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## **Expertise and the work of football match analysts in TV sport broadcasts**

Giolo Fele & Gian Marco Campagnolo

### **Abstract**

In this paper we describe expertise as a particular way of looking. We use match analysis “punditry” as a “perspicuous setting” to show how professional vision is interactionally achieved in TV sport broadcasts through environmentally coupled gestures enhanced by camera actions and a new technology of vision and visual display called telestrator. The paper is based on data from video sequences of (English) football TV broadcasts where the analyst shows to the TV host in the studio and to the non-expert audience at home what happened during particular game. We argue that the transparency of seeing what is there to be seen is the product of artful instructed vision where the expert shows what should be seen, how it should be made accountable and what the audience should expect in order to fully appreciate what they see. We show how broadcasted football analysis expertise interactionally achieve this through the time-critical linking of talk, gesture and the technological environment.

### **Introduction**

This paper is about expertise as a way of looking and of showing how to see images. In what follows we describe how match analyst expertise is displayed and the ways in which its public orientation is made manifest to a television audience. We show match analyst expertise as a broadcasted multimodal activity involving talk, gesture and an optical technology called telestrator or video marker.

Unlike the objects of endoscopic (Mondada, 2014) or telescopic (Garfinkel et al., 1981) scrutiny, the object of match analyst analytic optical technologies is not to a phenomenon seen for the very first time. Footages used by match analysts come from televised football games that have already been watched. The work of the match analysis is that of rendering recognisably meaningful what audiences have already seen without noticing it.

In this paper we argue that the work of match analysts in sport broadcasts is (1) based on an array of devices enabling the commentator to show the viewers patterns and connections in the spatial and temporal unfolding of the game, and that (2) the construction of this discourse of visibility is part of a demonstration of 'professional vision' (Goodwin 1994) that TV pundits enact by making visible and pointing to correspondences between an intended object of vision (an action in a game) and its technical meaning.

Match analysis is our case study. Match analysts show to each other, the TV host and the general audience how to see relevant football actions. Match analysis is the way in which a lay viewer is taken to appreciate the competent understanding of football actions in their constituent details. In our analysis we will show how the match analyst imposes an organization to the visual data so that a visual order emerges out of the constituent details of a visual spatial pattern i.e. the distribution of the players in the field.

Crucially, the disciplined perception (Stevens & Hall, 1998) through which the football analyst in a TV studio does transparent justice (Collins, 2010) to a player or a team performance through technology-enhanced video practice is the locus of a display of expertise.

This article is a contribution to the study of expertise in that it examines the work of professionals in action. Contrary to a received view in sociology where expertise is interpreted either as exoteric knowledge monopolized by a professional group (reference) or as an emergent meaning connected to symbols attached to tasks, objects or bodies (reference), we show expertise as a matter of professional vision and how this is concretely applied in order to analyse and dissect visual elements.

The paper is structured as follows. In the next section, we review studies of the public dimension of expertise as well as studies of video practices and show how our case will connect the two. We will then articulate the conceptual relationships between video practice and expertise. In the empirical section of the paper, we will analyze how TV pundits use the telestrator in sports broadcasts to diagram and analyze football tactics. A discussion section will conclude the paper.

## **Video Practices and Broadcasted Expertise**

We use the case of match analysis coverage as a ‘perspicuous setting’ (Garfinkel 2002:118) for discussing how expertise is exhibited in concrete social situations. Given the speed of so many of the actions that happen within a football pitch, televised sport has become a locus for the routine replaying of events and actions, to an extent that action-replay has become thoroughly interwoven with the coverage of major sports events. While the action replay is so commonplace, the systematic use in modern football analysis of electronic aids to back up informed tactical opinions stands out for its particular properties. The electronic aids commonly used in modern football analysis consist of a video mark-up tool that allows the TV commentator to superimpose colour lines indicating movement or direction when a play is shown again. The tool clicker also allows the commentator to rapidly show a play, stop the action, back it up, and show it again.

There are two bodies of literature that are relevant for our study of match analysis expertise in sport broadcasts. On the one side there are studies of the public (i.e. broadcasted) dimension of expertise. On the other there are studies of video practices, and video practices in sport in particular.

