough (1995, 2000, 2003), power relationships can be identified through turn-taking including interruption and controlling topics. The topic control includes the control of the contents and length of turns (Buitkiene, 2008). The gestural aspects were identified and analyzed according to the electrical models of body language which were adopted for the current study. At these different levels and their different

subcategories, the data coded from the LNTSs selected for the study were analyzed in order to identify the linguistic and gestural properties of the transcripts in order to be interpreted.

2. The interpretation stage included the identification of the MR (interpretative procedures) at the situational context (contents, subject and relations) and intertextual context (speech acts, FTA politeness strategies). According to Fairclough (2003), in order to determine the speech act values, it is very important to know the situational context in which they occur and therefore, the discourse types operating in the text. In other words, the two types of contexts were interpreted since they complete one another in the identification of power relationships.
3. The explanation stage included looking at how power relations shaped the discourses identified at the social, institutional and situational levels; in addition to identifying the ideologies and effects behind those power relations.

4.5.1 David letterman 2007 Interview

Extract (1):

- Letterman:** How long have you been smoking cigarettes?
- Obama:** 007 On and off (1:07) ((*right hand moves forward and back*)).
008 You know. You pick it up when you are writing a book or
009 campaigning (1:10) ((*laughs*)) or (.) you know, things, low
010 stress activities like that. I decided right (1:16) ((*both palms-*
011 *open facing each other wagging into the center*)) before
012 running for President, that's the optimal time to stop[It is
right Sir (.)]But I was thinking, it is not really a good thing to
Letterman: be smoking cigarettes. It's a nasty horrible thing but it might

be fun if we have a president who smoked (1:25) ((acting as if smoking cigarette and blowing smoke)). You know what I mean. It's kind of cool [Yeah

Obama: 013 [We'll (.) blow (.) smoke in the face (1:40) ((*left palm-*
014 *closed-finger-pointing position*)) of the Iranian president.
015

Letterman: Do whatever you need to do and you see that you are using the gum so you are ok. So are you still smoking or you ok with it.

Obama: 016 The gum is working good.

Letterman: Working good..oh boy oh boy.

Obama: 017 I could use some now (1:49) ((*both hands move straight up*
018 *into the center*)).

In this extract, the host (Letterman) and the guest(Obama) are talking about a social topic which is smoking cigarettes, yet; they connect it to politics and this is related to the positions which Obama occupies as a Senator of States and apresidential candidate. Letterman is very much aware of the fact that his guest is occupying these institutional roles and therefore, almost all the questions and comments are associated with politics even the non-political ones.Extract (1) includes many turns for Letterman and Obama.I divided the extract into three parts so that the analysis can be carried out in an organized way.

In the first part of the extract, the turns are predeterminedby Letterman asking Obama a direct wh-questionof how long he has been smoking cigarettes. This is a directive speech act presenting the content of the extract. Letterman performsthe negative politeness strategy which is questioning and this is due to his institutional role as interviewer to ask questions. Obama's response is not specific in which he

does not give a certain duration but only answers with "on and off" in line (007) portrayed non-verbally through moving the right hand forward and back to refer to the two contradictory words "on" and "off". Obama's turn is longer, including many statements. In lines (008-010), Obama uses an assertive speech act presented through the declarative sentence formed of the material process including the actor "you" to generalize what he is talking about in "you pick it up when you are writing a book or campaigning". In order to present his point of view more politely, Obama uses the hedge "you know" before his sentence. Moreover, he laughs in association with the word "campaigning" in line (009). Obviously, Obama is performing positive FTA strategy presented verbally through giving excuses concerning smoking and portrayed non-verbally through laughing. In lines (010-012), Obama uses the declarative sentence formed of the mental process performing expressive speech act in which he speaks directly about himself using the personal pronoun "I" with the mental verb "decided" and confirmed non-verbally through using both palms open facing each other wagging into the center to point out when the exact time will be for him to stop smoking. He states that "before running for President, that's the optimal time to stop".

Obviously, Obama does not give a direct answer to Letterman's direct question about how long he has been smoking. Further, he tries to control the conversation through using many statements. Clearly, the type of power relationship, in this part of the extract, is of an asymmetrical relationship. Obama is in control due to his turn length, his attempt to avoid giving specific answers and performing the negative and positive FTAs in his attempt to mix politics with comedy. Finally, he directs the whole situation to speak again about himself and when he will stop

smoking. In addition, Obama shifts the topic through associating the process of smoking with his election campaign. He associates the word "campaigning" with a laugh and this implies an indirect reference to his being a presidential candidate. In fact, from the beginning, he tries to involve politics in his answer even though the question is not of political content because one of his reasons to appear on the show is to contact the population and get them to know more about his plans. It is clear that Obama's subject position as a presidential candidate leads him to try to control the interview from the beginning to talk about his election campaign.

In the second part of the extract, Letterman interrupts Obama to express agreement and give his own comment on the same topic. Letterman uses the address form "sir", performing negative face strategy to express his agreement politely. In this case, the host tries to show more respect to Obama's institutional role as a Senator of States and a presidential candidate. Further, he tries to express his own ideas giving statements and trying to control the topic of discussion. Letterman keeps talking about smoking using a mental process referring directly to what he thinks through the personal pronoun "I" in "I was thinking, it is not really a good thing ...". He describes the act of smoking in the two complement clauses, "it is not really a good thing" and "it's a nasty horrible thing". In order to mitigate how he has described the act of smoking, he gives another sentence, "it might be fun if we have a President who smoked...", portrayed non-verbally in which the host acts as if smoking and blowing smoke. The host is performing the negative politeness strategy through using hedges i.e., "might" and "you know" to show respect to Obama as being his own guest who is occupying different political positions. Obama interrupts the host through the declarative sentence formed of the material process presenting an

assertive speech act in lines(013-015), "we'll blow smoke in the face of the Iranian President" portrayed through using the left palm-closed-finger-pointing position. It is clear that Obama is trying to shift the topic talking metaphorically to threaten the Iranian President.

In this part, Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host and this is clearly stated through the interruption and topic shift. The type of the interruption that took place first by the host is "butting-in-interruption" in which the interrupter stops before gaining control over the floor. Obama's interruption is intended to take the floor from the host. Despite the host's attempt to get control over the topic, Obama was leading the conversation to another direction. Obama's use of the positive face strategy in seeking the population as well as the government's agreement concerning the Iranian situation is presented through using the personal pronoun "we" as an in-group-identifying marker. Again, Obama is trying to present his political ideologies right from the beginning in the interview and connecting them to whatever question or comment that is made by the host.

In part three of extract (1), the host tries, again, to control the topic using the on record negative FTA in "Do whatever you need to do...". In the same sentence, he uses the logical connector "and" in order to add more information to control the topic under discussion to be about smoking and not about politics. This is clearly stated in the last sentence in which Letterman asks Obama again about whether he still smokes or not. He precedes his question with the conclusive logical connector "so" indicating that he asked similar question earlier but he did not get a decisive answer. Therefore, he asks, again, but this time using yes/no questions in "are you still

smoking or you ok with it?". Accordingly, Letterman is performing the negative FTA, trying to hide his power as being the interviewer and the one who is trying to get control over the topic. Obama, on the other hand, in line (016) does not answer the questions directly and instead gives the declarative sentence formed of the material process and performs an assertive speech act, "the gum is working good". Obama is not giving a decisive answer because the gum does not show whether he stopped smoking or was trying to stop chewing the gum instead. This short turn for Obama is followed by another short turn from Letterman who expresses his surprise through the vocal particle, "oh boy", and repeats it and hence, he is showing informality with the guest despite being a Senator of States and a presidential candidate. Obama, in his turn, shows informality as well when he replies "I could use some now" portrayed non-verbally through moving both hands straight up into the center confirming the circumstance "now". This sentence, both verbally and non-verbally, states that the context of situation is informal and therefore, it is possible to chew the gum in such a friendly environment. This extract implies that Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host and this is clearly stated when Obama is performing the off record FTAs in his turn, "the gum is working good", and the negative politeness strategy in "I could use some now". In both cases, Obama is showing control in which he does not follow the host as far as giving responses to his answers is concerned. Instead of giving a yes/no response, he gives a different hint concerning chewing the gum. To confirm his response, he announces to the host that he could use it within the show and that this is a sign of social comfort in the conversation itself and a sign of personal dominance as well for a politician who tries to show the other part of his personality such as chewing the gum during the show.

Extract (2):

Letterman:

The democratic party for the last two presidential campaigns
(2:29) *((both fists wagging inot the center))* has not done as
well as it would like. I mean finishing second in that race
271 doesn't, you know, you know [It's :::... >It's not< (2:36)
272 *((both hands clenched together)) ((laughs))*. No, but now all
273 of a sudden we have a tremendous roster of potential
candidates[Right candidates

274 [Right candidates (2:42) *((head nod))*

[Yes. A high profile powerful, well respected individuals.
Yourself (2:47) *((right hand pointing to Obama))* and
Hillary Clinton are two that come to mind Is ::: having those
:::(2:52) *((both palms-up position wagging into the
center))*well known, those highly qualified desirable
candidates running for the nomination<Is that healthy for
the party?>

Obama:

275 I figured (2:58) *((head nod))* it is good. We've got terrific
276 candidates. Not justmyself and Hillary, we got John
277 Edwards ::: who has run a terrific campaign so far. Bill
278 Richardson (3:05) *((left hand moves forward and back))* a
279 terrific governor, I've got a couple of colleagues::: (3:08)
280 *((serious face))*, Chris Dodd and Joe Biden and Dennis
281 Kucinich from congress and so. We got (3:14) *((both palms
282 curled facing each other and wagging into the center))* a
283 great collection of candidates

Letterman:

You kidding me with Kucinich right?

284 No no. (3:17) ((*head shaking*)) He ::: (3:19) ((*left palm-*
285 *closed-fingers position in a round movement*)) spices things
286 up. You know ::: (3:24) ((*laughs*)), He has a double may
287 (3:27) ((*laughs*)) care attitude...

In extract (2) many turns are analyzed in order to identify the power relationships Obama holds with the host David Letterman. In order to carry out the analysis in depth and to be understood smoothly, I divided the extract into two parts. In the first part of the extract, the host (Letterman) begins his turn giving past precedents concerning the last presidential campaigns. He gives negative sentence judging the performance of the Democratic Party presenting the content of the extract in "the Democratic Party ...has not done as well as it would like". Letterman uses the hedges including "I mean" and "you know", performing the negative politeness strategy. Obama interrupts the host but only to show agreement with the negative form. Accordingly, he uses the negative sentence in line (271) "it's not" portrayed non-verbally with both hands clenched together to confirm the negative mood. Obama, then, laughs in order to mitigate the negative mood and perform a positive face strategy. He continues talking about the election campaign using the logical connector "but" followed by the circumstance "now" to refer to the current election. He uses the declarative sentence formed of the relational identifying process in line (273) "we have a tremendous roster of potential candidates". In this sentence, he uses the personal pronoun "we" as an in-group-identifying marker to refer to the Democratic Party members including himself. Accordingly, he is performing through this assertive speech act a positive politeness strategy. Letterman interrupts Obama in the elliptical form "right candidates" to give better description of what Obama is trying to say. Obama interrupts him as well to repeat the same

expression "right candidates" in line (274) and this implies an agreement of what the host has just said.

In part (1) of extract (2), Obama holds a symmetrical power relationship with the host using his expert power applied through the ingratiation influence tactic (acting friendly). The equal power relationship is clearly identified through the turns' length is almost all the same for both. Moreover, Obama and Letterman's use of the negative and positive FTAs indicates that both are trying to hide their own power. Letterman does not want to talk in the negative form about Obama's political party and so he uses hedges to mitigate his expressive speech acts. Obama, on the other hand, shows agreement with the negative form and laughs in order to show that he is not angry at all and what the guest has already said is true. Later, he presents a different point of view of the current election and also agrees with Letterman's final description of the candidates both verbally through repeating the same words, and non-verbally through nodding his head. In addition, Obama and Letterman talk about the Democratic Party which means no topic shift is taking place. The continuous interruptions keep the flow of the conversation and this is in part related to the social comfort both interactants feel in their communication.

In the second part of extract (2), Letterman expresses his agreement with Obama using the agreement word "yes" and describing the candidates as "high powerful, well-respected individuals". Further, he refers to Obama using the possessive pronoun "yourself" portrayed in the hand gesture in which the host points to Obama directly in "yourself and Hilary Clinton are two that come to mind...". Letterman keeps describing the candidates as being "highly qualified desirable

candidates" and then asks a question concerning having all those perfect candidates from the same political party. He uses the yes/no question, "Is that healthy for the party?".

The guest, Obama, answers the question using the declarative sentence formed of the mental process performing an expressive speech act in line (275), "I figured it is good". In the same line, he uses another declarative statement formed of a relational identifying process presenting an assertive speech act in which the token is the personal pronoun "we", referring to the members of the Democratic Party in "we've got terrific candidates". The question asked is the yes/no question, yet, Obama gives statements. Further, he tries to present a different point of view to show that he does not agree fully with what Letterman has said by referring to Obama and Hillary Clinton as the only candidates of the Democratic Party. He presents more names of candidates in line (278), "we got John Edward", in line (278) "Bill Richardson a terrific candidate", and in lines (280, 281) "Chris Dodd and Joe Biden and Dennis Kucinich". All this is confirmed in line (279) in which Obama uses the personal pronoun "I" in the declarative relational identifying process, "I've got a couple of colleagues" and through which Obama performs an assertive speech act, showing a serious face to state that those people are really worthy to be referred to as the best candidates.

Letterman interrupts Obama asking a rhetorical question about one of the candidates in, "You kidding me with Kucinich right? His indirect question indicates that he is performing the negative face strategy in his expressive speech act. Obama's answer is "No" and repeats it again to confirm his negation and disagreement for

what the host has just said. This negation indicates that Obama is performing on record bald FTAs. Further, he expresses his negation non-verbally through shaking hands. Then, he gives declarative sentences formed of the material process in line (285-286), "he spices things up", and "he has double my care attitude ...". In this sentence, Obama is performing an assertive speech act. He associates his sentences with a laugh. In addition, he uses the hedge "you know" in order to mitigate the negative mood he has used earlier to disagree with the host. So, he is trying to use both negative and positive face strategies.

It is clear that Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host, Letterman, depending on his legitimate power as a presidential candidate, practising his power through the legitimating influence tactic (showing consistency with his role expectations), and the personal appeal influence tactic (emphasizing his relationship with his part members). He is more powerful through expressing disagreement directly and indirectly. Moreover, he speaks giving more details concerning the candidates in order to control the topic himself through showing more options rather than the ones which the host has given. He interrupts the host using a direct speech act. Then, he uses the negative mode expressed verbally and non-verbally. Despite the host's attempts to get control over the topic and bring back the focus to Obama and Hillary, Obama disagrees and expresses a different point of view.

4.5.2 David Letterman (2008) interview

Extract (1):

Letterman:

Now, you mentioned twice staying focused (4:47) (*left palm index finger pointing forward*) in Afghanistan, and we have seen relatively so, we had a short visit in Afghanistan militarily, and now, (3:54) (*both hands rise straight up*) there's trouble there in Afghanistan. What would maintaining focus there mean? [Well, it means a couple things. (4:01) (*left palm index finger pointing to the fingers in the right palm*)

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[Would it mean a similar situation we (4:02) (*both palms open in front of the chest*) as we have in Iraq? Would it mean an American and military control of the country?

Obama:

Well, I do think we've got to have more troops there, so I think we've got (4:08) (*serious face*) to have a couple of more brigades. But just as important is (.) the non-civilian side - what are we doing in terms of giving farmers there an alternative to growing poppy, right, so narco-trafficking has funded terrorism in that region. What are we doing about rooting out corruption (4:26) (*both hands open facing each other wagging into the center*) in the Afghan government, so people actually trust what's going on there? [Also schools [Schools, medical care, (4:32) (*left palm index finger touching right palm index finger*) and what are we doing in terms of dealing with Pakistan because (4:35) (*both palms open facing each other wagging into the center*) the fact is (.) that Bin Laden and Al Qaeda,) they are on the Pakistani side of the border...

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In extract (1), the host (Letterman) gives statements before he asks his questions. He gives, first, a declarative sentence formed of a mental process to refer

to what Obama has said earlier in, "you mentioned twice staying focused in Afghanistan". Letterman expresses his agreement to the first sentence. Further, he gives more statements describing the situation by referring to an earlier antecedent, "we had a short visit in Afghanistan military". Again, he uses another declarative sentence but this time formed of the existential process, "Now there's trouble in Afghanistan". In all his statements, Letterman is using the circumstance "in Afghanistan" and repeating it many times in order to specify the topic under discussion. This stands for the host's attempt to present the content of the extract and control the topic. Letterman asks Obama a question which is, "what would maintaining focus there mean?". Both linguistically and gesturally, Letterman is performing the negative FTA. Obama interrupts Letterman in order to give a quick answer to the question asked using the declarative sentence formed of the mental clause and performing the expressive speech act in "it means a couple of things" in lines (248-249). The expression "a couple of things" is associated with the hand gestures including "left palm index finger pointing to the fingers in the right palm" as if to get ready to start counting the things he wants to talk about. Letterman takes the turn through interrupting Obama. He elaborates his enquiry through asking yes/no questions using the modal auxiliary "would" in "would it mean a similar situation as we have in Iraq" and "would it mean an American and military control of the country". The host is performing the negative FTAs since he is questioning the guest using different forms of questions and this is due to his institutional role as interviewer who is maintained to elicit information or to confirm them.

In lines (251-253), Obama gives declarative sentences formed of the mental processes, "well, I do think we've got to have more troops there, so I think we've got

to have a couple of more brigades". In this sentence, Obama is presenting an expressive speech act portrayed non-verbally through a serious face facial expression to indicate that the situation there is still in need of more military action to be taken. Then, Obama shifts the topic to include the "non-civilians side" in line (253). Letterman interrupts Obama to remind him of another non-civilian aspect which is "schools" in "also schools". This kind of interruption indicates that the host is highly involved in the communication process and is listening attentively so that he gives feedback. Obama repeats the word "school" and continues to refer to other aspects such as "medical care" in line (264) portrayed non-verbally through using the left palm index finger touching the right palm index finger as if counting. Another topic shift takes place in which Obama talks about Pakistan, using a declarative clause formed of the material process in lines (265-271) "...what are we doing in terms of dealing with Pakistan...". He justifies the reference to Pakistan, trying to associate it to the main topic which is about Afghanistan through the causal clause using a declarative sentence formed of the material process stating that in lines (267-271) "because the fact is that Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, they are on the Pakistani border". Obama confirms what he says through using "both palms open facing each other wagging into the center". Obama is performing an assertive speech act in which he states the relation between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

In this extract, Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host. Obama's turns are longer than Letterman's since he is using his legitimate and expert bases of power. The legitimate power is applicable through the legitimating influence tactics: showing consistency with the organizations "we" and with the role expectations "I". The expert power is exercised through the legitimating

influence tactics in the form of verifying policies. This relates to his institutional role as a President whose authority enables him to present the details of the different political issues. Obama's use of the assertive speech acts through presenting many statements and argumentation concerning what the American government can do to face the terrorists coming from Pakistan indicates that he is performing the negative face strategies. Obama interrupts the host in order to take the floor from him and give quick answers. Further, he shifts the topic from talking about Afghanistan to end up talking about Pakistan. The use of negative face strategies, providing many statements, turn length, the topic shift in which all confirmed non-verbally through using the hands wagging into the center with a serious face indicate that Obama is in control over the whole communication process in this extract.

