

Analyzing Stance in Parliamentary Debates: A Corpus-Assisted Study using the APPRAISAL Framework

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Abstract

The current study investigates the language of stance, stance-taking and intersubjective stance in parliamentary discourse by analysing the Appraisal resources used by MPs in the UK Parliament. Focusing in particular on the attitudinal and dialogistic (ENGAGEMENT) resources used by parliamentarians in debates on the subject of flooding, the Thesis explores the role that these resources play in the construction of stance and intersubjective stance in parliamentary debates. Using Appraisal Framework of Martin and White (2005) and conducting a corpus-assisted discourse study (CADS), this study shows that the relationship between language and political stance is complex and not always straightforward due to the nature of political discourse as it unfolds in the highly specific context of parliamentary debating, which is a subgenre of political discourse that has its own rules and conventions. Further, it is argued that political stance cannot always be read directly from surface language forms in parliamentary debates. Politicians might express a public stance that is different from, if not diametrically opposed to, their real stance. They do so to achieve certain diplomatic and political ends particularly if exposing their real stance would harm their relations with their own political party affiliations.

While this Thesis demonstrates that the Appraisal Framework can be a practicable framework for analysing stance in parliamentary debates, it also reveals some features of stance-taking in parliamentary instances that the Appraisal Framework fails to detect. The Thesis proposes to rectify this by introducing two new sub-categories - ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE - within the ENGAGEMENT system.

Another innovative contribution of this study relates to the ATTRIBUTION sub-system of the Appraisal Framework. The current distinction between ATTRIBUTION sub-categories is mainly based on its dialogistic role in text (contractiveness and expansiveness). This Thesis proposes to consider the criterion of relevance between authorial stance and attributed stance in analysing ATTRIBUTION cases. If this relevance is positive, then ATTRIBUTION is supportive, whereas if the relevance between the authorial stance and the attributed stance is negative, then ATTRIBUTION is confrontational. Applying this distinction to parliamentary debates, the Thesis finds that confrontational types of ATTRIBUTION are mostly detected in ATTRIBUTE +

COUNTER sequences. Therefore, another proposal of this Thesis is to view ENGAGEMENT values as sequences, rather than self-standing units. Applying this view to the empirical data collected for this Thesis, it is established that ENGAGEMENT values do not operate separately in parliamentary debates, and consequently there is a need to analyse them as sequences to better understand their meanings and dialogistic effects in text.

The analysis is also extended to include a comparative analysis between Government MPs and Opposition MPs in their use of attitudinal language and ENGAGEMENT resources. The results suggest that there is a strong correlation between the parliamentary role of MPs and the type of attitudinal and ENGAGEMENT sequences they use. It is argued that the recurrence of argumentative polarized stance among MPs is problematic in that it has the potential to damage the authenticity of parliaments as deliberative institutions. Thus, this Thesis identifies reform of the linguistic conventions of parliamentary debating as a crucial part of any attempt to reform parliamentary institutions more generally.

Dedication

To My Dearest Husband & Soulmate:

Ahmed Al-Badi

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Rationale of the Study

This research project aims to study the language of stance in parliamentary debates. Its primary objective is to investigate how stance is linguistically realized in the UK Parliament, with specific reference to the House of Commons. It is very important to clarify that this study distinguishes between ‘stance as a linguistic act’ and ‘stance as a political ideology’. In linguistics, stance or what is also called ‘evaluation’, ‘evaluative meaning’, ‘attitudinal meaning’ or ‘appraisal’ all refer to the lexical and grammatical expressions of the speaker or writer’s attitudes, feelings, viewpoints or judgements about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. In political science, in contrast, stance refers to a political value or ideology which constitutes a set of ideas, thoughts and beliefs that are shared by the members of a social group.

Nevertheless, it is of crucial importance to highlight that the current study views political stance as a discursive process through which people negotiate their political positioning (Sullivan, 1993; Jaffe, 2009a & Jaffe, 2009b). In other words, political stance is a dynamic discursive process that unfolds and evolves through text. Hence, various evaluative linguistic features can be seen as the building blocks that determine stance. Analyzing these features can help reveal the discursive enactment of political stance. This is not to say that this Thesis will suggest that this relation is straightforward. On the contrary, the analysis reported in this Thesis will show that the relation between the two is extremely complex and multifaceted.

In summary, then, one of the main goals of this research is to explore the relations between stance as a linguistic act and stance as a political act. Also, unlike many other studies which adopted a computer-based approach in the analysis of political stance and positioning (e.g., Laver, Benoit and Garry, 2003; Slapin and Proksch, 2008; Proksch and Slapin, 2009), this research is the first of its kind to implement the Appraisal Framework in the analysis of political stance and it is the first of its kind to combine corpus methodology and discourse analysis in analyzing the notion of political stance through text. Based on this, my research will start from the micro-level of stance-taking; that is, from stance as a linguistic act towards the macro-level of stance as a political

act. The discursive constructions of stance will be tracked via identifying the Appraisal resources and evaluative language used in parliamentary debates.

1.2 The Significance of Stance in Parliamentary Discourse

According to John Du Bois (2007):

“One of the most important things we do with words is take a stance. Stance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value.” (pp. 139)

Stance-taking as an interactional and discursive phenomenon (Jaffe, 2009b) is not only a significant and complex area of language use, but a representation of a sociocultural value within the users of its discourse community. The significance of stance in parliamentary discourse is manifested in the nature of its context where various MPs representing different political affiliations interact in one place. This characteristic makes it an ideal genre for investigating the phenomenon of stance. Surprisingly, however, and despite the notable growing interest in stance in general (Hunston & Thompson, 2000; Biber, 1988; 2006a; 2006b; Biber & Finegan, 1988; 1989; Hyland, 1998; Hyland, 2005; Bednarek, 2006; Bednarek, 2008; White, 1998; White, 2003; White, 2004; White, 2006; Martin, 1995; Martin, 2003; Martin & White, 2005; etc.), the phenomenon still remains under-researched in the parliamentary context, with only a few studies appearing over the last two decades (e.g., Miller, 2004, 2007; Chojnicka, 2012; and more recently Albusafi, 2019 and Jakaza, 2019). With parliaments as highly opinionated contexts, and taking a stance to be a pervasive phenomenon in these contexts, studying stance in the field of parliamentary debates deserves closer attention and more systematic investigation. The current study seeks to fill at least part of this gap through studying the stance in a genre that carries a heavy load of evaluative meaning.

1.3 Thesis Aims and Objectives

It is beyond the scope of this study to reach a definitive and comprehensive conclusion about stance taking in all parliamentary institutions, for a number of reasons. First, parliaments do not follow one system and one structure. They vary according to a number of factors such as the political system, socio-cultural variables, and institutional regulations and conventions. Second, the sub-genres of discourse in parliamentary institutions vary from one parliament to another. For instance, Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs) is unique to the UK Parliament, with no clear equivalent in the parliamentary institutions of any other country.

This being the case, this study will aim only to analyse instances and patterns with relevance to the expression, realization and construction of stance in UK parliamentary debates in the British House of Commons. In this Thesis, I attempt to accomplish multiple yet connected goals. First, I aim to explore the notion of Appraisal and evaluation in the British Parliament. Second, I aim to make a comparative analysis of the use of stance and Appraisal resources between MPs with different political orientations. Third, I examine the communicative and argumentative strategies that are fulfilled by parliamentarians when using these stance and Appraisal resources.

This research takes a case study approach to investigate the Appraisal and evaluative meaning and how it is manifested at the parliamentary debates. The study will use data from the British Parliament on the issues of flooding. It is hoped that the analysis of data from this case study (UK Parliament) will contribute to the formulation of a full typology of how Appraisal is manifested in parliamentary debates.

The following are the general aims and objectives of the Thesis:

- To explore how stance and Appraisal resources are manifested in parliamentary debates;
- To study the attitudinal resources that parliamentarians use to make arguments;
- To examine the ENGAGEMENT strategies that parliamentarians employ to invite their audiences to engage in their arguments;
- To investigate the types of Appraisal resources that are most frequent in parliament;

- To compare between Government MPs and Opposition MPs in their uses of Appraisal resources; and
- To study the communicative and argumentative functions of these Appraisal resources in light of a proposed theoretical and conceptual framework.

Also, among the broader aims that this study addresses is the uses of inscribed and invoked stance and, more specifically, how parliamentary questions are used by MPs to invoke stance. Another broader issue that this Thesis will examine is the interplay between positive and negative stance and how it plays a role in constructing oppositional and polarized stance in parliamentary discourse. The Thesis will further highlight the type(s) of affective language used by MPs and what functions they fulfil. With regard to ENGAGEMENT resources, this research aims not only to study the frequency and the functions of these resources in the corpus, but also how they interplay and interact with each other to formulate meanings and arguments. Unlike previous studies, this study does not view ENGAGEMENT resources in isolation, rather it sees them as unfolding in conjunctions and sequences, and argues that their meaning can only be fully understood if they are viewed in this way. I will refer to these dialogistic sequences as ENGAGEMENT sequences, and it is an additional aim of this Thesis to study the uses and functions of these sequences in parliamentary debates.

The current study uses both quantitative and qualitative analysis to explore strategies of stance and alignment/dis-alignment practiced in parliamentary debates employing both the Appraisal Framework as well as a more general conceptual framework that will be elaborated in Chapter Three of the Thesis. It examines how MPs discursively construct communities of shared values, constructing for themselves particular identities or personae while at the same time aligning with or dis-aligning from those they address in parliamentary debates and in the wider public.

1.4 Structure and Organization of the Thesis

This thesis consists of eleven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two goes over the key characteristics of parliaments as political institutions and examines their institutional roles. It then discusses discourse practices in parliamentary

contexts and evaluates what is considered parliamentary language and what is considered ‘unparliamentary’ (and thus unacceptable) according to UK’s parliamentary regulations. This Chapter also highlights some of the typical features of interaction in the UK parliamentary context with special focus on both the characteristics of Parliamentary Questions (PQ) and Parliamentary Answers (PA). Finally, the Chapter examines the nature of parliamentary audiences and proposes a model for mapping the complexity of its various layers.

Chapter Three extends the theoretical part of this Thesis by discussing the phenomenon of stance from both a linguistic and a political point of view. Chapter Three attempts to situate stance in parliamentary context by examining its contextual factors. It begins by defining stance from both a linguistic and a political perspective. The Chapter then offers a contextualization of the phenomenon in the context of parliament. This leads to the proposal of a conceptual framework that aims to locate stance within both macro- and micro levels in its context. This conceptual framework draws on various theories that have previously studied the phenomenon of stance-taking from different levels and perspectives. This Chapter also expands this theoretical part by specifically focusing on the key theories of Evaluation/Appraisal/Stance (e.g., Biber & Finnegan 1998; Hunston & Francis 2000; Martin & White 2005). The Chapter then provides a detailed introduction to the Appraisal Framework as the analytical framework that will be used for analyzing stance and Appraisal resources in the empirical analysis that lies at the heart of this Thesis. Chapter Four discusses the methodology, corpus and other analytical considerations relating to the empirical analysis. After restating the main research questions of the Thesis, the chapter discusses the role of corpus methodology in discourse analysis, and introduces CADS (Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies) as an approach that combines both corpus analysis and discourse analysis. The Chapter ends by highlighting the considerations that were taken into account when compiling the corpus for the purpose of this study, i.e., the Corpus of Parliamentary Debates on Flooding (abbreviated to CPDF).

The rest of the Thesis is dedicated to presenting the results and findings of the analysis. Chapter Five aims to lay out the quantitative results of an analysis of the ATTITUDE system and its three subsystems: AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. The analysis also includes a statistical comparison of invoked and inscribed attitudinal instances as well as comparing positive and negative ATTITUDE in the corpus in terms

of the frequency and functions of particular features as observed in CPDF. Chapter Six is divided into two parts. The first part provides a comparative analysis of Government and Opposition MPs in terms of their use of ATTITUDE resources. The second part of the Chapter provides a more detailed qualitative analysis of attitudinal language in parliamentary debates.

Chapters Seven and Eight present the quantitative and qualitative results of an analysis of ENGAGEMENT resources in CPDF. Chapter Seven presents the quantitative results of all contractive and expansive resources. Chapter Eight aims to provide a discussion of the qualitative results of ENGAGEMENT uses in CPDF. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first discusses the results of the comparative analysis between Government and Opposition MPs in their use of ENGAGEMENT resources. The second focuses on what I will describe as the span of contractiveness and expansiveness of dialogic resources used in parliamentary debates and the factors influencing this span. This is followed by providing a distinction between contractive and expansive parliamentary questions with examples of each type from the corpus. The Chapter ends by proposing *ENGAGEMENT Sequences* as an operating term for describing extended sequential patterns of ENGAGEMENT resources. Examples of these sequences from CPDF are laid out along with a detailed discussion of their uses and strategic functions in constructing parliamentary arguments.

Chapter Nine presents a proposal for incorporating two dialogistic resources, i.e., ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE under the ENGAGEMENT system of Appraisal. It begins by giving a rationale for this proposal and then goes on to explain why the language of acclamation and denunciation are central in parliamentary discourse. Then, the Chapter presents a quantitative and qualitative analysis of instances of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in CPDF. This is followed by a comparative analysis of the ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE resources used by Government and Opposition MPs. The Chapter argues for the desirability of extending the analysis of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE into other political sub-genres such as UN resolutions in order to better understand their roles in political discourse in general. Finally, the Chapter ends with a discussion of the political implications of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in parliamentary debates.

Chapter Ten analyses the uses of ATTRIBUTION as expansive resource in CPDF. The Chapter discusses the structure and types of ATTRIBUTE resources that are observed to occur in parliamentary debates. It also highlights instances of Self-ATTRIBUTION and instances of what I refer to as *immediate* and *non-immediate* ATTRIBUTE in parliamentary context. The Chapter also provides a proposal for re-classifying ATTRIBUTION in text based on the criterion of relevance between the stance of the authorial voice and the stance of the external voice in ATTRIBUTE cases. *Supportive* and *confrontational* ATTRIBUTION are proposed as sub-types of ATTRIBUTION, and are thoroughly discussed and analysed with examples extracted from CPDF. Chapter Ten ends with a comparative analysis of ATTRIBUTE cases in CPDF among Government and Opposition MPs.

The Eleventh and final Chapter of the Thesis aims to revisit the main research questions and provide a summary of its major findings and arguments. It also outlines the implications and contributions of the Thesis to both the Appraisal Framework in general and to research on parliamentary debates in particular. The limitations of the study will also be highlighted and discussed. The Chapter brings the Thesis to a close by providing suggestions for further and future research.

CHAPTER 2 ¹PARLIAMENTS AND PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present a general overview of parliamentary discourse as an object of academic study. To study ideological bias and stance-taking in parliaments, it is important first to identify and understand the main language and discourse practices that are conventionally performed by parliamentarians. The chapter comprises four sections. The first section defines the concept of “parliament” and discusses its roles as a political institution. The second section highlights the importance of language and its fundamental role in conducting parliamentary activities. This section also differentiates between ‘parliamentary’ and ‘unparliamentary’ language and it affects the stance-taking and positioning practices of politicians in parliamentary contexts. The next section highlights specific features relevant to the nature of interaction in parliaments by considering the sequential nature of parliamentary discourse, shedding light on how stance is uttered and embedded in both parliamentary questions and parliamentary answers. The final section includes a discussion of the multi-layered nature of parliamentary audiences. All arguments advanced in this chapter are supported with textual examples drawn from a corpus of 43 parliamentary debates compiled from the British Hansard on the issues of flooding in the UK specifically collected for the purpose of this study. (Full details of the design, compilation and contents of this corpus will be provided in Chapter 4)

2.2 Parliaments and their Institutional Roles

Before proceeding to analyze any parliamentary institutional talk, it is essential first of all to establish a preliminary understanding of the political roles played by parliaments in general terms. Much of what is discussed and debated inside parliament eventually

¹ Parts of this Chapter was previously published: Albusafi, R. (2019). A Methodological Framework of Stance-Taking and Appraisal in the Parliament. In Jakaza, E. (Ed.), *Argumentation and Appraisal in Parliamentary Discourse*. IGI Global Publisher. Pp.116-155.

results in social and political actions in the wider world, underscoring parliament's significance as a central political institution. In defining "parliament," it is useful to begin by considering the word's etymology from the French word *parler*, which means "to speak." Indeed, most parliamentary activities, such as asking questions, arguing for or against a policy, debating social and political matters, or making ministerial statements, are spoken activities. Over time, the word 'parliament' has "by metonymic transfer... come to refer to an institution specialized in a particular kind of talk, and even to the building that hosts such an institution" (Ilie, 2006, p. 189).

In the last two decades, parliaments have increasingly attracted interest from socially- and functionally-oriented linguists. Bayley (2004, p. 1) affirmed that "parliaments are institutions which are dedicated to talk; members of parliament debate legislative proposals and *scrutinise the work of governments through questioning*; they may also be the sites where *governments explain and justify their policies*" (emphasis added). According to Miller (1997), parliament is the site of a *struggle over meanings*, reflected in its confrontational nature. Similarly, Ilie (2010, p. 1) suggests parliament is "[an] institution [that] regularly offers a political arena for *open deliberation and dissent*, for *discussing opposite points of view* and for jointly reaching compromise solutions through interaction between political adversaries." Van Dijk's (2010, p. 42) definition of parliamentary debates aligns with the above; he defines parliamentary debates as "a specific genre of political discourse and part of the global political action of legislation. They are *types of interaction* in which members of government and the opposition take *turns to support or oppose bills, policies or declarations* as constituent discourses of government and the political process."

Clearly, then, activities such as *scrutinizing the work of governments, justifying policies, negotiating meanings and discussing, and supporting or opposing a point of view* are all tasks that involve confrontation and expressions of attitudinal stance. Each party finds and adopts its stance on a given subject through a process of debating and arguing. However, that attitudinal stance is not always overtly expressed, as parliamentarians use various strategies and mechanisms to articulate their views in ways that comply with parliamentary regulations and norms. The primary aim of the present study is to reveal these discursive strategies for expressing attitudinal stance in one specific form of parliament, that is, the House of Commons division of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Generally, parliaments acquire power by directly influencing legislation. However, the roles of parliaments vary between nations. In the West, parliaments have traditionally been symbolic of democracy within society. Generally elected by the public, they are seen to represent the people. (Whether and to what extent these views are actually held by voters is a more complex question, which cannot be addressed here.)

The role and significance of parliaments have also been influenced by mass media, another platform for the negotiation and practice of political ideas and the exercise of political power and influence. Additionally, the development of social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook have further enhanced the role of the mass media in political discourse. Nevertheless, even if the media has come to play a bigger role in influencing and shaping political opinions, media content may still result from discourse that was initiated in parliament. Parliament is still a place where ministers can be held accountable for their actions (or non-actions) and provides a platform where the government can defend its policies to the public. In fact, parliament's role has arguably been significantly advanced by the media presence. In the UK, Televised coverage of the House of Commons' sessions was not allowed until 1989, but since then, most parliamentary activities in UK have become visible to the public. The BBC even has a television channel entirely devoted to the screening of parliamentary sessions. Thus, parliamentary debates have become more fully a form of public discourse, as media coverage has extended their audience from members of Parliament (MPs) only to the nation's general public and beyond. Though media coverage opens parliamentarians up to increased public scrutiny, parliamentarians can also use the media to more efficiently communicate their ideas, which arguably strengthens the power of parliament rather than undermining it.

However, not all parliaments worldwide enjoy equivalent influence on public policy, due to various socio-political factors and the type of parliamentary system in their country. Generally, parliaments acquire power through *representing the public and law-making* and through their right to force officials to resign under *no-confidence motions*. The Parliament of the United Kingdom, the source of data and focus of analysis for this study, plays all these roles, which influence the power of discourse produced on the floor of the House—the language used in Parliament, reflecting its original purposes, and the real aims that inform parliamentary debate. In other words, there is a close connection between the role of parliament and the language used to

accomplish its roles. As Partington puts it, “the discourse is the institution, the use of language is the whole point of the enterprise” (Partington, 2003: 5).

2.3 Language and Discourse Practices in Parliament

While the previous section explicated the institutional role of parliaments in general terms, the aim of this section is to establish that these roles are mainly practiced by and through language. As Wodak (2008) has pointed out, politics is the use of language by politicians in political institutions, and parliaments, as political institutions, use language to perform their socio-political institutional roles. This section reviews the fundamental role of language in parliamentary practices and discusses how Parliament is primarily a discursive institution. The section also examines the highly regulated nature of parliamentary discourse and how this institutionalized regulation shapes how language is used in parliaments. The highly regulated nature of parliamentary discourse is evident in the classification of parliamentary talk into parliamentary and un-parliamentary language. This aspect is investigated below as well as a discussion on how the institutionalized regulations of language affect the expression of stance by parliamentarians.

2.3.1 Parliament-ing as a Language Activity

Parliaments are sites for political deliberation. It is very difficult to imagine the world of politics without language. Language is used not only to practice politics but also to pursue certain political agendas. Bayley (2004) has argued that most activities of politicians involve language: “*The activities of a politician, which may include things such as seeking consensus, elaborating policy, negotiating and mediating in conflicts, representing interests and opposing the policy of others, are all fundamentally linguistic activities*” (2004, p. 8). As parliaments are political institutions, most of their practices are mainly linguistic activities; *asking questions, criticizing or defending government policies, persuading, debating, and making ministerial statements and speeches* are all generally practiced linguistically and discursively.

Parliamentary language represents an institutional political genre, governed mainly by the institution's specific conventions and regulations addressing both linguistic and non-linguistic practices in the parliament. Ilie (2006) argues that parliamentary discourse

“displays particular institutionalised discursive features and ritualised interaction strategies, while complying with and/or circumventing a number of specific rules and constraints....The discursive interaction of parliamentarians is constantly marked by their institutional role-based commitments, by the dialogically shaped institutional confrontation and by the awareness of acting in front and on behalf of a multi-level audience” (p. 192).

For Ilie, Parliamentary discourse exhibits a public negotiation of meaning, representing a rhetoric of persuasion and revealing much about the discursive construction of MPs' identities and public image. It constructs a competitive type of discourse, in which

“the MPs' interventions are meant to call into question the opponents' ethos, i.e. political credibility and moral profile, while enhancing the speaker's own ethos in an attempt to strike a balance between logos, i.e. logical reasoning, and pathos, i.e. emotion eliciting force” (Ilie, 2010, p. 8).