Thinking about the audiences for whom the expert is legitimated, Stephen Turner (2001) divides experts up in two main categories according to the way they obtain legitimacy from their consumers. There are experts whose authority is legitimated only by restricted and/or pre-established audiences, like the physicist who are experts only for the community of physicists or the theologian who is legitimated by a restricted group of sectarian believers. There is another category of experts whose audiences are not restricted or pre-determined. These are experts who create their own audience and that they have to publicly prove themselves to these audiences by their actions. Moreover, they are not so different from the public with respect to their actual source of information. Among this category of experts are TV experts such as those studied by Hutchby (1995) and Raymond (2000). Hutchby (1995) studied forms of expertise in this category by looking at the management of expertise in broadcast talk i.e. advice-giving in the radio. If “all broadcast output is knowingly, wittingly, public” (Scannell, 1991) it should be possible to analytically address the ways in which that public orientation in the display of expertise is manifest in the organisational details of interaction. Our work expands the focus on broadcasted expertise by attending how match analysis expertise is made apparent via a combination of language, video practices and technology.

### *From instant reply to instant match analysis*

When looking at scholarship interested in sport broadcasting we recognise a primary focus of the expertise on talk (Ferguson, 1983; Kuiper, 1997; Kuiper et al., 1997; Delin, 2000). Ferguson (1983) describes sportscasting as ‘the oral reporting of an ongoing activity, combined with provision of background information and interpretation’ (Ferguson, 1983: 155-156). The skill exhibited by sportcasters is that they are smooth talkers (Kuiper, 1996). Fluency is regarded as an important aspect of the expertise of the sportcaster in that the talk and the accuracy of the depiction of the events is produced together with the speed of the actions:

‘The task of a commentator of fast sports is to be fluent enough to keep up with the pace of what is happening in the visual field as otherwise the commentator would miss some episodes of the game. So the faster the sport, the more difficult it is for the commentator to speak and report immediately what is taking place’ (Kuiper, 1996).

An interesting body of interactional studies is emerging to focus on video practices in several professional fields (CIT), and also in relation to sport broadcasts (Perry et al., 2019; Camus, 2017a; 2017b; 2015). Literature on video replay for example examines the threading together of visual image streams that are temporally separated (live and non-live video footage) under real-time conditions and how image work is coordinated within members of a television crew. Given the heightened temporal constraints under which live replay is coordinated, relevant sequences cover events such as umpiring decisions or displays of skills and emotional involvement of individual players.

The growing demand in the audience for tactically informed commentaries combined with the orientation by major data companies to push tactical data from the realm of the esoteric to the everyday has produced a new breed of TV pundits that are keen to tackle the details of the game. TV formats such as Match of the Day or Goals on Sunday are for discussions to take a different slant towards more engaging and deeper tactical analyses. Match analysts in this category of sport broadcasts combine the smooth talk expertise of sportcasters with the studio director’s ability to thread together talk and reply images under real-time conditions.

## *Expertise in public*

Harry Collins (2010) describes changes in epistemological privilege with the introduction of sport-decision technology as it applies to spectators, television viewers and commentators. With being broadcasted, the display of football analyst expertise shifts from presumptive to 'transparent' (Collins, 2010). Presumptive is when one has good reasons to assume that expertise could be made visible if only one was in the position to see it (see also Raymond 2000): for example, in the locker room or in the backroom of elite coaching staff.

Transparent expertise for Collins means instead that high status football professionals turned analysts are in fact seen to show expertise in front of a camera. When the display of expertise becomes televised, the mechanisms through which experts establish their authority from being implied become open to scrutiny.

To demonstrate analysis expertise to an unspecified audience outside the professional field (Lymer, 2009) is a challenge to professional vision (Goodwin, 1994). In match analysis, this requires not only that the analyst displays the specialised technique of tactical video analysis. Analysts attending sport broadcasts should also make accountably visible (Lynch, 2006: 97) the ability to pair images and other instructions in a sequence that makes tactical nuances accessible to the generic viewer. In doing so, the scopic system that affords assessment of a football match (i.e. the telestrator) is re-oriented and its qualities as a mean of instructing vision are topicalised.

In our analysis, we will look into how different modes of scopic access to the details of play in televised match analysis (e.g. the game action shown on the video clips operated by the analyst and the other image produced by the traditional camera mounted in the TV studio) are used in the TV studio to shift between different projection of a commentator's stance towards the events. Contrary to Collins (2010), we will consider the display of 'transparency' as a socially situated, historically constituted achievement.

## **Data & Method**

The empirical part of the paper analyses how TV pundits use the telestrator in sports broadcasts to diagram and analyse football tactics. A telestrator (or video marker) is a

device that allows its operator to draw a sketch or overlay the moving or still video image with shapes (ovals, arrows, halos).