As far as the political issues are concerned and, particularly, talking about Afghanistan and Pakistan, Obama gives more details using the personal pronoun "we" to state that all the decisions made are not only his own but the American government as a whole. This implies the fact that Obama's authoritative power is that of his government. The link between Afghanistan and Pakistan is to state that the threat facing America is coming from those two countries and hence, the focus should not be on the situations in Afghanistan only. He, rather, wants to state that whatever achievements are made in Afghanistan at the military and non-civilians aspects, still America needs more work to be done not only in Afghanistan but also in Pakistan due to its being a source of protecting terrorists as well.

Extract (2):

Letterman:

Well, it's pretty short now. Just a couple of months and there

will be the election and the inauguration in January. Do you ever think about going to Kenya as president of the United States?

Obama: 343 You know, I do (00:17) (*head nod*) think about that. I went
344 there (00:19) (*left hand rises up to a precise point*) a couple
345 of years ago after I'd been elected senator and, (.) you know, it
346 (.)was moving for me to see (00:29) (*both palms curled*
347 *facing each other wagging into the center*) people's response.
348 You know, sometimeswe forget how people overseas look
349 (00:35) (*both hands open facing each other wagging into the*
350 *center*) at America. They place so much hope in the United
351 States, and that's something I think we've (00:43) (*right hand*
352 *tilts forward and to the side*) forgotten because we always
353 hear bad news (00:44) (*serious face*) about how, you know,
354 people don't like Americans anymore. That's nottrue They're
355 disappointed (00:49) (*right palm index finger tip and thumb*
356 *touching each other and pointing forward*) precisely because
357 they've got high expectations, and obviously, given that my
358 father's from Kenya, there was a special connection, so we
359 were just seeing these enormous crowds.

In this extract, the host (Letterman) begins his turn using a declarative sentence formed of the relational attributive process "it's pretty short now" and then elaborating it by specifying the time to be "a couple of months". The reference to the duration is followed by an existential process, "there will be the election and the inauguration in January". Letterman, then, asks his question which is "do you ever think about going to Kenya as President of the United States?". Letterman uses a yes/no question preceding it with statements referring to the content of the extract which is about Obama's visit to Kenya and this implies using the negative politeness strategy to ask the question. Obama's answer, on the other hand, begins with using

the hedge, "you know" to mitigate the reference to him as being the President of the United States. Instead of answering the question with either yes or no, he confirms using "I do think about that" in line (343) confirmed non-verbally through nodding his head. Obama does not confine himself to this answer only but elaborate during his turn to give more details concerning past precedents. He refers first to his visit to Kenya in lines (343-344) "I went there a couple of years ago after I'd been elected senator". This declarative sentence is formed of a material process and presents an assertive speech act. This sentence is portrayed non-verbally through the hand gestures, "the left hand rises up to a precise point to refer to the place where he went years ago. In these two sentences, Obama gives a hint that he'll go again to Kenya and listen to people as he did before.

Obama, then, shifts the topic to talk about what people think about America, trying to give an optimistic point of view about America especially as he is running for President. In lines (350-352) the declarative sentence formed of a mental process presenting an expressive speech act in "you know, sometimes, we forget how people overseas look at America". This sentence is followed by another one in lines (352-354) "They place much hope in the United States". These two sentences are portrayed through moving both hands open wagging into the center to confirm what he is talking about. He gives reasons through the declarative clause formed of the mental process performing an expressive speech act in lines (356-357) "because we always hear bad news about how, you know, people don't like Americans anymore". Obama gives negative sentences presenting the pessimistic point of view about America. In line (358) he negates this point of view, "that's not true" and "they are disappointed...", portrayed non-verbally through shaking hands. Obama justifies in

lines (361-363) "precisely because they've got high expectations, and obviously, given that my father's from Kenya, there was a special connection...". The reasons are preceded by the circumstance "precisely" portrayed non-verbally through the hand gesture "right palm index finger tip and thumb touching each other and pointing forward". These sentences imply contradictory points of view concerning America. The reference to his father being from Kenya and describing it in the existential process in lines (362-363)"there was a special connection" implies the use of the positive politeness strategy to seek appreciation from the population for electing him to be the President of the United States.

Basically, Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host. He depends on his legitimate power as a President and applies his power through the legitimating influence tactic (showing consistency with professional role expectations), the inspirational influence tactic (making important contributions about America) and the personal influence tactic (showing close relationship towards his people). Obama is more powerful as his turn is longer. Further, instead of giving a direct yes/no answer, Obama gives statements. In addition, he shifts the topic from talking about his visit to Kenya to talk about how people overseas look at America and this indicates topic control. He uses the assertive speech act performing the negative speech strategies through using hedges, giving statements and being indirect in order to show that even though he is now the President, he still wants to listen to people and know about their expectations. He tries to mitigate the bad news concerning America and how people hate the Americans. Moreover, he uses the positive politeness strategy through giving reasons and being optimistic about his view to America, and showing sympathy with the people in Kenya. Clearly, the

reference to how people think about America implies a criticism to the previous governments in which they were the ones who disappointed the countries overseas to have this negative attitude towards America and the Americans.

4.5.3 David Letterman 2009 Interview

Extract (1):

Letterman:

When you were seeking the office did you have any idea that somewhere (5:39) *((right hand opens wagging into the center))* across your desk be the information that 7 hundred thousand jobs a month were disappearing?

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Obama:

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Not until I (5:44) *((left hand open wagging vertically in the left side with the head tilted to the left side- towards the host))* got in the job and then suddenly (5:47) *((laughs))* [yeah

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[Yeah. They give you an envelope
[yeah.

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[And say congratulations (.) No, (5:53) *((left hand move forward and to the left side with the head tilted to the left side-towards the host))* I mean, I think that nobody realized up until Lehman Brothers collapsed last year that :: things could crash as badly as they could have. I won't (6:05) *((angry face)) ((left palm-down position))* say nobody realizes. There were some who are far sighted and recognized that the bubble (6:09) *((both hands spread open into the center as if measuring size))* was about to pop (.) But even (6:10) *((left hand open wagging vertically in the left side))* before the crisis, I think what we knew was that (.) not enough good paying jobs were being produced.

In extract (1) of this interview, the host (Letterman) asks the guest (Obama) a question concerning his knowledge of the job losses in America. He uses a yes/no question, "did you have any idea that somewhere across your desk be the

information that 7 hundred thousand job a month were disappearing". Letterman uses the directive speech act performing the negative FTA and presenting the content of the extract to be about jobs problems in the United States. Obama gives a negative answer using "not" in line (173) and explains when exactly he had known about this issue through the declarative negative material process in lines (173-175) "until I got in the job and then suddenly they give you an envelope and say congratulations". Obama uses his left hand wagging vertically on the left side to confirm that he is talking about something that really took place in the way he is describing it. Further, he talks with the head tilting towards the host in order to state that he is talking with full confidence about this issue. Obama, in line (175), adds more enthusiasm to his details in which he associates the circumstance, "suddenly" with a laugh and hence, he is performing the positive FTA in order to mitigate the forceful words he is using, especially as he is talking now about the strategies followed by his government. Letterman interrupts Obama using the word "yeah" to show attentiveness. Obama continues his turn and also uses the word "yeah" to show attentiveness. Then, he uses the material process presenting the assertive speech act in which he states in lines (176-177) "they give you an envelope". Again, Letterman interrupts Obama using "yeah" to show attentiveness as well to what Obama is saying. Obama continues telling exactly what happens through the verbal clause connected by the logical connector "and" in line (178) "and say congratulations". These sentences imply that Obama did not know anything till only when he was elected. To confirm his answer, Obama uses the negative form "no" portrayed non-verbally through moving the left hand forward and to the left side to refer to the negative form. In addition, he speaks with the head tilted to the left side to present what he says confidentially.

In lines (184-185), Obama gives a negative sentence which is contradictory to the one which he has said earlier in "I won't say nobody realizes" which is associated with showing an angry face and the left palm-down position to refer to his authority as a President. This verbal sentence is confirmed through another sentence which is a declarative sentence formed of an existential process presenting the assertive speech act in lines (185-188), "there were some who are far sighted and recognised the bubble was about to bomb" which is associated with both hands spread open as if measuring to describe the word "Bubble". Obama, in his turn, gives more details concerning the jobs and the knowledge concerning what was going on before he became the President. In lines (188-192), he gives more statements concerning jobsperforming the negative FTAs using the hedges "I think" and the relativeclauses as well.

In this extract, Obama is holding as an asymmetrical power relationship with Letterman. He depends on his legitimate power as a President of the United States and applies it through the legitimating influence tactics (providing prior precedents and verifying policies). Obama's turn is longer than the question asked by the host since he provides many statements. Instead of giving a yes/no answer, he gives details in order to control the topic and directs it to present his ownpoints of view concerning the issue. Further, Obama performs the negative face strategies to show that he has his own experience in this issue. In this extract, Obama represents many contradictory points of view concerning the issue of jobs in America. The use of the negative form indicates unequal power relationship between the interactants.

Despite Obama's attempt to mitigate the forceful power of his negation through laughing, still he is using his own authority as a President.

This extract represents Obama's knowledge concerning the economic problems and, particularly, the unemployment in the United States. The question concerning whether Obama knew about the exact number of job crisis before he became the President, stands for the point that he came with the slogan of change presenting plans to solve the problem of unemployment. Through this question, the host would like to know whether Obama's solutions as a presidential candidate are still compatible with the huge problems in this field. He tries to criticise the previous Government but indirectly. He states that there were people who knew about the problems, yet; they did not do anything to solve it.

Extract (2):

Letterman:

We, saw (3:33) *((both hands open wagging into the center))*
men and women American troops ::: coming out of Iraq (.)
after a long =long difficult struggle. And now people
suggesting more and more American men and women going
to Afghanistan. What is that?

Obama:

564 Well first of all I think that ::: (.) >our troops are performing
565 at an extraordinary level in both Afghanistan and Iraq< and
566 :: Iraq we are (3:58) *((left hand open wagging vertically in
567 the left side with the eyes looking down))* on pace to draw
568 down our troops so that by the end of 2011 we will have
569 (4:03) *((left hand rises straight up into the center))* our
570 troops, combat troops out of Iraq ...
657 ...We are not gonna make a decision about ::: any further
658 troop deployments until we know (6:37) *((left hand open
659 wagging vertically in the left side with the eyes looking*

660 down)) what exactly is our strategy, what are the tactics,
661 how our troops would be used, can we justify taking those
662 steps and I am gonna be asking some very hard questions
663 (6:49) ((*serious face*)).

In extract (2), Letterman (the host) begins his turn by giving a declarative sentence formed of a mental process "we saw men and women, American troops coming out of Iraq after a long long struggle". This sentence is portrayed non-verbally through moving both hands open wagging into the center to state openness. He uses another sentence formed of a mental process in "Now people suggesting more and more American men and women going to Afghanistan". In this sentence he provides another point of view bringing to discussion the content of the extract concerning the American troops. These two sentences precede the question which the host would like to ask and that is "what is that?". It is an open answer question through which Letterman is performing the negative face strategy with redressive face. He prepares for his question instead of asking it directly. This is related to the fact that the host is fully aware of the institutional role of his guest as a President of the United States.

Obama, in lines (564-565), gives a declarative statement formed of a mental process representing his own perception of the situation discussed and hence, performing the expressive speech act. He uses the personal pronoun "I" referring directly to himself as the experiencer of the mental verb process "think" followed by the relative clause "that our troops are performing at an extraordinary level in both Afghanistan and Iraq". This sentence is associated with the left hand wagging vertically in the left side with head nodding to express agreement and satisfaction. Further, Obama associates his hand gestures with the facial expression in which he

looks down in order to recall the information he is talking about. In this turn, instead of giving answer and explanation concerning sending more troops to Afghanistan, Obama shifts the topic to talk about the withdrawal of the American troops from Iraq. In lines (566-571), Obama uses a declarative sentence formed of a material process presenting the assertive speech act in which the actor is "we" referring to the American government including Obama himself in the sentence "In Iraq, we are on the pace to draw down our troops so that by the end of 2011 we will have our troops combat out of Iraq". This sentence is confirmed non-verbally through wagging the left hand in the left side vertically with the eyes looking down in order to recall the exact information concerning the American government's military plans. Obama imposes information which the host already knows.

In lines (657-662), Obama gives more details concerning the American decisions about the Afghani issue. Obama says "we are not gonna make a decision about any further troops until we know what exactly is our strategy, what are the tactics, how our troops would be used, can we justify taking those steps". These lines imply the answer for Letterman's question. He summarizes his point of view through the declarative sentence formed of the material process in "I am gonna be asking some very hard questions" expressing a serious face to state that he is the one who will be responsible for the new decisions that will be made.

The communication process in this extract indicates that Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host depending on his legitimate power as a President of the United States and applying it through the legitimating influence tactic (verifying policies). Obama is powerful through different aspects. One point is

that his turn is longer than the host's one. This is related to the institutional role of the guest as being a President who has more details concerning the different political issues. Another point is that Obama uses the negative politeness strategy and this is clearly identified through being pessimistic, using indirect speech to talk about the previous faulty strategies and asking rhetorical questions. Obama uses material processes in which the actor is "we" and hence, he is performing the positive politeness strategy indicating that his power as a President is estimated by his government members. Further, he shifts the topic to talk about sending more troops to Afghanistan; he talks about the situations in Iraq and the withdrawal of the American troops from there. In addition, He uses many statements through which no interruption took place by the host and this implies paying attention to what Obama is saying and this is, again, due to his subject position as the President of the United States.

Obama, in this extract, indirectly presents part of his achievements as a President who promised to get the American troops out of Iraq when he was a presidential candidate. Talking about the failed strategies of the previous governments is to show that he is going to correct these mistakes and avoid them. He states that decisions are going to be made carefully. The reference to himself directly as the one who will ask very hard questions concerning any decision that will be made refers to his power as a person who wants to get his policies to be accomplished.

4.5.4 Jay Leno 2007 Interview

Extract (1):

Leno: ...I gotta ask you about something today a little more seriously. And it was scary to hear these words. President Bush today was warning about Iran and nukes, and he said, you know, this is what we have to do to avoid World War III. And I:: (1:37) *((both hands rises straight up wagging into the center))* must say, just to hear a President just use the words World War III (.) a little scary. Your reaction?

Obama: 048 You know what? I am really (01:39) *((both palms curled*
049 *facing each other wagging into the center))* frustrated (01:40)
050 *((serious face))* by an administration that continually rattles the
051 Saber, is all about (01:41) *((right palm index finger rises*
052 *straight up pointing into the center))* military force, has not
053 done the diplomatic work that needs to be done to contain
Iran. Now, Iran
054 is a serious (01:48) *((right palm-closed-fingers pointing*
055 *position wagging into the center))* threat if it gets nuclear
056 weapons (.) and we should (01:50) *((both palms curled facing*
057 *each other wagging from side to side))* mobilize the
058 international community to get them to (01:53) *((right hand*
059 *moves straight down into the center))* stand down. But when
you (01:55)
060 *((right palm-down position))* use language like that, what it
061 does is it (01:57) *((both hands spread open into the center))*
062 alienates the rest of the world. It makes it more difficult for us
063 to mobilize the worlds' community to (02:02) *((right fist rises*
064 *straight up into the right side))* put economic sanctions on Iran.

In extract (1), the host (Leno) prepares for his question in "I got to ask you something..." and then, he describes his question to be "a little more seriously". This sentence implies the point that despite being entertainment talk show, the host is

about to present a serious issue. This line indicates an obligation to ask a question in order to elicit information. Then, Leno gives a statement including complain "And it was scary to hear these words". This sentence implies ambiguity since it is not clear what words the host is talking about. He talks indirectly about an important issue that is to follow in the sentence, "President Bush today was warning about Iran...". In this sentence, Leno presents the content of the extract to include George Bush warning against Iran. He continues to present what he described as scary through the sentence formed of the verbal process in, "he said, you know, this is what we have to do to avoid World War III". Leno tries to mitigate the way he is talking about the current President, George Bush, through using the hedge "you know", the relative clause and the verbal process. Further, Leno gives another declarative sentence pointing out his own opinion concerning what the President said in the sentence, "And I must say, just to hear a President just use the words World war III a little scary." confirmed non-verbally through wagging both hands into the center. Having presented the content of the topic under discussion, Leno uses the elliptical question, "Your reaction?". This is an open ended question which is used in order to get a meaningful comment concerning Bush's announcement against Iran.

Obama's response includes many statements. The declarative sentence in lines (048-053), "I am really frustrated by an administration that continually rattle the Saber, is all about military force, has not done the diplomatic work that needs to be done to contain Iran" is said with Obama expressing serious face and confirmed through wagging his both palms curled facing each other into the center. This sentence is formed of a relational attributive process presenting assertive speech act with many complement clauses to criticize the policy followed by Bush providing the

right solution to solve the Iranian political issue. Obama adds more statements concerning the Iranian issue in lines (053-059) "Now, Iran is a serious threat if it gets nuclear weapons and we should mobilize the international community to get them to stand down". In this conditional clause which is formed of the relational attributive process, Obama presents a pessimistic point of view concerning Iran through the assertive speech act. He criticizes the announcement made by Bush in lines (059-062) "when you use language like that, what it does is it alienates the rest of the world". This sentence is portrayed non-verbally through using right palm-down position to refer to George Bush and his authority to warn Iran using the expression of "World War III". Obama adds more clarification of the consequences of using the warning language. In line (062-064), Obama uses a declarative sentence formed of a material process, "It makes it difficult for us to mobilize the world's community put economic sanctions on Iran". However, Obama is performing the assertive speech act since he is stating the consequences of what the President has said.

In this extract, Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with Leno depending on his legitimate power as a Senator of states and a presidential candidate applying it through the inspirational influence tactic (making important contributions about Bush administrations). Obama's power is revealed in several ways. First of all, Obama's turn is longer than Leno's one and this indicates a control of the content as well as the topic under discussion. Second, he gives many statements to answer the open-ended question and this implies power since he is imposing information which the host already knows. Third, he uses the negative FTAs in many cases through talking indirectly about the President policy and using hedges. Finally, he uses the positive FTA through using many group identifying markers in

which he seeks agreement and support for his policies through using the personal pronoun "we" referring to the American government and the involvement of the international community. In this extract, Obama tries to present his own point of views concerning the foreign affairs and how politics should be carried out through the cooperation with the international community and getting the support from the world countries to face the threat from Iran. Obama tries to present part of his policy which is built on the diplomatic and not the military solutions.

Extract (2):

Leno: Let me ask you, you've been campaigning for quite a while now. Anything surprised you? Obviously they brief (02:22) *((left hand rises straight up pointing towards Obama))* you. You get out there and you think :: I don't know if you saw our Jay Walking how amazing what people don't know (.) Is here anything you go, Do people even know what we're talking about?

Obama: 086 You know, folks (02:30) *((left hand open wagging into the left*
087 *side with the eyes looking down))* in Iowa are really well
088 informed. I'm spending a lot of time (02:32) *((right hand*
089 *spread open to the right side))* there.

Leno: That's really good.