Parliamentary discourse is generally constructed during this interaction between opposing viewpoints, in which “members of government and the opposition take turns to support or oppose bills, policies or declarations” (Van Dijk, 2010, p. 42). But what really characterizes the language of parliament? According to Bayley (2004):

“particular combinations of certain features involving various levels of linguistic and discursive analysis, such as some phonological features, interaction strategies, intervention length, terms of address, meta-discursive and argumentative lexis, direct and indirect quotation, explicit expressions of belief and opinion, epistemic modality tending towards certainty rather than probability, and complex structures of subordination favouring conditionals and concessives, give parliamentary language its distinctive and recognisable flavor” (p. 13).

However, there are no universal features of parliamentary language; on the contrary, parliamentary language can vary significantly depending on many factors. First, parliaments themselves are not alike. They vary according to political system,

sociocultural variables, and institutional regulations and conventions. Additionally, sub-categories of parliamentary institutions vary among parliaments. For instance, and as mentioned in Chapter 1, in the UK, there is a weekly session devoted to Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs), but in other parliaments, there is no such sub-genre. Also, the languages used varies with the construction of debates, taking on different characteristics and features. Language may also vary according to the parliamentary setting—for instance, language may tend to be adversarial during a full sitting of a parliamentary house, more cooperative in committee meetings, and less formal and based on promises and threats in parliamentary corridors (Bayley, 2004, p. 2). Questioning strategies may also take on a different tone according to the mode of communication. The UK Parliament, for example, employs two types of questions—"Questions for Oral Answers" and "Questions for Written Answers"—and the language used in these forms varies noticeably. For instance, Norton (1993) noted that oral questions tend to be more provocative and adversarial than written ones; oral parliamentary questions (PQs) are usually seen by MPs as a means of gaining publicity while written questions tend to be used to detail public policy content. Media coverage of oral questions may play a role in motivating this attention seeking. Norton's observation has been elaborated in the following graph (Figure 2.1) by Rozenberg and Martin (2012, p. 137):

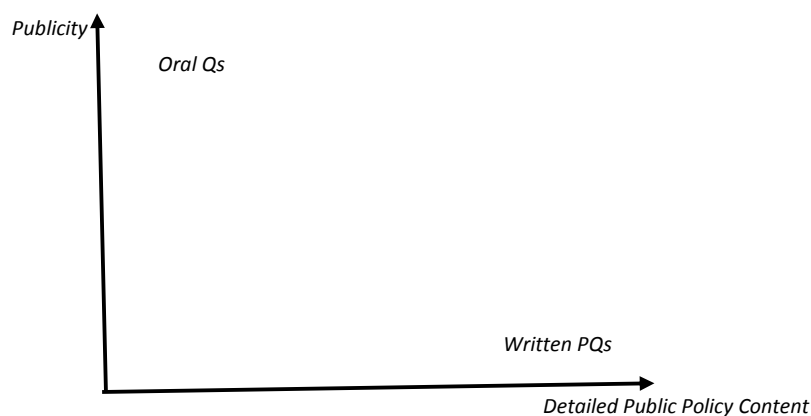


Figure 2.1 Comparison between Oral and Written Parliamentary Questions (Rozenberg and Martin 2012, p.137).

It follows that it will be crucial in every case to consider the type of sub-genre of parliamentary discourse being analysed. The present study examines parliamentary debates that have taken place during ‘Questions for Oral Answers,’ ‘Topical Debates,’ and ‘Urgent Debates’ on the issue of flooding in UK. PMQs will be excluded as this is usually seen as a distinct sub-genre, both because of its uniquely confrontational characteristics and because of the level of media and public interest in this weekly event.

2.3.2 Parliamentary vs. Unparliamentary Language

Beyond the influence of the socio-political context, parliamentary discourse is significantly influenced by specific institutional rules and conventions that all MPs must comply with in their language usage. Notably, “order” is occasionally shouted by the Speaker during parliamentary debates, reminding parliamentarians not to deviate from the norms. This does not, however, imply that MPs cannot say what they think or wish to express. In fact, UK MPs and peers enjoy the privilege of freedom of speech. However, this privilege is regulated, as both Houses reserve the authority “to restrain and even punish their Members who, by their conduct, offend the House” (Limon and McKay et al., 1997, p. 83). According to parliamentary procedure, “subject to the rules of order in debate, a Member may state whatever he thinks fit in debate, however offensive it may be to the feelings, or injurious to the character, of individuals; and he is protected by his privilege from any action for libel, as well as from any other question or molestation” (Limon and McKay et al., 1997, p. 83). Thus, limits to the privilege of freedom of speech extends beyond cases of offensive language to include the rules of order in debate. For instance, the authoritative constitutional source Erskine May² refers to rules regulating such matters as manner of speaking, the content of speeches, irrelevant or tedious repetition, words against either House, use of the Queen’s name to influence debate, manner of asking questions, and the form and content of questions. It is worth noting here that as well as being required to avoid contravention of the rules

² The full title of this authoritative source is: “Erskine May's Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament. The original title was; “A Treatise upon the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament.”

and orders, Members of Parliament must also keep their opinions “usually along ideological or party lines” (Ilie, 2006, p. 192).

In the U.K., general rules regulating how Parliament should run are known as *standing orders*. These commonly cover how business is arranged and conducted, the behavior of MPs and members of the House or Lords during debates, and rules relating to committees.³ *Standing orders* are not permanent; due to the number of procedural changes, they usually last until the end of a session or of a Parliament. However, there are also unwritten rules established by traditional practice, resolutions of the house, or rulings made by the Speaker; these are usually referred to as “Custom and Practice.” Similarly, *Erskine May* is seen as the parliamentary “bible”—not only for UK parliamentary procedure but for other parliaments that follow the Westminster system. *Erskine May* is a valuable guide, recording all the procedural changes that the UK Parliament has undergone since its first edition in 1844.

Although parliamentary language is regulated, parliamentarians regularly resort to strategies to bypass norms and regulations (Ilie, 2010, p. 2). One motivation for this might be to express a strong attitudinal stance, criticizing or praising a government action or policy in language that may not comply with the norms of the House. To express that stance more implicitly, then, they may embed it in certain phraseologies rather than overtly expressing it in explicit, evaluative lexical items. Another strategy MPs adopt to raise strong criticism or ask sensitive questions is using the third person address form. According to U.K. Parliamentary conventions, MPs do not speak directly with each other, instead, they interact through the Speaker of the House. Thus, they make use of a specific range of formal titles according to their hierarchical status and the third person pronoun is the officially acknowledged pronominal form of address in the House of Commons (Ilie 2010b). Using the third person address plays the role of mitigating adversarial parliamentary confrontation. As Ilie (2010b) points out, the third person address is “a deferential and distance-marking form of address, which enables them to make straightforward and forceful statements in their interaction with fellow MPs, while upholding a safe institutional distance from each other” (pp. 896).

³ UK Parliament Website. *Rules and Customs*. Available at: <http://www.parliament.uk/about/how/role/customs/>. Last accessed 2nd Feb 2015

Failing to comply with the House norms and regulations or in situations where un-parliamentary behavior or language is produced, the Speaker of the House interrupts the MP and orders him/her to rephrase or withdraw what they have said. The following are examples of how the Speaker of the House has asked participants to rephrase their argument, or rebuked them for an utterance that did not comply with the norms and rules:

1. *Madam Deputy Speaker: Order. I am sure that the hon. Gentleman can find a different way of phrasing the point he wishes to make. [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]⁴*
2. *Madam Deputy Speaker: Order. I am sure that the hon. Gentleman did not mean to accuse a Government Minister of misleading the House. [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]*

2.4 Patterns of Interaction in Parliament

The nature of parliamentary interaction and the interactants' roles are essential contextual factors to consider when investigating stance within parliamentary institutions. In Parliament, debates form an interactional sequence in which two conversational moves occur, involving a speaker from the government side and another from the opposition. These moves take the form of question-response sequences, with occasional interruptions and possible comments from the Speaker of the House. Although the patterns of interaction in parliaments are regulated, speakers' turns usually vary considerably in terms of length and complexity. As Ilie (2003a) points out, the sequencing of question-answer adjacency pairs exhibits the agonistic nature of parliamentary debates, not least because many of the questions are meant as criticisms and accusations. Responses to these questions, however, may evade, align, or dis-align with the propositions raised. Through these discursive actions in parliaments, stance-taking becomes evident. The present study seeks to investigate how such stances are

⁴ Textual examples from the corpus will be referenced in the same way throughout the Thesis (e.g., [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]). This annotation indicates that the example is taken from OD – Oppositional Day Debate- which took place on date 26 Feb 2014 and it was conducted in HC; i.e., House of Commons and extracted from Hansard which is the official parliamentary record.

expressed, and what lexico-grammatical features are used by parliamentarians in stance-taking.

In the following discussion, each component of parliamentary interaction will be discussed discretely and in detail from the perspective of stance-taking. After exploring how parliamentary questions are structured, parliamentary answers and their general construction will be discussed, and arguments will be supported by examples from British parliamentary debates.

2.4.1 Parliamentary Questions

As mentioned earlier, scrutiny of government policy is at the heart of Parliament's role. Most parliamentary scrutiny activities take the form of questioning the government with regard to public matters. Parliamentary questions (PQs) can therefore be regarded as a key discursive action in the Houses of Parliament. According to Ilie (2010, pp. 11-12), parliamentary questions have three functions:

1) *To require information as in:*

- a) *What resources will be available in the future so that my constituents, especially those who live along the vale, can be reassured that they will not get wet when flooding really threatens them? [Hansard, HC, 17 July 2014-OAQ]*

- b) *When will he give us a report on the impact of climate change on these events? That is an important determinant of present policy, and we must assess the impact of present policy on the future. [Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]*

2) *To criticize government action (or non-action) as in:*

- a) *When he got the job, the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs removed from his Department's list of priorities an intention 'to prepare for and manage risk from flood and other environmental emergencies'. Does the Secretary of State for*

Communities and Local Government agree that this was a terrible error of judgment on the part of his colleague? [Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]

b) When he became Secretary of State in September 2012, the right hon. Gentleman reviewed his Department's priorities. Why did his new list of four priorities make no reference to preparing for and managing risks from flood and other environmental emergencies, as the old list of priorities and responsibilities had done? [Hansard, HC, 9 Jan 2014-OAQ]

3) To test the honesty or ability of cabinet members as in:

a) I cannot remember a more complacent or inadequate response from a Cabinet Minister to a serious matter in this House. Last year, after last winter's floods and the travel disruption in the south-west, the Government announced £31 million of new money for improved rail resilience in the south-west. That money has still not materialised. Why should anybody believe any of the new promises the Secretary of State is making when he has failed to deliver on any of them in the past? [Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]

As they occupy most of the parliamentary proceedings, PQs are institutionally regulated, and the Table Office has the right to refuse to allow questions that are not compliant with the rules of the House. However,

‘When a question has been refused and the Member concerned wishes to make representations to the Speaker on the matter, the practice is for these to be made privately to the Speaker and not raised by way of a point of order in the House’ (Limon and McKay, 1997, p.294).

Additionally, ‘The number of oral questions which may be asked by any one Member is limited to two questions in any one day, of which not more than one may be addressed to any one Minister’ (Limon and McKay, 1997: 294-295). However, as Harris (2001) notes, MPs usually ask more than one question, in the form of either several coordinating or independent interrogative clauses. This suggests that each question produced by one MP may include a main question and other sub-questions; this is confirmed by the data in the present study.

In general, however, there are simple, basic rules governing the scope and content of PQs in the House of Commons. Irwin, Kennon, Natzler and Rogers (1993) summarized these as follows:

- *A question must: either seek, rather than give, information or press for action;*
- *A question must relate to a matter for which a minister is responsible;*
- *A question must not be fully covered by an answer (or a refusal to answer) given in the same session.*

Erskine May also lists rules regarding the form and content of questions. Among these; ‘The purpose of a question is to obtain information or press for action; it *should not be framed primarily so as to convey information, or so as to suggest its own answer or convey a particular point of view*, and it should not be in effect a short speech’ (Limon and McKay, 1997, p.296).

However, “parliamentary questioning strategies are, interestingly enough, not intended to elicit particular answers, but rather to embarrass and/or challenge the respondent to make uncomfortable or revealing declarations” (Ilie, 2010, p. 12). This perlocutionary act is apparently confirmed in two ways. The first, as Norton (1993) pointed out, is that oral questions tend to be more provocative and adversarial than written questions and can serve to publicly criticize and embarrass ministers, whereas written questions seek only to elicit detailed answers. The second indicator is that, as Harris (2001) noted in respect of PMQs, polar yes-no questions are the most predominant type. These closed yes-no questions can force ministers to publicly acknowledge inconvenient or embarrassing facts. Wilson (1990, p. 151) argued that such questions have propositional content that makes them difficult to answer with a direct “yes” or “no,” as these questions mostly imply negative presuppositions. In addition, using modals to form

yes-no questions (particularly *will* or *would*, according to our data) can force ministers to express a public commitment regarding whatever is being debated.

Nonetheless, not all questions are intended to be hostile; some PQs may be friendly or helpful. As Wilson (1990) observes, some questions are used to achieve negative effects and others are used to positive effect. Syntactically speaking, however, PQs can be classified into three main types (Wilson, 1990; Bull 1994, 2003; cf. Quirk et al., 1985). First is the “yes/no” question (including use of modals such as *will*, *could*, or *should*); second is the “wh-question” (who, where, when, what, why); and the third is what Bull (1994, 2003) referred to as “disjunctive questions,” which require a choice between two or more alternatives.

However, these classifications may not be sufficient to locate stance patterns in PQs, especially as each PQ consists of two or more sub-questions. Instead, it will be useful to deconstruct the PQ into its *functional* components. By studying selected parliamentary questions, it can be inferred that most of these questions are designed in a similar format and include three main components. We may refer to these as *prefacing*, *interrogation*, and *supplement* respectively, as illustrated in Figure 2.2:

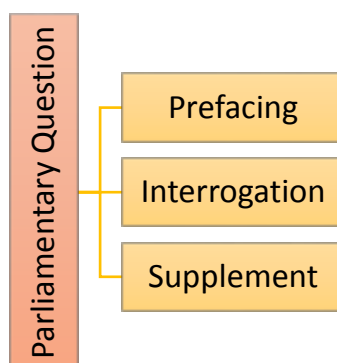


Figure 2.2 Components of Parliamentary Questions

Prefacing usually plays a role in *setting a context* for the interrogation. Then, the main *interrogation* helps the speaker to position the enquiry. Finally, most interrogations are followed by a *supplement*, usually providing an aside or self-evaluation about the case being interrogated. The following example demonstrates these three components of PQs:

1. *We have had some flooding in Old Amersham and Chalfont St Peter. I praise the fire service and the local authorities, and the Environment Agency and its subcontractors, which have been pumping and saving buildings from flooding by the River Misbourne. **(Prefacing)**. Will the Secretary of State look very carefully at the Government's spending priorities? **(Interrogation)** I believe that the Government should protect our existing transport infrastructure, our towns and our countryside before spending money on new shiny projects that have a disgraceful cost-benefit ratio compared with the 1:8 cost- benefit ratio imposed on the Environment Agency. **(Supplement)** [Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]*

Occasionally, each component can be embedded within another. Concerning stance-taking, questions are used by MPs as an effective parliamentary tool for conveying and expressing their stance. Based on an informal survey of PQs in our corpus, it is possible to propose that stance is expressed through PQs using three strategies: linguistic, content, and expansion strategies. The linguistic strategy refers to the way PQs are linguistically constructed to express implicit stance. For instance, as mentioned earlier, yes-no questions in particular can imply negative presuppositions. Moreover, the use of modals such as *will* or *would* to form questions may represent a polite style of stance expression that conforms to courteous parliamentary language but can also implicitly force ministers to express a commitment about what is being debated. The content strategy involves the chosen content of the question, where the interrogator creates a *context* for his/her question and incorporates elements that may trigger a favored stance. This strategy can clearly be observed in the *prefacing* component of PQs, as in the following examples:

1. *Yesterday the Prime Minister tweeted that there would be 'no restrictions on help' for those affected by the flooding. Will the Secretary of State explain precisely what that means? Will he tell the*

House whether people are still being charged at a premium rate when they call the floods helpline? [Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]

2. *Yesterday the Prime Minister refused to say whether he would reverse the massive cuts in the number of staff working on flood prevention. Will the Minister give us an assurance today that those cuts will not go ahead? [Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-OAQ]*

In other cases, MPs incorporate the content strategy in the interrogation itself as in:

1. *Will he condemn those people who took it upon themselves to steal sandbags from parts of the river bank in east Belfast, putting more houses at risk, and then sell them to vulnerable pensioners, which was utterly disgraceful? [Hansard, HC, 6 Mar 2014-OAQ]*

The third strategy is *expanding the question* by complementing and attaching a statement to the question, where the interrogator *mostly* presents his or her stance overtly and explicitly through an aside, a *that-clause* or a *wh-clause*. The *expansion* strategy often implicitly intensifies the proposition and is mostly included in the *supplement* part of the question, as in the following:

1. *Will the Secretary of State guarantee that the measures he has announced to address the very serious problems on the Somerset levels will not delay investment in the south-west's main priority in relation to flood defences—namely, the upgrading of the Exeter flood defence to protect the railway line and thousands of businesses and homes after last year's floods, which caused huge economic damage and devastation not only to parts of Somerset but the whole of Devon and the whole of Cornwall? [Hansard, HC, 3 Feb 2014-UQ]*
2. *When will he give us a report on the impact of climate change on these events? That is an important determinant of present policy, and we must*

assess the impact of present policy on the future. [Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]

3. *Will the Secretary of State clarify and confirm that the Government have allocated £4.6 million towards the better use of space technology for weather prediction? It would mean that the United Kingdom is one of only a few countries in the world doing that. [Hansard, HC, 3 Feb 2014-UQ]*

Thus, how parliamentarians choose to speak or to ask their questions (language), the context in which they situate their questions (*content*) and what personal asides they attach to their questions (*expansion*) all constitute ‘*positioning*’ and in so doing help to construct the stance of each of these MPs (e.g., Du Bois 2007; Haddington 2007). In Haddington’s (2007) study of news interviews, he defines positioning as ‘... *an activity in which the interviewer designs a question so that answering it poses difficult problems for the interviewee*’ (p.283). In this study, Haddington distinguishes between ‘*positioning*’ and ‘*alignment*’ as two different stance activities, and defines ‘*alignment*’ as an activity that ‘*aims to explicate the range of possible types of convergent and divergent positions that interactants can take relative to each other*’ (p.285). However, a positioning activity can also simultaneously represent an alignment, particularly in the context of Parliament. For instance, if an MP asks a question, this question can be said to position their stance as well as representing their alignment/disalignment towards the object of discussion. In the research reported in this thesis, the two notions of ‘*positioning*’ and ‘*alignment*’ will not be separated. Rather, the current Thesis agrees with Du Bois (2007) in seeing them as representative of two stance actions that can be adopted by the speaker at the same time.

2.4.2 Parliamentary Answers

Along with rules regulating PQs, there are rules regulating Parliamentary Answers (PAs), such as “*An answer should be confined to the points contained in the question, with such explanation only as renders the answer intelligible, though a certain latitude is permitted to Ministers of the Crown*” (Limon and McKay, 1997, p. 305). However,

not all PAs strictly conform to these rules. Just as, *in practice*, not all questions asked in the parliament seek answers, not all replies are meant to provide answers to questions, serving rather as evasive strategies. Ilie (2010, p. 12) argues that the question-answer relationship in Parliament is very often problematic because of MPs' tendency to evade questions and avoid giving direct answers.

Before detailing the stance-taking strategies used in PAs, it is important to see how these answers are constructed. Based on our corpus data, PAs can be deconstructed into two main components as in Figure 2.3:

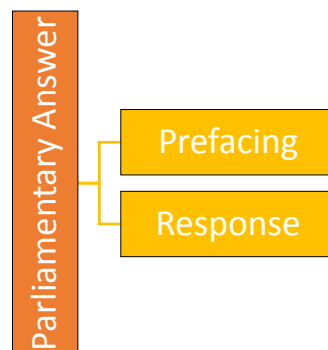


Figure 2.3 Components of Parliamentary Answers

The first component, *prefacing*, usually starts by thanking the questioner and is followed by a parliamentary form of address attributed to the questioner, as in “the Honourable gentleman (or lady)” or “my Honourable (or Right Honourable) friend,” if from the same party. Also included in the *prefacing* component are *solidarity comments*, such as “a very good point,” “she is absolutely right,” or “a good suggestion.” Such comments serve to align with the questioner, either to simply maintain agreement with them or as a strategy to make responses more acceptable and to convince by first emphasizing agreement. The *prefacing* component is followed by the *response* component, which usually varies in length according to the Minister’s intended argument. The following PAs represent these two components clearly; *prefacing* is marked with a single underline and *response* with two lines:

1. I thank the hon. Lady for her kind remarks about my right hon. Friend
the Secretary of State. The very able Under-Secretary of State for
Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, the hon. Member for North Cornwall

(Dan Rogerson), will be dealing with these matters. [Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]

2. My hon. Friend makes a good suggestion, which is well worth the Welsh Government and the Welsh Secretary taking up. We are happy to help liaise with him, but ultimately we have to respect devolution, and if it is an issue of money for Wales, it is down to the Welsh Government to negotiate it. [Hansard, HC, 9 Jan 2014-OAQ]

However, the *response* in PAs does not always include a direct reply to the question, due to the aforementioned evasive strategies. A number of scholars, including Harris (1991) and Bull (1993), have studied evasive actions in political interviews. Drawing on Bull's categories of *replies*, *non-replies*, and *intermediate replies*, Rasiah (2010) and Bates et al (2014) have studied evasion in parliament. Rasiah (2010) investigated types of evasion in the Australian Parliament. Bates et al. (2014) categorized evasive practices in the UK Parliament into five categories: *full reply*, *non-reply*, *partial reply*, *deferred reply*, and *referred reply*. These studies (and others) have all found empirical evidence of the use of evasive strategies in Parliament.