Our dataset initially consisted of 30 minutes of match analysis video clips from TV sport broadcasts covering various games and involving various analysts. In this paper we have selected just one case, taken from Sky Sport Monday Night Football. In this case the match analyst is James (“Jamie”) Carragher, an English retired famous footballer. Carragher is analysing one episode of a match between Manchester United and Chelsea played on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October 2014. Chelsea was playing an away game and was winning 0-1 till four minutes into extra time. At this point Manchester U. won a free kick on the right side of the goal defended by Chelsea. As the BBC sport writer Phil McNulty described what happened then: “Di Maria's resulting free-kick saw Chelsea goalkeeper Thibaut Courtois save brilliantly from Marouane Fellaini but Van Persie was on hand to thrash home the rebound and spark wild celebrations around Old Trafford” (<https://www.bbc.com/sport/football/29679403>). Manchester U. was able to equalize the game well beyond the regular time.

The whole episode (from the free kick to the goal) lasted about 12 seconds. In our analysis we will show how Carragher – the match analyst - is going to dissect these 12 seconds in order to explain to the viewers (and to the TV host and the other analyst in the studio) what happened in the pitch: how was it possible that a goal in this occasion has been conceded? Is there anything in the positions of the players in the pitch allowing a viewer to better understand the dynamics of the events? Is there any tactical football feature to be disclosed, so that the viewer can better appreciate the details of the actions? Is there any feature of the footage (the positions of the players in the pitch, their relations, their movements, the direction of the ball, etc.) to be seen so that what appears on viewing the event live (even with different repeated views of the same action) as a chaotic assemblage of disorganized gestures is instead shown as an organized ensemble?

## **Analysis**

In the analysis section we will focus on three modes of doing description: (a) comparing images; (b) analysing details in a visual Gestalt and (3) prospective vision. The first mode is apparent when particular aspects of a visual object are made comparable. The comparison should account for the ways in which two different images can be demonstrated to be

similar, according to certain features. The second is when relevant details are put in context as a reflexive pattern of figure and background. The third mode has to do with describing an image by anticipating the future course of action.

### *1. Comparing images*

In the example below, the match analyst shows how a video clip can be compared to another. The two clips being compared are the one leading to the goal and a similar episode earlier in the game. In both occasions an indirect free kick has been awarded to the attacking team in red shirt (Manchester United). The other team in blue shirt (Chelsea) is defending the goal. In order to compare the position of the players the screen has been split in two parts. Each part has been frozen at the exact moment in which the player in red shirt (bottom of the screen) is preparing the kick. See the following picture:



**Fig. 1:** The split screen

The left part of the screen shows an earlier action in the game, while the right part of the screen shows the sequence leading to the goal. The analyst wants to show that the positions of the defending players (in blue shirts) in the occasion of the goal (half-screen to the right) put the attacking players (in red shirts) in a better position compared to what happened earlier (half-screen to the left). In the right half-screen one attacking player (in red shirts) takes advantage of the positions of the defending team and scores a goal.

In our analysis, we will show how the analyst actively demonstrates similarities and differences in the player positions in the two occasions through a combination of talk, oriented looking, gesture, sound and image - including the split screen image. In the Excerpt 1.1 below the analyst uses the split screen to compare images:



Ex. 1.1<sup>1</sup>

29 #1 let just look at the set up. Fabregas #2 still in the same role.



#1 back to the full screen



#2 points first to the left then to the right figure

30 (3.0)

31 Willian, #3 ok let's replace him with Mikel, doing the same role. #4 (1.0)



#3 C points to Willian



#4 C points to Mikel

The television screen is immediately switched from full screen (#1) to a format where the telestrator's toolbar is visible (#2). In this way the audience can have visual access also to the actions that the analyst takes on the telestrator.

The analyst starts to demonstrate similarities and differences between the two footages by looking first at the position of two players in blue shirts (Chelsea, the defending team) (l. 29, #1). He points the touch pen to the player to the far left of the left half screen, and then turns to point to the player to the far left of the right half screen (#2), naming the player that is pointed ("Fabregas"). The name of the player is equated to a position ("role") in the pitch that is shown to be the same in the two situations. The touch pen generates an halo effect, circling the player with a persisting rounded mark<sup>2</sup>.