Obama: 090 I'm (02:35) *((left hand open wagging into the left side with the*
091 *eyes looking down))* just telling you, you go to some barn
092 somewhere and some guy in overalls and a seed hat, he's say
093 (02:40) *((left hand open wagging into the left side with the eyes*
094 *looking down))*, "What is your policy on Burma?" And it
095 (02:42) *((both hands roll over one another into the center))*
096 turns out I think people are a lot more (02:44) *((right hand*
097 *index finger and thumb pointing down))* plugged in. Folks

098 (02:46)

099 (*left hand open wagging into the left side with the head tilts to the left side- towards the host*) really want change right now.

This extract involves many turns and accordingly, I divided the extract into two parts in order to carry out the analysis smoothly in a clear cut way. The host (Leno) begins his turn by asking the guest (Obama) the permission to ask a question in "let me ask you". Leno is performing the positive FTA and this is related to the fact that he is about to talk about elections and the guest is a presidential candidate. Then, he gives a declarative sentence formed of a material process "you've been campaigning for quite a while now." In this sentence, he represents the content of the extract to be about the election campaign. Leno asks his question which is "anything surprised you?" and this is an open-ended question which is used to elicit meaningful details from the guest. Leno asks more questions within the same turn but through using yes/no questions including "is there anything you go?" and "Do people even know what we're talking about?". Clearly, Leno is performing the negative face strategy through using the directive speech act.

Obama neglects the first question concerning what surprised him in his campaign and this is related to the fact that the host himself shifted the question. Obama begins his turn using the hedge "you know" followed by the declarative sentence formed of the relational attributive process in lines (086-088), "folks in Iowa are really well informed". This sentence describes the people in Iowa where Obama started his election campaign. It implies the answer concerning the question whether people know what is going on or not. This response involves an indirect negation for the host question. Further, Obama adds another and continues adding a

statement formed of a material process in lines (088-089) which is "I'm spending a lot of time there." Portrayed non-verbally through the hand gesture "left hand spread open to the left side" in order to refer to the place diexis "there" which in its turn refers to Iowa. This sentence confirms the previous one. Leno expresses his agreement through using a relational attributive sentence "that' really good" expressing positive face strategy.

Obama continues talking about the election campaign in which he explains in lines (090-095), "I'm just telling you..." associated with the hand gesture involving wagging the left hand in the left side in order to confirm what he is saying. Further, he speaks with the eyes looking down in order to recall certain events. He tries to give the host an example of simple people working in the barn with a seed hat asking serious questions such as "what is your policy in Burma?" in line (095). And this is to imply that people at different levels are aware of the election campaigns taking place. Clearly, Obama is presenting an optimistic point of view concerning the American people. He is performing the positive politeness strategy since he is looking for the population support for his campaign. In lines (098-101), Obama gives a declarative sentence formed of a mental process "Folks really want change right now" and he associates his sentence with raising both hands straight up into the center in order to state openness and confirm the time diexis "right now". This sentence implies a judgment of what he thinks about people and at the same time he associates his description of what people want to his election slogan which is itself about change.

Obviously, Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with Jay Leno in several ways. He uses his legitimate power applying it through the legitimating influence tactic (showing consistency with his role expectations as a presidential candidate and verifying policies) and his expert power, applying it through the inspirational influence tactics (making contributions about the Americans' perception of politics). Obama is more powerful in which his turns are longer than the host's ones. Another point is that topic control is clearly carried out by Obama who talks specifically about his experience in Iowa which is not related to the questions asked. Moreover, giving more statements using both positive and negative politeness strategies indicate Obama's attempts to mitigate and purify his power as a presidential candidate in order to get acceptance and support from the population. No interruptions took place in this extract and the turns are carried out smoothly with the host expressing his agreement only. Politically, Obama wants to send the message that people in the United States are politically educated and so they look for change and improvement in their life at different levels.

4.5.5 Jay Leno 2009 Interview

Extract (1):

Leno: Now it's only, what, 59 days now, right?

Obama: 033 Yes (2:02) ((*head nod*)) 59 days.

Leno: And so much scrutiny ::: Is it fair (2:05) ((*both hands spread open*)) to judge so quickly? I mean ::: [well (.) look

034

Obama: 035 we are going through a difficult time. I (2:11) ((*right palm open moves back in front of the chest*)) welcome the challenge. You

036

037 know, I ran for (2:13) ((*right palm-down position wagging into the center*)) President because I thought we needed big changes.

038

039 I ::: do think in Washington it's (2:19) (*both palms curled facing*
040 *each other and brought close to each other into the center*)) a
041 little bit like "American Idol," except everybody is Simon
042 Cowell (*laughs*)
043

Leno: Wow. Wow. That's rough.

Obama: 044 Everybody's (2:29) (*head held high and tilted to the left side-*
045 *towards the host and right hand rises straight up in the right*
046 *side*)) got an opinion. But that's (2:33)(*both palms curled facing*
047 *each other and brought close to each other into the center*)) part
048 of what makes for a democracy...

In this extract, the host (Leno) begins his turn with the circumstance "now" referring to current events taking place. Leno asks Obama about the exact time since he became the President in "it's only, what 59 days? Right?". Obama gives the answer "yes, 59 days." confirming it with the head nod. Leno, in another turn, asks the question, "is it fair to judge so quickly?". The word "fair" is associated with the hand gestures involving both hands spread open to manifest honesty. Leno presents the content of the extract asking about Obama's achievements since he became the President during these 59 days. It is clear that Leno is using the negative FTAs since he is asking Obama questions using the directive speech act. Leno tries to clarify using the mental process "I mean ..." and this is considered as a hedge in which the host performs the negative FTA. Obama interrupts him using the imperative form "look" in order to attract the host's attention. He gives a declarative sentence formed of a material process in lines (035-036), "we are going through a difficult time". He uses the personal pronoun "we" to refer to his government's members including himself. The expression "difficult time" is portrayed through moving the right hand straight down into the center in order to refer to the negative feelings concerning the

difficulties facing him after being a President and working on achieving his own policies. Obama is performing an assertive speech act since the current statement involves complain. But he gives a contradictory sentence formed of a mental process performing expressive speech act in lines (036-037) "I welcome the challenge" to talk directly about himself. This sentence implies an optimistic point of view that he has the authority and capability to face all the difficulties. In lines (037-039), Obama uses the declarative material process in "you know, I run for a President because I thought we needed big changes". He associates this sentence with the right palm-down position wagging into the center in order to refer to the authority of being a President. In addition, he uses another statement to describe the situation in Washington in a funny and sarcastic way in lines (039-044), "I do think in Washington. It's a little bit like 'American Idol' except everybody is Simon Cowell". This sentence is a mental process performing an expressive speech act and is associated with both palms curled facing each other wagging into the center to confirm what he is talking about. Obama laughs in this sentence in order to mitigate the tension concerning talking about the difficulties he is facing in solving the health care system, the education system, and the economy in the United States.

Leno expresses surprised feelings through using the expression "wow. wow" and describes the situation as being "rough". Obama uses a declarative clause formed of a relational identifying process in lines (044-046) "Everybody's got an opinion" is followed by a contradictory sentence formed of a relational identifying process in which he says in lines (046-048), "but that's part of what makes for a democracy" and this is portrayed non-verbally through the hand gestures involving "both palms curled facing each other and brought close to each other into the center.

In this extract Obama is in control of the communication process and accordingly, he is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with Jay Leno. He depends on his legitimate power using the legitimating influence tactic (verifying policies) and the referent power applied through the relational influence tactic (explaining how he will improve the Americans live asking them to give him time). His power relationship is manifested in many ways. One point is that Obama interrupts the host before he finishes his point. Another point is that Obama's turns are longer than the host's ones since he provides explanations and justifications concerning solving the problems facing the Americans and bringing change to them and this indicates a topic control. Further, Obama shifts the topic under discussion to be about the American people and, about democracy. In addition, he tries to mix politics with comedy but through referring to American Idols as being one of the favourite programs in America in which many talented people present their abilities, yet; different opinions are being given. Obama talks metaphorically about the situation in America and how people judge what the government is doing. Clearly, Obama is using the assertive speech act in which he gives many statements. Obviously, he is performing the positive FTAs through using hedges such as "well", "you know", being optimist and joking. These elements indicate that he seeks the population's support that he is going to achieve his slogan of change but he still needs time to do that. In this extract, Obama mingles politics with comedy. He intends to represent high values concerning the American people. Obama tries to present the idea that he is going to solve the problems facing the health care system, the educational system and the economy but people should not judge his work so quickly.

Extract (2):

Leno: Let me ask you about this (.) I know you are angry — because, you know, doing what I do, you kind of study body language a little bit. And (3:15) (*right hand moves straight up in the right side*) you looked very angry about these bonuses. Actually, stunned

Obama: 069 [Stunned. "Stunned" is the word.

Leno: [Tell (3:21) (*both hands spread open*)] people what happened. I

Obama: 070 know people have been over it, just [well, look (3:24) (*both*
071 *palms open facing each other and brought close to each other*
072 *into the center*)] here's what happened. You've got company
073 AIG which used to be just a regular, old insurance company.
074 Then they insured a whole bunch of stuff and they were very
075 profitable and it was a good, solid company. Then they (3:35)
076 (*right hand moves straight down into the center*)] decided —
077 some smart person decided, let's (3:38) (*right hand moves*
078 *straight down into the center*)] put a hedge fund on top of the
079 insurance company and let's (3:41) (*right hand moves forward*
080 *and to the right side*)]
sell these derivative products (3:44) (*right fist moves forward*)]
081 to banks all around the world.....And ::: what happened is (4:04)
082 (*both hands open facing each other wagging into the center*)]
103 is that when people started going bust on sub-prime mortgages...
104 ...and the whole house of (4:14) (*both palms-down position drop*
105 *down into the center*)] cards just started falling down.

In extract (2), the host (Leno) begins his turn with "let me ask you about this" seeking Obama's permission to ask him a question. He is using the positive face strategy with the President. Then, Leno uses a mental clause "I know you are angry". In this declarative statement, he presents his knowledge concerning Obama. He uses another mental clause in which he says "you looked very angry about these

bounces". This sentence clarifies why Obama looked angry. Leno gives more clarification for what he wants to say exactly in the elliptical declarative statements "actually, stunned". He presents the content of the extract to be mainly about the economic changes and specifically "the bounces issue". Obama interrupts the host to confirm the correct choice of the word "stunned". Leno tries to take the turn again using the direct imperative form "Tell people what happened?" In this question, Leno is using the bald on record FTA. He tries to clarify his question through giving a declarative statement formed of a mental process expressing his attitude and hence, performing the expressive speech act in, "I know people have been over it." In this sentence he wants to state that this issue is very important and people want to know the details.

Obama interrupts him to give an answer using the imperative form in lines (070-072) "look, here's what happened.". Obama gives many declarative statements explaining how the problem of "bounces" took place. Obama, in lines (072-073), uses the positive declarative sentence formed of the relational identifying process, "you've got company AIG which used a regular old insurance company.", and starts explaining the whole issue. Then, Obama uses many declarative sentences formed of the material and relational attributive processes stating his knowledge through the assertive speech act in lines (074-079), "Then, they insured a whole bunch of stuff and they were very profitable and it was a good, solid company". After giving many details, Obama in lines (097-105), clarifies that "and what happened is that when people started going bust on sub-prime mortgages...the whole house of cards just started falling down." This sentence is confirmed non-verbally through wagging both hands into the center. Through the whole details given in this turn, Obama directs the

whole communication process performing the positive face strategy through giving many statements.

Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host depending on his expert power applying it through the consultation influence tactics in which he presents detailed procedures of the bounces crisis. The asymmetrical power relationship is identified at different levels. As far as the turn length is concerned, Obama's turn is longer since he is giving an answer to an open-ended question providing details associated with hand gestures about the "bounces". Moreover, he uses positive face strategies due to using assertive speech acts. He shows control over the topic under discussion. Further, Obama's interruptions to the host and taking the turn indicates that he has the authority due to his being the President and he knows the details concerning the economy of the United States. In this extract, Obama talks indirectly about those who are responsible for the economic crisis. Giving all the details about the crisis, implies that Obama presents how deeply the economy in the United States is affected and hence, the change that is supposed to take place is not to be accomplished within a short time.

4.5.6 Jay Leno 2011 Interview

Extract (1):

Leno: It's good to have you back, sir. Of course, the big news this week, Gaddafi is dead. Rebel forces -- killed by rebel forces. Your reaction (00:13) ((*left hand pointing to Obama*)) ? Your take on this?

Obama: 002 Well, this is (00:15) ((*serious face*)) somebody who, for 40 years,
003 has (00:17) ((*both palms-down position wagging into the center*))

004 terrorized his country and ::: (00:19) (*right hand moves forward*)
005 supported terrorism. And he had an opportunity (00:21) (*both*
006 *palms curled facing each other brought close to each other into*
007 *the center*)...
010 ...We gave him (00:27) (*both hands clenched in lower position*
011 *with the eyes looking down*) ample opportunity, and he wouldn't
012 do it. And, obviously, you (00:29) (*serious face*) never like to
013 see anybody come to the kind of end that he did, but I think it
014 obviously sends (00:32) (*right hand moves straight up into the*
015 *center*) a strong message around the world (00:34) (*right palm-*
016 *down position*) to dictators that [Yeah.

Obama: [(00:35) (*both hands clenched together in lower*
019 *position*) people long to be free, and they need to (00:37) (*right*
020 *palm-up position move straight up into the center*) respect the
021 human rights and the universal aspirations of people.

The host (Leno) talks directly about the important issue taking place which is the death of Al-Gaddafi. He uses the declarative sentence formed of the relational identifying process, "Gaddafi is dead". Then, he continues to say "rebel forces" and repeats the elliptical form, "killed by the rebel forces". Leno is presenting the content of the extract to be about Libya and the Al-Gaddafi death. He asks the open-ended question, "your reaction?" and gives another question to get more meaningful information using the elliptical open-ended question "your take on this?". Leno is performing the negative FTAs.

Obama begins his answer with describing Gaddafi using the existential and material processes in lines (002-004), "this is a person who terrorized his country and supported terrorism". He associates his description with expressing serious face which imply that he is angry about how this person treated his people. Further, he

uses his both palms-down position in association with the word "terrorized" in line (004) in order to portray the authority and power this person had over his people. Obama gives more statements concerning Al-Gaddafi through the declarative sentences formed of the relational identifying sentences presenting assertive speech act in lines (005-010) "he had an opportunity". In this sentence, Obama associates the word "opportunity" with the hand gestures involving "both palms facing each other and brought close to each other into the center" in order to state that there were certain specific actions he should have taken in order to solve his problems with his people. In lines (010-012), Obama repeats the point concerning giving him an opportunity through the declarative sentence formed of the material process presenting the assertive speech act, "we gave him ample opportunity and he wouldn't do it". This sentence is confirmed non-verbally through the hand gestures, "both hands clenched together in lower position with the eyes looking down" to refer to the negative impression concerning the waste of opportunities given to him. The use of the personal pronoun "we" in lines (010-011) "we gave him ample opportunity" stands for the American government including Obama himself as the President of the United States. This is a positive declarative clause formed of a material process performing the assertive speech act. And this stands for American's involvement in supporting the rebel forces to get rid of Al-Gaddafi.

In lines (013-014), Obama generalizes his point of view through using the mental process performing the expressive speech act saying that "you never like to see anybody come to the kind of end he did" and this sentence is associated with serious face expression since it implies regret of what happened to him. Obama, then, uses another sentence but contradictory one in lines (014-017) through using

the logical connector "but" followed by the mental process presenting his own attitude in the expressive speech act in, "I think it send a strong message around the world to the dictators that...". He links the word "dictators" with the right palm-down position to stand for power and authority. The host interrupts Obama to express agreement and attentiveness through using the word "yeah" in order to show that he is very much interested about the message which Obama concluded to be sent to the dictators. Obama continues his point of view in lines (018-021), "people long to be free" and "they need to respect the human rights and the universal aspirations of people". The reference to people's desires to be free is portrayed through both hands clenched together in lower position to refer to the negative feelings which Obama's carry in mind concerning the countries suffering of such dictators. These clauses formed of the mental process presents expressive speech act. The reference to the human rights is associated with the right palm-up position to indicate openness and respect.

It is clear that Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host. He uses his legitimate power through the legitimating influence tactic (verifying the history of Al-Gaddafi) and the pressure influence tactic (warning the other dictators). Obama through using both the directive and expressive speech acts his turns become very long ones including many details describing Al-Gaddafi and his destiny and the message behind such an end for this person. Despite the fact that the question is about Obama's reaction, yet; he does not talk about his own reaction and this indicates that Obama is controlling the topic under discussion. Moreover, Obama shifts the topic from talking about Al-Gaddafi to talk about dictators in general and people's desire around the world. Further, Obama uses the positive

politeness strategy through giving many declarative statements formed of the relational, the material and mental processes since he describes and presents the details of what is going on in politics. This extract implies a threat to the world's dictators to change their policies. Despite using the politeness strategies, still the extract involves an indirect threat to the leaders around the world and at the same time it sends a message to the people around the world to look for freedom and human rights.

Extract (2):

Leno: Now, you just (03:47) *((both hands open straight up into the center))*
Obama: 092 *center))* announced the troops coming out of [Right (03:49) *((head nod))*].

Leno: [Iraq. We have, like :: 4,000, I think, were killed.

Obama: 093 Yeah, (03:52) *((serious face))* [4 Billions of dollars spent, nine years. What was accomplished? What did we accomplish there?

Leno:
Obama: 094 Look, Saddam Hussein is (04:00) *((right hand spread open from left to right side))* gone, and that's a good thing.
095

Leno: Right.

Obama: 096 The Iraqis now have (04:11) *((both palms-up position rise straight up into the center))* the opportunity to (04:12) *((left fist rolls over into the center))* create their own democracy, their own country,
097
098 determine their own destiny. And I'm cautiously optimistic that
099 they (04:15) *((left palm open wagging vertically in the left side with the titles to the left side-towards the host))* realize that the
100 way they should resolve conflict is not through (04:20) *((right palm index finger pointing forward))* killing each other but, rather,
101
102 through (04:24) *((both hands rise straight up into the center))*
103
104 dialogue and discussion and debate...
105

This extract has many turns. The host (Leno) uses the circumstance "Now" to refer to the current event he is about to mention. Then, he gives the declarative sentence formed of the verbal process "you announced the troops coming out of...". Obama interrupts Leno expressing his agreement using the word "right" associated with the head nod. Leno takes the turn again and continues his sentence by adding "Iraq". Then, he gives another declarative statement formed of a material process "we have like 4000 were killed". This statement implies complain for what happened there performing the assertive speech act. Again, Obama interrupts the host to show agreement through using "yeah" associated with serious face in order to express anger for these sacrifices. The host takes the turn once again trying to control the topic and get his point to the guest and the population. Leno, then, asks open-ended questions in which in the first question he asked "what was accomplished?" and he specifies his question to be "what did we accomplished there?". The host is using the assertive speech act and accordingly, he performing negative FTAs through giving statements which impose information already known to the guest, yet; he intends to present the content of the extract which is about the withdrawal of the American troops from Iraq and what the American government accomplished there.

Obama gives details concerning what he thinks America could accomplish in Iraq but I choose part of his long turn only for the purpose of the analysis. He begins his turn with using the imperative form "look" which is intended to attract the host's attention to what he is about to say. He gives the declarative sentence which is formed of the material process in lines (094-095), "Saddam Hussein is gone" and followed by a relational attributive process in line (095), "that's a good thing" and

both clauses perform the assertive speech act. The expression "is gone" is associated with the hand gestures involving "right hand spread open from left to right" to state that something or someone has disappeared. Leno expresses his agreement for Obama's judgment through using the word "right".