However, it is clear that both *prefacing* and *response* components of answers can represent *positioning*, but achieve it in different ways. For instance, including *prefacing* in the answer usually constitutes a strategy for achieving rapport with the MP who asked the question. The responding minister often defends government policies; the strategy of first building rapport may be necessary to soften possible criticism and rally more supporters to align with the government. Within the *response* component, ministers can perform stance in various ways—for example, they may align with what has been stated in the question if it strengthens their stance as in the following exchange, where the government representative used the question to highlight how loss of life was people's own fault for not obeying warnings, rather than being the responsibility of the Environment Agency:

Question. *Anne Marie Morris (Newton Abbot) (Con): Prevention is undoubtedly better than cure, and I wonder whether the Secretary of State agrees that, in addition to wonderful flood prevention schemes, education is critical. In my constituency, one of the fatalities involved a misguided rescue attempt. Does my right hon. Friend also agree that we should ensure that councils work with parishes to make sure that plans are in place? No plans were in place in some of my coastal villages, and that was exactly where we needed them.*

***Answer.** Mr Paterson: My hon. Friend makes an interesting and valid comment, and I hope that she will contribute to our review. She points out that several absolutely tragic deaths in recent weeks were really unnecessary—if only people had paid attention to the warnings. One cannot fault the Environment Agency for putting out a huge number of warnings using every possible medium, and we need to ensure that those warnings are heeded.* [Hansard, HC, 6 Mar 2014-OAQ]

After prefacing the answer with a positive comment (*an interesting and valid comment*), the government representative aligned with the MP's (a member of the ruling Conservative Party) stance on the cause of the flooding deaths. Thus, a *response* can deliberately align with certain questions to strengthen the government's stance and positioning. If, however, the question's content somehow threatens the government's positioning, a strategy of dis-alignment is employed, as in the following parliamentary exchange:

***Question.** Paul Flynn (Newport West) (Lab): Why on this problem, as with all others, do the Government first blame the last Government, then the European Union and then the civil service? Will the Secretary of State tell us on what precise date the Government will take responsibility for their own conduct and cuts? When will he answer the claim by the chairman of the UK Statistics Authority that last week they fiddled the figures?*

***Answer.** Mr Pickles: It is certainly not those on the Government Benches who are seeking to make political capital from this or engage in some kind of blame game. I am not entirely sure what we got out of this afternoon, but I can tell the hon. Gentleman that there are a lot of people working extremely hard right now to keep him and his constituents warm and dry.* [Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]

In this exchange, the government's representative dis-aligned with the question's accusations, rejecting them (“*It is certainly not those on the Government Benches who are seeking to make political capital from this or engage in some kind of blame game*”) and evading the topic (“*fiddled figures of the UK Statistics Authority*”) to make a positive comment (“*there are a lot of people working extremely hard right now to keep him and his constituents warm and dry*”).

2.5 Mapping Parliamentary Audiences

The important role of audience cannot be denied particularly in parliamentary settings, particularly in those settings where debates are performed in the public eye. To fully understand stance-taking of MPs in the Parliament, it is thus essential to understand the types of audiences that MPs may be targeting in their speeches. The ways in which MPs express stance is greatly dependant on the audience(s) that they regard themselves as addressing.

MPs are aware that the impact of the parliamentary message is extended beyond the floor of the House particularly in televised and mediated parliaments. They are also aware that their parliamentary communication is not about persuading the immediate addressee of fellow MPs; rather, it is about scoring points against political adversaries, showing solidarity and building credibility with political allies, and enhancing their public appeal. Therefore, while addressing the current addressee, MPs' political statements and arguments are equally intended for the whole multi-level audiences comprising of current, onlooking and overhearing audiences including voters (Ilie, 2010a). MPs strategically manoeuvre in parliamentary argumentation accommodating to voters' demands to promote their public image (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002). But, who are the audiences of parliamentary debates? Ilie (2010a) using Goffman's (1974, 1981) categories of participant roles schematised parliamentary audience into addressee-oriented and multiple audience-oriented audiences, with direct and indirect addressee(s). In U.K. parliament, an MP taking the floor must directly address the Speaker of the House. Even when MPs interact with other fellow MPs, they must do that through the Speaker of the House. Although the Speaker of the House is the primary addressee, s/he only plays an institutionally attributed mediating role and does not perform a genuine interlocutor role (Ilie 2010b). While interacting with another MP through the Speaker, the speaking MP is also targeting other indirect audiences of insider fellow MPs in the plenum and other outsider audience of visitors' sitting in the Strangers' Gallery or the outsider audience of television viewers. Based on this characterisation of parliamentary audience given by Ilie (2010a) and her other highlights on parliamentary audience in (Ilie 2003; 2006) and incorporating Bell's (1984) model of audience design, I intend here to propose a comprehensive model of

parliamentary audience. The proposed model exhibiting the various layers of parliamentary audiences is mapped in Figure 2.4:

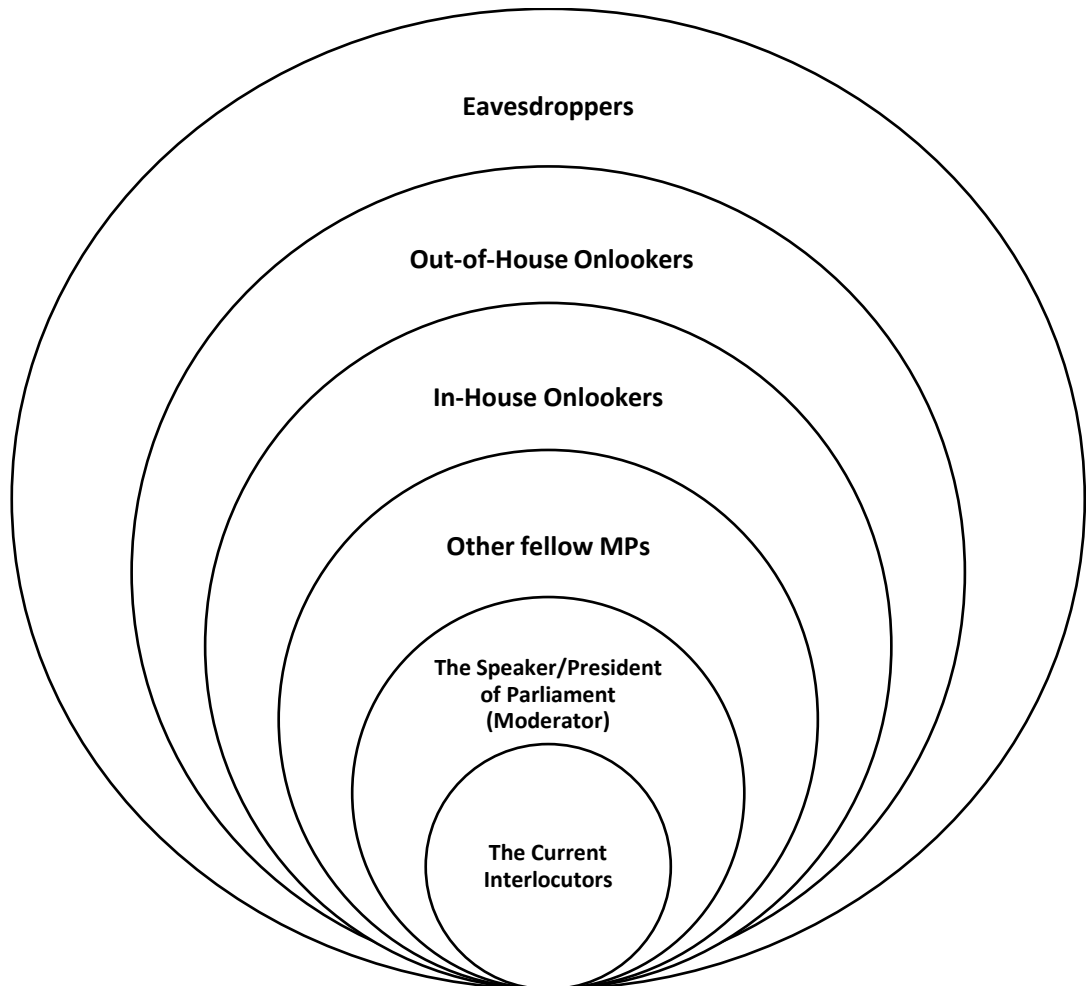


Figure 2.4 Layers of Parliamentary Audience

As illustrated in Figure 2.4, the parliamentary audience is a multi-layered audience, in which speaking MPs address multiple audiences simultaneously. The speaking MP who is taking the floor to address the House and the MP that is being directly addressed are the current interlocutors who act as active participants. This interaction is usually done via a moderator who is the Speaker or the President of the House. The other fellow MPs sitting in the House act as side-participants, or as Ilie (2010a) views them, as co-participants involved in an institutional *co-performance* which is meant to both address

and involve fellow MPs as active participants, who often contribute explicit forms of audience-feedback, e.g. questions, responses, interruptions. The onlooking audience involves both in-House onlookers and out-of-House onlookers. The in-House onlookers include the audience sitting in the House (such as Hansard reporters, journalists, members of the public and visitors in the strangers' gallery, etc.). They play an auditor role and are regarded as non-participants because although they are present, they are not part of the dialogue. The out-of-House onlookers include the outsider audience of TV viewers, voters, pressure groups, ordinary citizens, constituency members, and members of the public, etc. MPs are aware of these onlooking audiences both in-House and out-of-House, but there are other audience(s) who might listen or view parliamentary sessions without the MPs awareness. These are eavesdroppers who might include audience who has a special interest in parliamentary proceedings such as academics, analysts, international viewers and so on.

The characterisation of parliamentary audience given by Ilie (2003; 2006; 2010a) and the extended model in Figure 2.4 above help visualize the various layers of parliamentary audiences. One of the features that characterises parliamentary interaction is that MPs take turns at enacting two basic discursive parliamentary roles, i.e. the role of speaker and the role of listener (Ilie 2010a). Also, and as mentioned earlier, parliamentary conventions dictate that MPs interact with each other through a moderator (i.e. the Speaker of the House). This parliamentary practice has resulted in the use of third person address as the default form of address in the British Parliament.

In summary, then, it is reasonable to assume that MPs are keenly aware that they are interacting in front of multiple audiences when participating in parliamentary debates. But, how does the phenomenon of multiple audience influence parliamentary discursive interaction particularly the discursive expression of stance in the Parliament?

There is no doubt that the multiplicity of audience in Parliament creates a situation for MPs where they have to resolve a struggle of identity and ideology and work to strike a balance in communicating to various multiple audiences with a single message. What and which identity will they choose to represent in their speeches? Cameron and Culick (2005) argue that identity is not unitary; MPs are simultaneously members of parliament, members of a political party, members of a constituency, electorate representatives, citizens, business men/women, fathers/mothers, Christian, Jews,

Muslims, frontbenchers, backbenchers...etc. This phenomenon where multiple identities to be claimed by the same person is referred to as identity crisis by Cameron and Culick (2005). In such situation of multiple selves, positioning of oneself in discourse is by definition a dynamic process (Davies and Harré 1990). This dynamic of positioning is further fuelled by targeting multiple audiences at the same time. How, then, do MPs manage to address multiple audiences successfully?

The researcher is unaware of any previous research that has been conducted to investigate this question. Although what is known in research as the multiple audience problem or the dilemma of multiple audience has been widely examined in various contexts (see; Fleming & Darley, 1991; Fleming, Darley, Hilton, & Kojetin, 1990; Leary, 1996; Van Boven, Kruger, Savitsky, & Gilovich, 2000; Nichols and Cottrell, 2015), it has not yet been fully or even systematically explored in the parliamentary context. Looking more broadly at previous research, perhaps one of the most promising approaches to this question is that found in Leary's (1996) study of self-presentation and impression management. Leary (1996) listed some strategies on how to manage the dilemma/problem of presenting to multiple audiences. Among these strategies are moderating the message, presenting different messages at different channels or texturing the message so that it conveys different meanings to different audiences.

Likewise, in their attempts to strike a balance of communicating a single message to multiple audiences, MPs resort to moderating and texturing their parliamentary messages. This discursive strategy is accomplished by adopting number of evasive techniques such as hedging. Invoking stance, attributing stance to a third party by using intertextuality, or excessive use of modality are all examples of hedging techniques that MPs use to moderate and texture their parliamentary statements and arguments to fit a wider range of audiences simultaneously. While targeting multiple audiences, politicians try to strike a balance between expressing their authentic political stance on one hand, and promoting an appealing public image to all of their audiences on the other. In their attempts to sound appealing to various audiences, politicians tend to choose their words carefully in order to avoid offending any party. Instead of expressing an explicit stance that might offend some members of their audiences, they lean to making vague references that indicate vague stance. This probably explains the omnipresence of vagueness in political language in general (Orwell, 1946, Wilson, 1990, Lakoff and Johnson, 2003 & Obeng, 1997)

Another question that Figure 2.4 raises but does not answer concerns whether all layers of audience represented in the figure have the same influence on the discursive parliamentary interaction, or whether they vary in their effect depending on their presence/absence or proximity/distance from the current interlocutors. According to accommodation theory (Giles & Smith 1979 & Giles 1980), speakers primarily take most account of their addressee(s) in designing their talk. The linguistic choices, the style of speaking and the stance uttered by MPs will be greatly informed by the nature of their audience(s). But, who is playing the most influential role here? Is it the immediate addressee of fellow MPs or is it the overhearing audience of TV viewers, or is it other influence groups? Bell (1984) speculated that speakers initially accommodate their speeches according to their immediate addressee and that they treat auditors as second-class addressees, whereas overhearers affect the speaker's language and style to a lesser degree. If this is correct, it follows that the more distant the audience is, the less effect it is likely to have on the speaker's way of speaking. However, Bell (1984) also recognizes that this addressee-auditor-overhearer hierarchy effect on speakers may often in practice be inverted by the influence of media and mass communication. In parliamentary sessions that are broadcast by the media, the role of overhearing TV viewers might outweigh the role of the immediate addressee on MPs positioning and expression of stance.

There is no doubt that the MP-immediate addressee relationship is important, particularly where the addressee is from the same political party. In such cases, the MPs' language tends to be more supportive, whereas it is more likely to sound adversarial if their addressee from an opposing party. However, MPs primarily aim to attract more of their electorates to their side and therefore tend to accommodate their speeches to meet this end by creating an appealing image to the wider public of voters. MPs recognize the role of their speeches in shaping the public values and attitudes as parliamentary debates are broadcasted on TV. An awareness of the overhearing audience of TV viewers, in this case, informs MPs' dialogue and speeches on the floor of parliament. In this regard, it is interesting how media plays a role in changing how MPs speak and use language. A comparative examination of how media affected the way MPs debate issues offers to provide insights into how MPs produce different speeches depending on the level of media coverage of particular debates.

The media has established a situation where audience(s) who are not physically present in the Parliament can play a significant role in informing MPs' way of debating public matters, and accordingly the way they express stance and positioning regarding these matters. In addition to TV viewers, another example of these non-physically-present audience(s) is what is called pressure groups. Since parliament is a law-making institution, these pressure groups aim to influence the legislations made on the House of Parliament. They indirectly influence MPs' arguments and positioning regarding various laws and public policies. MPs are aware of these pressure groups, so failing to meet the interests of these groups might result in losing publicity and votes. Also, in the British Parliament, the whip system is another factor that affects the way MPs speak and behave in the Parliament. The whips might not be direct interlocutors in parliamentary interactions, but their presence is influential in shaping MPs' political stance, particularly in relation to specific pieces of legislation.

From all of this, it can be concluded that the parliamentary audience is a multi-layered entity where physically remote and non-present audience(s) can have a substantial impact on MPs' stance-taking and positioning, and in whose creation the media clearly plays a significant role. While addressing their immediate addressee(s), MPs' interventions and arguments are equally intended for wider overhearing TV audiences. Since MPs aim to win more of the electorate to their side, they primarily target public voters in their speeches. They want to affect the mental processes and to (re)shape the attitudes and beliefs of a wide audience of both political insiders and outsiders (Ilie, 2010b). Therefore, the way they speak and express stance in the Parliament is tailored to meeting this end.

2.6 Conclusion

As a prelude to conducting an analysis of stance-taking in the UK parliamentary context, this chapter has sought to develop a general understanding of the institutional role of Parliament, its language practices, norms and regulations and the type or types of audiences targeted by parliamentary speeches. The chapter has explored these aspects along with examples showcasing how stance is explicitly or implicitly expressed in both parliamentary questions and parliamentary answers. It has been established that most parliamentary practices, such as debating, asking questions, criticizing or defending government policies, are primarily linguistic and discursive

practices. These practices usually involve confrontation and expressions of attitudinal stance. Although parliamentary language is an institutionally regulated form of language, MPs resort to strategies to bypass these norms and regulations particularly if they aim express a strong attitudinal stance or advance forceful criticism. The chapter has discussed some of these strategies, such as using invoked or implicit stance and using the third person address form to communicate. Also, in this chapter I have deconstructed parliamentary questions and parliamentary answers into various components based on their most regularly-occurring patterns. I have proposed that in parliamentary questions, MPs tend to add a supplementary component at the end of the question to advance an attitudinal stance. Whereas, in parliamentary answers the prefacing component tends to encompass the attitudinal stance first and foremost. This chapter has also explored the various layers of parliamentary audience. It was pointed out that remote and non-physically present audience of the public viewing parliamentary debates on TV and the media are more likely to influence the stance-taking of MPs than the immediate addressee(s) sitting on the floor of Parliament. This reverses the addressee-auditor-overhearer hierarchy effect on the speakers that Bell (1984) discussed in his audience design model. The next chapter aims to propose a theoretical framework of stance-taking that can assist analysts to situate the phenomenon of stance-taking in parliamentary contexts.

CHAPTER 3 ⁵STANCE-TAKING IN PARLIAMENT

3.1 Introduction

Parliament's significance as a central political institution ultimately stems from the fact that much of what is discussed and debated inside parliament eventually results in social and political actions in the wider world. One of the characteristic features of parliamentary discourse is the expression of stance/appraisal. The stances uttered in parliamentary debates will eventually shape the political identity of their speakers and their political parties, and help to shape government policymaking decisions. Thus, an important way to explore the significance of parliamentary practices in any context is by examining the stances uttered in parliaments. How, then, can we examine these stances?

This chapter proposes a methodological framework for analyzing stance in parliamentary discourse. Little previous research exists on the marking of stance in parliaments, despite its pervasiveness in such contexts. The researcher is currently unaware of any framework that has been developed to help analysts situate the phenomenon of stance-taking in parliamentary discourse.

As Du Bois points out, "a real utterance is always framed by its context of use" (2007, p. 147). Thus, in order to develop a comprehensive account of stance-taking in parliaments, some characteristic contextual features that play a major part in realizing stance must be considered. This chapter explains in what way features of global context and local discursive moves determine how stance is expressed by parliamentarians.

First, various definitions of stance by different scholars will be presented. This is followed by an examination of the phenomenon of stance beyond texts to test how the *global context*⁶ influences the stance produced in texts generated at the Houses of

⁵ Parts of this Chapter was previously published: Albusafi, R. (2019). A Methodological Framework of Stance-Taking and Appraisal in the Parliament. In Jakaza, E. (Ed.), *Argumentation and Appraisal in Parliamentary Discourse*. IGI Global Publisher. Pp.116-155.

⁶ Global context is comprised of the global acts, as defined by Van Dijk (2004). This will be discussed further in the present chapter.

Parliament. A number of contextual factors that need to be considered when analyzing stance in parliamentary context will also be explored under the section of *Contextualizing Stance in Parliament*. The final section presents a proposed methodological framework for contextually and theoretically framing stance-taking in parliamentary discourse, informed by Van Dijk's (2004) conceptual approach to the parliamentary context, Du Bois's (2007) concept of the 'stance triangle', Ilie's (1994) account of political argumentation, and Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework. All examples presented in this chapter are drawn from the same corpus of 43 parliamentary debates compiled from Hansard on the issues of flooding in the UK during the span of five years 2010-2015.

3.2 What is Stance⁷?

The phenomenon of stance has been referred to in a number of ways. Among these are *stance* itself (Biber & Finegan 1989), *attitude* (Halliday 1994), *evaluation* (Hunston & Thompson 2000) and *appraisal* (Martin 2000 & White 2003). In the following discussion, I will review these definitions and consider whether and to what extent they are useful for conceptualizing stance-taking in the parliamentary context.

For Biber et al. (1999, p. 966), stance refers to “*personal* feelings, attitudes, value judgments or assessments.” “Feelings, attitudes, value judgments or assessments” can all be encompassed in the parliamentary stance expressed by MPs. However, we find the word “personal” here slightly problematic, because MPs represent their constituents, are sometimes engaged in opposition, and are supposed to represent their party. Thus, they are generally expected to keep their opinions “along ideological or party lines” (Ilie, 2006, p. 192), even if they may personally or privately disagree with some of their party's ideologies and values. This suggests that the expression of stance can be strategic in the political context. We must also recognize that the nature of an MP's identity is representational. Speakers in a parliamentary context represent institutional roles; thus, their opinions and attitudes also represent *institutional* roles as

⁷ It is important to note that, here, “stance” is used refer to the linguistic realization of attitudes, feelings, judgements or commitment concerning a proposition. It is not used in the sense of a “political stance,” which can arguably be interrelated with “stance” in a linguistic sense in a political context. The general political stance can influence the judgemental and attitudinal stance of the speakers, as we will observe later in this chapter. Thus, in cases in which we discuss stance in a political sense, this will be clearly identified as a political stance.”

part of speakers' political identity. Therefore, even though a given stance may not be their *personal stance*, they will be held accountable for it because it is communicated as a part of a public, institutional discourse, and that is what matters the most in such a context. Being a good MP, in this sense, requires one to institutionalize one's "personal" stance.

There is nothing inherently wrong with the definition presented by Biber et al. (1999) above, but it is not a good fit with the current research, which must highlight the particular contextual factors impinging on Parliamentary discourse and their effects on the expression of stance. Another more general definition of stance, provided by Biber and Finegan (1989, p. 93), is "the lexical and grammatical expressions of attitudes, feelings, judgements, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message." However, not all instances of stance are lexically and grammatically expressed. Some are invoked and can be implied from the text. Biber & Conrad (2000, p. 57) also identified three kinds of stance based on their semantic meanings: epistemic, attitudinal, and style stance. An *epistemic stance* focuses on the truth-value of the proposition, commenting on its certainty, reality, and information source; an *attitudinal stance* expresses evaluations, attitudes, feelings, and viewpoints about the content; and a *style stance* describes the presentation style of the information. Attitudinal and epistemic stance will be mainly the types of stance we aim to investigate in this study.

However, we still do not know the value system at which an attitudinal stance can be expressed, and Biber's above definition does not seem to highlight this. We believe that this needs to be determined because it will help identify the instances of stance in the text later. More useful in this regard is Thompson and Hunston's (2000, p. 5) definition of *evaluation* as "the broad cover term for the expression of *the speaker or writer's* attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values." We have previously dealt with our concerns regarding "the speaker or writer's attitude." Therefore, we will only discuss how we can determine the *sets of values* in which *stance* is expressed in parliamentary context. Thompson and Hunston (2000) outline three main functions of evaluation: *expressing an opinion to reflect the value system of that person and their community, maintaining relations (of consensus or dispute) between speakers/writers and hearers/readers, and organizing the discourse*. All three of these functions are

clearly practiced in the House of Parliament. However, we aim to uncover the value system of the parliamentary community reflected in the expression of stance. Arguably, these values are already pre-established and external to the text. Therefore, we will explore *stance* beyond the text in the following section. However, Du Bois's (2007) definition of stance-taking is important to highlight here due to its more social perspective. Du Bois's (2007) definition summarizes various aspects of stance-taking; i.e. what stance-taking is ("a public act by a social actor"); how is it mediated ("dialogically through overt communicative means"); what functions it aims to accomplish ("simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others) and aligning itself with other subjects") and in what context it takes place ("any salient dimension of the socio-cultural field") (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). All these factors must be considered when deciding upon the *value system* that the parliamentary community expresses its stance in relation to.