Then (l. 31) the analyst points to two other players: one in the half-screen to the left (#3) and names him ("Willian"); the other in the half-screen to the right. He notes that while the player in the right-half of the screen is different ("Mikel"), it appears that he is occupying the same position ("role") as Willian in the earlier free-kick (l. 31, #4).

<sup>1</sup> The sign # indicate the exact positioning of the image in the talk of the analyst.

<sup>2</sup> There is also a sort of white line marking the position of player: it is a sign marked by the referee on the pitch to indicate the minimum distance the player must occupy from the ball. This is not a mark generated by the analyst using the telestrator.

Note that the analyst uses the term ‘role’ to refer to the player positions (l. 29 and 31) marking the similarities between the cases. “Role” in this case is to be understood as a relational term, pointing to the occasional position in a space occupied by a player in a particular moment in time and in relation with the other players. We argue that differently from what could be called “coding”- i.e. organizing the world into categories (Goodwin 1994: 668), here the analyst avoids classifying the players into tactical categories (for instance, he does not refer to “role” of a player as a “defender” or a “striker”). Sense-making in this case is not a matter of cognition (providing information to the viewer), but of immediate perceptual apprehension. Understanding does not require any prior knowledge by the viewer. The analyst simply uses a pointing device to *unveil* positions in the pitch, *exhibiting* positions in the visual field. The pundit is addressing our attention toward visual features of the visual field, rendering them relevant in order for the viewer to see the elements in the two pictures as similar elements, that is, elements displaying similar organized configurations of players.

In the following excerpt we analyse how the visual display is interplayed by a verbal description.

Ex 1.2.

32 #5 these six giants here for Chelsea#6,



#5 starts drawing



#6 ends the drawing

33 #7 the six giants there for Chelsea#8.



#7 starts drawing



#8 ends the drawing

In the above excerpt, the analyst starts drawing an arrow around a group of blue players lining up along the edge of the small box. In both occasions, he draws the same shape accompanying the first drawing by saying “these six giants here for Chelsea” (l. 32), the second drawing with “the six giants there for Chelsea” (l. 33). It is important to note here how the organization of the verbal description matches exactly the visual display (“here”, “there”; l. 32-33, picture #7).

In the figure below, we magnify the clip in #8 to show that the first player in the line of blue players is left out of the arrow drawn to the left half-screen:



Fig. 2: A close up to show that there is one man missing in the picture to the right

It is apparent in this excerpt how the unveiling of certain similarities and differences in the visual field is achieved through the simultaneous use of language, gesture and the features of the video marker which mutually elaborate each other. Deictic terms such as ‘here’ and ‘there’ could not be worked out without this multimodal package of complementary meaning-making practices – an example of what C. Goodwin would probably have called “environmentally coupled gestures” (Goodwin, 2007: 55; see also Arminen & Auvinen 2013).

At this point, the commentator starts talking about similarities and differences in the players’ positions. Cleaning all the previous markers on the screen using the erase button on the telestrator toolbar (fig. #9 below), the pundit asks what the difference between the two images is (l. 34). He then points the pen to the first player in the wall to the left screen and says: “the difference is they’ve got no one in that role that Oscar is taking up there, in this position” (l. 35-36).

34 #9 what’s the difference? #10 (1.0)



#9 presses control button

#10 presses control button

35 #11 the difference is they've got no one in that role,



#11 points to Oscar

36 that #12 Oscar is taking up there, #13 in this position.



#12 pointing

#13 points to the right screen

37 that's the big difference.

What is important to note here for the purpose of our analysis is that the pundit does not just display knowledge regarding the name of the players and their role in the game. He also shows ability to spot differences between game situations. He does so first by pointing the pen to a player in the screen to the left (making a ring appearing around him; see fig. #12). He then points to a void in the half-screen to the right (#13). In this way the pundit is making concretely visible an absence, a void, that finds its meaning through a reference to a previous situation.

Comparison is the way in which a disciplinary way of seeing is demonstrated in publicly accountable ways. By spotting a difference and by marking it with an evaluation (i.e. *that's the big difference*) the analyst shows to the audience where to look and how this looking matter for the understanding of the game. With his expert ways of looking the analyst brings order to an apparently similar crowd of bodies in coloured shirts, perceptually

orienting the audience toward those features in the image and building a visual knowledge that would cast any understanding of future development of the game.

To summarize, so far we have shown that making images comparable through selecting relevant features is one element of what makes match analysis a form of visual expertise.