In lines(099-105), he expresses his own feeling concerning the Iraqi issue through the positive declarative sentence formed of the relational attributive process in "I'm cautiously optimistic that they way they resolve conflict is not through killing each other but rather through dialogue and debates". This attributive sentence which presents an expressive speech act allows many complement clauses is also portrayed non-verbally. The relative clause "that they realize" is confirmed through wagging the left hand in the left side with the head tilts towards the host to show full confidence of what he is talking about. The clause "that the way they should resolve conflict is not through killing each other" is portrayed through the hand gesture, "right palm index finger pointing forward" to refer to the action of killing itself. Finally, the word "dialogue" is portrayed through raising both hands straight up into the center to indicate openness and accepting of each other's ideas and opinions. Obama is performing the negative FTA strategy through using the assertive speech act in which he gives details statements.

In this extract, Obama is holding an asymmetrical power relationship with the host. Obama depends on his legitimate power as the President of the United States and presenting it through the relational persuasion influence tactics in which he tries to emphasize the potential benefits of sending the American troops to Iraq. He is more powerful through the many interruptions taking place Obama interrupts

the host to express agreement before he finished his point to indicate that what the host is talking about is well known by the guest. The use of the imperative form is another indication of using power. Obama gives many statements in a very long turn since he is the one who should justify the reasons behind sending the troops and loosing many soldiers and money as well. Further, he associates his words with hand gestures in order to present his points of view more clearly and this is due to his authority as a president who wants to be more convincing to his people. Obama uses the positive face strategy in order to seek the population's agreement that America did good things for the Iraqi people. Despite using the positive face strategy through being optimistic, still he cannot mitigate his power a President through using many statements and control the topic of discussion to talk about giving the Iraqis many opportunities to resolve their problems and referring to the soldiers' families and showing gratitude to the soldiers and their sacrifices.

Cleverly, Obama tries to lead the discussion instead of being about the loose of soldiers and money; he turns the floor to talk about his achievements in Iraq. This is to purify the American image for the international community and further, to control the discussion to be positive even when he talked about the sacrifices of the soldiers, he associated it to the idea of being proud to bring to the Iraqis democracy through those American soldiers.

4.6 Discussion of Question Two

This study intended to identify the types of power relationships Obama holds with the hosts: David Letterman and Jay Leno. Based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model applicable through the SFL approach and the eclectic models of

the body language to identify power relations, the data were analyzed through the multimodal aspects. To answer question (ii) concerning the identification of power relationships which Obama holds with the two hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno), the analysis concluded that Obama used the symmetrical and asymmetrical power relations. These relations were determined in relation to analysing the guest's and hosts' turns. Abelman (1998) concluded that being a stand up comedian, Jay Leno could exceed his competitors like David Letterman. However, the current study presented a contradictory point of view. The study included that the hosts' style differed as they ran the interview with Obama. He exercised symmetrical and asymmetrical power relations with David Letterman; while with Jay Leno he was holding asymmetrical relations only.

Through analyzing the data and identifying the themes, David Letterman and Jay Leno's styles of controlling the interviews differed in many aspects. As far as David Letterman's interviews were concerned, he focused on using yes/no questions and wh-questions to elicit information. He did not depend on the sense of humour only but rather on his political knowledge using statements in order to control the interaction. In fact, to state that he is an expert host and knows a lot about the political realm, Letterman used many statements formed of different processes (material, mental, verbal and relational). It is clear that Letterman never used the behavioural process in his statements which are according to Haig (2011) less powerful. Thornborrow's (2003) point of view that the popularity of the talk show is related to the personality and the attractive style of the host was clear in Letterman's style to run the interviews with Obama. In fact, Ellis (2003) points out that

Letterman has caustic wit and knowledge and this enabled him to be in a symmetrical power relationship with Obama.

The symmetrical power with David Letterman was determined through different variables. Obama used his expert power presenting it through the ingurgitation influence tactic which was acting friendly. In addition, turns of both the host and guest were almost all equal in which none of them presented any details. The other variable included interruption which was of the cooperative type since both expressed agreements to the point of view presented, providing information and repeating the exact words of what has been said associated with head nod to confirm agreement. Another variable was using the politeness strategies in which both tried to mitigate their power through using both negative (hedges) and positive (agreement and laughter) politeness strategies.

However, Obama held asymmetrical power relationship with David Letterman as well. Through using different power dynamics, Obama could control the whole interactional process. Further, the analysis of the data indicated that David Letterman's interviews did not contain overlaps but only interruptions took place many times. This supports Tannen's (1983) distinction between the two variables: interruption and overlap in relation to the speaker's intentions. This is why Letterman performed many interruptions of the cooperative type since they implied agreements and showed attentiveness in relation to his intentions to perform negative politeness strategies to show respect. Basically, he knows well that his guest is not any person but rather one who occupies different professional roles as a presidential candidate or a President of the United States.

Jay Leno used a variety of questions' types including the elliptical questions, wh-questions and yes/no questions. It is clear that he intended to get more political information concerning the different political and economic issues through using the open-ended questions. This allowed Obama to produce more statements according to which his turns were longer than Leno's ones. In almost all the interviews, no overlap or interruption took place only rarely in which cooperative interruption was used to express agreement. This shows that the host is highly involved in the interactional process performing negative FTA strategies. Obama was holding asymmetrical power relationship with Jay Leno. Jay Leno used statements to prepare for his question and these were formed of material, mental, relational and verbal processes. In addition, before presenting the content of the discussion he used to prepare for his questions through asking for the permission form "let me ask you...".

The analysis pointed out that relying on the legitimate and expert power, as the results of question (i) stated that the reciprocal relation between these two bases of power and their influence tactics could shape Obama's power relationships. Having analyzing question (ii), the results concluded that Obama used both legitimate and expert bases of power to control the interactional process. Further, it was stated that using both legitimate and expert bases of power and specifically through the legitimating influence tactics determined the relationship between the interactants to be asymmetrical power relations (superior-agent). This stands for downward influence attempt according to Yukl's (2006) influence tactics taxonomy.

Despite the fact which Penz (1996) states that questions are very important to control the whole interactional process; yet, the results of this study does not support this view. The analysis indicated that Obama in LNTSs held asymmetrical power relationships with the hosts. In other words, he was in control of the interaction took place. The analysis concluded that despite the different linguistic forms used by the two hosts to ask questions and elicit information, Obama's responses led him to be in control since his answers almost all included topic shift. This means that he did not confine his answer to follow the hosts' questions but rather he wanted to present his messages to the population regardless of the question type and content.

Through applying the transitivity system, Obama, as a presidential candidate and a President of the United States, used the material process followed by the mental and relational identifying processes. Accordingly, the results concede with Shayegh and Nabifar's (2012) findings on Obama's PD in political interviews pointing out that he relies heavily on using the material, mental and relational processes. The statements were, basically, positive declarative formed of the material process in which the actor was presented through the two personal pronouns "I" and "we". According to Li's (2002) findings which statethat from Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) SFL and specifically, from the interpersonal metafunction, positive declarative clauses convey messages of different types to the population due to the details they include through their linguistic structures. Further, he used both pronouns to present his legitimate power through showing consistency with the other Senators of States and presidential candidates or with his role expectations as a presidential candidate or a President of the United States. This is related to Thoits and Virshup (1997), in

the literature review (section 2.8, p.38), who distinguished between using these two pronouns in relation to the self as a certain kind of person for "I" and the self with the group members for "we", and accordingly, this study confirms the distinction made between social and personal identities (Brewer, 2001) (section 2.8).

However, the positive declarative clauses formed of the mental process rank second after the material process in Obama's PD. These clauses are mostly categorized through using the personal pronoun "I" since Obama wants to present his own reaction, perception and cognition of the different issues. The results indicated that Obama used the mental process to be more powerful and this is a point of disagreement with Goatly (2009) who put his own scheme of the powerful processes. He states that mental process ranks number (4) in his powerful processes after the transitive and intransitive material and verbal processes. This is different from the hierarchy which was suggested by Goatly (2002) which he used to analyze BBC World service radio news programmes and which he considered debatable (as cited in Haig, 2011, p.52).

The relational identifying and attributive processes played a very important role in shaping Obama's PD and ideologies. He attempted to describe certain actions, events and situations and/or relate concepts to each other concerning the previous policies in Iraq and Afghanistan, the problems in the United States in the economy, education and health care systems. Additionally, the analysis of the data indicated that Obama used the existential and verbal processes as well to present certain issues concerning the threat from Iran, the war in Iraq, the economic crisis, the education and health care system problems. The use of those different processes which imply

knowledge and authority could lead to a topic shift in which Obama controls the topics under discussion and directs them according to his own intended purposes. A very important point that was stated through the application of the transitivity system is that each of those processes was associated with certain speech acts that were related to the purpose of using them.

The statements given which were formed of different processes according to the transitivity system and different speech acts for different purposes enabled Obama to control the topics holding asymmetrical power relationships with the hosts. The material, relational and existential processes included the assertive speech acts and specifically stating certain facts, prior policies, economic problems and crisis, future plans whether in the United States or abroad. The assertive speech acts stand for the argumentation concerning the different issues discussed during the show. The mental and verbal processes involved also an expressive speech acts through which Obama intended to present his own attitudes and values.

The use of these two types of speech acts determined to a large extent the FTAs strategies which Obama used to reveal his power or to mitigate it. Obama as a presidential candidate and as a President saw his power relations dynamics differing slightly in relation to the goals intended. As a presidential candidate, he used both positive and negative face politeness strategies and these results support Haig's (2011) point of view in which positive politeness strategies are used to express friendliness while the negative politeness strategies stand for respect. This implies the point that politicians come to these talk shows to purify their political images and hence, get the voters' support. The positive politeness strategies included, using in-

group identifying makers, seeking agreement, joking, asserting the host and audience desires, being optimistic and giving reasons. The negative politeness strategies were identified through using hedges and being conventionally indirect. Ye's (2010) findings stated that Obama tries to shorten the distance between him and the American people through using the positive and negative strategies together. This was the same of what the current study concluded.

As a president of the United States, the analysis concluded that Obama focused more on performing positive politeness strategies rather than the negative ones through using the assertive speech acts. In Haig's (2011) conclusions, negative politeness strategies are used by the less powerful interactants. However, in the case of Obama, he tried to mitigate or hide his power through using negative FTAs in order to express deference.

Interruption was another device through which Obama could control the whole interactional process and be in control with the two hosts (David Letterman and Jay Leno). The interruptions were used by Obama to take the floor and control or shift the topics under discussion. Concerning the election campaigns, from the beginning of the interviews, he tried to direct the interviews to talk about his new policies and his election campaign. Interruptions concerning Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan served to provide more details concerning the political issues in these countries.

Asymmetrical power relations in LNTSs can be identified through expressing disagreements. Obama used negation with the election campaign and the presidential candidates' themes. As was stated earlier in the results of question (i),

different hand gestures were used to portray the negative form in Obama's PD. Obama as a presidential candidate and a President of the United States used hand gestures and facial expressions to clarify his messages to the audience. As mentioned in the literature review, the messages the politicians send through the LNTSs affect very much on the perception of the average people to decide on their candidates. This was clearly stated in relation to the different themes that were identified through the analysis of the data. In fact, the results indicated that Obama, occupying different institutional roles, used the same hand gesture to portray bringing change to the different political and economic problems facing America through using "the right palm-up position" which stand for openness.

The international level included themes like "the new policies in Iraq", "the Iranian threat" and "War in Afghanistan". Obama expressed serious facial expressions when talking about the previous policies in Iraq and Afghanistan and the current situations in relation to the war and the American troops which were sent there. The same facial expression was used when, Obama talked about Iran and the threat coming from that country through associating his powerful language which always implied pressure influence tactics through using the hand gesture which is "right/left palm-closed-fingers-pointing position". This is a universal threat gesture as was stated by Pease and Pease (2004). When dealing with the Afghani issue, he gave many details including policies and military strategies. Accordingly, he used the hand gestures which stand for the counting of things, "left/right palm index finger pointing to the fingers in the right/left palm".

As a President of the United States, Obama used more hand gestures to refer to his achievements as far as the policies concerning Iraq, Afghanistan and the war against terrorism were concerned. The details were associated with "the left hand opens wagging vertically in the left side with the eyes looking down". These were basically used when referring to the role of the American troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. Decision making was always associated with a serious face indicating that these are important and have to be taken seriously even though being tackled in a comedy talk show. The reference to Al-Gaddafi and the dictators was portrayed through using the "right palm-down position" or "both palms down position". In addition, the reference to people who suffered under those dictators was portrayed through the hand gestures including "both hands clenched together in lower position" to express the negative mood concerning the suffering of those people.

At the domestic level and specifically as far as the election campaigns and the presidential candidates are concerned, Obama tried to present a different personality through using different gestural aspects. Almost all his statements were supported non-verbally through the hand gestures which is "both palms facing each other wagging into the center", "both hands facing each other wagging into the center", "both palms curled facing each other wagging into the center" and "both hands rise straight up into the center". Most importantly, Obama used the hand gesture which is "left hand open wagging vertically in the left side" which he used to confirm certain policies to seek the population agreement and support. This hand gesture was sometimes associated with the eyes looking down. The use of the hand gestures and facial expression together was intended to present and to confirm the reference to certain policies and achievements through attempting to recall the

information. When criticising the previous policies of Bush Administration, Obama used the hand gesture which is "right palm-down position" which refers to the authority of the previous President to set these policies even though these were not the right ones. As far as the reference to the candidates, to express agreement and disagreement, Obama confirmed them non-verbally in relation to the linguistic aspects. The use of the agreement word "yeah" was always associated with the head nod; while disagreement was portrayed with the hand shake.

As a President, his reference to the economic crisis and his attitude to convince people to trust their new President were associated with more hand gestures and facial expressions. The government policies and all the details concerning the past and the current economic problems and the education and health care system were portrayed through the left hand open wagging vertically on the left side and expressing an angry face concerning the previous policies. After being the President, Obama was talking with high confidence with his head tilted backward and towards the host.

4.7 A Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's Use of Deixes

Dealing with a political figure in an interview, means dealing with the political field including the different political practices, ideologies and discourses (van Dijk, 2004). Linguistically, language can shape the beliefs and values intended by its users through different linguistic devices such as the lexical items, syntactic structures including active and passive voice, and the use of pronouns such as "us" and "them". This is despite the fact that ideologies are essentially social and from van Dijk's (2006) point of view "there are no personal or individual ideologies and only

personal or individual uses of ideologies" (p.729). Accordingly, this study intends to identify Obama's use of deixis to present the different political ideologies in the LNTSs selected for the study.

In fact, the basic claim of CDA is that all human usage encodes ideological patterns (Malkmkjaer, 1991) and these ideological patterns can be conceptualized in relation to categories including, "who is speaking, when, where and with/to whom" (van Dijk, 2004,p.25). In other words, ideologies are best identified in terms of the context of situation. Deixis is considered as one method of CDA and it occupies a central place in the study of context because it is the most obvious way in which the speech setting is embedded in language structure itself. This study intends to focus on the identification of the person, temporal and spatial deixis in addition to the deictic gestures. Streit (1999) believes that, "speech justifies the gestures as an intended act of communication" (p.71). In other words, expressions such as "this", "that", "here", "now", "I", "we",...etc. joined, where appropriate, to bodily postures and gestures can shape the political ideologies (Hanks, 2005). Accordingly, both the linguistic and gestural deictics are to be identified in the coded data and to be interpreted in relation to the context of situation in which they are taking place in order to determine Obama's use of deixis in the presentation of the different political ideologies.

3.7.1 David Letterman 2007 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 040 I put forward (3:04) (*left hand rises up in loose point*) a
 041 bill back in January that said we should start (3:10) (*left*
 042 *hand open moving from left to right*) a face free

043 deployment starting on May 1st of this year having our
044 combat troops out by March 31st of nextyear (3:13)
(*serious face*).

045 The bill that we passed (3:14) (*both hands open swing to*
046 *the right side*) sets a March 31st target date.

In extract (1) line (040), Obama uses the sentence "I put forward a bill back in January". The sentence includes the deictic personal pronoun "I" which performs the role of a participant. Obama refers directly to himself presenting his own plans concerning Iraq through using the indexical "I". Consequently, he clarifies his point through using the time reference "back in January" and this time adverbial functions as a referent to the time of getting the American troops out of Iraq. In another sentence, Obama gives more details concerning his bill in lines (041-042), "we should start a face free deployment starting on May 1st of this year having our troops out by March 31st of next year". This sentence involves two types of indexicals (person and temporal). As far as the person deixis is concerned, Obama uses the personal pronouns "we" and its variant "our" to perform an inclusive role through referring to the American government including Obama himself. The temporal references "this year" and "next year" stand for the time when the action should take place and when it should be accomplished. Obama gives the exact days which he set earlier in his bill for the withdrawal of American troops from Iraq specifying the duration through using the instant referential deixis "this" in "this year" and the distal deixis "next" in "next year". To confirm the date, Obama repeats in lines (045-046), "the bill that we passed sets a March 31st target date". In this sentence, he uses the personal pronoun "we" performing the inclusive function to refer to the Senators of States including Obama as well. The tenses used in this extract involve the past tense for the verbs "put forward" and "passed" in order to refer the actions that took place

earlier including setting the bill and passing it to get approval. A very important point to notice in this extract is that Obama does not use the deictic gestures to present and confirm the political ideologies in his PD.

Obviously, Obama uses his legitimate power as a Senator of States and a Presidential candidate to state that he is the one who set the bill personally presenting his own point of view in deciding on the political issue concerning Iraq. The point is that policy making is not his own decision but rather, he needs other members of the government and other Senators of States' approval for the bill which he set. It is clear that through the use of the person and temporal deixes, Obama is presenting the political ideology which is "policy making" concerning getting the American troops out of Iraq. To share this policy with the population and to indicate that being a presidential candidate means that he already started changing the policies which he considered as not beneficial for the Americans. Obama wants to bring the idea that he is the one who set the bill but the actual application of the bill is a decision that is to be made by the whole American government members.

Extract (2):

071 ...we're gonna have to, I think, I think, be much more
072 aggressive in terms of diplomacy in the region both inside
073 (4:21) ((*both palms curled facing each other move straight*
074 *down into the center*)) of Iraq and outside (4:22) ((*both*
075 *palms curled facing each other moves straight up into the*
076 *center*)) of Iraq and I think we can say to the (4:24) ((*left*
077 *hand rises up wagging from side to side*)) various parties in
078 Iraq that we want to be partners (4:28) ((*both palms curled*
079 *facing each other wagging into the center*)) with you, we

080 wanna help you rebuild your country, but we are not gonna
081 be able to do it simply by sending (4:34) (*both hands loop*
082 *forward and back*)) more and more young men and women.

In extract (2) lines (071-075), Obama uses the personal pronouns "we" and "I" in "we're going have, I think, be much more aggressive in terms of diplomacy in the region both inside Iraq and outside Iraq". The use of the personal pronoun "I" is to refer to his own point of view concerning the political situation in Iraq and the Middle-East. In the same sentence, Obama uses the inclusive indexical "we" to refer to the American government including Obama himself in order to state that his political proposals need other members' approval to be accomplished. Specifically, in this extract, talking about policy making through presenting the plans and solutions in relation to the role of the American government depends basically on the spatial indexical "in the region" which he clarifies more through using the two other spatial references "inside Iraq" and "outside Iraq". The spatial deixes are associated with the deictic gestures. The indexical "inside" is portrayed through the hand gestures involving "both palms move straight down into the center" while "outside" is portrayed through moving both palms straight up into the center. These two spatial deixes stand for the point that Obama directs his policy to include not only Iraq but also other countries.