The next section attempts to examine stance beyond the text to investigate which external values help determine the value system of stance-taking in the Parliament.

3.3 Stance Beyond Texts⁸

Every instance of evaluation must be seen as an act that is socially situated in a disciplinary or institutional context (Hyland, 2005, p. 175). In parliamentary debates, evaluation is situated within the institution of Parliament, and its language represents a sub-genre of political discourse (Van Dijk, 2010; Ilie, 2006; Bayley, 2004). Parliamentary speech is part of the general political process. Thus, it must be seen – and indeed can only be understood – within that context, and the value system in which stance is expressed is situated within the global context of *politics*, in which parliamentarians participate.

⁸ It might be hard to argue that anything objectively exists beyond the text if we take Derrida's (1967) argument that there is no "outside text" into consideration. However, we limit the word 'text' here to the textual data (corpora) that we intend to use in this study, and our purpose in taking "stance" beyond this data is primarily to investigate the external values that play a role in determining the value system of stance-taking in the Parliament. This will also help test whether there is a correlation between stance as a linguistic realization of "attitudes" and stance as a political value, as well as how they are interrelated and influence one another in a political context.

Before we situate the expression of stance in its global political context, it is relevant to highlight an interesting observation by Englebretson (2007) that focuses on the uses of the word ‘*stance*’ in BNC and SBCSAE⁹. He approached *stance* from an corpus-based perspective, investigating the meaning of this word by looking at how it is used in naturally occurring language and trying to understand what people want to say when they use it. Among the results he found is this list (Table 3.1) of the top 20 adjectives collocated with the word *stance* (frequency > 5) in BNC (pp. 12):

Table 3.1 Most Frequent Collocates of the word ‘stance’ in BNC and SBCSAE

Adjective	No. of Tokens
Political	37
Aggressive	20
Moral	16
Upright	15
Tough	13
Critical	12
Neutral	10
Positive	10
Forward	10
Public	10
Negative	9
Basic	9
Particular	8
Left	8
Ideological	7
Conservative	7
Anti-abortion	6
Previous	6
Different	6
Right	6

⁹ BNC is the British National Corpus and SBCSAE is the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English.

Englebretson (2007) pointed out that, in naturally occurring language, “political” is the adjective that most frequently collocates with *stance*, likely indicating that *stance-taking* is frequently practiced in the political context. Other adjectives identified by Englebretson (2007) also seem to reveal much about the nature of *stance*. Adjectives such as “conservative,” “neutral,” “ideological,” and “anti-abortion” clearly indicate types of stance that reflect various political attitudes. Moreover, adjectives such as “negative” and “positive” or “left” and “right” could represent the scale of binary oppositions that the expression of stance reflects. However, in a political context, we can argue that stance is not merely “positive” or “negative.” Instead, it is *politically positive* or *politically negative*, and what counts as positive or negative will vary depending on the political ideology of the speaker. As Thompson and Hunston (2000) note, “evaluations of good and bad are dependent on the value-system underlying the text” (p. 22). Whether a speaker expresses a positive stance about a policy would likely be influenced by the political attitudes of the speaker and by which party proposed the policy. Political parties usually propose policies that are aligned with their political schools of thought, which may lead to conflict during stance-taking. That is why we believe that using a positive-negative scale is insufficient to represent the value system underlying stance in the political context. Instead, this Thesis will assume that political attitudes and party affiliation, the stronger basis of the value system, will have a greater influence on how stance is expressed in Parliament.

Many models have been developed to depict political attitudes. We will use the model below (Figure 3.1), which was proposed by The Political Compass Organization,¹⁰ to illustrate how stance, as expressed in the Parliament, may represent the *political values* of its speakers:

¹⁰ There are a number of models representing the political spectrum, such as the Nolan Chart (<https://www.nolanchart.com/survey-php>), the Pournelle Chart (<https://www.revolvy.com/page/Pournelle-chart>), and the Political Compass Model. The model proposed by the Political Compass Organization (<http://politicalcompass.org/>) has been chosen here because it encompasses both the economic and social dimensions of political stance. We are not concerned about the accuracy of these models, and do not intend to argue that is the most accurate one. We use it only for the purpose of demonstrating our arguments.

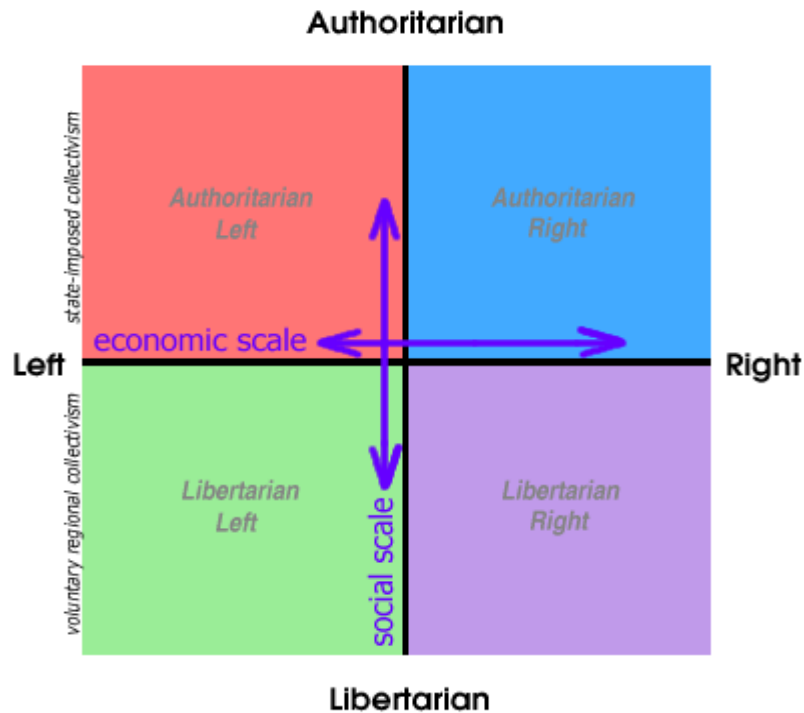


Figure 3.1 An Example of a Political Compass Model (<http://politicalcompass.org/>)

As shown in Figure 3.1, the left-right spectrum represents the economic dimension of political values, whereas the liberation-authoritarian scale represents the social dimension of political values. Clearly, where a speaker or writer stands in this model will be determined by their political identity. But what is a political identity? Van Dijk (2010) identifies a number of categories that define the identity of a political party or group: *membership* (group affiliation), *activities/discourse* (what we typically do and say as being a member of that group), *aims* (what we want, politically speaking), *norms and values* (e.g. the freedom of enterprise as a basic value for neoliberals), *ideology* (what we generally believe in as a party), *group relations* (i.e. who are our political friends and who are our political enemies), and *power resources* (e.g. political support from voters and control over public discourse). We learn about these categories through texts mediated through various channels, including media, party conferences, party manifestos, and parliamentary debates, reflected in Van Dijk’s assertion that “political identities are largely acquired by text and talk” (2010: pp. 34-35, cited in Laclau, 1994 and Minnini, 1991).

A political stance (e.g. liberal, conservative, etc.) is initially performed through discourse (expressing values, stances, and ideology), which then defines and determines their political identity. Thus, the political stance of a political party will be significantly determined by its members' public discourse. In the UK, for instance, the Parliament is a party-system institution. The following compass (Figure 3.2) situates most UK political parties roughly on the political scale (based on party manifestos and pledges during the 2010 General Election):¹¹

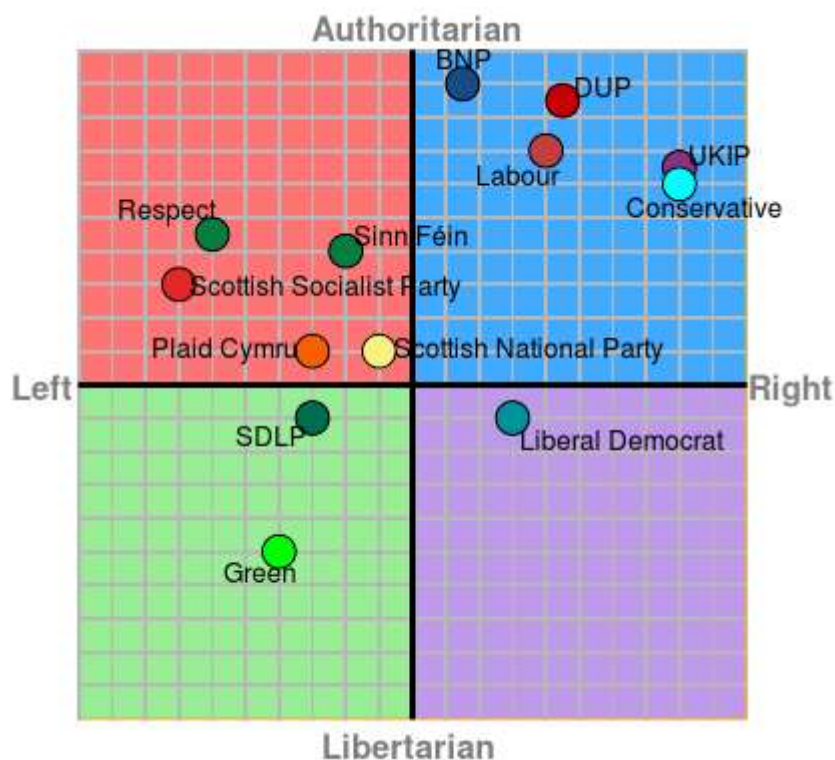


Figure 3.2 UK Political Parties on a Political Compass Model

Where each party politically stands determines both the stance they take in discourse and their relationship with other parties. In other words, a party's political stance determines their stance/appraisal taken in discourse and, in turn, the stance/appraisal uttered in discourse can identify a party's broader political stance. Thus, to understand the phenomenon of political stance through language, we must consider both the immediate situational context and broader social and political conditions. According to Fairclough's (1992) social theory of discourse, texts are socially determined, and are

¹¹ This figure is taken from the Political Compass Organization website; <http://www.politicalcompass.org/ukparties2010> (retrieved 4/4/2015).

products of what Fairclough (2001) called a “*process of production*” (p. 20). Fairclough assigns three main dimensions to any discursive event: *text*, *discursive practice* (which includes both the production and the interpretation of texts) and *sociocultural practice*, as illustrated in Figure 3.3 (adapted from Fairclough, 2010, p. 133):

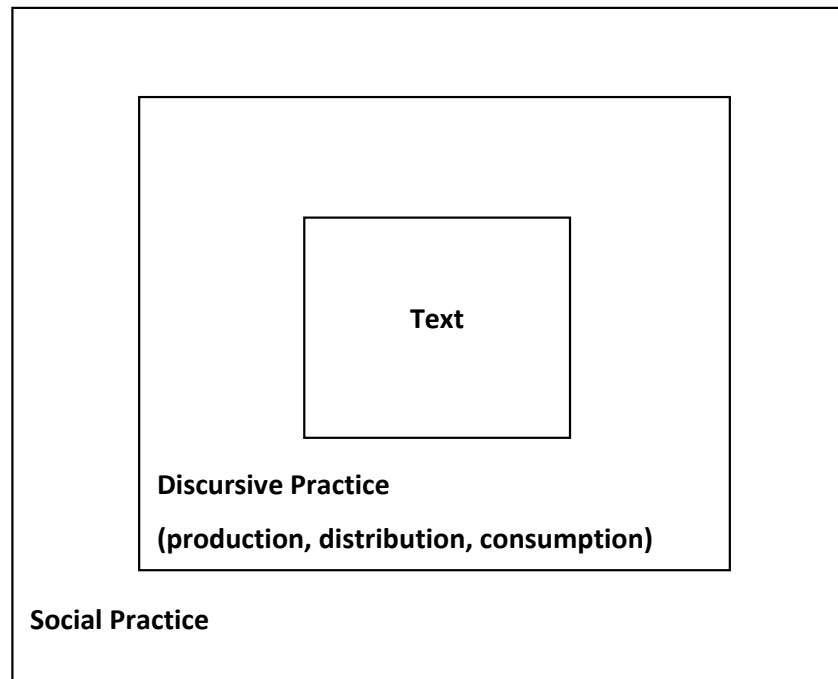


Figure 3.3 Dimensions of Discourse adapted from Fairclough (1992)

These three dimensions must be considered when analyzing political stance through text. As Ilie (2010) puts it:

“If we are to understand the role of parliamentary practices in identifying, defining and articulating deliberation issues we need to explore the recurring linguistic patterns and rhetorical strategies preferred by Members of Parliament (MPs), which help reveal their hidden agendas and ideological, or tactical, bias” (p. 1).

Fairclough's (2001) proposed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) considers both micro- and macro-contextual cues in the analysis of any text. Fairclough (2001) proposes three stages for analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation. Whereas description concerns micro-level text analysis, interpretation is concerned with the text as the product of a process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation. The final stage, explanation, concerns macro-level analysis, examining the social determination of the production and interpretation processes and their social effects. Drawing on Fairclough's CDA approach and informed by Van Dijk's (2004) conceptual approach on parliamentary context, Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle, Ilie's (1994) account of political argument, and Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework, this chapter proposes a methodological framework for analyzing stance-taking in the Parliament, elaborated on in the next section. However, before that I will discuss why context is an important aspect that needs to be considered when studying stance in parliamentary discourse.

3.4 Contextualizing Stance in Parliament

It is essential to situate stance in its context before conducting any textual analysis of stance-related patterns in the UK Parliament. Contextualizing stance can help us to “identify those aspects of context which must become known in order to arrive at a successful interpretation of the stance at hand” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 146). The context of Parliament, as with all institutions, represents a specific linguistic culture that influences participants' language usage. This contextual framework also plays a role in determining how stance is realized linguistically. The significance of context to any analysis on stance has been stressed by many, including Hunston (2007), who suggests that “context is crucial in identifying stance” (p 36). Du Bois (2007) also confirms that the meaning of stance in any text is incomplete without its context. He stated that;

“... [S]tance is more than the context-free connotations of words or sentences. In the grammarian's standard presentation of the isolated sentence, stance remains incomplete. The missing ingredients can only be

found by contextualizing the utterance, defined as the situated realization of language in use.” (Du Bois 2007: 146)

But what are the contextual considerations that need to be taken into account when examining stance in parliamentary context? Ilie (2010) suggests a list of some contextual cues that need to be considered. Among those considerations is the need to assess both local and global contexts of parliamentary practices as in what political views the MPs stand for, whom and what they represent and what are their perceptions of themselves as MPs, etc. Another contextual factor that needs to be considered is the multiple role shifts between MPs’ public roles on the one hand (as party members, legislators, high officials), and their private roles on the other (as individuals of the constituency they represent, family members, etc.).

Moreover, among the local contextual cues that need to be considered are parliamentary dialogue conventions and strategies such as ways of complying with these conventions or challenging them and/or breaking parliamentary regulations. Language used on the floor of Parliament is also importantly influenced by power relations among MPs. These power relations create positions of adversariality between different parties and solidarity within the party group, which in turn determines the language MPs use when addressing members from other parties or members of the same party. In addition to these contextual cues is the interaction between MPs and their audiences, which – as discussed in Chapter 2 – also constitutes a significant element of parliamentary context. That is, the analysis of stance in parliamentary contexts also needs to take into consideration how MPs interact with multi-level parliamentary audiences such as the insider audience of fellow MPs, the by-standing audience of visitors to parliament, and the overhearing audience of TV-viewers. Precisely how all these contextual issues influence stance-taking in the Parliament will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

3.5 A Theoretical Framework of Stance-taking in Parliament

As mentioned earlier, there is currently no standard or accepted framework available to help analysts situate stance within the parliamentary context. Thus, this section attempts to propose a methodological framework that does precisely this. This framework draws

on four sets of existing theoretical resources which, it will be argued, have potential relevance and applicability for analyzing stance in parliamentary contexts. Each of these previous theoretical resources will be discussed in turn below. First, informed by Van Dijk's (2004) general conceptual approach to parliamentary discourse, we will consider the effect of the global context on the expression of stance. Du Bois's (2007) model of the stance triangle will then be considered as a means of examining acts of positioning and alignment in parliaments. Next, Ilie's (1994) account of the types of parliamentary arguments will be examined. This will be followed by a discussion of Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework. All these theoretical approaches will be combined in a unified framework that can be used for analyzing stance-taking in parliamentary discourse.

3.5.1 Van Dijk: Macro- and Micro-Level Categories of Parliamentary Context

Van Dijk's (2004) approach to the parliamentary context is essentially conceptual. Van Dijk identifies two main categories of parliamentary context: macro-level (consisting of domain, global actions, and institutional actors) and micro-level (consisting of setting, local actions, participants, and cognition). In this section, we attempt to conceptualize how these categories relate to the expression of stance in the House of Parliament. We begin with the macro-level categories, which are part of a larger social context. Regarding parliamentary discourse, the overall domain is "politics," within which MPs understand that they are "doing politics." They understand that they are engaged in various "global actions" within this domain, such as representing constituencies, making policy, enacting legislation, governing the country, engaging in opposition, criticizing the government, and implementing party programs. According to Van Dijk (2004), when MPs speak in the Parliament, they are consciously engaged with these global actions, and these acts play a role in guiding MPs' discourse, interaction, understanding, and mutual critique (pp. 356–357). The domain and global actions determine MPs' institutional role as members of a political party and of the institution of parliament more generally. They are not only individuals engaged in legislation, policy making, and representing their constituencies, but are also members of a political party, representing either the opposition or government. This defines their political identity, which is discursively "expressed, displayed, enacted, formed and

reproduced” (Van Dijk, 2010, p. 53), and this discourse ultimately shapes their public identity. This discourse usually encompasses a language of attitudinal stance that values policies and evaluates public matters from the viewpoint of the political stance of its speakers. Accordingly, whatever stance they express, even if it is not intentionally “party political,” it will be interpreted as though it is. The contextual parameters not only constrain how MPs are supposed to speak but also how they should interpret speech. Below are examples in which a government MP refers to their addressee’s political party when they speak to them using possessive pronouns (her party, the Gentleman’s party, etc.). These examples show how the institutional identity of the speakers is both exhibited and deconstructed during local discursive acts in the Parliament:

1. ***The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon):** That old chestnut must be laid to rest. In cash terms, we are spending roughly the same in this comprehensive spending review period as the hon. Gentleman’s party spent in the last one. His Chancellor, in his last Budget statement, announced 50% cuts in capital budgets for Departments such as mine. The hon. Gentleman cannot come here and try to compare apples with pears. Labour Members must move on from this, and understand that we are doing what we need to do in very difficult financial circumstances. [Hansard, HC, 7 Mar 2013-OAQ]*
2. ***Mrs Spelman (The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs):** I took the trouble to find out the situation in the hon. Lady’s constituency. The Environment Agency has confirmed that it has received no reports of flooded properties there, notwithstanding the surface water pressure over Bolton in June. None the less, the issue is important. On the urgency, I gently remind the hon. Lady that her party had two years in government from the time when it agreed that the statement of principles would not be renewed. It found no solution, leaving this Government with a ticking time bomb in the safe where no money was left. [Hansard, HC, 5 July 2012-OAQ]*

The micro-level categories, on the other hand, represent more specific properties of the context, including setting, local actions, participants, and cognition. These micro-level categories are usually controlled by the macro, global categories (Van Dijk, 2004). The setting, for instance, includes the temporal and spatial settings, which are both governed by global institutional norms and standards, from where debates take place, where party members sit (frontbenchers, backbenchers, etc.), how much time is allocated for each MP to talk, and in what order they speak. How does the *setting* play a role in the expression of stance in the Parliament? The seating of MPs, in the UK Parliament as in many other Parliaments, is arranged based on institutional roles, which determine the overall discourse produced in the Parliament. The frontbenchers, for instance, hold government offices (whether on the government or the official opposition side) and are the spokespeople of their party. Their institutional role entitles them to voice stronger views/stances about government policies, whereas backbenchers hold no government office and hence (in principle, at least) enjoy less power in terms of influencing government policies.

The second micro category is local actions, which constitute the discursive act of debates. Van Dijk (2004) sees a parliamentary debate as a complex discursive formation that consists of a number of local sub-actions, such as a sequence of speeches by MPs, interventions by the chair, and questions asked by MPs and directed to ministers. Van Dijk provides an example of a local act: asking a question about a bill proposed by the government. This would usually be consistent with the global actions of scrutinizing the government, engaging in an opposition, and criticizing the bill to represent voters who may be negatively influenced by the law. Thus, the local moves realized in the House of Parliament are manifestations of larger global actions.

Van Dijk's third micro category is *participants*. Participants in Parliamentary discourse are concurrently engaged in three types of roles: communicative roles, interactional roles, and social roles. The communicative role involves the speaker/recipient role, and controls the turn-taking system in the Parliament. As was mentioned earlier, MPs know that they are not speaking for themselves. Rather, they speak for their constituencies, their party, etc. Therefore, when they speak and express opinions and attitudes, they usually represent this institutional role. Similarly, when they speak, they are aware of who their audiences are. MPs are aware that they are not only addressing other MPs in the Parliament but are also overheard by journalists, media, voters, and other interest

groups. Therefore, they design their speech with an eye on their wider audience outside the Parliament as well as the audience within it. The second role of parliamentary participants is the interactional role, in which MPs are categorized as either defending or attacking the government or the opposition. The properties of such verbal interactions can reveal a great deal about MPs' interactional roles. The language MPs produce in the Parliament can reveal which stance they are taking with respect to the subject matter debated and with respect to their current addressee. The third type of role in the Parliament is the social role. This represents the social identity of the MPs, such as being men, women, black, white, old, young, etc. Van Dijk (2004) argues that these social categories can affect the broad strategy of positive in-group representation and negative outgroup descriptions.

The last micro category of parliamentary context is *cognition* (Van Dijk, 2004). Van Dijk (2004) argues that context is usually associated with a social situation, often leaving the category of *cognition* neglected. The cognitive category of context is comprised of the aims and intentions of the speakers. For example, if the overall aim of the MP is to criticize a bill proposed by the government, this aim will control how the MP describes and evaluates the bill and those who proposed it (Van Dijk, 2004, p. 361).