## 2. Analyzing details in a visual Gestalt

Another mode of expert vision is that of identifying details and refer to them as an organized Gestalt. Expert vision in this case consists in showing how an organization emerges from the constituent details of an image.

In the following three excerpts the analyst turns to examine a situation where the ball is being crossed in the box. Nearly all the players in the pitch are crowded in the penalty area. The players in blue shirts (Chelsea team) are defending their goal. The players in red shirts (Manchester U. team) are attacking. The footage has been frozen when the ball has just been kicked.

### Ex.2.1.

112 I wanna highlight #14(2.0)#15 Rojo #16 with John Terry.



113 they got six giants there,  
114 but the two ones you-, two players you really want attacking the ball,  
115 John Terry, Gary Cahill. #17Rojo does #18fantastic.



116 blocks him, stops him winning the ball.

The focus of the analyst is, first, on two players: Rojo (in red shirt) and John Terry (in blue shirt) (l. 112). The analyst uses the touch pen to orient the audience attention toward the two players. A round blue circle appears on touch around them, a circle that turns out to be a magnifying bubble (#15). The appearance of the magnifier bubble over the frame is

precisely coordinated with the word 'I want to highlight' and a switch of the camera from full-screen game footage to the telestrator dashboard. The figure below shows from close-up what's inside the bubble (see Fig.3).



**Fig. 3:** A close up into the magnifying bubble showing Rojo (red) "blocking" John Terry (blue)

The two players are visually highlighted and made to stand out from the rest: now a closer scrutiny is made possible. The image is also made available to the audience in full screen, without the toolbar to frame it (#18).

The camera passes on the analyst talking to the TV host (#17). The analyst is going to tell why he used the lens effect. He previously mentioned the "six giants" of Chelsea: the six players organized in a wall to defend their six-yard box. Here the focus is on just one of them (John Terry) . According to the analyst, Terry is one of the two most important players (the other one would be Gary Cahill) that Chelsea (the blue team) has to defend their goal, preventing the red team to win the ball.

Through the use of the magnifying lens, the pundit takes the audience to better *see* the image. By separating two players (John Terry and his direct opponent, Rojo) from a bunch of others, he prepares the audience to appreciate the relevance of what is being described.

The analyst describes and evaluates the action of John Terry' direct opponent at that moment, Rojo (in red shirt): "Rojo does fantastic, blocks him [John Terry, in blue shirt], stops him winning the ball" (l. 115-116). By saying this, the commentator first selects one player among a bunch of players, then considers the direct interaction of this highlighted player with his opponent, and finally instructs the audience to see that the lens effect is oriented to the reasons of the selection.

The line also contains (l. 115) an overt evaluation of Rojo’s action (“fantastic”). It is important to note here how camera actions accompany the switch from descriptions to evaluations. As soon as the analyst expresses an evaluation i.e. “Rojo does fantastic” the camera switches to the wider angle of the TV studio and the body of the commentator becomes visible from the waist up. Once the conditional relevance is set for what has to be seen next the analyst looks again to the screen (#17) and the camera switches back to the game footage (#18). Camera actions are therefore part of the process of reflexively tying the image, a skilful selection of visually made evident parts of it, to a verbal description (the activity of “blocking”, “stopping”), and to the overt assessment of that action.

In the next section, we complete our account of the analyst’s visual Gestalt by looking at how individual player’s physical postures are topicalised in relation to the game situation. In the following sequence, the pundit turns to examine the position of another key player in blue: Gary Cahill.

**Ex.2.2.**

117 just have a look, at #19 Gary #20 Cahill



#19 magnified area



#20 points to Gary Cahill

118 compared to the other players. #21 (1.0) he looks like he is on #22 stilts.



#21 moves around the circle of the magnified area



#22 moves the circle around the players

119 #23 he’s so far higher than the other players.



#23 the circle moves around the players in full screen

The analyst invites the audience to “have a look” (l. 117) and then he shifts the lens towards the other end of the six-yard box.



Fig. 4: Detailed view of Cahill (blue) ‘on stilts’

This time the audience is not asked to focus just at the players inside the magnifying circle but to make a local comparison between the player in the magnifying circle and other players around him. This invitation to make a local comparison is accompanied by a movement of the magnifying lens over other players in the box. The analyst verbally focuses on a feature of the player under the lens: “he looks like he is on stilts” (l. 118).