In lines (075-077), the sentence "and I think we can say to the various parties in Iraq..." is associated with the previous one through the logical connector "and" and it adds more information about Obama's perception of the Iraqi political issue. In this sentence a focus is being made on the role of the American government through using the inclusive personal pronoun "we" in addition to referring to the

location where the action is to be taking place and that is "in Iraq". In lines (077-080), Obama uses many relative clauses, "we want to be partners with you" and "we wanna help you rebuild your country" involve many participants which are referred to through using the deictic personal pronouns "we", "you" and the variant "your". As I mentioned earlier, that "we" stands for the American government including Obama himself; while "you" refer to the recipient "the various parties". In these two sentences, Obama clarifies his policy which is built on cooperation and offering support to Iraq. Obama intends to present the point that this is going to be the new policy in Iraq.

Obama's political ideologies concerning the foreign affairs are presented clearly through the use of the person and place deictics and the deictic gestures. The use of the person and place deixis stands for a shift in the American policy in which Obama tries to present a cooperative point of view stating that he and his people can be more flexible. Obama states that America can be helpful and solve the Iraqi political situation. Cleverly, he shifts the situation from Iraq to bring the effect of the war decision on people inside America through talking about what people feel about the previous decisions concerning sending American troops to Iraq. He wants to say that American people sacrificed their children and so they support him concerning the withdrawal of American troops. Different ideologies are presented including policy making about Iraq and the region, criticising Bush administration and Obama's election campaign and his attempts to get the population support.

4.7.2 David Letterman 2008 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 063 But (.) ultimately what we've seen over the last week is a

064 concession (4:12) (*both palms curled facing each other*
065 *wagging into the center*) on the part of the McCain
066 campaign that this election (4:14) (*both hands rise*
067 *straight up into center*) is going to be about (4:15)
068 (*both palms curled facing each other wagging from side*
069 *to side*) change (.) You'll (4:19) (*left hand drops down*
070 *from left side to the center*) recall, you know, for the last
071 two years, we've been talking about needing to change
072 how Washington works, how the country is
073 managed and people (4:26) (*left hand rises straight up*
074 *into the center*) were saying, 'No, it's about experience,
075 =experience, =experience,' and (.) over (4:31) (*both*
076 *hands rise straight up and wagging into the center*) the
077 last week and a half I think they recognized that, no, the
078 American people want something fundamentally
079 different and for a good reason.

In extract (1), Obama uses the personal pronoun "we" in line (063), "...we've seen over the last week...". He uses the deictic inclusive pronoun "we" to refer to all presidential candidates and those interested in politics including Obama himself. In the same sentence Obama uses the temporal deixis formed of the lexically composite expression "over the last week". This temporal reference is to refer to time when the action took place earlier which is "a concession on the McCain campaign". Consequently, Obama uses the deictic demonstrative pronoun "this" in lines (066-069) "this election is going to be about change". Obama as a presidential candidate is presenting an argument concerning what is going on in the current presidential election. The linguistic aspect "this election" is portrayed non-verbally through moving both hands straight up into the center to be a deictic gesture in association with the demonstrative "this". In addition, the word "change" is

manifested non-verbally through wagging both palms from side to side to refer to the process of change itself.

In line(069), Obama uses the personal pronoun "you" to refer to the addressee, i.e.; the host. He tries to involve him in the process of getting his point to the population. Then, he uses a time reference which is "for the last two years"to support the point which he has made earlier concerning the election and its being mainly focused on the issue of change. The sentence in lines (071-072), "we've been talking about needing to change..." includes the inclusive personal pronoun "we" referring to the presidential candidates who are campaigning focusing mainly on this point. The contradictory point about this trend in presented in lines (073-075) in which Obama presents what people say "people were saying, No it's about experience". But in lines (075-077), he begins his sentence using the temporal reference "over the last week and a half" and this is the same time reference which he has used earlier in this extract. In the same sentence, Obama uses the personal pronoun "I" to refer directly to himself indicating that as a presidential candidate he could figure out that people are no longer are talking about presidential candidates to havingexperience in the political field but rather ones who should bring changes to improve their lives. The person pronoun "they" stands for the American. In this extract, Obama uses the present perfect tense to refer to refer the election narratives which started earlier as soon as the election campaigns started and still going on till the time of speaking.

Relying on the person and temporal deictics, Obama presents the election narratives. He presents the argument that there are two different narratives

concerning the election in which one focused on the point of the candidates having political experience while the other one focused on bringing changes to the American people. He presents the point that as a presidential candidate he could realize that people are no longer talk about the experience issue but rather they are looking for changes and more specifically, change inside the United States.

Extract (2):

Obama: 462 ...we've been sold (5:23) (*left hand rises straight up*) a bill of
463 goods, I think, that (5:27) (*left hand open wagging vertically in*
464 *the left side with the eyes looking down*) says just look out for
465 yourself (5:32) (*left hand open wagging vertically in the left side*
466 *with the head held high to the left side-towards the host*) and
467 everybody's on their own. Now, I:: am a big believer of
468 individual responsibility and :: whether it's improving our
469 education system or dealing with issues like welfare, I'm a big
470 believer that you've (5:44) (*left hand rises straight up*) got to
471 take care of yourself and take care of your kids. But, I also
472 believe that part (5:48) (*both palms curled facing each other*
473 *wagging into the center*) of what makes this country great is that
474 we rise (5:50) (*right hand rises up and down*) and fall together,
475 and that our attitude is, you know, if there's (5:56) (*right hand*
476 *rises straight up*) some child out (.) there that doesn't have a
477 decent school, that that affects Harry and that (6:01) (*right palm*
478 *index finger pointing to the left side*) affects my kids, and it
479 affects everybody.

This extract is built on person deictics. In lines (462), Obama uses the personal pronoun "we" in "we've been sold a bill of good" to refer to Americans including himself. This sentence presents a conclusion of what Obama thinks about

Bush policies in the United States. In the same sentence, he uses the personal pronoun "I" in "I think" to refer to what he thinks about Bush policies. In lines (467-468)), he uses the temporal reference "now" to refer to the current time and how Obama figure out the situations in "I am a big believer of individual responsibility". In this sentence, he uses the personal pronoun "I" to refer to himself directly presenting his own point of view concerning the bill which put emphasis on the individuals. He uses the personal pronoun again in lines (469-470), "I am a big believer that you've got take care of yourself...". These two sentence, support the point which he has made earlier concerning the policy which focuses on individualism. In lines (471-472) ,he presents a contradictory point of view using the logical connector "but" in "but I also believe that part of what makes this country great is that we rise and fall together...". He uses the personal pronoun "I" to refer to his own belief and then he uses the inclusive personal pronoun "we" to refer to All Americans including himself. Further, he uses the demonstrative "this" in "this country" to refer to the United States. Obviously, Obama does not use the deictic gestures in association with the linguistic ones.

In this extract, Obama uses the person deictics "I" and "we" to present the political ideologies concerning the previous policies followed in the United States concerning the education system and the Americans attitudes towards each other. Being a presidential candidate, he presents a highly valued attitude about the Americans. Obama tries to state that the problems in the education system are not only of individual people but rather it affects all.

4.7.3 David Letterman 2009 Interview

Extract (1):

360 Unfortunately what we have right now are about ::: at least
361 thirty million Americans (5:20) (*left hand open wagging*
362 *vertically in the left side*) who do not have health insurance.
363 So that's (5:21) (*both palms curled facing each other move*
364 *straight up into center*) a big problem (5:23) (*serious*
365 *face*). The heartbreaking stories that I get everyday, people
366 (5:25) (*left palm index finger pointing to the fingers in the*
367 *right palm*) are working but (.) they don't get health
368 insurance on the job, their small businesses they are self
369 employed (5:30) (*left palm index finger pointing to the*
370 *fingers in the right palm*), they can't afford to go (5:32)
371 (*right hand rises straight up into the center*) on to the
372 private market place because typically those folks gets
373 charged three times as much as somebody who gets health
insurance on their jobs...

In this extract Obama relies heavily on the persona and demonstrative deixes. In lines (360-361) "what we have right now are about at least thirty million Americans who do not have health care insurance...", Obama uses the inclusive "we" to refer to the American government including himself as being the President. In the same sentence, he uses the temporal reference "right now" to refer to the current situations taking place. In this extract, Obama talks about the health care problems in the United States. In line (365), he uses the personal pronoun "I" in "the healthcare stories I get everyday..." to refer to himself as being the President who knows about the problems facing his people. In the rest of the extract, Obama uses the third person pronoun "they" and its variant "their" to refer to the Americans and their suffering as far as the health care system is concerned.

In line (367) "they don't get health insurance", and in line (370) "they can't afford to go on to the private market place", Obama presents the Americans suffering clearly through referring to them directly using the third person pronoun "they". Finally, Obama states the reason behind the health care problem through using the demonstrative "those" in lines (372-373) "because typically those folks get charged three times ...". Ideologically, in this extract, Obama presents the health care insurance problems and how the Americas are suffering. He intends to view the point that as a President he is fully aware of what exactly the problem with the health care system. By stating clearly that he knows all the healthcare stories, is to indicate that he knows well what the Americans are going through.

Extract (2):

Obama: 521 ...the notion that the wealthiest nation on earth can still (1:28)
522 *((right hand rises straight up))* have millions of people,
523 hardworking folks, who, when they get sick, they go (1:33)
524 *((right palm-closed-fingers pointing position with the thumb pointing forward))* to the emergency room or they just don't go
525 (1:36) *((right palm-closed-fingers pointing position with the index finger pointing forward))* to the doctor and if their child
526 gets sick, they are looking at losing their home or losing their
527 business because they can't (1:41) *((right hand rises straight up into the center))* afford it. =It baffles the mind of the country.
529
530
531 And when I talk to other world leaders, who ::: are (1:48) *((left fist rolls up in the left side))* paying attention to this argument (.)
532 and they hear (.) some of this stuff and these (1:54) *((left hand open wagging vertically in the left side with the eyes looking down))* are in some cases conservative leaders, they are heads of
535
536

537 Center of Right Government and they don't understand (.)why it
538 is that (.) Americans would not want to ::: set up a system that
539 would (2:08) (*left palm thumb up as if counting*) save their
540 money over time and would work better would make people
healthier.

In this extract, the sentences, "they get sick" line (523), "they go to the emergency room" lines (523-525), "or they don't go to the doctor" lines (525-527), "if their child get sick, they are looking at losing their home or losing their business..." lines (527-529), and "...they can't afford it" lines (529-530); all involve the deictic reference "they". The motion verb "go" in lines (523 & 525) is portrayed through the deictic gesture, "right palm-closed-fingers pointing position with the thumb pointing forward" to refer to action itself. In all these statements, the third person pronoun is used to perform the function of a participant in which it refers to the American people who are mentioned in lines (521-523) "millions of people, hardworking folks".

Obviously, Obama is talking about the healthcare system in the United States describing how people suffer in case they or their children get sick. The focus on the deictic personal pronoun states that Obama is criticizing the healthcare system describing it in line (530) "it baffles the mind of the country" in which "it" stands for the healthcare system itself. In line (531), Obama uses the personal pronoun "I" in "when I talk to other world leaders, who are paying attention to this argument..." to refer directly to himself. This deictic reference performs the function of a participant presenting Obama's legitimate power as a President. He associates himself to "other world leaders" who are referred to later through using the third personal pronoun "they" in lines (533,535 & 536). In addition, he uses the proximal demonstrative

"this" in "this argument" line (532) and "this stuff" line (533). This demonstrative is performing a deictic role and refers back to the argument concerning the health care system and the problems concerning it. In lines (536-540), "they don't understand why it is that Americans would not want to set up a system that... would make people healthier". Obama presents the point that world leaders also know about the health care system in the United States.

Ideologically, through the use of the third personal pronouns and the demonstratives, Obama presents the problem of the health care system indicating that there is a need for new policy to improve it. He presents the need for the new policy through referring to the American people and their suffering as far as the health care system is concerned. Further, the reference to the other leaders is to indicate that other countries already could fix their health care system and thus the United States should have its own system that can make its people healthier.

4.7.4 Jay Leno 2007 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama:

137 ...you know, what (03:57) (*left palm index finger pointing*
138 *forward*) this campaign (.) has always been about is change.
139 And that means that we're always going to be running against
140 more established candidates and people (04:06) (*right hand*
141 *rises straight up into the center*) in Washington who have :::
142 been (04:08) (*left hand rises straight up in loose point*) there
143 longer and have a set way of doing business (.) and (04:10)
144 (*left hand open wagging in the left side with the eyes looking*
145 *down*) my argument in (04:11) (*right hand rises straight up*
146 *into the center*) this campaign is that we can't (04:13) (*both*

147 *fists move forward*)) provide healthcare to everybody. We can't
148 (04:15) ((*head shake*)) ((*right palm-down position spread open*
149 *to the right side*))solve global warming. We can't (04:17)
150 ((*serious face*))solve these big problems unless we don't just
151 change political parties. We also change our politics, because
152 the special interests and the lobbyists are too dug in.

This extract of the interview includes three types of indexicals: person and spatial. Obama, begins the extract using the demonstrative "this" in lines (138-139) "what this campaign has always been about is change" to refer to the current election campaign due to his being a presidential candidate. Obama uses the left palm index finger pointing forward in order to confirm the demonstrative "this". The use of the spatial deictics including the place expression "in Washington" associated with the hand gesture "right hand raises straight up into the center" and the demonstrative "there" portrayed through raising the left hand straight up into the center; stands for the location where the whole political situation takes place. Obama presents to the population the details of his election campaign in the sentence "my argument in this campaign is that...". Again, he uses the expression "this campaign" including the demonstrative "this" in order to emphasize and attract the population attention to the details he is about to give. Then, he uses many sentences all beginning with personal pronoun "we" to refer to the American government including him. These sentences (146-151) "we can't provide healthcare..", "we can't solve global warming.", "we can't solve these big problems unless we don't just change political parties."

In this extract, Obama uses the person, spatial and the demonstrative deixes in order to present his political ideologies concerning the election campaign and

specifically the issue of change. Through the spatial references he states that bringing change to the American people is not going to be that easy. Consequently, he presents his own arguments about the notion of change. This is to indicate that even though he is the one who wants to bring changes to the Americans, yet; he cannot do it alone and therefore he keeps using the personal pronoun "we". In the last sentence "we also change our politics" frames what he wants to change exactly. He wants to state that changing the policies of the previous government is something that is required in order to solve all other problems such as the economy and the health care and education systems. In this extract, Obama presents clearly to the population the political ideology which is mainly about changing politics in the United States.

Extract (2):

Obama: 244 Hillary (07:04) (*left hand open wagging vertically in the left*
245 *side*) is not the first politician in Washington to declare
246 mission (07:06) (*right palm-down position wagging into the*
247 *center*) accomplished a little too soon. So we're ::: we've got a
248 long way to go (07:11) (*right hand moves backward*) before
249 the first vote is cast. But we (07:13) (*both palms open in front*
250 *of the chest*) do this every year, every election. Four years ago,
251 you know, President Howard Dean was coronated, and that
252 didn't work out. And so really until those (07:22) (*left palm*
253 *closed-fingers pointing position pointing forward*) folks start
254 going into the polling place, these (07:25) (*right hand spread*
255 *open to the right side*) races end up being very fluid.

As a presidential candidate, Obama tries to present the political situation taking place in the election campaigns. In lines (244-247), "Hillary is not the first politician in Washington to declare mission accomplished too little soon". Obama

uses the spatial reference "in Washington" to refer to the place where the political realm including the debates, campaigns, etc. are taking place. He uses the personal pronoun "we" in lines (247 & 249), to refer to the presidential candidates including himself stating clearly that the election is still running and no one can predict anything.

In line (250), he uses the demonstrative "this" in "we do this every year, every election" to refer to the action itself which is the expectation of winners. In lines (250-252), he supports his statements about what happens during the election through using the temporal reference "four years ago President Howard was contorted and that didn't work.". Finally, Obama puts a conclusion using the demonstrative "those folks" portrayed through the hand gestures including the left palm closed finger pointing forward. This reference is used to refer to the presidential candidates and the expression "into the polling place" refers to place where the results of voting are to be declared. In this extract, Obama uses two types of tenses (the simple presents and the past). The simple present refers to what is happening in the current election while the past tense refers to the example which Obama gives from the previous election.

Depending on the person, temporal, spatial and demonstrative deixes Obama presents his ideologies concerning the election process and the presidential candidates. He talks confidently and sarcastically indicating that time is still early to give judgments but this usually happens in Washington. He shares the population the point that the election may involve many expectations, yet; all should wait the final results.

4.7.5 Jay Leno 2009 Interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 286 ...part of what happened over the last 15, 20 years is that so
287 much money was made in finance that (12:08) (*left hand open*
288 *wagging vertically in the left side with the eyes looking down*)
289 about 40 percent, I think, of our overall growth, our overall
290 economic growth was wanting to be an investment banker, we
291 need them to decide they want(12:39) (*left hand index finger*
292 *pointing down*) to be an engineer, they want to be a scientist,
293 they want to be a doctor or a teacher. And if we're rewarding
294 those kinds of things that actually (12:46) (*both palms curled*
295 *facing each other and brought close to each other*) contribute to
296 making things and making people's lives better, >that's going to
297 (12:51) (*left hand open wagging vertically in the left side*)put
298 our economy on solid footing.

Obama begins the extract giving a temporal deictic "over the last 15, 20 years" to refer back to the action took place within those past years. In lines (289-290), Obama relies heavily on the person deictics to present his point of view in "About 40 percent, I think, of our overall growth, our overall economic growth wanted to be an investment". He uses the personal pronoun "I" to refer directly to what he thinks about the economy during the past years. In the same sentence, he uses the second person pronoun "our" in "our overall growth" and "our overall economy" to refer to the economy of the United States. In lines (290-291) Obama uses the inclusive personal pronoun "we" to refer to the American government members including Obama himself when he says "we need them to decide...". In lines (291-293), Obama uses many statements all including the third personal pronoun "they" to refer to the American people in "they want to be an engineer",

"they want to a scientist" and they want to a doctor or teacher". These statements present the kind of improvements which Obama wants to bring to his people. He associates all these different profession with the growth in economy as he states in lines (293-298) "And if we're rewarding those kinds of things ...that's going to put our economy on solid footing". In this sentence, he uses the personal pronoun "we" which is an inclusive referring to the American government under the leadership of Obama himself. Moreover, he uses the demonstrative "those kinds of things" to refer to the different professions which he mentioned earlier. he uses the demonstrative "that" to conclude how the economy can improve in the United States. Obama, in this extract, does not use deictic gestures but rather he confirms his sentences in relation to the verbs he uses.

It is clear that Obama relies more on the use of person deictic (I, we, our, they) to present his political ideologies concerning the economy in the United States and the possible ways to improve it. Obama intends to present the point that his government has many possibilities to improve people's lives. Being a President who focused in his campaign on improving the economy of the United States, then; it is time for him to clarify how best he and his government can do that.