Based on Van Dijk's approach, stance can be viewed as a local discursive move that is influenced by both macro- and micro-contextual categories. If an MP is a member of a political party that values "freedom of enterprise," this will influence their local discursive acts during parliamentary debates, in that s/he will most likely oppose, criticize, devalue, attack, and negatively evaluate any bill that undermines this value. Figure 3.4 illustrates how we can situate stance in Van Dijk's conceptual approach:

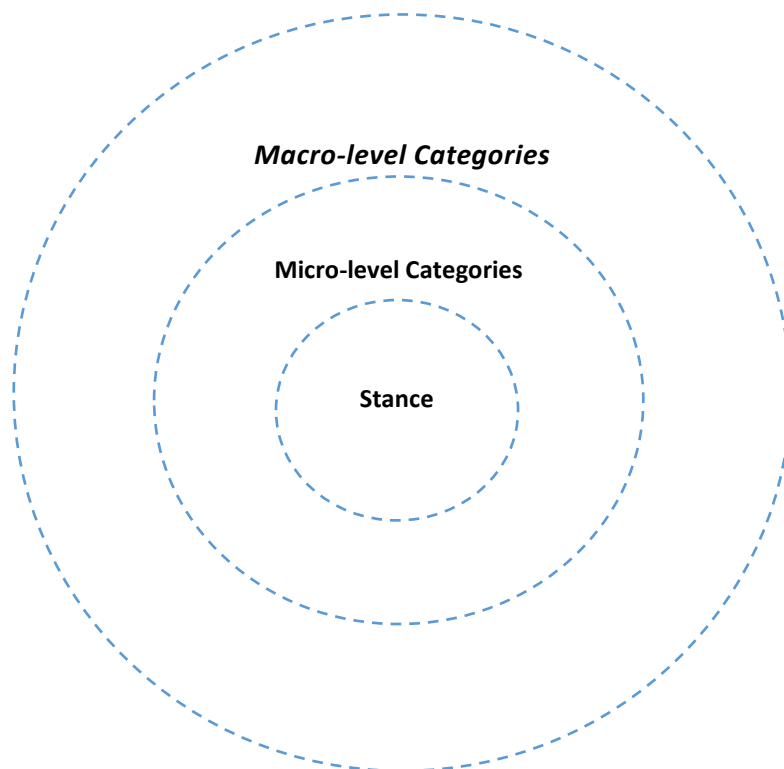


Figure 3.4 Locating stance/appraisal within Categories of Context

It is important to note that political stance, which is an ideology representing the political identity of a party, group, or organization, will be situated as a macro-level category. Arguably, stance as a political ideology or value and the linguistic attitudinal stance expressed in parliamentary debate are strongly interrelated according to this conceptual approach. Van Dijk points out that “parliamentary debates are political activities and discourses in which *political identities* are routinely expressed, displayed, enacted, formed and reproduced” (Van Dijk, 2010, p. 53). Indeed, political stance, as a macro-level category, arguably results from the discursive acts that occur in local categories, and expressions of attitudinal stance in the local context can arguably be linguistic configurations (manifestations) of broader socio-political stances.

3.5.2 Du Bois: The Stance Triangle Model

Van Dijk’s approach is valuable in that it allows us to conceptualize stance as a local discursive move that radiates to influence the representation of the political identity and political stance of its speakers. However, we have not examined how this stance operates in the local context of parliaments. Due to the sequential nature of parliamentary discourse, Du Bois’s (2007) (*dialogical*) stance triangle is useful in conceptualizing how stance operates in a parliamentary context. Here, we investigate how Du Bois’s stance triangle relates to stance-taking in the Parliament, particularly his notions of *positioning* and *alignment*.

Du Bois (2007) views stance as a complex phenomenon representing multiple factors. Evaluation, positioning, and alignment are “simply different aspects of a single stance act,” according to Du Bois (2007, p. 163). Du Bois (2007) indicates that taking a stance implies that the stance-taker is “*simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects*” (p .163). Thus, all stance acts encompass a set of three simultaneous actions that must be considered for a complete understanding of how stance is realized in a text. Du Bois (2007) illustrates these three subsidiary stance acts in a triangular relationship, as shown in Figure 3.5:

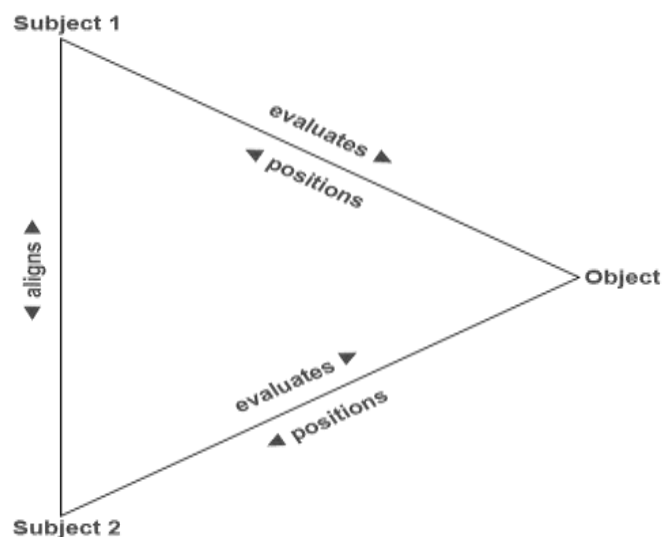


Figure 3.5 The Stance Triangle, adapted from Du Bois (2007)

According to this model, there are three main entities in the act of stance-taking: subject 1, subject 2, and a shared stance object. The relationships between these entities are enacted through three simultaneous stance acts, evaluation, positioning, and alignment, as demonstrated in Figure 3.5. The two subjects represent social actors involved in the process of stance-taking. Each subject is involved in the three simultaneous stance acts, which are directed as shown by the arrowheads. This model highlights Du Bois's view of stance as a social and intersubjective act, as stance is expressed dialogically among various social actors. It also represents the relational aspect of stance-taking among those actors. Du Bois describes how this relationship functions thus:

“Concomitant to evaluating a shared stance object, stancetakers position themselves. Concomitant to positioning themselves, stancetakers define alignment with each other, whether the alignment is convergent or divergent.” (2007, p. 164)

However, not all these acts are necessarily explicitly expressed. Interactants can make inferences “even if only one or two [acts] are overtly expressed in the linguistic form of the stance utterance” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 164). For instance, if speakers express an evaluative utterance, this utterance will position them on a scale of values and imply with whom or what stance they align. The following section sheds light on how positioning and alignment (as subsidiary acts of evaluation) can be conceptualized in the Parliament.

3.5.2.1 Stance-taking as a Positioning Act

The parliamentary identity of MPs can be significantly influenced by where they position themselves via the stance they take, as exhibited in their parliamentary *public* discourse. MPs' position relative to others depends on a number of contextual factors that must be considered to understand MPs' positioning acts. As MPs represent their constituencies, belong to political parties, and sometimes engage in opposition, whatever stance they take presumably positions them within this framework. Therefore, their positioning is essentially pre-established. However, their positioning acts are not always stable. If an MP is a Conservative, they might not always position themselves

with Conservative policies, especially if his/her constituents are badly affected by such policies. This might undermine his/her credibility and public image among his/her voters. This struggle to balance the multiple institutional roles MPs adopt influences the stance they take and accordingly positions them. Thus, MPs' chosen positioning is dependent on a number of factors, including the subject matter being debated, whether the official opposition is involved, and social factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, and so on.

However, we should not abandon the idea that MPs can use positioning strategically on many occasions. As discussed in the previous chapter, MPs can design parliamentary questions in a way that encodes a preferred stance. Similarly, positioning in parliamentary answers can be performed in a way that aims at positive party self-representation and negative representation of other parties, particularly the opposition. The following parliamentary exchange shows how a Conservative MP asks a helpful question, which is encoded with a *positive* preferred stance promoting the Conservative Party. Also, the government side uses this move to further position a stance that glorifies the government's work:

Sheryll Murray (South East Cornwall) (Con): People in my constituency who have been flooded will welcome the news about flood insurance and the extension of the £50 off their water bills. Does he agree that that shows a commitment to the people of the south-west that was never shown by the previous Government?

Richard Benyon (The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs): I agree entirely. I am grateful to my hon. Friend for pointing out that we have addressed an intrinsic, long-term unfairness for people in the south-west. We have proved that we are doing that not just for today, but for the long term.

[Hansard, HC, 4 July 2013-OAQ]

In contrast, below is an adversarial question encoded with a negative stance by an MP from the opposition. The government side exploits the move to strike back by embedding a stance that undermines its opponents and enhances the government public image:

Gavin Shuker (Luton South) (Lab/Co-op): *I welcome the right hon. Gentleman to his new role as Secretary of State and to his first DEFRA questions. When he took up his new position, was he briefed by his civil servants that the number of schemes deferred had risen, that spending on defences had fallen, that climate change meant that flood risk had risen and that this announcement was dangerously overdue?*

Mr Paterson (The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs): *I thank the hon. Gentleman for welcoming me to my new post. We are spending £2.17 billion on flood defences. I have visited Nottingham and was in Northwich recently, and there is real value in these schemes, which is why, despite the difficult financial circumstances we inherited from the last Government, these schemes saw only a 6% reduction. They are really good value.* [Hansard, HC, 25 Oct 2012-OAQ]

3.5.2.2 Stance-taking as an Aligning Act

Du Bois (2007, p. 144) defines alignment as “the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances.” According to him, stances align on a scale from convergent to divergent. In the parliamentary context, alignment is performed within the same framework as positioning, as positioning often implies alignment. MPs’ alignment (divergent or convergent) cannot be identified solely by where they stand politically. It can be influenced by numerous factors, including the issue being debated; whether it involves the opposition or not; and social factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, etc. Therefore, there might be matters that have cross-party alignment and matters that are extremely partisan. When parties have stances that collocate, they align convergently, whereas when their stances are divided, they align divergently, as illustrated in below. Figure 3.6 illustrates convergent alignment where parties’ stances meet in the middle but diverge to a certain degree on the sides:

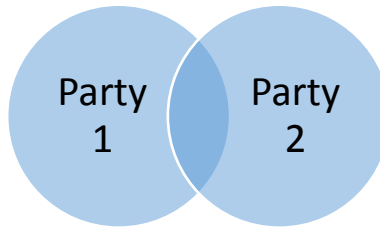


Figure 3.6 Convergent and Divergent Alignment between Political Parties

Though we have discussed alignment in a political sense thus far, our main concern is with alignment (as a stance act) from a textual, linguistic point of view, as exhibited in parliamentary texts. Importantly, the notion of political stance and stance as a linguistic act are related in two distinct ways. First, the linguistic expression of stance can be indexical of political stance and the relationships between speakers. That is, political relationships may impact a stance expressed in the Parliament and accordingly influence the degree of alignment produced in discourse among these speakers. Second, even if an MP expressed a stance but did not intentionally mean to align (or dis-align) with others,¹² his or her stance might be *interpreted politically* as aligning (or attempting to align) with others who share similar stances or dis-aligning with those who have divergent views. This becomes apparent when some MPs stress in their interventions that their statements do not represent “party politics,” as in the following example, where the MP clearly states that his criticism is not party politics but a description of a real case in order to avoid misinterpretation of his intervention and that his intervention is not purposed for a divergent alignment with the current addressee:

Mr Barry Sheerman (Huddersfield) (Lab/Co-op): *In answer to a previous question, the Secretary of State said that she was keen on evidence-based policy. All the evidence suggests, and everybody knows, that in places such as Yorkshire, which have been hard hit by the floods, the relief that comes from insurance or any other help takes too long. During that time, individuals, families and small businesses suffer dreadfully. This is not party political. Will the Secretary of State do something to help those people?*

[Hansard, HC, 5 July 2012-OAQ]

¹² This could happen when an MP takes a stance purely because of his or her personal views (with no intention to align with anybody or any other stance), particularly among the backbenchers, who are less influenced by their political parties.

3.5.3 Ilie: Stance as an Argument

The previous section discussed how stance relates to acts of positioning and alignment, but what role does stance play in parliamentary persuasion and argument? Here, we draw on Ilie's (1994, 2004) account of types of parliamentary arguments to test how stance is employed by MPs to strengthen their arguments in the parliamentary context.

Ilie (1994) draws on the 'pragma-dialectical' approach developed by Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992) to study how rhetorical questions are used to make political arguments. According to this approach, there are two important concepts in any argumentative process: *standpoint* (by means of which a point of view is expressed that entails a certain position in a dispute) and *argument* (by means of which an effort is made to defend that position) (Ilie, 1994, p. 145). A *standpoint* implies that speakers take a stance regarding a policy or issue. In linguistic terms, one can argue that this standpoint utterance can take the form of an *epistemic stance* or an *attitudinal stance*. An *argument* can take various forms in an attempt to persuade others to accept the standpoint. In this sense, the argumentation defends, supports, and reinforces the standpoint. Each arguer essentially says, "This is my standpoint, and this is why I think so." From a linguistic point of view, this standpoint-argument relation can be likened to Hoey's evaluation-basis clause relation (1983, 2000), where evaluation represents the standpoint and basis represents argument.

In attempting to persuade others of one's standpoint, how one does so is a key point in any argumentative discussion. Drawing on both the dialectical approach and the classical Aristotelian rhetorical framework, Ilie established that in argumentative discourse, such as political speeches, the speakers resort to various modes of persuasion: appealing to reason (*logos*), to emotion through stimulating an audience's feelings (*pathos*), and to the speaker's moral qualities (*ethos*) (1994, 2004). Parliamentary discourse represents a public rhetoric of persuasion in which MPs often resort to these modes to make arguments. This can be done by "question(ing) the opponents' ethos, i.e., political credibility and moral profile, while enhancing the speaker's own ethos in an attempt to strike a balance between logos, i.e., logical

reasoning, and pathos, i.e., emotion-eliciting force” (Ilie, 2010, p. 8). Ilie (2004) explains that these actions are usually mediated linguistically in Parliament through the use of evaluative language:

“Within the institutional frame of parliamentary debates, MPs’ identity and multiple roles are normally challenged and called into question by political adversaries. This is usually achieved by means of mutual negative evaluations.” (p. 56)

Making a” parliamentary argument” often relies on defending one party’s standpoints and attacking those of their opposition. This is accomplished using various modes of persuasion, where evaluative language could be employed to negatively evaluate opponents, and positive evaluation could be used to praise one’s own party. Numerous examples in our data demonstrate this, including the following:

***Mr. Paterson (The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs):** We are not. We are investing, with the various sources mentioned in my previous answers, a range of funds. Over this four-year period, we will spend more than any previous Government and protect 165,000 households—20,000 more than expected. This unprecedented programme is going ahead, despite the mess we inherited from the last Government.
[Hansard, HC, 21 Nov 2013-OAQ]*

This example shows how a government representative expresses a positive stance, “we are investing” and “we will spend more than any previous Government,” to defend the Government position and embeds a negative stance, “despite **the mess** we inherited from the last Government,” to blame and attack the opposition. These polarized stances are supported with other evaluations, such as “more than expected” and “unprecedented programme,” to reinforce and strengthen the argument.

In summary, Ilie’s work is highly relevant to the current study in that it shows clearly that stance plays an important role in parliamentary arguments. Taking a stance not only helps qualify MPs’ standpoints in the debate but can also be used to reinforce their arguments and attack opponents. Arguments’ power can be increased through the evaluative meaning embedded within them. Parliamentarians can resort to these means

to both persuade (i.e., make their standpoints acceptable) and manipulate (i.e., praise their own side and/or attack the opposition).

3.5.4 Martin and White: Stance as an Evaluative Act

As “parliament-ing” is fundamentally a language activity, one way to identify the political stance of parliamentarians is by analyzing the evaluative language they use in Parliament. There are various approaches to analyze evaluative meaning in text; however, the APPRAISAL Framework of Martin and White (2005) arguably presents the most systematic and comprehensive analytical approach, as confirmed by several leading scholars in this field. In Bednarek’s (2006) estimation, for example, Martin and White’s approach “provides the only systematic, detailed and elaborate framework of evaluative language” currently available (pp. 32). A similar view is expressed by Hunston and Su (2017: 1) who posit that “the Appraisal model is widely recognised as the most systematic and influential framework currently available for theorising evaluation.” The proponents of the Appraisal systematic approach have also appraised it as providing ‘more nuance and delicate analyses’ (White 2012: 59) than can be obtained using alternative approaches.

Appraisal is concerned with the “subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they represent and those with whom they communicate” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 1). Developed principally by J.R. Martin and P.R.R. White, the Appraisal Framework is an offshoot of Halliday’s (e.g. 1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) that aims, according to White (2006, p. 37), “to provide a fuller account of the resources of evaluation and stance” than was provided by the traditional Hallidayan model. As with Du Bois’ notion of stance (e.g. Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012), appraisal focuses on the social function of language by exploring how we negotiate our social relationships (Martin & Rose 2003). The sociality of appraisal is derived from its existence as an extension of the interpersonal metafunction in the SFL model. This is realized through the appraisal resources for “modalising, amplifying, reacting emotionally (affect), judging morally (judgment) and evaluating aesthetically (appreciation)” (Martin, 1995, p. 28).

As a linguistically oriented approach to discourse analysis, the Appraisal Framework is centrally concerned with the analysis of evaluative language from three perspectives - ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT, and GRADUATION - each of which offers further sub-divisions to the analyst (Martin & White, 2005; White, 2012). Figure 3.7 below shows the overall structure of the Martin and White's (2005) APPRAISAL system.

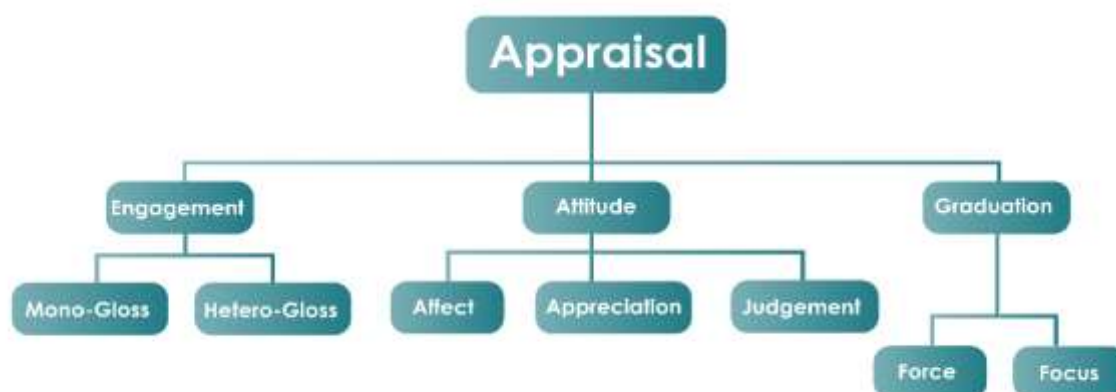


Figure 3.7 The Appraisal Framework

Of the three semantic categories, Martin and White take ATTITUDE as focal and distinguish ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION as two other sets of distinct resources. ATTITUDE covers meanings that are traditionally referred to as emotions, ethics, and aesthetics. Martin and White argue that the “concept of attitude moves beyond emotion to deal more comprehensively with feelings including affect, judgement and appreciation” (2005, p. 40). Thus, ATTITUDE is based on a three-way taxonomy of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. In the same vein, Martin and Rose (2003) posit that ATTITUDE constitutes the evaluation of things, people’s character, and their feelings. Each deals with feelings and they are interconnected. Regarding the semantics of AFFECT, White has argued that “feelings are presented as the reactions of human subjects to some stimulus” (2011, p. 17). They include positive and negative emotions that can be expressed directly (explicit or inscribed) or indirectly (implicit or invoked). These aspects will be discussed in depth in the following section.

AFFECT has been considered the center of attitudinal evaluations. The semantics of affectual values are construed as qualities (adjectives – *I am **happy** about what is happening*), behavioral or mental processes (verbs – *The whole process **pleases** me*) as well as modal adjuncts (***Sadly**, I had to go*) (Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin &

White, 2005; White, 2007). Affectual values are classified along six dimensions (cf. Martin & White 2005; White 2007, for a more comprehensive discussion on these dimensions).

JUDGEMENT is the third attitudinal semantic resource. It deals with the assessment of human behavior, i.e., feelings which are construed as correct behavior as they are codified by culture. In support of this view, White notes that judgement is concerned “with language which criticises or praises, which condemns or applauds the behaviour – the actions, deeds, sayings, beliefs, motivations etc. – of human individuals and groups” (2005, p. 17). The language of JUDGEMENT can be positive or negative and explicit or implicit. Human beings are judged in accordance with social esteem or social sanction. JUDGEMENTS of social esteem are related to CAPACITY (how capable one is), NORMALITY (how unusual one is), and TENACITY (how resolute one is), and those of social sanction relate to VERACITY (how truthful someone is) and PROPRIETY (how ethical someone is) (Martin & White, 2005; White 2011).

The APPRECIATION system is understood as evaluating human products or artifacts and makes reference to their aesthetic qualities and other social values. These are “feelings which are institutionalised in some way and are recast as qualities which inhere in the evaluated phenomenon itself” (White, 2011, p. 19). It involves the evaluation of things, processes and states of affairs. As with the other attitudinal values, APPRECIATION can be positive or negative and also evoked or invoked. Martin and White (2005) state that APPRECIATION is divided into three other sub-values: (i) REACTION to things (do they captivate us, please us, inspire us, etc.), (ii) COMPOSITION (balance and complexity) and (iii) VALUE (how innovative, authentic, real, and genuine). The distinction between the three attitudinal values is still hazy. Even though Martin and White (2005) have suggested the use of collocational frames to distinguish JUDGMENT from APPRECIATION, White aptly noted that “more work, however, is required in this area” (2011, p. 19).