The pundit is acting as an expert who is teaching how to look: he is instructing to see how one player is higher than the others with the help of a lens that magnifies details that would have been otherwise overlooked as well as by offering a metaphorical (“he looks like he is on stilts”, l. 118) and then literal (“he so far higher than the other players”, l. 119) description of the player’s body. The player’s physical feature of being taller is made accountable through constant reference to the local context and the other players. Once the visual point has been made completely transparent in terms of its actual perceptual understanding (through enhanced visual access coupled with descriptions) the



analyst is going to offer the reasons of this apparently “weird” physical appearance. The camera action marks a move to a different mode: now the focus is on the analyst in the studio. Offering reasons doesn’t need an ocular access to the phenomenon.

### Ex. 2.3

120 the reason is as we mentioned #24 last week, with Tim Howard.



#24 talks to his pundits

121 #25 the bouncing.



#25 moving hands as in jumping

122 and he's just caught in the air #26



#26 looking down to the screen

123 the reason he's bouncing up and down is because there is that many bodies.  
124 I have been there myself,  
125 you can't see the ball.  
126 and there are not other ways to defend  
127 other trying to defend the set piece,  
128 late in the game, and you can't see the ball.  
129 sometimes you look around people,  
130 he's obviously jumping.

What is interesting to note here is how the player's weird physical appearance is made naturally accountable. The analyst first has identified some unusual visual features of the image, allowing the viewer to identify one player among the others for his appearance. Then he explains that this is not a physical characteristic (i.e. 'being on stilts'). Accompanying it with a sort of re-enactment (Sidnell, 2006), he concedes that the player appears so much taller than others because of the "the bouncing" (l.121; 'bouncing up and down', l. 123): the player 'is caught in the air'. The analyst subsequently introduces some reasons to make this "thin" description of the player behavior fully accountable. The reason is that the player is clearing his view because from his position he cannot see the ball (the player is amid "many bodies", l. 123). With a "thick" description, the analyst renders the action of the player that of an act of "jumping" (l.130).

This 'thick' description is offered on the basis of a strong epistemic status ("I have been there myself", l. 124). It is interesting to reconsider here what Harry Collins (2010) says about the "epistemological privilege" of the expert. One of the sources of epistemological privilege for Collins is the *superior view*: a position in the field that provides a better view of the action. In this case the expert's explanation is achieved in the interplay between the superior view of the video analysis and the "inferior" view gained from direct experience i.e. "I have been there myself" (l. 124). It is only through a personal account of the player's view from the ground ("you can't see the ball", 125), phenomenologically grounding the description of the body to the reasons of this apparent physical appearance, that is possible to see this puzzling "being on stilts" as a "bouncing". that what might appear to be a weird posture (i.e. 'being on stilts') can be seen as a 'bouncing' and made a completely understandable, transparent, action in the game ('he's obviously jumping', l. 130).

To summarize, in this second section on the expert vision we have seen how relevant details of an image are put into context. We have shown how the bodily appearance of a player is explained by putting it in relation to the surrounding players (the player is taller than the others) and to the game situation (the player is jumping to see the ball). The expert description allows viewers to understand a potentially problematic visual feature in and as a reflexive pattern of figure and background: "being higher" is made accountable by the fact that "he is jumping", and the "jumping" explains the apparent weird appearance, made now obvious. Expert vision in this case consists in showing how an organization (in football, defending the box, fighting to reach the best position for winning the ball) emerges from the

constituent details of an image, where at the same time these details give a full understand of the whole picture.

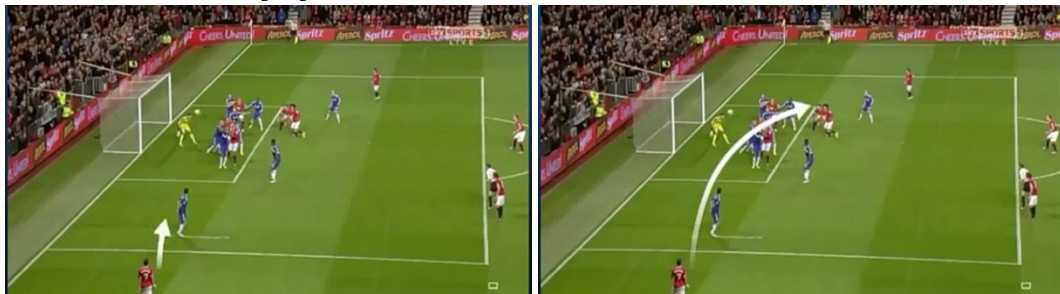
### 3. Prospective vision

Next we describe a third mode of expert vision: anticipating actions and moves on the pitch so that the viewer already knows what is there to be seen when the clip is played.