Extract (2):

Obama: 355 On the AIG thing, all (14:28) (*left hand rises up to loose*
356 *point*) these contracts were written well before I took office, but
357 ultimately I'm (14:32) (*both palms curled with the fingers*
358 *facing each other and move back to the chest*) now the guy
359 who's responsible to fix it. And :: one) of the things that I'm
360 trying to break is a pattern in Washington where everybody is
361 always looking for somebody else to blame.

In lines (355-356), Obama uses the demonstrative "these" in "On the AIG thing, all these contracts were written well before I took office", to refer to the contracts made by the American International group concerning insurance policies. He uses the personal pronoun "I" to talk directly about himself indicating that before he became the President of the United States the contracts were already done. Lines (357-359) involve a contradictory sentence in which Obama uses the logical connector "but" in "but ultimately I'm now the guy who's responsible to fix it". Obama uses the indexical personal pronoun "I". This deictic reference is associated with the deictic gesture which is "both palms curled with the fingers facing each other and move back to the chest". Both deictics (linguistic and gestural) stand for Obama and his institutional role as the current President of the United States and this is clearly stated through the temporal reference "now". Obama uses the deictic personal pronoun "I" in lines (359-361), "I'm trying to break is a patterning in Washington where everybody is always looking for somebody else to blame." In this sentence he uses the spatial deixis "in Washington" to refer to the center of politics in the United States.

In this extract, Obama, through the person, temporal and spatial deixes, presents the political ideology concerning his role as a President in solving the problems facing the economy. Basically, he uses the personal pronoun "I" portrayed non-verbally to confirm his role in fixing the economy in America. He talks about his current authority that makes him responsible to fix the problems which already took place before he became the President. Moreover, he presents another ideology concerning the politics in Washington in which he states that it is normal that politicians in Washington used to blame each other in which nobody takes the

responsibility at all. He concludes that, he is going to change this whole illusion and take the responsibility but not to be blamed. He rather wants to fix the problems as he promised his people when he was a presidential candidate.

4.7.6 Jay Leno 2011 interview

Extract (1):

Obama: 047 We lead from (01:20) (*both hands rise straight up into the*
035 *center*) the front. We introduced the resolution in the United
036 Nations that allowed us to (01:25) (*both palms-down position*
037 *wagging into the center*) protect civilians in Libya when Gaddafi
038 was (01:29) (*right palm-closed-fingers pointing position*)
039 threatening to (01:32) (*right palm-down position spread open to*
040 *the right side*) slaughter them...
044 ...we were able to in organize the international community (.) We
045 were (02:01) (*left palm open wagging vertically in the left side*)
046 able to get the U.N. mandate for the operation. We were able to
048 get Arab countries involved. And (.) so there was never this sense
049 that somehow we were unilaterally (02:09) (*both hands rise*
050 *straight up into the center*) making a decision to take out
051 somebody. Rather, it was the world community (.) And ::: that's
052 part of the reason why (02:17) (*right hand spread open to the*
053 *right side to show trajectory*) this whole thing only cost us a
billion dollars

The presentation of the political ideologies, in this extract, is built on two types of deixes including person and spatial. Obama begins this extract by giving the military tactic which America followed in Libya in line (034) "we lead from the front". He uses the inclusive personal pronoun "we" to refer to the American government under his leadership. Moreover, he uses "we" in lines (035,044,046 & 049) describing the details of the American political as well as the military strategies

that to help the rebellions to face Al-Gaddafi. To present clearly the political policies followed in this war, Obama uses spatial deixis in lines (035-036) "we introduced the resolution in the United Nations that allowed us to protect the civilians in Libya". He states that the role of the United States was originally supported by the United Nations where the resolution already was made there. He mentioned the mission itself which is protecting the civilians in Libya. More details are provided concerning how the mission was done successfully. In all the statements and details begins with the inclusive personal pronoun "we" to refer to the American government under the leadership of Obama himself. Obama talks about how America could get the support and involvement of the international community and Arab countries to accomplish this mission as in line (051) "it was the world community".

In this extract, Obama presents the diplomatic, political as well as the military strategies followed in the Libyan issue. The deixes which are used including the person and spatial present the new American policy in relation to the international community. Obama from the beginning focused on the involvement of the world community in the strategies set by the United States to face the dictators and the terrorist. He refers to the cost of this mission to be only a billion dollars and this implies a reference to the war in Iraq in which the United States lost a lot of money due to the policy which was carried out before. Therefore, this is a criticism for the previous policy and at the same time shows Obama's ability to get the support of the international community as part of his policy.

Extract (2):

Obama: 150 ...we still have work to do (06:17) (*left palm index finger*

151 *pointing forward*) in Afghanistan. We are transitioning to Afghan
152 lead there. Our guys are still :: and gals are still making (06:22)
153 *((serious face))* sacrifices there. We would not have been able to
154 do as good of a job in (06:29) *((right palm-closed-fingers-*
155 *pointing position wagging in the right side))* decimating al
156 Qaeda's leadership over the last two years if we had still been
157 (06:32) *((right palm index finger tip and thumb touching each*
158 *other and moving straight up into the center))* focused solely on
159 Iraq. And one(06:35) *((left palm index finger rises up to a further*
160 *precise point))* of the arguments I made way back in 2007 was, if
161 we were able to (06:41) *((both palms curled facing each other*
162 *and brought close to each other))* bring the war in Iraq to a close,
163 then that would allow us to go after the folks who perpetrated
164 9/11, and obviously, we've been very successful in doing that. We
165 are not done yet

In lines (150), Obama uses the personal pronoun "we" in the sentence "we still have work to do in Afghanistan". He uses the inclusive "we" to refer to the American government under his leadership. He uses the spatial deixis "in Afghanistan" to refer to the place where America is still having military actions. In lines (151-152), he adds more details for the political situation there in "we are transmitting to Afghan lead there". He uses the personal pronoun "we" again in addition to the spatial reference "there" to refer to Afghanistan. In lines (153-138), Obama clarifies the American policy through using the person indexical "we" referring to the American government which he leads and the time deixis "over the last two years" to refer to the period through which he became the President and could set new political policies.

In lines (159-165), Obama brings back to memory the policies which he called for when he was a presidential candidate "One of the argument I made way back in 2007, if we were able to bring the war in Iraq to a close, then that would allow us to go after the folks who perpetrated 9/11". He uses the indexical personal pronouns "I" and "we" ,the temporal reference "back in 2007" and the spatial deictic "in Iraq" to refer to his own political policies which he set earlier as a presidential candidate. Finally, he states that "we are not done yet" in lines (165) using the deictic personal pronoun "we" and keeps the whole process of following the terrorist open.

Obviously, Obama presents his policy in Afghanistan indicating that as a presidential candidate he criticised Bush policy through going in military action in Iraq and Afghanistan. He clarifies the he could lead the United States to achieve successful accomplished in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Further, in this extract and through using the temporal deictics, he wants to emphasize the point that, he is following the policies which he made as a presidential candidate and could bring certain changes at the political level and especially the war against terrorism.

4.8 Discussion of Question Three

One of the objectives of the current study was to identify Obama's use of deixis to present his political ideologies. The analysis of the data was carried out through applying Fairclough's (1985, 1995, 2003) approach to CDA in which deixis is considered as one of its method. The data including Obama's interviews on *the Late Show with David Letterman* and *the Tonight Show with Jay Leno* were analyzed through identifying the different deixes in Obama's PD, to be interpreted and explained according to Fairclough's three-dimensional model in order to reveal

Obama's political ideologies. The analysis of the deictics used concedes with Fairclough's (2001) point of view that ideological power can be presented in different forms of language and at various levels. One of these forms the analysis pointed out was using deixis.

The analysis concluded that Obama as a presidential candidate used certain forms of deixis including basically the person, temporal and spatial. Accordingly, through using the different deictics in the different contexts of situations, Obama revealed his ideologies. Basically, he relied heavily on using the person deictics and specifically "I" and "we". These results stand for Muqit (2012) results concerning political ideologies relations to use of pronouns. Ideologies including policy making as far as Iraqi political issues, withdrawal of American troops from there were basically identified through the personal; pronoun "I". Obama as a Senator of States and a presidential candidate tried to present his own beliefs concerning the future of the American troops in Iraq talking about the bill which he sat earlier. Further, he uses the personal pronoun "I" referring to his own values and beliefs concerning his call for change in the education and healthcare systems, economy in America and the election campaign in relation to politics in Washington.

Obama presented the different political ideologies concerning Iraq and the new policy of improving the American image in the international community. Through using the personal pronoun "I", Obama performed the role of policy maker and hence, presenting almost all his values through his plans. To criticize Bush administration, Obama used the personal pronoun "I" to compare his own policies with the fault policies which were set by Bush concerning the war in Iraq. The

achievements of goals and the accomplishments of these policies were referred to through using the inclusive personal pronoun "we". The inclusive "we" refers to the Senators of States and the American government. Specifically, "we" referring to the Senators of States was associated with the passing and approval of the policies proposed by Obama himself. The inclusive "we" was used by Obama to show consistency with other Senators in which all including Obama himself can be responsible for decision-making. When presenting his own ideologies in relation to election campaigns, "we" stands for the presidential candidate including Obama himself. Obama presented high values for all the candidates instead of trying to criticize them. Most importantly, in association with the person deictic, the results indicated that Obama did not use any deictic gestures. This is in part related to the point that no more clarification need to be associated with these personal pronouns.

The temporal deictics were used more than the spatial ones. Obama used many time references but almost all formed of complex temporal expressions including "this year", "next year", "over the last", "over the last week", "now" and "four years ago". In addition, the extracts analyzed indicated that Obama used the future and simple present tenses only as far the ideologies concerning proposing new policies there and also in relation to the election campaign and the ideology of change which Obama proposed. These time references were not associated with the hand gestures since they need no more clarification.

Obama used the spatial references as well to present his ideologies as a presidential candidate. Different spatial expressions were used basically in the form of place prepositional phrases. These included, "in the region", "inside Iraq",

"outside Iraq", "in Iraq", "in Washington" and the demonstrative "there". Obama's ideologies which were built on common sense and diplomatic solutions rather than the military ones, took place in his arguments through using the spatial references to emphasize where exactly these ideologies need to be accepted. The reference to Washington was to state that whatever happens in politics it must have its basis in Washington which is the center of politics in the United States. It implied the place where the candidates' narratives and the political decisions were made, followed and approved. The place deictics were portrayed non-verbally in which Obama used the hand gesture "right/left hand rises straight up into the center". This hand gesture is to attract the attention towards the reference and at the same time to confirm them.

Obama, as a President of the United States, presented his political ideologies through using the personal, temporal and spatial deixis almost all together. After being the President, he focused his political ideologies to involve the issues of healthcare, education and economy improvements, politics in the United States and the role of America in Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan under his leadership. As the results of question (ii) were stated, Obama used the two personal pronouns "I" and "we" almost all equally to present his ideologies. He used the personal pronoun "I" to refer to his own authority and knowledge concerning the healthcare system, decisions and policy making. In relation to the literature review, Adetunji (2006) in his study pointed out that "I" is used in relation to the context of the utterances and the speaker's intentions and this was clearly stated in the analysis of the data. Individuality in decision making through comparing himself to Bush was used basically through using the personal pronoun "I". To emphasize the personal deictic reference, Obama used a gestural deictic which is both palms curled with the fingers

facing each other and move back to the chest to refer directly to himself. The achievements of goals were presented through using the personal pronoun "we" to refer to the American government under the leadership of Obama himself. His political ideologies concerning the involvement of the international community and the war against terrorism were presented through the reference made to the American government using the inclusive personal pronoun "we". This was intended by Obama in order to lessen the responsibility of the consequences of the actions taking place. When he was talking about the healthcare system and economy in the United States, Obama used the third personal pronoun "they" referring to the American people. He attempted to present the point that he is very much aware of the problems facing the American people and hence, he is the one who can fix all but still he needs people's support to achieve his goals.

Time references were another important device which Obama used to present his ideologies concerning the different issues discussed. Obama used different time adverbials and temporal expressions. The political ideologies concerned with presenting Obama's beliefs concerning changing the policies of the insurance companies in the healthcare system, economy investments and presenting the different political procedures in Washington were identified in the current situation in which political actions were taking place. The temporal deixis that were used included using the simple present tense to talk about the current political issues and events and using the time adverbials, "right now, now and over the last 15, 20 years". The use of these instant time references as Fillmore (1997) indicates, stand for the point that the addressee is assumed to be monitoring his/her own messages and accordingly to determine the intended time for action taking place. Concerning

the Iraqi political issue and the war in Afghanistan, Obama used the past tense to talk about the event that took place during the Bush administration. The time adverbials included, "over the last two years and back in 2007". He uses these time references in his PD to draw a comparison between what he has said earlier and what he has accomplished currently.

Obama used the spatial deixis "in Washington" to refer to the center of politics in the United States where decisions concerning the economy are made and approved. In addition, the results concluded that Obama used more spatial references including, "in Libya, in Iraq and in Afghanistan". Through using these spatial references, Obama put emphasis on his role in policy and decision making and the role of the American government in achieving these policies. The spatial deixis formulate Obama's PD in relation to the personal reference "I" and "we" and this is contradictory to the Adetunji (2006) who states that "spatial indexicals are most frequently used however for self-exclusive purposes, as represented by the singular (he/she) and the plural ("they", "them", "themselves") pronominal" (p.188-189). The analysis of the data stated that Obama used the spatial indexicals which Obama used in relation to himself using "I" and his government using "we". This kind of inclusive relation between the spatial and personal indexicals, is related to Obama's intentions to draw the host and the population's attention to those areas and his role as well as his government in deciding on the foreign affairs of those countries. Obama did not associate his verbal deictics with gestural deictics since these references need no more clarification.

4.9 Common Themes in Obama's Political Discourse

Having completed the analysis of the extracts coded from the interviews to answer the questions under investigation, Obama's common themes that formed the core of these interviews were identified. Despite the fact that Obama was interviewed in LNTSs which are of comedy type, the topics discussed were of political contents. Accordingly, the themes identified related to two aspects including, the foreign and domestic political affairs. As far as the foreign affairs are concerned, two major themes were identified including: Iraq and American troops' withdrawal and war in Afghanistan against terrorism. The domestic affairs in Obama's PD included three themes: the Election campaign policies and candidates' narratives, Obama the President and the new policies and the economy in the United States between the crisis and growth. These five themes were central topics in Obama's PD formulating his own legitimate, expert and referent bases of power. These most recurrent themes performed different functions according to their reoccurrence in the context of situation. The following sections and sub-sections present these themes and their different functions in Obama's PD. Table 9 includes Obama's major and minor themes.

Table 9

Common Themes in Obama's PD

Obama's themes at the International level	
Major themes	Minor themes
Theme (1): The new policies in Iraq	Theme (1):Withdrawal of American troops from Iraq
	Theme (2):Criticizing Bush Administration's policies
	Theme (3):Partnership policy
Theme (2): War against terrorism	Theme (1): Criticizing Bush Administration's policies
	Theme (2): the policies and American military actions in Afghanistan
Obama's themes at the domestic level	
Theme (1): The election campaign	Theme (1): Obama's policies
	Theme (2): the candidate's narratives
Theme (2): The economy in the United States	Theme (1):the economic crisis in the United States
	Theme (2):the new policies to improve the economy
	Theme (3):Change of economy requires time

4.9.1 Obama's Themes at the Foreign Affairs Level

Theme (1): The new political policies concerning Iraq

Through the analysis carried out to answer the research questions, I noticed that Iraq political issue occupied a central role in Obama's PD. As a presidential candidate, he focused part of his election campaign policies on the withdrawal of the American troops from Iraq. Therefore, minor themes related to this theme were discussed including getting the American troops out of Iraq, criticizing Bush Administration policies in Iraq and proposing a partnership policy. This theme and its minor themes can be clearly stated in the following extracts taken from the interviews carried out with Obama in *the Late Show with David Letterman* and *the Tonight Show with Jay leno*.

Extract (1):

040 ...I put forward (3:04) (*left hand rises up in loose point*) a
041 bill back in January that said we should start (3:10) (*left*
042 *hand open moving from left to right*) a face free deployment
043 starting on May 1st of this year having our combat troops
044 out by March 31st of next

(David Letterman 2007 interview)

Extract (2)

054 we can start (.) creating (3:29) (*left hand loops forward and*
055 *back*) a situation in Iraq where (3:31) (*both palms curled*
056 *facing each other move straight up into the center*) the Shia,
057 the Sunni and the Kurd come together for a political
058 accommodation because we are not gonna be able to impose
059 a military solution on what's become a sector in civil war

(David Letterman 2007 interview)

Extract (3)

097 we gotta train up (5:25) (*right hand rise straight up into the*
098 *center*) the Iraqi forces more effectively (5:28) (*angry*
099 *face*) But what we can't do is simply (5:30) (*right palm-*
100 *down position*) stay the course, that we've been on over the
101 last several years, it's not working.

(David Letterman 2007 interview)

Extract (4)

107 We have strategic (5:49) (*both palms open facing each other*
108 *move straight up into the center*) interests there ...
120 ...and we are also spending (6:7) (*right hand moves*
121 *horizontally*) a hundred billion dollars or more each year in
122 Iraq that we could be spending on (6:11) (*both palms curled*
123 *facing each other wagging into the center*) building schools
124 and hospitals and roads and bridges here in the United States
and rebuilding our economy.

(David Letterman 2007 interview)

Extract (5):

567 Iraq we are on pace to (3:59) (*left hand rises straight up*
568 *into the center*) draw down our troops so that by the end of
569 2011 we will have (4:03) (*left hand rises straight up into the*
570 *center*) our troops, combat troops out of Iraq and that is
571 (4:08) (*left hand open wagging vertically in the left side*)
572 an extraordinary fact

(David Letterman 2009 interview)

Extract (6):

096 The Iraqis now have (04:11) (*both palms-up position rise straight*
up into the center) the opportunity to (04:12) (*left fist rolls over*
097 *into the center*) create their own democracy, their own country,
098 determine their own destiny.

(Jay Leno 2011 interview)

Extract (7):

119 I think Americans can rightly be (04:53) (*both hands clenched*
120 *together in lower position with the head held high*) proud that we
121 have (04:55) (*both fists move forward*) given Iraqis an
122 opportunity to determine their own destiny...

(Jay Leno 2011 interview)

Obviously, the extracts show the recurrent reference to Iraq and the bill proposing the withdrawal of the American troops theme. More specifically, in 2007, Obama as a Senator of States and a presidential candidate focused on the Iraqi political issue and this is clear through the many extracts taken from this interview. He provided information concerning proposing a bill and passing it to the VETO as is stated in extracts (1&5). Then, he gave the details concerning looking for a new policy which is the partnership with the Iraqi government and parties to build their country as is presented in extracts (2&3). Presenting policies requires justifications and this is exactly what Obama did when he justified why Iraq is very important for the United States; yet, he criticizes Bush political strategies there as is seen in extract (4). Clearly, after being the President, Obama focused on the achievement of his

policies in Iraq through getting the American troops back to the United States as is shown in extract (7).

In sum, the theme of Iraq is considered as a source for Obama's legitimate, expert and referent bases of power. Further, it performs two functions depending on Obama's institutional role. As a presidential candidate, Obama focused this theme to present his capability to lead the foreign affairs through proposing new policies. Moreover, he tries to get the population's support for his policies. As a President of the United States, he tackled this theme as well to confirm that he fulfilled his policies as he promised presenting high values of the American government under his leadership.