The ENGAGEMENT system is concerned with meanings that have been examined elsewhere under headings like evidentiality (e.g. Chafe and Nichols 1986), hedging (e.g. Hyland 1998), and modality (e.g. Palmer 1986). However, Martin and White (2005) argue that ENGAGEMENT differs from other ostensibly similar approaches to these meanings in that it is based on a social perspective that is inspired by Bakhtin and Vološinov’s dialogism and heteroglossia. Texts are presumed to be written/spoken in the context of what could have been said and in response to actual

and potential or imagined readers/hearers. This is underlined by White, who states that “the engagement taxonomy brings together and sub-classifies all those locutions which provide some means for the authorial voice to position itself with respect to and hence ‘engage’ with, the other voices and alternative positions construed as being in play in the current communicative context” (2012, p. 61). Martin and White argue that ENGAGEMENT also departs from the previous approaches in that it does not only intend to reveal the writer/speaker’s state of mind or knowledge, but also whether the writer/speaker is certain or committed to the truth value of the specific propositions. The lexico-grammatical wordings are taken as resources that vary the writer/speaker’s ENGAGEMENT with propositions and proposals (White 2007). ENGAGEMENT “...is concerned with the linguistic resources by which speakers/ writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 92). The ENGAGEMENT resource is sub-divided into a number of heteroglossic values that indicate how writers and speakers contract or expand the dialogic space. Figure 3.8 below illustrates the contract and expand values:

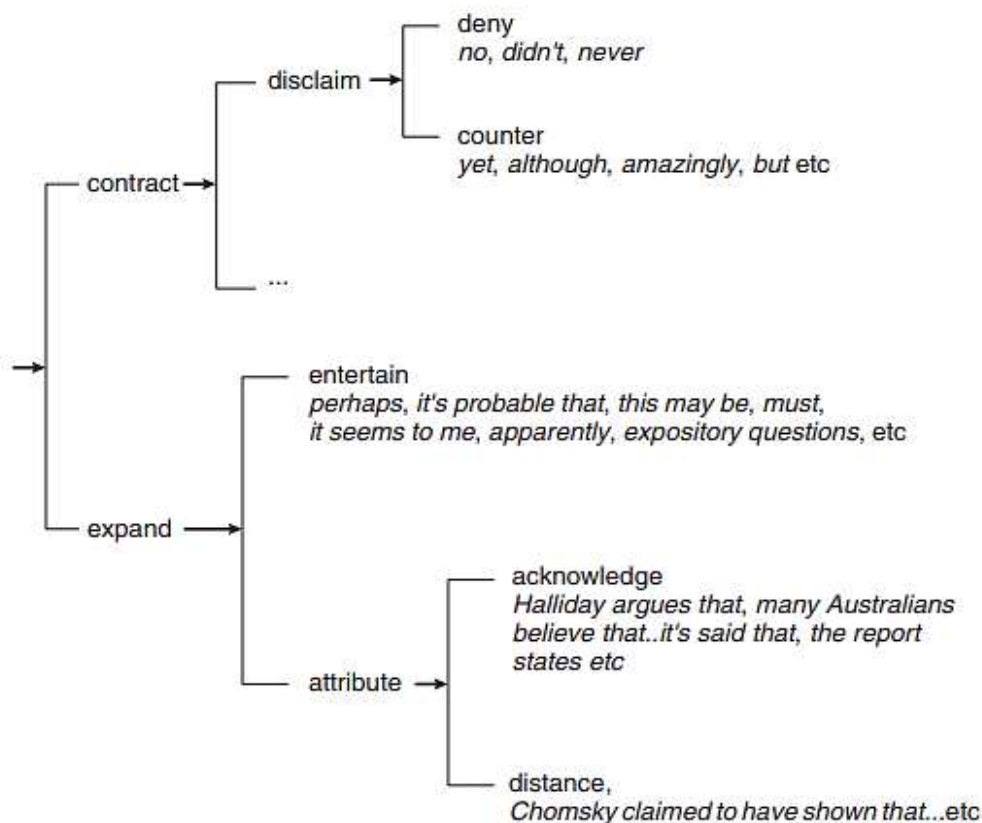


Figure 3.8 The Engagement System (Martin & White, 2005)

The third semantic resource of the appraisal framework is GRADUATION. The GRADUATION taxonomy encompasses meanings which function to scale attitudinal and engagement meanings and incorporates the notion of gradeability. Gradeability has been called a “defining property for all attitudinal meanings... and a feature for the engagement system” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 135). The graduation semantic taxonomy is comparable to boosting and intensification. It is composed of the two categories: FORCE (establishing resources of intensification) and FOCUS (adjusting boundaries).

In summary, and as should be very clear from the above discussion, the Appraisal framework provides researchers who are interested in studying the language of stance empirically with an extremely sophisticated, detailed and powerful set of tools for carrying out text analyses. The framework is not without its critics, however, Hyland (2005, p. 174), for example, claims that it is not clear how Appraisal resources “are actually employed in particular registers and to what extent they can be seen as

comprising core semantic features in given contexts of use” (Hyland, 2005, p. 175), while Bednarek (2009) and Hunston (2017) have expressed concerns about the clarity of some of Martin and White’s analytical distinctions, claiming in particular that it can be very difficult to distinguish JUDGEMENT from APPRECIATION in practice.

Perhaps the most important issue of concern, however, relates to the distinction that Martin and White draw between what they call ‘inscribed’ and ‘invoked’ attitude (or stance). Echoing Malrieu’s view that “it is difficult to conceive of any phrase which would be evaluation free” (Malrieu, 1999, p. 134), Martin and White suggest that inscribed evaluation relates to situations “where the positive/negative assessment is directly inscribed in the discourse through the use of attitudinal lexis”, and invoked evaluation describes situations “where it is not possible to isolate such explicit attitudinal vocabulary” (White, 2007, p.158), i.e., the explicit use of evaluative lexis. In other words, their claim is that an evaluative meaning will always be present, but it will not always be overtly signalled linguistically. Martin and White (2005) further argue that invocation is realized when the attitudinal value is activated indirectly via implication, association or optional entailments. No explicit evaluative lexis can be linked with an appraisal or stance of the speaker/writer. Martin and White (2005) state that there are three ways that attitudes can be invoked in texts:

- The use of lexical metaphors
- The selection of non-core vocabulary-flagged
- Other types of ideation-afforded

This view is in conflict with the approach taken by some other leading scholars, who argue that for linguistic analysis only the analysis of overt or inscribed evaluations is feasible. Biber (2006), for example, argues that stance is expressed through grammatical devices, value-laden word choices, and paralinguistic devices. Overt grammatical stance markers are, in Biber’s own approach, either attributed to the speaker/writer or to the 2nd/3rd person. Adverbials are good examples of grammatical stance markers, i.e., stance adverbials. Apart from adverbials, Gray and Biber (2012) posit that modal (including semi-modal) verbs and complement clauses are not explicitly grammatical markers of stance. Instead, they argue that complement clauses are a type of implicit (invoked) stance marking, and are thus beyond the scope of a strictly linguistic analysis. Gray & Biber (2012) put forward a similar set of objections in the case of value-laden words, which, they argue, provide “no overt grammatical

device to signal the presence of stance” (2012, p. 21). Under such situations, it is left to the reader/hearer’s ability to deduce the intended meaning. In reference to this, Biber argues that “it is extremely difficult to operationalize value-laden word choice” because there is “no closed set of words that convey specific attitudes and evaluations” (2006b, p. 90).

In response to these concerns, White (2007) argues that while invocation is certainly problematic as an analytical concept for the reasons given above, it cannot simply be ignored since much of the evaluative work that is realized in texts is not limited to inscription but encompasses a vast amount of invocation. In other words, invocation is simply too pervasive to ignore. Indirect assessments thus cannot be left out in a concise study of the language of evaluation.

To mitigate the concerns raised above about the dangers of reading implicit evaluative meanings into ostensibly non-marked linguistic forms, Martin and White (2005) propose that invocation is realized in two ways: provoked and evoked. In provoked cases, an evaluative meaning will be involved though it is not explicitly attitudinal, for example *only*, *extremely*. There is not a clear-cut distinction between inscribed and provoked evaluation. Evoked meanings appear to be entirely factual without any explicit evaluative lexis in the utterance. These meanings are argued to be highly contingent as they impact aspects like worldview, inference, and value positioning. Different worldviews and value positioning are bound to result in varied readings of the text. Reading positions impact evoked meanings as they do not have one reading position. They work to fully welcome the subjective presence of the speaker/writer in the communicative process. Subjectivity will not be realized in the speaker/writer alone but also in the hearer/reader as they incorporate their beliefs and background in their interpretation of the utterance or message.

Whether one accepts the above arguments or not, it must be acknowledged that applying the Appraisal framework ultimately remains a matter of individual judgement on the part of the analyst, and that there can thus be no ‘definitive’ Appraisal analysis of any text. However, this problem of analytical subjectivity is by no means unique to Appraisal; on the contrary, it is an issue that affects all approaches to the study of evaluative language (Gozdz-Roszkowki & Hunston, 2016). Indeed, it is an issue that affects *any* kind of discourse analysis that centrally involves the qualitative categorization of empirical textual data. It also follows from this that the same standard remedies that apply elsewhere (e.g. drawing explicit attention to difficult or borderline

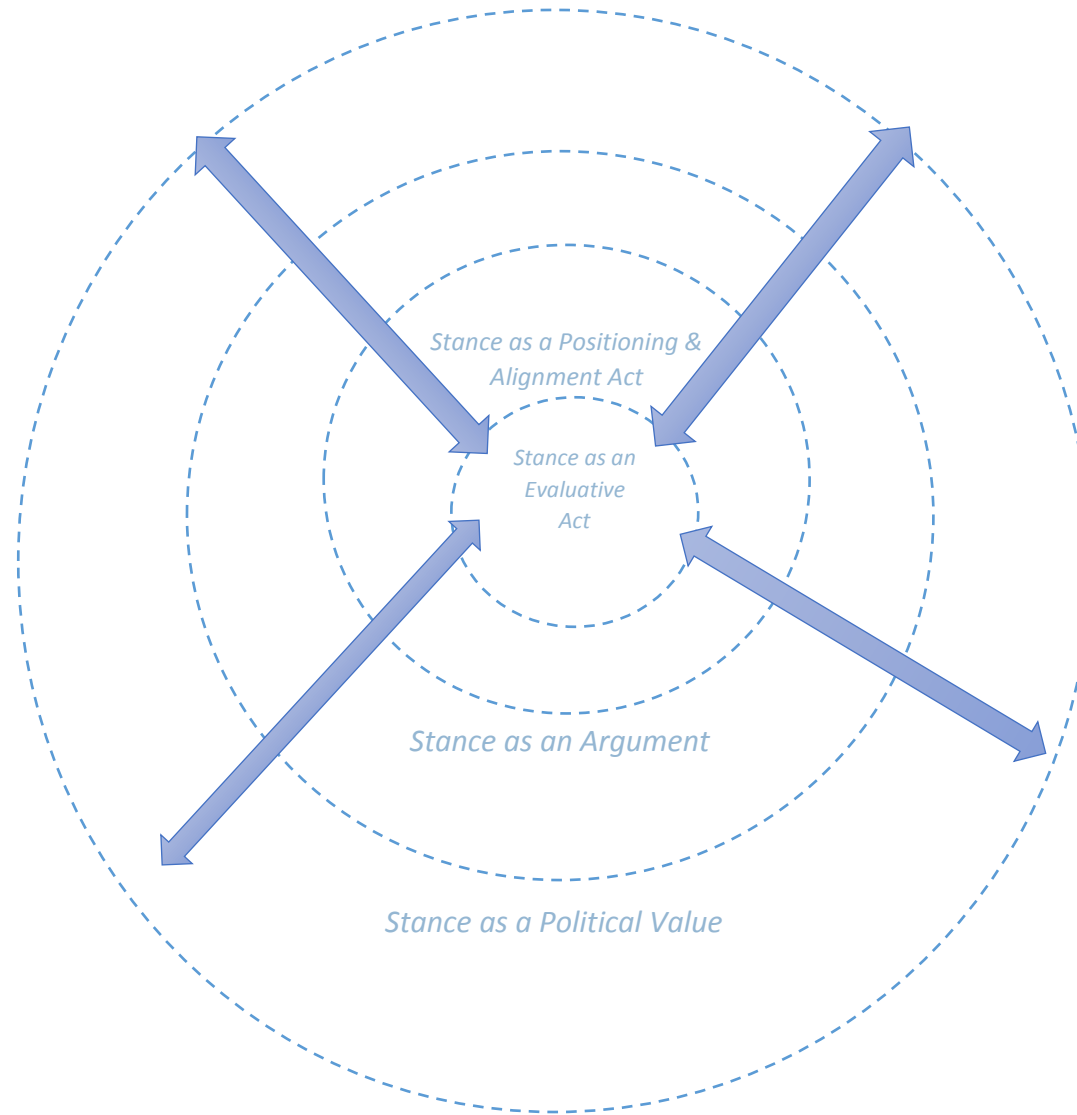
cases, and/or carrying out inter-rater reliability tests) can also be applied in the case of Appraisal analysis (Fuoli 2018).¹³ It should also be noted that Martin and White have said themselves that their approach is an ongoing project that is still being refined, and that the division of ATTITUDE into AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION should “be treated at this stage as hypotheses about the organisation of the relevant meanings” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 46) rather than definitive statements about what is actually going on in a particular discourse context. It is in this spirit that this Thesis proposes to adopt the Appraisal framework as its principal apparatus for carrying out the empirical, linguistically-oriented analysis of stance in parliamentary discourse that lies at the heart of the current research.

3.6 An Integrated Theoretical Model of Stance in Parliamentary Discourse

Based on the above theoretical presentation, we can conclude that in order to study patterns of stance-taking in the parliamentary context, it is essential to consider the contextual factors that influence how stance is linguistically realized, as well as provide a systematic framework for observing and classifying the forms and meanings that these linguistic realizations take in texts. Stances “invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 139); therefore, to reach a comprehensive interpretation of these patterns, we must examine them within the contextual framework in which they occur. By combining all approaches discussed above, this chapter has assembled and presented a methodological framework for analyzing stance-taking in the parliamentary context. This overarching framework is summarized in Figure 3.8:

¹³ It should be noted, however, that inter-rater reliability testing was not an option available to me as a self-funded PhD researcher working in isolation.

Figure 3.9 A Theoretical Framework of Stance-taking in Parliament



Based on this framework, all four levels of analysis of stance are strongly interrelated and interconnected. If we intend to study how stance is realized linguistically in Parliament, we cannot neglect its macro- and micro contextual cues. As represented in Figure 3.8 above, stance is usually realized in Parliament as a lexico-grammatical, evaluative act. Yet, it is still important to consider the social aspect in conducting any analysis on stance-taking in text. Du Bois argued that “stance is realised, in the usual case, by a linguistic act, which is at the same time a social act” (2007, p. 141). The lexico-grammatical realization of stance performs simultaneously (whether explicitly or implicitly) as a positioning and alignment act among MPs who also use their stances act as a persuasive argumentative means (mostly strategic) to defend their party and/or attack opponents. The stances uttered in parliamentary discourse will eventually shape the political identity of their speakers and their political parties. The illustration above shows the bi-directional radial nature of stance-taking in Parliamentary contexts. The political values of MPs influence the stance they utter in discourse, and the stance taken in Parliament can be an indexical of the political values and stances of its speakers.

3.7 Conclusion

MPs employ varied linguistic resources at their disposal when advancing and defending their standpoints. As Ilie (2006) has pointed out, “parliamentary debates are meant to achieve a number of institutionally specific purposes, namely position-claiming, persuading, negotiating, agenda-setting, and opinion building, usually along ideological or party lines” (p. 192). As this chapter has shown, most of these institutional purposes are mainly achieved through the expression of stance. However, while it is clear that stance is a common feature of parliamentary discourse, the Thesis has suggested that there is as yet no available framework that attempts to situate it in that context. The present chapter has attempted to address this lacuna by proposing a framework that helps identify contextual cues that might influence the expression of stance in parliaments. The chapter has also identified the Appraisal Framework as a powerful, systematic and coherent means of observing and classifying the linguistic forms that are used to express stance in parliamentary contexts. The present Thesis will use this proposed framework in analyzing some features of stance-taking in the British parliamentary debates. It is to a detailed account of this research that the Thesis now turns.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY, CORPUS AND ANALYTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the methodological basis for the current study and describes the procedures taken for the processes of corpus compilation and analysis. The Chapter begins by stating the main questions of the Thesis and describing how each of these questions will be investigated. The next section will discuss what methodological techniques were used to conduct the analysis. Under this section, I aim to explore why there is a need to combine corpus methodology and discourse analysis in conducting this research. The corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) approach is explored and justified as a favoured methodology. A proposal for carrying out a CADS study is demonstrated in a diagram where all methodological steps undertaken are presented. The following section aims to discuss how the corpus used in this study was compiled and organized. In this section, I will also talk about what criteria were taken into account while compiling the corpus to maximize practicality and data representation, and how the corpus was annotated.

4.2 Research Questions

As established in the preceding chapters of this thesis, the current study aims to address three main research questions:

Question 1: What attitudinal language is used by MPs in the British House of Commons (HC) and what role(s) does it play in the construction of stance in parliamentary debates?

Question 2: What dialogistic (ENGAGEMENT) resources are used by MPs in the British House of Commons (HC) and what roles do these resources play in the construction of intersubjective stance in parliamentary debates?

Question 3: Is there any systematic variation in the use of attitudinal language and ENGAGEMENT resources between Government MPs and Opposition MPs?

The first research question (Question 1) is addressed by analysing attitudinal language using the ATTITUDE system within the Appraisal Framework (Martin and White, 2005). The analysis includes examining the three subsystems of ATTITUDE; i.e., AFFECT, JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION both quantitatively and qualitatively and exploring their role in positioning and alignment/dis-alignment in parliamentary debates (The results of these analyses will be presented in Chapters 5 and 6).

The second research question (Question 2) is investigated by analysing dialogistic resources in the corpus using the ENGAGEMENT system within the Appraisal Framework. The analysis encompasses all contractive and expansive dialogistic resources, i.e., DISCLAIM, PROCLAIM, ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses are conducted to explore the frequency and the dialogistic functions of ENGAGEMENT resources in parliamentary debates. (The results of these analyses will be presented in Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10).

The third research question (Question 3) is examined by conducting a comparative analysis of attitudinal language and ENGAGEMENT resources used by Government MPs and Opposition MPs. This comparative study encompasses all attitudinal and dialogistic resources and compares their frequency and uses by both Government and Opposition MPs. This helps indicate how the parliamentary role of each party influences the type of attitudinal and intersubjective stance uttered in parliamentary debates. Also, among the issues that this comparative analysis aims to investigate is how the use of attitudinal language and ENGAGEMENT resources reflects power relations or ideologies and how they are related to the creation of shared values, a particular ideology, and the creation of in-groups or out-groups and included or excluded parties as what Fowler calls ‘a dichotomous vision of “us” and “them”’ (Fowler, 1991) (For the findings and results of these comparative analyses see Chapters 6, 8, 9 and 10).

4.3 Methodology

This section aims to discuss the methodological aspects of the current Thesis:

4.3.1 Using Corpus Methodology in Discourse Analysis

Since the aim of the present research is to study the attitudinal and ENGAGEMENT resources, the task at hand then is to establish an appropriate way of identifying these resources and analysing them. In order to accomplish this task, both quantitative and qualitative approaches have been adopted. The quantitative analysis is firstly conducted to obtain and explain the distribution and frequency of various attitudinal and ENGAGEMENT resources. A qualitative analysis is then applied by means of a detailed examination of the communicative and argumentative functions of appraisal resources in parliamentary debates.

The quantitative approach is conducted by using corpus techniques and the qualitative approach is implemented by carrying out a discourse analysis of the corpus. The combined methodology of corpus and discourse analysis has been advocated by a growing number of scholars in recent years (e.g., Partington 2004, 2006; Mautner 2005, 2009, 2015; Baker, 2006; Baker & Gabrielatos, 2008; Baker et al., 2008; Morley and Bayley, 2009). These scholars have encouraged a heuristic combination of the two methodologies where corpus-analytical techniques are used to study aspects of discourse.

It is important to note that this is not a case of one methodology (corpus linguistics) replacing the other (discourse analysis); rather, the aim is to develop a synergistic approach in which each reinforces the other. There are aspects of language that are better analysed with computer assistance and there are other linguistic aspects that are better analysed with nonautomatic procedures. It is therefore the task of the analyst to determine which parts of a study are best carried out by the computer, and which parts are better left to the human analyst.

The general value of compiling and analysing large electronic corpora has been discussed at length and is now very well established (Sinclair 1991; McEnery and Wilson 1996; Kennedy 1998; Partington 1998; Hunston 2002). Text corpora provide large databases of naturally occurring discourse, enabling empirical analyses of the actual patterns of use in a language, and, when coupled with (semi-) automatic computational tools, the corpus-based approach enables analyses of a scope not otherwise feasible (Biber et al. 1994: 169). Nevertheless, as Partington (2010) argues,

“the corpus should never be treated as the final word. All corpora have limitations, imperfections, lacunae. No corpus is fully representative of the language as a whole, or even a subset thereof.” It is thus very important to ascertain ‘what linguistic corpora have left out of the picture’ (Baldry, 2000: 30). This is because meaning is spread out in all parts of a text and what carries meaning in text is not always open to immediate observation.

One of the well-known methodological frameworks that combines corpus techniques and discourse analysis is Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies, or CADS (Partington 2004, 2006). The present study adopts this methodological framework (CADS) as its overall analytical approach. A number of previous studies has demonstrated the strength of the CADS approach (see e.g., Baker et al., 2008; Morley and Bayley, 2009; Partington, 2010). As a methodology, CADS follows a basic procedure which may vary according to individual research circumstances and requirements. One of the proposed procedure of CADS is the following (Baker et al., 2008):

- Step 1: Decide upon the research question;
- Step 2: Choose, compile or edit an appropriate corpus;
- Step 3: Choose, compile or edit an appropriate reference corpus or corpora;
- Step 4: Make frequency lists and run a keywords comparison of the corpora;
- Step 5: Determine the existence of sets of key items;
- Step 6: Concordance interesting key items (with differing quantities of co-text);
- Step 7: (Possibly) refine the research question and return to Step 2.

4.3.2 Why CADS

Before outlining the proposed analytical framework for this study, I will discuss here why corpus-assisted discourse analysis has been adopted as the general methodology for the research reported in this thesis. This point will be mainly addressed from two perspectives; i.e., the research focus of our study and the nature of parliamentary texts. These two aspects play a significant role in deciding to conduct the present study using corpus-assisted discourse analysis.