In Excerpt 3 below, the analyst is still focusing on the situation described above i.e. the last minute goal scored by Man United. This time described is the trouble the defending team (blue shirts) encounters when a free kick is taken with the technique of the “outswing”. The analyst focuses on the way the ball has been kicked. He starts by referring to one player of the defending team (“he”, l.167, is the same Gary Cahill we have encountered before) and his “problem”. The problem is that the ball is an “outswing”: a cross taken with the internal part of the left foot so that the ball’s trajectory goes towards the goal before arching back inside the box.

#### Ex.3

167 another problem he’s got is.  
168 it’s an #25 out swinging free kick.#26r



#25 starts drawing the arrow  
on a frozen image

#26 the end of the arrow

The commentator stops the clip when the ball is mid-air and draws a white arrow with the video marker to show the trajectory of the ball. The analyst utterance of the word ‘outswinging’ begins with the white arrow showing the trajectory of the cross and is finely attuned to the completion of the drawing: the analyst drags to make the word ‘outswinging’ end exactly at the same time as the drawing.

The arrow makes apparent the full trajectory the ball from where the free kick is taken to the head of the player where the ball will eventually land. In this way, the analyst is *anticipating* a feature of the play, making the end result visually and verbally (169: “so it’s

coming to Fellaini”) available to the viewers prior to being shown in the clip. *The drawing* of the outswinging trajectory of the ball shows that the defenders find themselves in a weaker position compared to that of the opponent. The attacking player (i.e. Fellaini) is shown to be eventually able to jump and make a successful header *before* that actually happens.

The expert description here is a kind of foresight of a future state of affair, the prediction of an expected result, of introducing a stable course of action where the contingencies could have produced very different outcomes. The expert description provides an informed looking, a visual knowledge, with which the subsequent looking of the video clip allows to appreciate the definitive precise local outcome.

### **Discussion: The environmental coupling of visual sport punditry**

In this section we come back to how the epistemological conditions afforded by the introduction of optical technologies to sport broadcasts affect the display of match analysis expertise.

In this paper we presented match analysis expertise as a case of the change in the requirement of professional vision from the presumptive expertise typical of situations where expertise is privately imparted to the more public display of “punditry”, where expertise needs to be also demonstrated to an unspecified audience (Lymer, 2009).

With sport punditry the discursive and camera practices that make a domain of scrutiny (a pattern of play in a game of football) emerges as an object of vision. Unlike coding practices in scientific disciplines, the encounter between talk and image in televised match analysis is not organised by any system of inscription of the kind of a Munsell Chart (Goodwin, 1994: 609). As shown in our case, perception is organised by mundane acts of simple visual comparison between similar footages as made available by the split screen image. This is because unit within which the intersubjectivity of football analysis is lodged includes member of the audience of a sport broadcast that are not necessarily trained as football analysts. The TV commentator is expected to also ‘perceive the perceptions’ (Goodwin 1994:619) of an audience of lay people and be able to describe them what is happening at a football game.

Our data also show another specific aspect of visual sport punditry. It concerns how match analyst’s epistemological privilege is achieved in situ (Raymond, 2000). To discuss the role of

technology-supported video practices in sport, Harry Collins (2010) introduces the notion of 'epistemological privilege': the source of the authority that for example match officials have to 'see it as it is'. Epistemological privilege has two sources: (i) *superior view*, that is a position on the field of play that provides a better view of the action and (ii) *specialist skills* deriving from being an ex-player of the sport, having received special training and being continually scrutinised by professional bodies.

For what concerns specialist skills, we found that match analysts interactionally achieve epistemological privilege through technologically-enhanced environmentally coupled gestures (Goodwin, 2007:55). Transitions between different modes of scoping access made this type of somatic skill openly inspectable by a televised audience through.

The first mode of access is the commentary of the game, where the video clip of the match is normal speed and full screen. The role of the analyst in this first mode is not remarkably different from that of an ordinary sportcaster (Ferguson, 1983; Kuiper, 1997; Delin, 2000). Talk accompanies events as they unfold and narration is composed of time critical utterances, which occur at the time of play and serve to describe it (Delin 2000).