Major Theme (2): War again terrorism in Afghanistan

Another major theme which Obama dealt with in his PD through the interviews is the war against terrorism in Afghanistan. This theme included minor topics that were tackled during the interviews in the LNTSs. The following extracts include references to this theme its minor themes:

Extract (1):

167 I think that George Bush (.) did (1:02) (*both palms curled*
168 *facing each other wagging into the center*) the right thing by
169 going after the Taliban in Afghanistan (.) and I would have
170 done the exact same thing, and the big difference between
171 myself (1:11) (*right hand open in front of the chest*) and
172 George Bush I think would have been to stay (1:13) (*right*
172 *palm index finger and thumb pointing forward*) focused on
173 Afghanistan, not get distracted (1:17) (*right hand tilts forward*
174 *and to the right side to show trajectory*) by (.)Iraq.

(David Letterman 2008 interview)

Extract (2):

227 I think that if we had stayed focused in Afghanistan (.) if we
228 had, instead of (3:14) (*right hand spread open to the right*
229 *side*) spending a trillion dollars in Iraq, had focused on our
230 (3:17) (*right hand moves straight down into the center*)
231 energy

(David Letterman 2008 interview)

Extract (3):

585 Now Afghanistan is a real difficult situation. Here is what we
586 know - the folks (4:35) (*left palm index finger pointing*
587 *down*) who killed 3000 Americans...were based in
588 Afghanistan. They (4:44) (*right palm-down position rises*
589 *straight up into the center*) have been driven into the
590 foothills and the mountains between Afghanistan and
Pakistan.

(David Letterman 2009 interview)

Extract (4)

610 Unfortunately (5:17) (*left hand open wagging vertically in*
611 *the left side*) over the last 8 years or at last 7 years, 7 and half
612 years after we went in Afghanistan, our strategy (5:24) (*left*
613 *palm-down position moving forward to the left side*) drifted.

(David Letterman 2009 interview)

Extract (5):

694 There are those that argue that now is the time to completely
695 (7:48) (*left hand open wide to the left side to show*
696 *completion*) pull out of Afghanistan ...There are those who
697 say let's (7:56) (*right palm-down position rises straight up*
698 *into the center*) double down and put more troops in
699 Afghanistan...

(David Letterman 2009 interview)

Extract (6):

150 ...you know, we still have work to do (06:17) (*left palm index*
151 *finger pointing forward*) in Afghanistan. We are transitioning to
152 Afghan lead there. Our guys are still :: and gals are still making
(06:22) (*serious face*) sacrifices there. We (06:25) (*both palms*
153 *curled facing each other wagging into the center*) would not have
154 been able to do as good of a job in (06:29) (*right palm-closed-*
155 *fingers-pointing position wagging in the right side*) decimating al
156 Qaeda's leadership...

(Jay Leno 2011 interview)

Extract (7):

172 ...al Qaeda is (07:05) (*right hand drops down into the center*)
173 weaker than anytime in recent memory. We have taken out
174 (07:08) (*left hand rises up to a precise point*) their top leadership
175 position. That's been (07:11) (*both hands spread open into the*
176 *center*) a big accomplishment.

(Jay Leno 2011 interview)

In the extracts, Obama presents the Afghani political situations including, criticizing Bush administration policy in Afghanistan and the different arguments concerning the policies and American military actionsthere as in extracts (3, 5, 6&7). Obama's PD as a presidential candidate focused mainly on criticizing the previous policies as is extracts (1 & 2). Moreover, as President, he continued criticizing the previous policies in Afghanistan. In extract (4), he accused Bush of drifting the goal which was, originally, facing the terrorists and protecting the United States of their threat. In addition, he devoted his PD to present the different arguments concerning the Afghani issue and threat coming from there. The arguments presented the threat of the terrorists hiding there and the American military actions in extracts (3, 5, 6&7). Clearly, that this theme and its minor topics formulate the source for Obama's

legitimate and expert bases of power through the specific details concerning the Afghani political issue.

4.9.2 Obama's Themes at the Domestic Level

Theme (1): The Election Campaign and Policies

As far as this study is concerned, from the beginning I explained that LNTSs of political content play a very important role during the elections. It is the non-traditional form which politicians and specifically presidential candidates found their way to the populations. One of those presidential candidates was Obama who relied heavily through his continuous appearances on these shows to present his policies and get more support from the population. Therefore, the theme of the election campaign and the policies formulate the central topic which Obama focused on in his interviews with David Letterman and Jay Leno. This theme originally occupied almost all the interviews carried out with Obama as a presidential candidate. In addition, Obama as a President referred to it as well. I selected some sample extracts including this theme and its minor themes.

Extract (1):

172 ...we gotta make (8:06) (*left palm index finger pointing in*
173 *the right palm*) in terms of fixing the education system, the
174 healthcare system, and when you mobilize millions of
175 Americans and say (8:12) (*both palms rise straight up and*
176 *move forward into the center*), let's think in practical
177 commonsense ways about solving problems...
178 ...people really respond and I think that's the reason why we
are doing pretty well in this campaign.

(David Letterman 2007 interview)

Extract (2):

275 We've got terrific candidates. Not just (2:52) (*left hand*

276 *rises straight up into the center*) myself and Hillary, we got
277 John Edwards::: who has run a terrific campaign so far. Bill
278 Richardson (3:05) (*left hand moves forward and back*) a
279 terrific governor...

(David Letterman 2007 interview)

Extract (3):

300 ...we are all (4:51) (*both hands open facing each other in*
301 *front of the chest*) on the same team. We are all democrats
302 (4:53) (*both hands open facing each other in front of the*
303 *chest*) I think most of us wanna see (4:55) (*left palm index*
304 *finger pointing at the right palm fingers*) a healthcare
305 system that provides coverage to everybody. Most of us
306 (4:58) (*left palm index finger pointing to the fingers in the*
307 *right palm*)wanna see an education system (5:00) (*serious*
308 *face*) that gives opportunity to every kid.

(David Letterman 2007 interview)

Extract (4):

054 we've seen over the last week is a concession (4:12) (*both*
055 *palms curled facing each other wagging into the center*) on
056 the part of the McCain campaign that this election (4:14)
057 (*both hands rise straight up into center*) is going to be about
058 change...
075 ...people were saying, 'No, it's about experience, =experience,
076 =experience,'...

(David Letterman 2008 interview)

Extract (5):

149 ...if you think the last eight years (7:17) (*both palms curled*
150 *facing each other moving to the left side*) haven't worked, if
151 you think that the government can do a better job creating
152 (7:23) (*both palms curled facing each other wagging from*
153 *side to side*) jobs, building the economy, making sure kids

154 that can go to college, providing (7:27) *((both hands move*
155 *straight up into center))* healthcare to people who don't have it,
156 then (it's hard to figure (7:30) *((left hand open wagging*
157 *vertically in the left side))*why you would want four more
158 years of exactly the same policy.

(David Letterman 2008 interview)

Extract (6):

244 Hillary (07:04) *((left hand open wagging vertically in the left*
245 *side))* is not the first politician in Washington to declare
246 mission (07:06) *((right palm-down position wagging into the*
247 *center))* accomplished a little too soon.

(Jay Leno 2007 interview)

Extract (7):

261 Listen. There's (07:36) *((both palms down position spread open*
262 *into the center))* no doubt that that helps Hillary's campaign.
263 Particularly, among Democrats, Bill Clinton is (07:42) *((both*
264 *hands spread open into the center))* very popular...
275 ...So that's part of the challenge that we have to face is (07:59)
276 *((both palms curled facing each other wagging into the center))*
277 making sure the people know me as well as they know her and
278 as well as they know Bill.

(Jay Leno 2007 interview).

Obviously, as a presidential candidate, Obama tried to make use of all means available to present his policies to the population. The theme of election campaign involved two minor themes including the policies and the candidates' narratives. These themes supported Obama with the legitimate, expert and referent bases of power. As far as the policies are concerned, Obama devoted his election campaign to bring certain changes to people in the United States including basically the economy, the education system and health care system. The extracts (1, 3 & 5)

are only samples of how Obama focused in his interviews on presenting the problems facing people and at the same time providing the solutions to fix them. He focused on the education and health care systems providing certain policies to improve them. His focus on these two important aspects (the education and healthcare system) is to state that he is aware of the Americans problems in these two fields and hence, he is the one who can fix them.

Another minor was the candidates' narratives as in extract (2, 4, 6&7). These different extracts are only samples of how Obama tried to present the different narratives about the candidates and their policies. The narratives indicated that despite all what candidates announce, he was fully confident that people can finally decide who is the best not in relation to the narratives but in relation to the candidate's ability to convince people of his/her own policies.

Theme (2): The Economy of the United States

The topic including "the economy of the United States" occupied a central part in Obama's PD. In fact, Obama as a presidential candidate and as a President tackled this theme in his interviews. He presented the economic crisis and the new policies to improve it. Accordingly, it is a major theme which involved other minor themes. This theme was very important to deal with because it supported Obama with the legitimate, expert and reference bases of power and present his own ideologies. The following extracts include some sample references to this theme and its minor themes as well:

Extract (1):

089 ...people are just having a tough time right now. The economy
090 is not working for middle class families, incomes (4:50)

091 *((both palms curled facing each other wagging into the*
092 *center))* have gone down...

(David Letterman 2008 interview)

Extract (2):

197 ...if we had instead said, You know what, we are going(1:51)
198 *((left hand open wagging vertically in the left side))*to reduce
199 our dependence on Middle Eastern oil, or, you know, We are
200 going to create the kinds of energy-efficient economy (.)that
201 will allow us to weaken (2:04) *((right palm-down position))*
202 the forces of terror, that (2:07) *((right hand moves*
203 *horizontally))* could have made an incredible difference and I
204 think you could have mobilized (2:08) *((both palms curled and*
205 *brought close to each other into the center))* the American
206 people around bold plans on energy that would make sure that
207 we weren't continuing to be in the situation we're in today.

(David Letterman 2008 interview)

Extract (3):

095 It is (.) improving (3:13) *((head tilted to left side))*. We have.
096 We've seen (.) some (3:16) *((both hands spread open*
097 *wagging into the center))* stabilizing, financial markets are in
098 a meltdown. You've actually seen an uptake (3:19) *((left*
099 *hand rises up to a precise point))* in investment and even
100 manufacturing which had been really (.) getting battered had
101 started (3:25) *((both hands rise straight up into the center))*
102 to improve but (.) we are not out of the woods yet.

(David Letterman 2009 interview)

Extract (4):

275 Banks are critical to our economy and we (11:11) *((both hands*
276 *curled facing each other and wagging into the center))* want
277 credit to flow again. But we just want to make sure that there's
278 enough regulatory common sense in place that ordinary
279 Americans aren't taken advantage of, and (11:21) *((right palm*
280 *index finger pointing forward into the center))* taxpayers, after

281 the fact, aren't taken advantage of.

(Jay leno 2009 interview)

Extract (5):

444 ...I will (17:40) (*left hand open in the left side with the eyes*
445 *looking down*)) say this, that ::: if you're (17:45) (*left palm index*
446 *finger pointing the fingers in the right palm as if counting*))
447 working right now, obviously you've got to be prudent and
448 you've got to recognize that the economy has been in a tough
way...

(Jay leno 2009 interview)

Extract (6):

289 ...now, for example, our (13:31) (*both hands spread open into the*
290 *center*)) biggest challenge is to make sure that we are (13:34)
291 (*left palm-down position*)) putting people back to work. We
292 (13:37) (*both palms curled facing each other and brought close*
293 *to each other*)) stabilize the economy, but there are not enough
294 people working. And so we (13:42) (*both hands open move*
295 *forward into the center*)) put forward this jobs bill that has
296 proposals that (13:45) (*left palm open wagging vertically in the*
297 *left side with the eyes looking down*)) traditionally have been
298 supported by Democrats and Republicans.

(Jay Leno 2011 interview)

Extract (7):

384 we are going to look for opportunities to do things without
385 Congress. We can't (17:15) (*left fist moves forward*)) afford to
386 keep waiting for them if they are not going to do (17:18) (*both*
387 *palms-down position spread open into the center*)) anything. On
388 the other hand, (17:21) (*left palm open wagging vertically in the*
389 *left side with the eyes looking down*)) my hope is that, at some
390 point, they start listening to the American people, and we can
391 work with Congress as well.

(Jay Leno 2011 interview)

Literary speaking, these extracts present the major theme "the economy in the United States" and from which minor topics were identified including "the economic crisis in the United States" as in extracts (1&5), "the new policies to improve the economy" as in extracts (2,4,6&7) and "Change of economy requires time" as in extract (3). Basically, this theme played a central role in Obama's election campaign through which he could attract the population's attention to his new policies to improve the Americans life. Despite the fact that almost all presidential candidates try to focus their campaigns on giving people hope and proposing improvements concerning their life, Obama was, mostly, the best who did so. Particularly, through economy, Obama could exercise his expert power in which he presented different details concerning the economic crisis within the last several years and how people suffered. In addition, he proposed different economic policies such as offering jobs and minimizing taxes, etc. to fix the economic problems. Further, he could exercise his referent power through trying to convince the Americans that as a presidential candidate he proposed these changes looking for his people support and as a President he convinced people more that they did the right choice by electing him the President through his economic achievements. His expert and referent bases of power were surely supported by his legitimate power in which as a presidential candidate and a President, he used his authority to propose his policies and achieve them as well and specifically the economy theme.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter included the analysis of the data in which the questions proposed for the current study were answered. The models of analysis adopted for

analyzing six interviews of Obama's appearance on the two LNTSs: *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *the Tonight Show with Jay Lenowere* applied. The results of the analysis were discussed from the multimodal aspects in details and in relation to the researcher perspectives and the literature review chapter. Finally, Obama's common themes were identified in details.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The current study set out to explore PD in American LNTSs in which Obama's interviews on *The Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* were analyzed. The study was conducted through the CDA approach to explore the concepts of power and ideology in non-traditional forms of media. The theoretical literature presented on this subject and particularly politics, talk shows, CDA and multimodal aspects add great diversity to the investigation of power and ideology in LNTSs. The study was conducted to answer three questions:

1. What are Obama's bases of power and how are they identified in relation to his influence tactics through the multimodal aspects in the American LNTSs?
2. How are power relations between Obama and the two hosts David Letterman and Jay Leno portrayed in the interviews?
3. How does Obama use deixis to present his political ideologies?

This chapter presents the findings and conclusions arrived at in this study. The contributions and limitations are tackled as well. Finally, a summary of the chapter is presented.

5.2 Findings and Conclusions

The conclusions arrived at in the current study took different forms and perspectives and were presented at different levels. Generally, Obama as a presidential candidate and as a President of the United States formulated his PD relying on his legitimate and expert bases of power. These can imply new persuasive techniques of convincing the population about his policies. From a critical point of view, both imply a criticism to the previous policies and authoritative rules. So, Obama, as a presidential candidate, used his legitimate power to perform three functions. First, he wanted to show that he is one of those responsible for decision-making. Second, he intended to purify the American image in the eyes of the international community through stating that having legitimate power does not mean being more aggressive or more powerful in terms of military actions but rather through diplomatic affairs. Third, it implied the criticism of the previous policies and leadership, i.e., the Bush administration. Being powerful, even though as a presidential candidate, Obama did not rely on the reward, referent or the coercive bases of power indicating that authority and knowledge can help him to achieve his goals and gather the population around him. On the other hand, being interviewed on comedy LNTSs, Obama realized that all he needed was to present his personality by combining his authority and knowledge to present political information to the average people.

The findings of this study indicate that there is a reciprocal relation between the legitimate and expert bases of power according to their forms of influence tactics. Legitimate and expert bases of power are reciprocal in that both accumulate each other in relation to political identity. Positive and negative statements formed of

material or mental processes include both bases of power in which a politician can use his authority to get more knowledge or he can use his knowledge to support his authority. Accordingly, both are linked together through the same influence tactics. Showing consistency with organizational or professional role, verifying policies and documents and presenting prior precedents can stand for both types of power to accumulate one other. This gives the politician more powerful position and ability to control the interactional process.

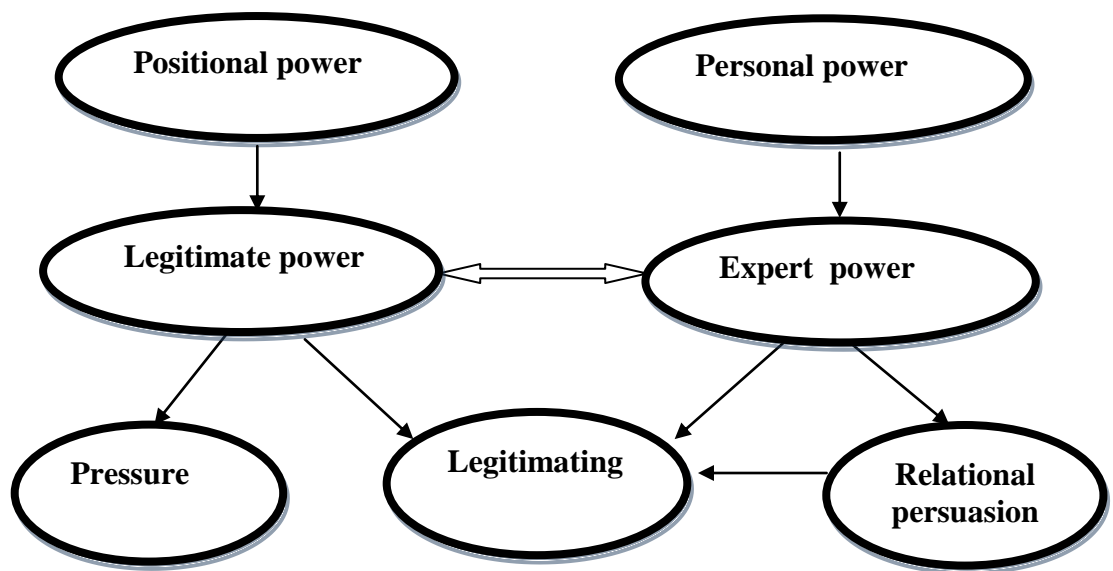


Figure 5.1: A Conceptual Framework of the Bases of Power and Influence Tactics in Political Discourse

The above mentioned findings can lead to the formulation of a conceptual framework to state the relation between the bases of power and their influence tactics for the discursal construction of PD in non-institutional contexts. This model (fig.5.1), fits into Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2004) three-dimensional model in which the bases of power stand for the social practice level, the influence tactics represent

the discursive practice level and finally the structural forms of these influence tactics resemble the text level of the approach.

At the social practice and discursive practice levels of the CDA approach, the model states that a person can be more powerful through associating his authority with his knowledge to be inter-located with each other. This model shows an inter-located relation between positional power (legitimate) and personal power (expert). Legitimate power can be practised through two influence tactics including: legitimating influence tactics and pressure. The legitimating influence tactics count more since they are directed at the population explicitly. The pressure influence tactics both verbal and non-verbal, together with their roles are considered minor since they are directed at the third person. The legitimating influence tactics include: showing consistency with the organization, showing consistency with professional role expectations, prior evidence and verifying policies and documents. The expert power can be practised through the legitimating and relational persuasion tactics. The relational influence tactics are related back to legitimating influence tactics since they include argumentation which can be carried out through the same strategies of legitimating influence tactics. Additionally, the study concludes that expert power can play a major role in transmitting political knowledge to the population. This study proves that expert power presented in the relational persuasion influence tactics is a convincing means of ideologies in which argumentation and factual evidence are key notes for changing peoples' perceptions about politicians.