Regarding the research focus, we aim to investigate here the appraisal resources and evaluative moves used by UK parliamentarians to express stance. Identifying these using only a corpus approach might limit our results to certain types of categories of appraisal and evaluation that can only be detected using corpus methods. This might prevent us from spotting other items that have evaluative potential in our parliamentary texts, which we might not have considered beforehand. There are, in fact, numerous categories of lexical units that are known to have evaluative potential. Partington et al. (2013: 52-53), for example, identify the following:

1. Items that have intrinsic, in-built evaluative weight which makes them easily identifiable, e.g., *amazing*, *nice*, and *wonderful*.
2. Items with a good or bad evaluative function, yet not obvious to the naked eye. These items' evaluative potential is not part of their immediate semantics, but becomes apparent when they co-exist with other items of a particular polarity (e.g., *utterly* normally co-occurs with negative items while *perfectly* tends to display a positive prosodic priming). However, this prosodic priming might not be consistent in different discourse types as Partington et al. (2013) argue that "lexical items have different primings in different discourse types, even in different fields of human experience". They give an example of *lavish* where in newspaper reporting has a negative prosody (citing from Stubbs 2001) but in arts reviews it tends to display a positive prosody.
3. Items without inherent evaluative leaning, but which might be evaluative when used in particular contexts; i.e., their evaluative potential is triggered when used in some situations but may not display this evaluative flavour in others. Channell (2000) gives a number of examples of this. For instance, she explains how the word 'regime' reflects a disapproval of a political entity when used in political texts, but contains no such negative meaning when used in health and medical texts. These examples lead Channell (2000) to conclude that evaluation is largely context-dependent.
4. Items that Partington et al. (2013) regard as a sub-category of the previous type and name *script evaluations*. This usually happens in contexts where evaluation is suppressed and items, although seen as predominantly denotational and evaluatively neutral, could acquire evaluative content when used repeatedly in

cohesive chain in special discourse types. For instance, the phrase ‘party political’ in the following examples represents a negative evaluative sense when used by MPs in parliamentary debates, although items ‘party’ and ‘political’ are naturally non-evaluative:

Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): I am very disappointed at the *party political* nature of the right hon. Lady’s comments. My right hon. Friend the Member for Leeds Central (Hilary Benn) behaved admirably after the 2007 and 2009 floods, not least through the flood recovery grant. [Hansard, HC, 5 July 2012-OAQ]

he Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Mr Eric Pickles): My admiration for the work of the Environment Agency exceeds no one’s, and I believe it is time for us all to start to work together, not to make silly *party political* points. [Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]

Partington’s et al. (2013) categorisation of evaluative lexis led us to deduce that evaluation can be elusive, context-dependant and discorsal. We could actually divide these categories into three main types; namely, intrinsic, semi-intrinsic and extrinsic evaluations, where the first category falls into the intrinsic type, the second belongs to the semi-intrinsic and third and fourth categories are under the extrinsic, where lexis acquires its evaluative aura from its context rather than being an inherent part of its meaning. It is worth mentioning here that it may be impossible to categorise evaluative lexis into only two types; intrinsic vs. extrinsic. The occurrence of the in-between type (i.e., semi-intrinsic) can be an indication of two interesting characteristics of stance in text. The first is that evaluation can be dynamic where, for instance, intrinsic evaluative items could go through a re-lexicalization process and acquire context-based meaning (e.g., as in *utterly* and *perfectly* mentioned above). Such items acquire an additional evaluative aura from the external co-text and context and display a prosodic priming extra to their independent lexical meaning. Another sign of this dynamism is the process of de-lexicalization (Sinclair 1992; Partington 1993), where items lose their independent lexical meaning and are only used to fulfil a particular function where they have no meaning apart from this to contribute in the phrase they are used in. Partington (1993) gives examples of how some intrinsic evaluative items such as *terribly* and *awfully* diachronically lose part or all of their independent evaluative lexical meaning and display only an intensifying function apart from their inherent prosodic meaning. Equally, some extrinsic items might undergo a similar process of re-lexicalization

where their use in certain context gives them an evaluative aspect even if their independent meaning is evaluatively neutral, as in the case of ‘regime’ explained above.

The second characteristic of appraisal/stance/evaluation based on the above is that it does not assume that there is a direct or simplistic correspondence between forms and functions (Hunston 2007). On the contrary, the form-function relationship is seen as subtle and elusive, and compiling pre-established lists of evaluative items (just based on their intrinsic meaning) ahead of running any analysis might risk missing the more interesting stance features in that text. Thus, solely running corpus analysis in our case might be insufficient since we aim to detect parliamentary-characteristic stance features as well as we aim to detect embedded stance in phraseologies rather than easily identifiable evaluative meanings provided by lists of obvious features such as evaluative adjectives.

Furthermore, the decision to run a text analysis for appraisal/evaluation/stance simply by using corpus software to search for pre-determined lists of items may also run the risk of overlooking important evaluative items. This is because appraisal/evaluation/stance is complex (Hunston 2007). Its complexity is driven by the characteristic behaviour of stance in text. As discussed, stance is context-dependant, register-dependant, discursal, elusive, consequential and does not follow a form-function correspondence. Also, as Du Bois (2007) argued stance is a social act where the stance taker is responding to another stance taken by another social actor or taking a stance about another entity. Based on this, therefore, we need to attribute a stance to an identity of social actor who will be responsible for it as well as help us to reveal some significant associations between the stance itself and its speaker. This is critically important in parliamentary debates where there are at least two social roles played in each of its adjacent exchanges; namely the proposition (the Government) and the Opposition. Thus, if we want to investigate how stance is realized in parliamentary language, we need to consider the two-pronged characteristic of its context. Consequently, we must divide the language produced by each social role and inspect it individually particularly if we are utilizing corpus methods in our investigation. This is, of course, unless we are only focusing on one exchange of the debates; namely either the proposition side or the opposition side. However, even if we focus on one side of the debates, our interpretation of stance-taking in such context might be incomplete. As Du Bois (2007) argues, that is due to the interpretation of any current stance is highly

dependent on a prior uttered stance because of the dialogic connections that arise between stances. Now, although the present study is not a “Conversation Analysis” one, this dialogic connection between stances should not be ignored, at least in structuring the corpus based on social roles of its speakers as well as during the interpretation of stance-related patterns that the corpus of each role exposes. As a result of considering the social identity of the speaker, we can view our data of parliamentary debates and structure them according to the parliamentary role of each party. A comparative view on any similarities or differences of stance-taking between the two parties can then be explored, highlighted and interpreted in line with the social identity and parliamentary role of each side.

One of the interesting findings of this study is that it confirmed all these characteristic behaviours of stance. Another fascinating observation based on analysing stance in parliamentary context in this research is that stance is strategic. MPs use stance to achieve tactical ends in their parliamentary arguments. This finding will be exposed thoroughly in the analysis Chapters. Figure 4.1 portrays the complexity of stance as a textual phenomenon:

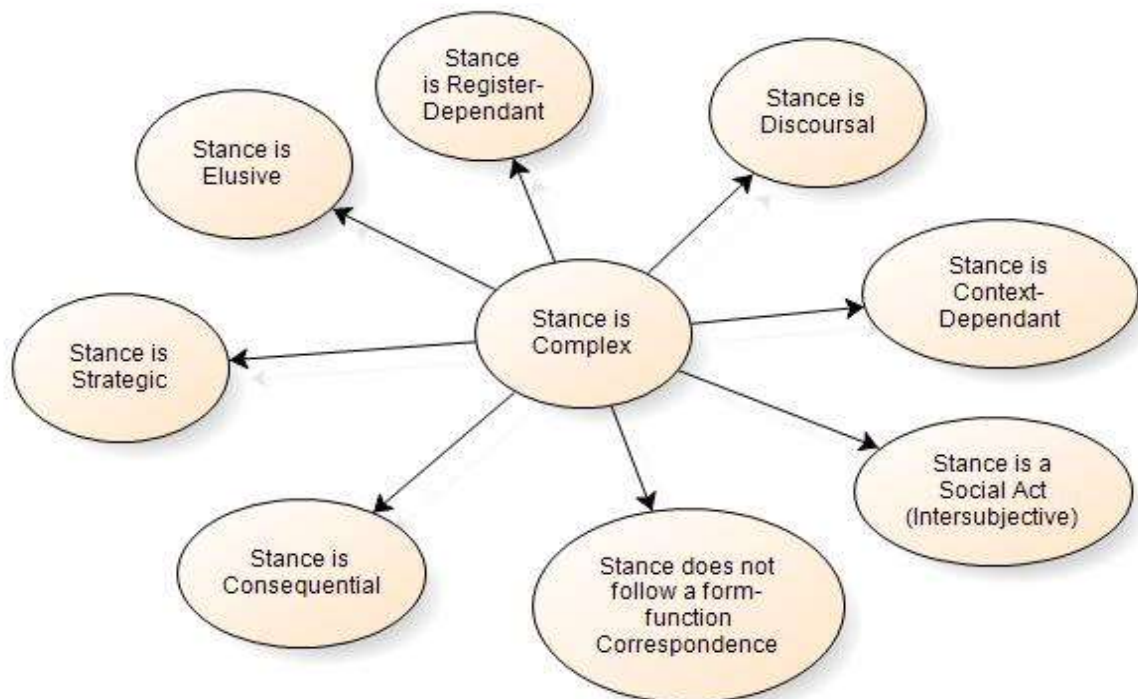


Figure 4.1 Characteristics of Stance as a Textual Phenomenon

This raises the question of how the nature of parliamentary texts justifies our decision to use CADS as a methodology for the present study. Since we aim to run a synchronic study representing the possible recent form of parliamentary language, the decision has been made to compile a corpus of UK parliamentary discourse representing the most up-to-date parliamentary cycle, which at the beginning of my research was 2010-2015. Such data can be approached in various ways depending on the research question(s) in hand. The decision about what and how much of data to include can be addressed in the three following ways:

1. Considering that a **parliamentary cycle** (i.e., in UK) can last a maximum of five years and runs from one general election to the next. In this case, our corpus will have to include all parliamentary discourse produced during this period of time.
2. Considering one **parliamentary session** (a parliamentary year). In the UK, a session of Parliament usually runs from the State Opening of Parliament in May through to the following May. The State Opening of Parliament marks the start of the parliamentary year and is the main ceremonial event of the parliamentary calendar - setting out the Government's agenda for the coming session. The State Opening of Parliament takes place on the first day of a new parliamentary session. In this case, the corpus will include all parliamentary discourse during one parliamentary year.
3. Considering how a **specific subject matter** (such as *flooding, immigration, Iraq war, etc.*) is debated, then in this case we investigate a corpus of data on that issue only.

The three possible scenarios of parliamentary data are represented in Figure 4.2:

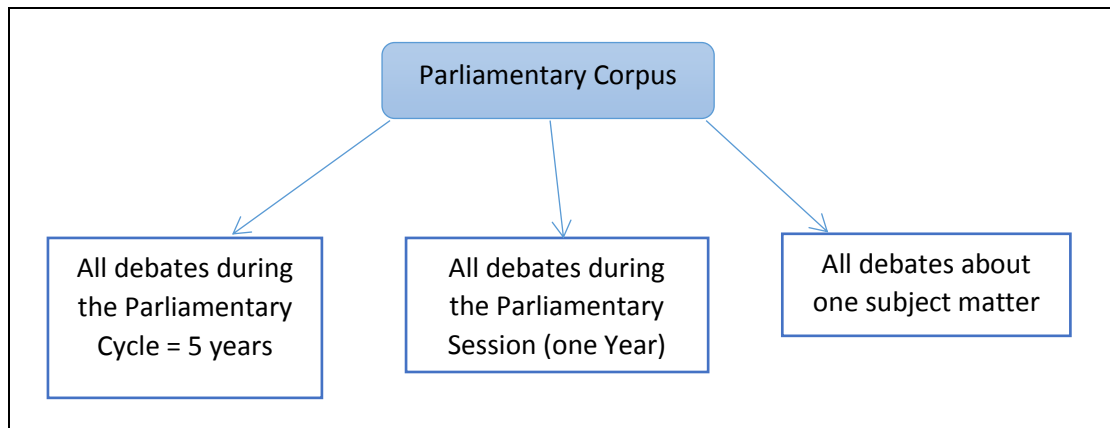


Figure 4.2 Three Possible Scenarios for Compiling Parliamentary Data

Each of these possible ways of compiling a corpus for the present study has its own pros and cons in terms of balancing both representation and practicality. We also need to take into consideration the need for our results to highlight some stance-related patterns in parliamentary language with no specific interest in how a specific subject matter or issue (such as *flooding or immigration*) is represented in parliamentary discourse.

Therefore, so as to achieve a balance of practicality and coverage of our data, we shall take a sample of the parliamentary session during the year 2012-2013. And to meet our research interest to investigate the embedded stance of parliamentary language, we shall take a case study of all parliamentary discussions on the issue of ‘flooding’ during the parliamentary cycle 2010-2015. This case study will enable us to run a more qualitative investigation on the data, then the results will be compared/tested against larger sample of parliamentary session year 2012-2013 covering a wider range of topics and not only ‘flooding’. Figure 4.3 visualizes this Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) more clearly:

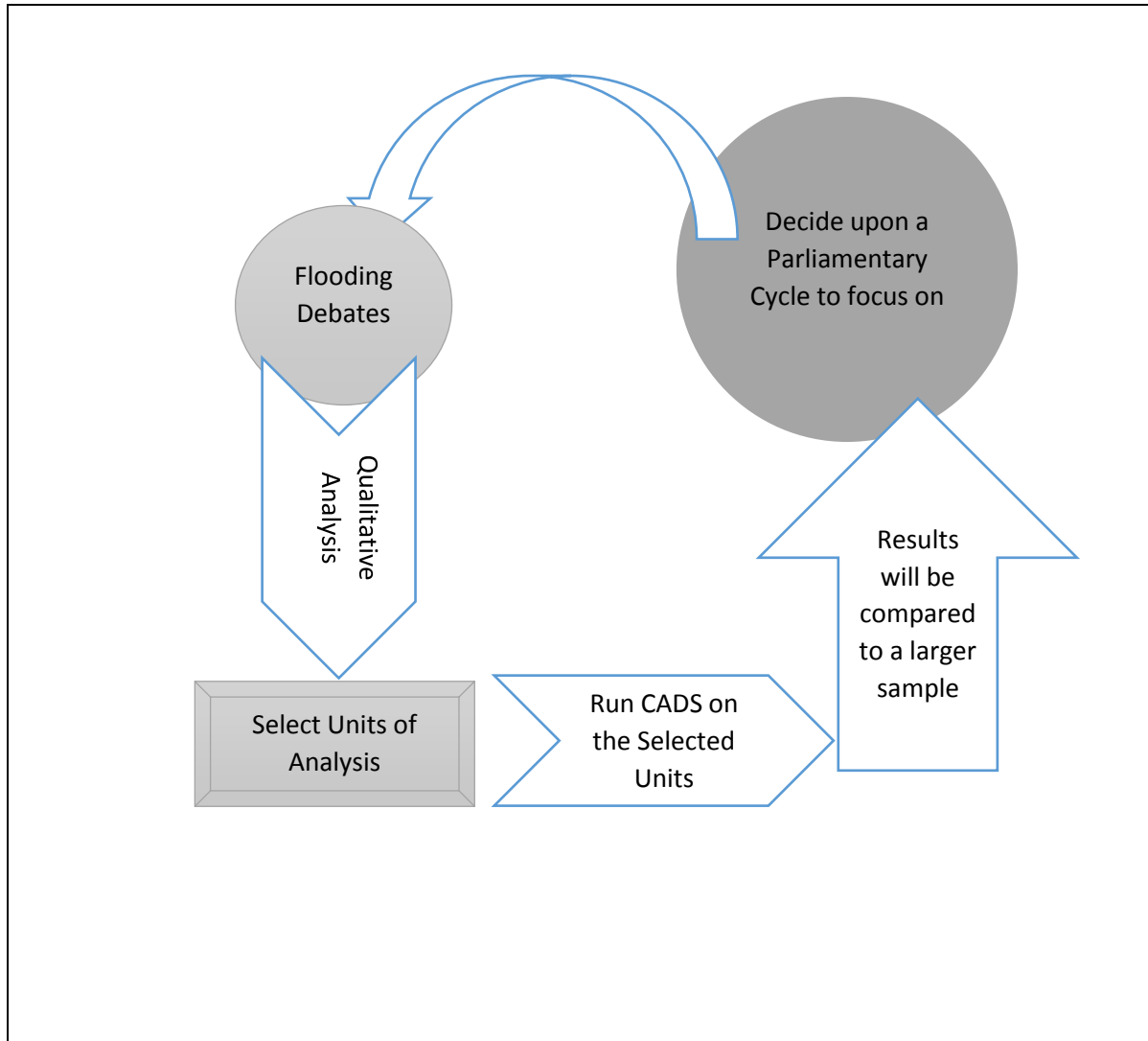


Figure 4.3 Exploratory Data Analysis of Parliamentary Texts

As portrayed in Figure 4.3 above, the exploratory analysis is conducted on one case study of parliamentary data, which then compared to a larger corpus of data to further test the question of data representation. The qualitative analysis of this case study has also assisted us in selecting units for analysis. Table 4.1 presents a number of selected units that were analyzed during the process of exploratory analysis of the data:

Evaluative Moves	Textual representations
Partisan Polarized Competing Forms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>more than/better than/ less than/worse than</i> - <i>more/ better/worse/faster/ less (open comparisons)</i> - <i>compare(ed) with</i> - <i>now vs. previous/last/past (in most cases the comparison with 'previous' is implied)</i> - <i>-new</i> - <i>-either/or</i> - <i>-this government vs. previous/the previous Government/last Government</i>
Intensification of Stance (Maximizers, Boosters, Hyperboles)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>extremely, badly, terribly, massively, considerably grievously affected..</i> - <i>v+ closely (we are working closely on)</i> - <i>Close + n (e.g. close attention, close eye, close involvement, close cooperation,...)</i> - <i>v+ forward (e.g. we'll take that issue forward)</i> - <i>all/ Every/most</i> - <i>across, throughout, around, the whole</i> - <i>at the highest levels/record levels</i> - <i>for the first time, the first</i> - <i>leaving this Government with a ticking time bomb</i> - <i>she lit the fuse</i> - <i>the heart-wrenching devastation</i>
Embedded Stance (Attribution, Parentheticals/asides, which-clauses/that clauses)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>announced</i> - <i>said</i> - <i>mentioned</i> - <i>claimed</i> - <i>as everyone knows/ as everyone is aware/Everyone realises</i> - <i>which-clause</i>

Table 4.1 Units of Analysis conducted during the process of exploratory analysis

Running this exploratory analysis enabled us to get to know the data and explore it in more depth before conducting the actual analysis of our corpus of parliamentary debates. Such exploratory analysis has also been very informative regarding analytical decisions needed for the purpose of conducting the present research. The results of this preliminary analysis will not be presented here, however, as this would be beyond the scope and physical limits of this Thesis.

4.3.3 A Proposed CADS Analytical Framework for this Study

Referring to our proposed theoretical framework of stance in parliamentary discourse (Chapter Three), we can propose an analytical framework to assist us in tracking the language of stance and evaluation in the UK parliamentary context. As proposed in the theoretical framework discussed above, stance in parliamentary context takes a bi-directional radial nature from ‘stance as a linguistic act,’ then ‘stance as positioning and alignment act’, towards ‘stance as an argumentative act’ which eventually formulate this ‘stance as a political value’. Since this is a linguistic study, our main aim will be tracking ‘stance as a linguistic act’, using the Appraisal Framework developed by Martin and White (2005). This will help us detect *what* stance and appraisal resources are frequently used in parliamentary texts. The expected results will then be used to induce stance patterns which we will rely on to study *how* these patterns are used to construe positioning and alignment in parliamentary debates. Figure 4.4 illustrates the methodological procedures that will be undertaken for the purpose of this study:

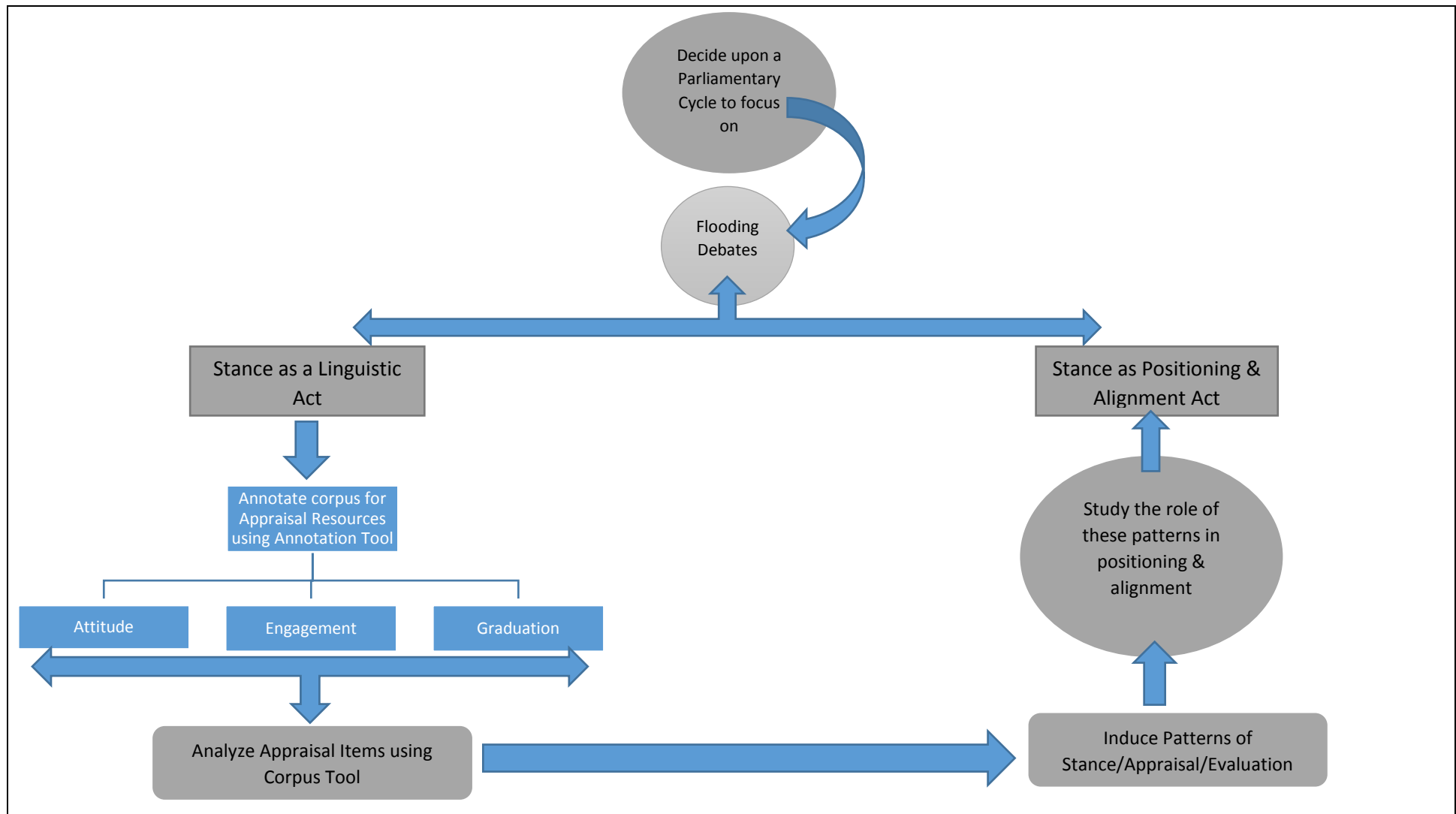


Figure 4.4 A Proposed CADS Analytical Framework for this Study

The above Figure 4.4 demonstrates the steps that will be taken in the analytical process of our parliamentary data. Guided by the basic methodological procedures of CADS presented in section 4.3.1 above, and informed by our exploratory data analysis on the case study of parliamentary debates, and using the proposed theoretical framework of stance taking in parliamentary context (presented in Chapter Three), I propose this CADS analytical framework (Figure 4.4) for the purpose of studying appraisal resources in parliamentary debates.