The second is the demonstration of expert conduct where match analyst expertise is seen to be shown as the specialist skill of coupling words, images and video markers in a time-critical fashion. In this second mode, the video clip is shown within the telestrator dashboard frame. The hand of the commentator appears gesturing on it with a touch pen. The time-critical coordination of talk with the analyst screen touch is key to achieve meaning-making in this mode of access. While the flow of the commentary is slowed down together with the video image arguably making the temporality of the action a more 'docile object' (Garfinkel; Linch, 185), the sound of the crowd is still audible in the background. Sound effects and the time-critical coordination of talk and gesture on the video marker stand to emphasise that there is an element of multimodal sequencing that makes somatic skills central to the display of expertise in this mode of scopic access.

The coupling of camera actions and talk in the case of match analysis is not meant to direct a camera operated by others, as in Mondada's surgeon as director case (Mondada, 2014). It is because - as in Garfinkel's idea of instructably observable arrangements (Garfinkel, 2002: 211) - the recognisability of expertise relies on these situated actions aimed at instructing vision being made openly inspectable by others.

For what concerns superior view, sometimes neither the view from above of the video images nor the telestrator tools are sufficient to account for how a player sees the game. When the camera switches to the wider angle of the TV studio and the body of the commentator becomes visible from the waist up that the crowd noise fades and we enter a different mode of scopic access. That's the ground level view that players have when for example they look for the ball and are covered by other players: a view that one can have only from being there. The switch of the camera marks the end of the environmentally coupled description in real time and the beginning of the specialist evaluation of what has just been described. It is only in this more explanatory mode of scopic access that the analyst mobilise evidence also from offline sources including his credentials of former professional footballer.

## **Conclusions**

This study examined a case in which the taken-for-grantedness of visual data is achieved as a result of artful practices of instructed viewing. What is there to be seen is the result of a highly specialized technical eye that scans the visual phenomena, describes the bodily configurations in the visual field and illustrates them to a general audience through discursive and technical apparatuses. Ours is a case where a professional sport commentator instructs a lay audience on how to see visual configurations in their relevant details. Our analysis is reminiscent of Garfinkel's idea that the recognisability of actions relies on these situated instructed actions being made openly inspectable by others:

"The idea is this: worldly objects, as of the cogency and the cohesion of details, are available in the looks of organizational Things. If not, then where else in the world are you going to find them? Ethnomethodologically, they are available in an instructably observable arrangement, of apparent details—of details in and as their coherence producedly provided for." (Garfinkel 2002: 211; italics not in the original).

The instructed vision in the case of match analysis is organized through the construction of a spatial layout in which the elements of the game (the players, their actions and their

reciprocal interactions) are made immediately visible and evident, revealing aspects of the 'endogenously produced coherent appearances of Things' (Garfinkel, 2002: 211).

The relation between the (descriptions-of-the-actions-in-the-game) and the {actions in the game}<sup>3</sup> is that of *adequateness*. It can be assumed that the {actions in the game} are practical actions that players accomplish for the purpose of the match ({making a good pass}, {winning a tackle}, {shaking off to receive the ball}, etc.). As it is for all practical productions, the elements of the game "are all highly observable ones ('practical' here having to do with accountably observable)" (Baccus 1986:3). These (descriptions) are able to offer a rendering of the {actions in the game} (these actions are not just the product of chance but are product of the real-world phenomena of professional football) trading on their deployment by the players in the game. The {actions on the game} are the resources for the analyst's enterprise.

By showing clear spatial relationship between relevant players, so that they are easier to identify, the commentator does impose a visual order to the scene. The commentator shows the audience how to become familiar with the spatial patterns by which the players are distributed in the field, revealing aspects of the 'endogenously produced coherent appearances of Things' (Garfinkel, 2002: 211).

In professional fields like medical professions and surgery, the instructed action is aimed at teaching novices how to perform very skilful actions on the body of a patient (Mondada, 2014). In our case expert vision become apparent in that it offers the audience an instructed way of seeing the game, in the same way an art critic would describe and explain a work of art for art lovers (reference?). Simultaneously, the way transparency of vision is achieved through the digitally enhanced manipulation of video clips in real time contributes to define the expertise in the new field of video analysis in sport broadcasts. This finding resonates with Goodwin when he says that "Discursive practices are used by members of a profession to shape events in the domains subject to their professional scrutiny. The shaping process creates the objects of knowledge that become the insignia of a profession's craft: the theories, artefacts, and bodies of expertise that distinguish it from other professions" (Goodwin 1994: 606).

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<sup>3</sup> Regarding the notation, see Garfinkel & Wieder 1992, p. 187.

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