At the text level of CDA, the findings conclude that legitimate power is used to present policies and future plans. They are presented through declarative

statements formed of a material process to refer to actions that are to be performed. However, both expert and legitimate bases of power are used together and presented through negative statements formed of material, mental and relational processes. When comparing himself with other politicians or leaders, Obama uses the personal pronoun "I" to refer to his positional power through showing consistency with his role expectations. The legitimate power is exercised basically through the legitimating influence tactics through showing consistency with organizational or professional roles and this was presented through the two personal pronouns "we" and "I". Both pronouns are used as actors in the material process providing prior precedents and verifying policies through the material process.

Obama uses both the negative mode through the negative word "not" and the different gestural forms and facial expressions. Moreover, the same hand gestures can be used to perform different linguistic functions in which they can be used as a form of negation, description or confirmation. This implies multi-function gestures which are used unintentionally or intentionally to convey different meanings according to the context of situation in which they take place. Consequently, Obama focuses in his PD on performing the speech act which is criticism of the previous policies through using the negative mode.

Concerning power relationships between the guest and hosts, this study indicates a new perception concerning the two hosts, David Letterman and Jay Leno. Due to presenting more political information, Letterman could exceed Jay Leno in which he could be in a symmetrical power relationship with Obama in many cases. The symmetrical power relations between the guest and host in LNTSs can be

determined through using the expert basis of power exercised through the ingratiation influence tactic which leads to a lateral relationship between the interactants. Other variables include using cooperative interruption, expressing agreements verbally and non-verbally, repetition of the exact words to confirm and finally using the negative (hedges) and positive (agreements and laughter) politeness strategies. Different hosts formulate their talk show character differently and these characters can be uniquely identified. David Letterman is experienced in using close-ended questions, a style which is rarely used in political interviews. Accordingly, it is considered as a new style which is specifically used by Letterman in his comedy LNTS and this is significant as a major point which is presenting political information to the audience not through the guest but basically through the host as well. Another finding of the study is that Jay Leno's interviews are conducted with cooperative interruptions and he associates his discourse with laughter. Accordingly, he shows more solidarity with the guest.

As far as the asymmetrical power relations are concerned, Obama uses different power dynamics in the two LNTSs including legitimate and expert bases of power, statements, topic shifts, expressive and assertive speech acts, face saving and politeness strategies, interruptions and expressing disagreements. The findings indicate that using the legitimate and expert bases of power in LNTSs, and specifically through the legitimating influence tactics can frame the relationship between the interactants in a downward influence attempt and hence, to be asymmetrical power relations (superior-agent). Accordingly, a new variable can be added to Yukl's taxonomy of influence tactics which is the type of power relationship parallel with the influence direction attempts. The expert power

correlates with the lateral influence attempts and hence, implies a symmetrical relationship between the guest and host, specifically when exercised through ingratiation influence tactics. Such a relationship occurs only when certain ideologies are required to be achieved such as the American ideal and the international community outlook for it. Figure 5.2 presents the power relations holding between interactants in the comedy LNTSs.

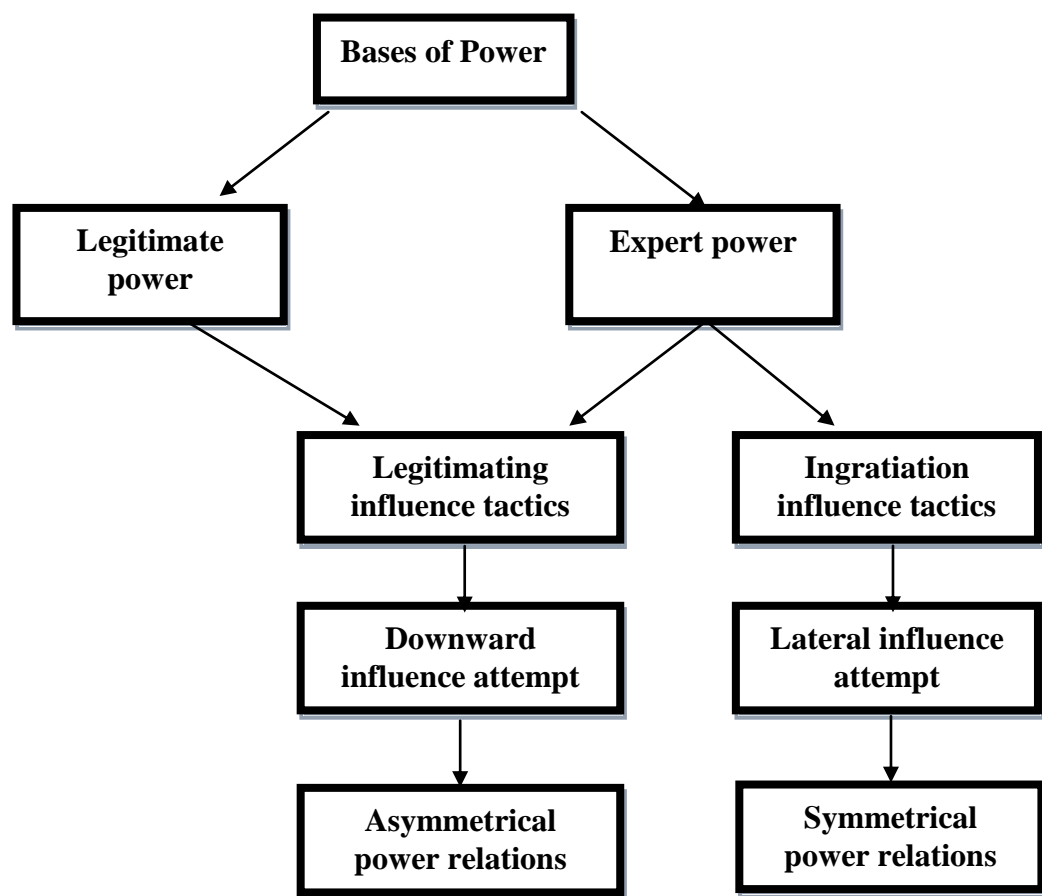


Figure 5.2: Power Relations Hierarchy of Political Discourse in Late Night Talk

Shows

The findings of this study imply that the use of many statements to answer the hosts' questions has its relation to topic control and topic shift. Additionally, the

use of many statements presented through the transitivity system processes includes inclusive powerful perspectives that associate the different participants and processes with the different purposes of using them. The relation can be indicated through using many clauses in the positive and negative mood. Obama uses many statements formed of different processes and implies many messages in order to present the government's achievements and actions and, at the same time, to persuade the population of his policies before and after the elections. This is considered as one of Obama's power dynamics to control the topics proposed by the hosts. In addition, the study implies that Obama is powerful in that his PD is mainly characterized through the use of the different transitivity system processes. The findings present the point that despite being interviewed in a different genre, i.e., a LNTS, Obama does not change his power strategies to affect the population as far as the use of the processes is concerned. Through the application of the transitivity system at the ideational function in Obama's PD, the current study presents a modification of the power hierarchy suggested by Goatly (2004) to include the following order:

1. Material process
2. Mental process
3. Relational process
4. Exisitional process
5. Verbal process.

The material, mental and relational processes are the primary ones through which Obama's PD becomes more powerful. In relation to his authority and knowledge concerning politics and economy, he focuses on presenting his actions and the policies which he sets for the political and economic problems. Further, he

wants to present his own attitudes and beliefs concerning the Americans' problems in the health care system, educational system and economy. Through using the material process, more details are given in who, for whom, to do what and when or where the actions are performed. Accordingly, these details enable Obama to formulate his PD in a rich context of situation so that no ambiguity would take place through sending his messages to the population. This always opens up horizons on the relation of the contexts to CDA to make what is hidden be easily understood. Relying on his knowledge through the expert power, Obama uses the mental process to present his own visions towards the future of the American politics both inside and outside America. This implies that he wants to be more powerful through revealing his own plans, policies and attitudes and this is determined through using the personal pronoun "I". In addition, using the relational processes with its two types (identifying and attributive) is intended to describe certain events and problems at the domestic and international levels and pointing the relation between the different concepts.

The existential and verbal processes are secondary ones in which Obama refers to certain events that exist in the real world or even certain aspects in the economic crisis or certain expectations of the war in Afghanistan and threat from Iran. The variations of using these different processes in his power relations with the hosts stand for presenting his government policies and getting the population support before and after the elections. In addition, he tries to convince the American people that they made the right choice to elect him and hence, they must trust that all what he has promised to achieve will be achieved as time passes. Through the relation process, he can associate whatever he wants to present in his mind with the answers

However, the findings indicate that Obama mixed politics with comedy performing the positive and negative face politeness strategies. As a presidential candidate, he presents the policies of his election campaign with jokes in order to purify his image in the eyes of the American people. As a President, Obama's PD is mainly formulated of positive politeness strategies which make him more powerful in the interactional process with the hosts. Yet, he intends to shorten the distance between him and his audience and affecting the population.

The interruption, which is another power dynamic, is basically used to perform certain functions including taking turns from the hosts and hence, to control the topic under discussion. Other purposes are mainly devoted to confirming or negating or even to changing the topic. In these LNTSs, Obama performs the interruptions as a means to control and direct the topics presented by the hosts to serve his goal. Through interrupting the hosts, he shifts the topics which are considered as another means of exercising power over the hosts. Obama uses the inclusive interruption to control the relation with the hosts in the LNTSs. Accordingly, Obama, on the one hand, used inclusive interruptions with the hosts. The hosts, on the other hand, used the cooperative interruptions and this is resulted in asymmetrical power relationships between them. Figure 5.4 illustrates these interruption types.

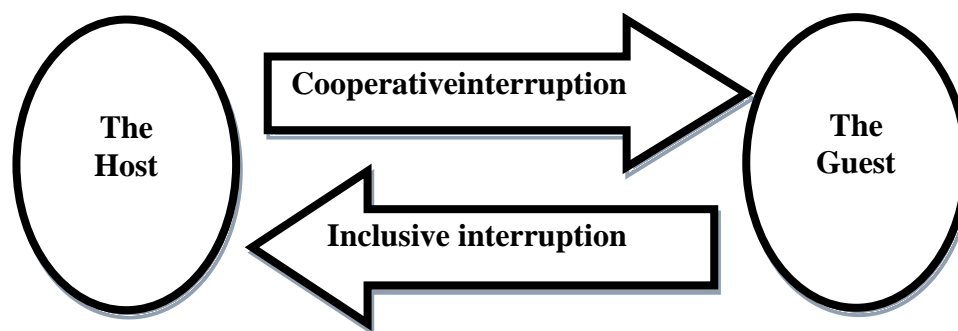


Figure 5.4: Interruptions Types in Late Night Talk Shows

Asymmetrical power relations in LNTSs can be identified through expressing disagreements concerning the different political issues. Obama uses the negation form both verbally and non-verbally in almost all interviews associated with the election campaign policies and the presidential candidates' narratives. Body language in association with the linguistic aspects play a very important role in identifying Obama's power relationships with the hosts. The many details he gives are related back to his authority and knowledge; yet, the hand gestures and facial expressions accumulate both those bases of power in which they clarify, confirm and support what he says verbally. The gestural aspects in LNTSs are determined in relation to the institutional roles (political identity) and the topics discussed at the international community and domestic levels. Obama's hand gestures involve reference to openness, authority, confidence, agreement, disagreement and confirmation.

Critically, this study has identified the linguistic relations that involves the different ideologies associated with the different contexts of situation and according to which deixis type can be determined and used. When PD is applicable in a different genre from its institutional context, i.e., LNTSs, it represents ideologies in contexts that specify the types of deixis that serve its purposes. Obama, whether as a

presidential candidate or President, presents his ideologies concerning setting new policies for the foreign and domestic affairs through using the personal deictic pronoun "I". He presents a kind of individualism in policy-making in which he wants to state the fact that he has different values through which he can be different from other presidential candidates and Presidents. In LNTSs, since the purpose is to purify the politician's image for the population, Obama focuses more on presenting his own beliefs in a well-shaped discourse using the deictic reference "I".

For presenting the political ideologies which includes the accomplishments and achievements of goals and policies, Obama uses the deictic personal pronoun "we". This personal reference stands for the Senators of States, presidential candidates and the American government. The approval of policies and achievements of future plan, are associated with others, authority. Obama wants to involve his power within that of his colleagues and his government.

Another important deictic reference which Obama uses often in LNTSs is the spatial references which are presented verbally through using place adverbials, prepositional phrases and demonstratives. All these different spatial references are portrayed non-verbally through deictic gestures in order to confirm that certain beliefs are set for certain areas in the world and, specifically, when talking about terrorism and dictators in the Middle-East and politics in the United States.

The last type of deixis which Obama uses in LNTSs is the temporal deixis. Specifically, dealing with the Iraqi political issues and withdrawal of American troops, Obama uses many time references to denote that any new policies are to be

accomplished within certain dates. In addition, the time reference stands for the fact that Obama intends to emphasize his own policies and further, to attract the population's attention to his own new policies. Further, these time references are concerned with the withdrawal of the American troops from Iraq and hence, this is a criticism for the old policies. This implies a new ideology of which there is not just American presence in the foreign affairs but rather involvement of the international community in supporting the American decisions. Further, he focuses on purifying the American image.

One of the important findings of the current study is that Obama's body language and its relation to the different speech events, formulate a simple model for using PD in non-traditional forms of media. These are clearly presented in table 10 in which these can constitute power dynamics.

Table 10

Obama's Body Language in the LNTS Genre

Speech events	Body language (gestures and postures) (facial expressions)
Negation, negative mood and disagreement	Shaking hands Both hands clenched together in lower position Right hand opens to the right side. Both hands spread open. Left hand moves horizontally. Both palms wagging into the center.

Authority	right/left palm down-position
Confirmation	Left hand opens wagging vertically into the left side. Both palms facing each other wagging into the center. Both hands facing each other wagging into the center. Both palms curled facing each other wagging into the center. Both hands rising straight up into the center.
Threat	right/left palm-closed-fingers-pointing position
Recall of information	the eyes looking down
Anger and dissatisfaction	Serious face angry face
Agreement	Head nod

5.3 Significant Contributions

This study contributes significantly to critical linguists, PD analysts and politicians. At the pedagogical level, this study opens up new horizons to explore new persuasive techniques. Being powerful and convincing at the same time can be formulated through positional and personal power and, specifically when integrating both authority and knowledge to change beliefs and attitudes. This also suggests that as the world changes and the perceptions of people change rapidly, new means are required to achieve goals over the population and getting to their minds towards new agendas.

At the political level, this study contributes to the world leaders, Senators, members of Parliaments, and, politicians at whatever level will benefit from the experiences identified through this study. Getting authority is not an end by itself but can be a means to some other ends. Politicians must realize that getting power through the institutional role is not enough to reach their people. Expert power can exceed and accumulate the positional power to shape the politicians and their own ideologies to be more convincing and able to contact their people cleverly.

Also, this study contributes a lot to TV political talk program producers in which they can decide on expert and elderly aged hosts to interview prominent political figures due to the importance of age in determining the types of power relationships with the guests. More specifically, in Iraq, where currently many TV programs interview politicians daily to talk about the political issues facing the country, some of those TV interviews are hosted by very young interviewers which results in a lack of compatibility between the expert guest and the inexperienced host.

The study contributes to different fields in which power dynamics can be exercised in different relations such as teacher-student, supervisor-supervisee, and even in workplace discourse. It can contribute to CDA investigators in order to develop this model to include more details concerning the gestural aspects since Fairclough's model focused on the linguistic part more than the body language which became a need to understand better the messages sent between people. Another contribution is associated with linguists who are interested in non-verbal behaviours and their meanings since it provides a scheme of more hand gestures to be generalized in PD.

Finally, studying LNTSs and the impact of power contributes greatly to academic analysis since this genre has attracted a range of academic commentary and discussion. Public participation in broadcasting has recently become the focus of attention in media studies as well as in the social interactional perspectives of conversation analysis, PD and CDA. In particular, this study will contribute to CDA through the SFL and multimodality development and this can provide more focused results concerning the identification of the different bases of power and power relations. Moreover, the current study deals with multimodality through using different techniques for multimodal analysis in interviews and this will help in shedding more light on associating text and body language in interaction. Finally, this study presents a CDA of Obama's PD and ideologies and this implies two functions: the role of CDA in revealing the hidden power relations between Obama and the hosts and the role of PD in LNTSs.

5.4 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

This study was limited to investigating Obama's bases of power as a presidential candidate and a President of the United States, his power relations, and political ideologies in American LNTSs through a CDA lens. The data is limited to the interviews carried out with Barack Obama in the two LNTSs, *the Late Show with David Letterman* and *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*. The study dealt with Obama's interviews during his being a presidential candidate and after he became the 44th President of the United States. Though he appeared on other talk shows like *the Oprah Winfrey Show* with his wife, First Lady Michelle Obama, for a total of three times (2005, 2006 and 2011), *the Ellen Show*, twice (2007 and 2008), *The Tonight*

Show with Jon Stewart five times (2005,2007,2008 twice and 2010), *The View* twice (2007 and 2010) (IMDb.com, Inc., 2012), I did not tackle these shows in the data collection and analysis, logically, for three reasons: first, balance in the data selected which is related to gender distinction in which I must deal with two female and male hosts and the balance was not possible since for both *the Oprah Show* and *the Ellen Show*, Obama was interviewed approximately twice (if we exclude the interview of Obama and his wife from Oprah). Second, the focus of the current study is on single host interviews while *The View Show* was hosted by five women (Barbara Walters, Whoopi Goldberg, Joy Behar, Elizabeth Hasselbeck, and Sherri Shephered). Obama was then interviewed five times but this study was limited to a one-host interview in which only the discourse of one host and one guest were analyzed in order to identify power relations in the interactional process between the host and guest. The third reason was due to the consistency concerning the interviews as far as the number of interviews and their timing was concerned to which Jon Stewart's show was not included since almost all his interviews are no longer than 7 to 15 minutes and almost all are not face-to-face interviews but transmitted through satellite. Therefore, gender distinction, multi-host and satellite interviews can be a subject for further research to be done by other researchers in the field of CDA.

Although this study contributes to developing the CDA approach to cover many aspects of power and ideology within multimodality, this research gives many opportunities to study discourse types in talk shows. Also, a study can be conducted to compare Obama's powerful means of communicating to his voters through LNTSs between the 2008 and 2012 election campaigns. In addition, Fairclough's semantic level which includes the ideologically contested words, can be investigated in the

presidential candidates' PD. At the gestural level, the relations between feminist discourse and political discourse can be examined in relation to Obama's appearance on those shows as well through identifying and analyzing body language in a multimodal study. Obama's PD as a presidential candidate portrayed through body language can be compared with other presidential candidates who were interviewed in the same talk shows in order to develop the models of non-verbal behaviour.

5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter summarized the outcomes of the data analysis. It presented the general findings of conducting a CDA approach to analyze Obama's interviews on the American LNTSs through the multimodal aspects. Viewing the different dynamics of power and ideology from a critical lens, Obama exposed and revealed his as well as his government's values using different devices to get the support and approval from the American and the international community. The chapter presented the limitations of the study and it ended with giving recommendations for further research work to be done in the future.

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