The first step is deciding upon the most up-to-date parliamentary cycle in which a decision was taken to include the period of 2010-2015. This was the most recent parliamentary cycle when I started compiling the corpus for the purpose of this study. Running a qualitative analysis of all appraisal resources on all topics and subject matters during the period 2010-2015 would be impossible to conduct. Therefore, a decision was made to delimit the data only on parliamentary debates on the issue of ‘flooding’ during the parliamentary cycle 2010-2015 in order to achieve the highest possible analytical consistency and practicality.

The question of why a decision was taken to choose the issue of ‘flooding’ and not ‘immigration’ or ‘Brexit,’ for instance, is to minimize the polarized tone that some types of conflictual issues might bring to the debates. In fact, there is no special research interest in how a certain issue is represented in parliamentary debates as much as the research interest is mainly a linguistic one regardless of the subject matter being debated. The issue of ‘flooding’ is of a collective national interest, and the UK was experiencing a surge of flooding during the period of 2010-2015 as indicated by the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government in the following excerpt:

The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Mr Eric Pickles): With permission, Mr Speaker, I wish to make a statement on behalf of Her Majesty’s Government on the action taken *in the light of the recent floods and extreme weather*. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs is unable to update the House today, but I am sure that we all wish him a speedy recovery to his usual robust health. *One of the defining characteristics of Britain is the weather*, but in recent months *it has been particularly savage*. Part of the country has been subject to flooding by the sea, rivers, surface water and ground water. In December, *we saw the highest surge on the east coast for 60 years and this January has been the wettest since George III was on the throne*. We will continue to face severe weather well into next week. **[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]**

4.4 Corpus of the Study

Sinclair (1991) stated that “The beginning of any corpus study is the creation of the corpus itself. The decisions that are taken about what is to be in the corpus, and how the selection is to be organized, control almost everything that happens subsequently. The results are only as good as the corpus.” (pp. 13). It is, therefore, essential to treat the process of corpus creation seriously as all our results will largely depend on how well this electronic database has been designed and compiled. In what follows, therefore, we will present a detailed discussion of the process of building and annotating the corpus used in this study.

As the focus of this research is primarily on parliamentary discourse, extracting the textual data has not been a limitation. This is due to the availability of most parliamentary texts, whether audio, video and transcribed, on the Internet nowadays. The online availability of parliamentary discourse has made it easy for researchers to access these data for study purposes, and has opened up new possibilities for revealing how parliaments work and how do they play a role in social and political change in general. In the UK Parliament (the focus of this study), Hansard is the name of the official transcripts of parliamentary debates. Hansard is now available online at <https://hansard.parliament.uk/>. Hansard documents everything that takes place in both the House of Commons (HC) and the House of Lords (HL), though our focus will only be the language of the HC. The online Hansard database was the source of data used in this study.

The following will present the procedural steps through which the corpus was constructed, annotated and coded.

4.4.1 Constructing and Compiling the Corpus

Before we begin deciding on what to include in our corpus, it is important to remind ourselves about the main objective of this study. This research aims primarily to identify stance-related patterns in parliamentary discourse, in particular, the appraisal and evaluative moves that are employed by parliamentarians, in compliance with parliamentary institutional conventions, in order to make arguments in the UK Parliament. To investigate this, we need a sample corpus representing UK parliamentary language. How we decide upon selecting this sample is the main task to be resolved. What to include and how far can we go also need to be determined. This cannot be done unless we have certain criteria that can guide us in selecting and constructing the corpus. These criteria should be based on two principles: firstly, that the

selected data will be representative of what we aim to investigate, and secondly that the selected data will take into consideration the special characteristics of the type of language we are dealing with.

Sinclair (2004) defined a corpus as a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, *selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible*, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research. Our research objective helps decide the external criteria which guide us to select the pieces of language text to include in our corpus. Nevertheless, this is not as simple as said it seems at first glance. As a researcher we might find ourselves trapped in a situation where we are unable to achieve a balance between selecting a representative amount of data on the one hand, and a corpus of a manageable size on the other. To resolve this matter, it is essential to aim at achieving a balance between representativeness and manageability of the data according to a set of criteria. These criteria are actually the ones which will distinguish our intended 'sample corpus' from the archive of Hansard. The first criterion is about considering the research objective which investigating the uses of a number of stance patterns in the Parliament. We might take all texts available in Hansard, up to now, to investigate this, but this would lead us to a diachronic analysis which is beyond the scope of this study. So we need to restrict our search to a particular period of time. Specifying the time will also help us select a manageable amount of data as well as controlling the variable parliamentary roles of MPs, i.e., balancing contributions from both Government and Opposition MPs. Another important criterion is the specialized nature of parliamentary language. Parliamentary language includes both written and oral texts, each of which has its own distinctive generic and registral conventions, so a decision needs to be determined about whether to include both or only one variety. The present study will only seek to examine the spoken version of parliamentary language that is usually produced during the sittings that take place at the chamber of the British House of Commons. This decision will help us delimit our investigation which as a result will help in selecting data that are homogeneous and manageable, yet at the same time also representative of the spoken variety of parliamentary language. However, it is important to highlight here that some researchers have pointed out that Hansard is a somewhat 'cleaned up' version of spoken discourse - it is not a full transcript of the kind you would find in a conversation analysis study (Mollin, 2007 and Slembrouck, 1992). Admittedly, Hansard may not be perfect as a transcription of spoken parliamentary discourse, but it is accurate enough for the purposes of an Appraisal analysis.

Furthermore, there is another criterion about the type of parliamentary subgenres to include in the corpus. Parliamentary discourse varies in its subgenres ranging from oral parliamentary questions, debates, ministerial statements, etc. Therefore, a decision needs to be made about whether to include all these subgenres or not. In addition to that, we need to consider how much of each of our chosen sub-genres we should include. An additional criterion is the parliamentary roles of text producers. In the Parliament, texts are produced by speakers who represent different parliamentary roles as well as MPs represent different political parties. All these need to be taken into consideration when selecting a sample corpus of parliamentary language.

To achieve a balance between representativeness and manageability based on the set of criteria mentioned above, the researcher has reached a decision to select a sample corpus representing parliamentary language. This is done by selecting all texts produced in the Parliament (i.e., the Chamber of the British House of Commons) during the course of one parliamentary cycle (five years) discussing one parliamentary issue (i.e., flooding). Based on this then the current study will attempt to present a case study on how appraisal/evaluation/stance is used by parliamentarians through an investigation of parliamentary texts on the subject matter of ‘flooding’ during the course of one Parliament (2010-2015).

4.4.2 Building and Organizing the Corpus

All oral parliamentary texts on the topic of ‘flooding’ during the span of five years (2010-2015) have been retrieved to compile the corpus for this study. All data have been retrieved from the Hansard online archive using the following flood-related search words: flooding, flood, floods, flood defenses, rain, rains, dredging, climate change,

As the corpus will comprise everything that has been said in the Parliament debates discussing one subject matter (flooding) during one parliamentary cycle of five years, this means that we will end up with various subgenres of parliamentary language¹⁴. These subgenres involve different linguistic features so this is needed to be taken into consideration when organizing the corpus. The corpus, therefore, has been segmented into two main sub-corpora; the first comprises ‘Oral Questions’ which include both ‘Oral Answers for Questions’ and ‘Urgent

¹⁴ Data include various subgenres of parliamentary language with exception of Prime Minister Question Time as this enjoys special circumstances that are absent in the rest of parliamentary language types included.

Question’, the second encompasses different types of parliamentary debates such as; Adjournment Debates, Backbench Business Debates, Estimate Day Debates, Oppositional Day Debates, Ministerial Statements Debates¹⁵. As a result of this distribution, we created a corpus that consists of two sub-corpora, i.e., ‘Oral Questions’ corpus and ‘Debates’. This segmentation has been done based on the form of interaction exhibited in each subgenre. The language in the ‘Oral Questions’ corpus takes the form of a question-answer format, whereas the language in the ‘Debates’ corpus represents an exchange of opinions and comments. The corpus as a whole has been named the Corpus of Parliamentary Debates on Flooding, henceforth abbreviated to CPDF.

Figure 4.5 below represents all the parliamentary subgenres that have been included in CPDF for the present study:

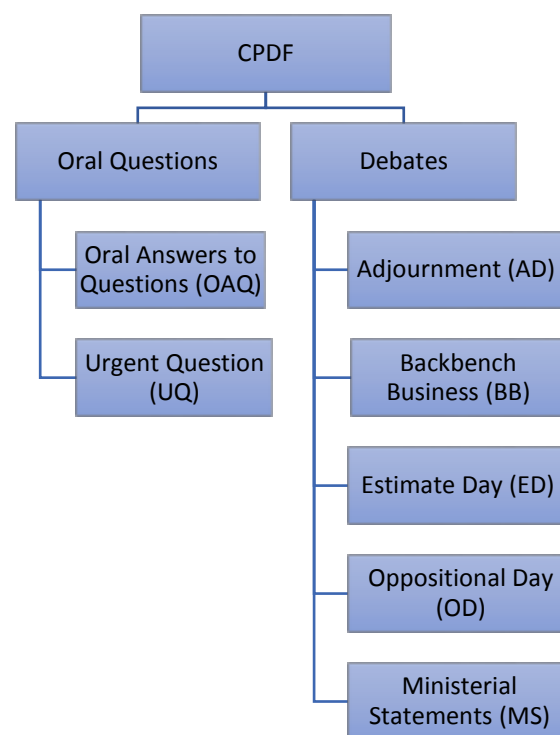


Figure 4.5 Parliamentary Subgenres that have been included in CPDF

¹⁵ These are debates that follow the Ministerial statement usually come in a form of response to the statement or as a question about the statement.

The reason for dividing the corpus into two sub-corpora is due to the nature of parliamentary texts. In fact, one role of the Speaker of the House is to remind MPs if their speeches or entries do not conform with the type of genre practiced as in the example:

Mr Speaker: Order. The hon. Gentleman should ask a question; *this is not a debate.*
[Hansard, HC, 6 Dec 2012-OAQ]

Each of the texts in Hansard contains metadata of various kinds. Some of this information is useful and has been retained in the CPDF corpus, e.g., information about the roles of the parliamentary actors represented in each text. Other metadata are less useful for present purposes, such as certain serial numbers referring to the question tabled, or numbers that refer to Hansard’s columns. These metadata have been stored in the raw corpus but removed from the version of the corpus which we will conduct the analysis on. The rest of metadata such as the name of the speaker, their constituency, their political party or the government institution they are representing as well as the interruptions and reported texts have not been removed.

The frequency distribution of tokens in the two sub-corpora illustrated in Table 5.2:

Sub-corpora	Tokens	Total
Oral Questions	60836	174837
Debates	114001	

Table 4.2 Frequency distribution of tokens in the two sub-corpora

The total number of tokens of CPDF is 174837. The number of word types in the corpus is 7781. Strikingly apparent, the word type/token ration (TTR) is very low:

$$\text{Type-Token Ratio} = (\text{number of types}/\text{number of tokens}) * 100$$

$$\text{CPDF Type-Token Ratio} = (7781/174837) * 100 = 4.45 \%$$

Based on the TTR, it seems that there is not much lexical variation in our data. This can be justified based on three reasons. First, parliamentary language is spoken, and generally the

lexical density of spoken language is low. Second, and as mentioned earlier, parliamentarians are regulated by conventional linguistic practices and this comes evident in the type of language they use as highly repetitive, resulting in a low type/token ratio. (For further discussion of the phenomenon of redundancy in parliamentary discourse see Álvarez-Benito and Íñigo-Mora, 2012). Third, although parliamentary discussions in CPDF include many arguments on various flood-related issues, such as Government spending on flooding, flood defenses, building on flood plains, dredging, river straightening, destruction of upland habitats, climate change, global warming, flood support schemes, transportation during flooding, etc., it remains the case that all of these debates focus on just one parliamentary topic; i.e., flooding. This also contributes to the relatively low TTR in CPDF.

4.4.3 Annotation and Coding the Corpus

After compiling the corpus, the task of annotating and coding for appraisal resources qualitatively was conducted using the UAM Corpus Tool 3.0 (O'Donnell, 2008). The great value of the UAM tool is that it is designed with SFL analysis in mind which makes it an ideal tool for Appraisal analysis. This tool also provides some basic statistics and some research tools for the statistical results of the corpus. An analysis of the corpus was done for each of the three sub-systems of APPRAISAL, namely ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. However, although the corpus was analyzed for GRADUATION, the results are not included in this Thesis as it is beyond the scope of the limit. Also, the main focus of this Thesis is stance-taking and intersubjective stance which are investigated by studying attitudinal language and ENGAGEMENT appraisal resources. This next step involves extracting all appraisal resources detected in the corpus and studying each of them in its specific context of occurrence. This includes all attitudinal and ENGAGEMENT resources. Any interesting patterns of use will be then explored and thoroughly examined in terms of their role in stance taking, positioning and alignment in parliamentary debates.

All texts from the 'Oral Questions' corpora and 'Debates' corpora fed into the UAM tool 3.0 and annotated on various levels to facilitate a broad range of corpus linguistic analyses. The following will present a number of levels that have been considered in the process of annotating CPDF for the purpose of this study:

1. Type of Parliamentary Subgenre

This identifies whether the texts belong to ‘Oral Answers to Questions,’ ‘Urgent Question,’ or a parliamentary ‘Debate’ and what type of debate it belongs to. So, this will annotate texts against the parliamentary subgenre exhibited in them and coded as shown in Table 4.3:

Oral Questions	Debates
[Hansard, HC, 1 Mar 2012-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 4 Jun 2014-AD]
[Hansard, HC, 5 Feb 2011-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 11 Sep 2014-AD]
[Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 12 May 2014-AD]
[Hansard, HC, 4 July 2013-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 13 July 2010-AD]
[Hansard, HC, 5 July 2012-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD]
[Hansard, HC, 5 Mar 2014-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 26 Mar 2013-BB]
[Hansard, HC, 6 Dec 2012-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]
[Hansard, HC, 6 Mar 2014-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]
[Hansard, HC, 7 Mar 2013-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 26 Nov 2012-MS]
[Hansard, HC, 9 Dec 2010-OAQ]	[Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]
[Hansard, HC, 9 Jan 2014-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 9 Sep 2010-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 11 Dec 2014-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 12 Jun 2014-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 13 Oct 2011-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 16 May 2013-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 17 Jan 2013-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 17 July 2014-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 17 Mar 2011-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 17 Mar 2014-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 21 Nov 2013-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 24 Jan 2013-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 24 Jun 2010-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 25 Oct 2012-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 27 Mar 2014-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 29 Jan 2015-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 30 Oct 2014-OAQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 3 Feb 2014-UQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 9 Feb 2011-UQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-UQ]	
[Hansard, HC, 25 Jun 2012-UQ]	

Table 4.3 Coded Parliamentary Debates included in CPDF

2. *Part-of-Speech Tagging:*

All texts in CPDF were also tagged automatically for parts of speech using the in-built Stanford Tagger in the UAM Corpus Tool. Although there is no specific interest in PoS for the purpose of this Thesis, the tagging is done in case would be useful during this study or any future studies of CPDF.

3. *Parliamentary Roles and the Appraiser:*

This has been applied to CPDF corpus in which texts were annotated according to the parliamentary role of their producers. Based on this, three categories have been created as following:

- *MPs and their Political Parties:* all texts produced by MPs have been annotated representing each MP and the political party of each MP. This will enable us to retrieve not only texts produced by a certain MP, but all texts produced by MPs representing a certain political party.
- *Government Representative:* all texts produced by the government representative (such as the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, the Minister of State, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State... etc.) are annotated according to the government institutions they are representing (such as Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, Communities and Local Government, Department for International Development... etc.).
- *Mr Speaker* or (his deputies): this includes all texts produced by Mr Speaker and/or his deputies).

Figure 4.6 represents all types of appraisers in CPDF as created by the UAM tool:



Figure 4.6 Types of Appraisers in CPDF

It is also worth mentioning here that there was no need to anonymize the data as it is publicly available in the Internet, and all of the interactants involved are actually public figures.

4. *Reported Texts*: all texts that are direct reported texts have been annotated as ‘ATtribution’.
5. *Interruptions*: this category includes all interruptions and side comments in the whole corpora.
6. *APPRAISAL Resources*:

Texts in CPDF have also been annotated for APPRAISAL resources with all its three sub-systems, namely ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION and all their sub-types (as explained in Chapter Four). The UAM tool already has in-built analytical schemes of APPRAISAL Framework and its three sub-systems and their sub-types based on Martin and White’s classification (Martin and White, 2005). As for ATTITUDE, the coding also included the ATTITUDE polarity.; i.e., positive and negative ATTITUDE. Additionally, ATTITUDE was coded for explicitness; i.e., inscribed and invoked ATTITUDE. As for ENGAGEMENT, all contractive and expansive resources were coded in CPDF with their sub-types. Lastly,

although CPDF was also coded for GRADUATION and sub-types, its analysis and results are not included in this Thesis.

4.5 Analytical Considerations and Research Techniques

Based on my engagement with parliamentary texts while conducting the analysis, I can confidently argue that a number of analytical considerations need to be taken into account when dealing with parliamentary discourse. One of these is deciding upon the span of the segment for each appraisal resource. The reason for this is that there are a number of textual factors and variables that influence the meaning of appraisal, such as; interrogation, irony, metaphor, reported text and attribution, negation, etc. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and others have pointed out that interpersonal meanings are inherently prosodic, running through the clause and the text in a cumulative fashion. Thus, before Appraisal analysis is undertaken, it is very necessary to determine the scope of appraisal for each resource to maximise the accuracy of the analysis.

In parliamentary texts, there are cases which are crystal clear, straightforward and non-problematic, but there are also cases which are multi-layered. Phraseology plays a significant role in determining the scope of appraisal affect in any statement. There are cases which are highly interactive with surrounding co-text and more sensitive and dependent to contextual factors. There are also cases which are register-specific which are conventional in parliamentary genre (e.g., My Dear Honourable friend,) where ‘Honourable’ is an attitudinal language specific to language of parliament. Thus, it is very important to highlight here that when we annotate any text for appraisal, we annotate meaning, not form. The following will explain how the contextual and co-textual variables affect the scope of appraisal in more detail:

4.5.1 The Scope of Appraisal

- **Phraseology**

Phraseology is an important factor that we need to pay attention to while annotating textual data for appraisal language. To illustrate how phraseology influences meaning, let us consider the following uses:

I have <i>no doubt</i> that those who are being affected by the severe flooding in Somerset and now in the Thames valley welcome the assistance that they are now receiving.	CONCUR
<i>I could not agree more</i> with my hon. Friend. His area has a slightly different type of flooding.	CONCUR
<i>I would be happy to</i> talk to him about it if he wants to raise any further issues.	POSITIVE INCLINATION
<i>I am afraid that</i> we cannot negotiate these issues on the Floor of the House.	NEGATIVE INCLINATION

Expressions such as; *no doubt, I could not agree more, I would be happy to and I am afraid that*, are annotated for appraisal as a phrase and not in isolation. The annotation will be completely different if *no, could not, happy and afraid* are annotated in isolation. Similarly, the polarity of attitudinal language is significantly affected by the phrases that attitudinal language is used in which determines the scope of that appraisal. For instance, let us consider the word ‘significant’ in following examples:

Positive Social Valuation	Negative Social Valuation
There have been <i>significant improvements</i>	Flooding is already a <i>significant problem</i> and is likely to increase in future
I know that <i>significant progress</i> has been made	There was <i>significant damage</i> to sea and flood defences.

If ‘significant’ collocates with positive phrases such as ‘improvements’ and ‘progress,’ then it represents positive social valuation (APPRECIATION-ATTITUDE). Whereas, if ‘significant’ collocates with negative items such as ‘problem’ and ‘damage,’ then it is negative social valuation (APPRECIATION-ATTITUDE).

- **Interrogation**

The most frequent mood of parliamentary language is question. Therefore, when annotating parliamentary texts, it is essential to consider the effects of the interrogative mood on the appraisal resources included in parliamentary questions. Let us consider the following example:

Anne Marie Morris (Newton Abbot) (Con): Can he assure me that he recognises that and that he is committed to ensuring that *the line is sustainable* for the long term and to researching what needs to be done to make it *truly resilient*? [Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-UQ]

In this example, ‘*the line is sustainable*’ and ‘*truly resilient*’ are not considered appraisal items as they are interrogated about in the question. The MP is asking the question to request an assurance that railway line is ‘sustainable’ and ‘resilient’ in his constituency, but not evaluating it as one. Thus, these evaluative items are not included in the annotation as they are presented in an interrogative mood. However, similar cases are actually rare in our parliamentary texts. Instead, the majority cases of parliamentary questions invoke stance and evaluation. I refer to such cases as question invocations. The following are few examples of this:

In failing to do so, <i>are they not guilty of</i> absolving themselves of their responsibility to help Welsh communities in times of crisis?	Invokes Negative PROPRIETY
Is sales blight on 200,000 properties <i>an acceptable price to pay for this Government's inaction</i> ?	Invokes Negative CAPACITY
Will my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government confirm that the Prime Minister yesterday stated that he is ordering a review of all the spending, including <i>the 2004-05 points system that we inherited, which has led, I believe, to some of the problems</i> ?	Invokes Negative CAPACITY
How can people facing an increasing risk of flood damage due to the effects of climate change <i>have any confidence in a Secretary of State</i> who has downgraded flood protection as a priority and thinks that climate change is benefiting Britain?	Invokes Negative VERACITY
Does the right hon. Gentleman understand why the Prime Minister's claim yesterday that the Government's response has not been slow <i>will have been met with incredulity by the people of Somerset</i> ?	Invokes Negative VERACITY

In the above examples, these parliamentary questions clearly invoke stance. In these examples, MPs use the evaluative meaning to support an MP point of view rather to interrogate about them. They represent cases where MPs tend to encode questions with their point of views and not merely to ask questions. In fact, even if the purpose of parliamentary questions is to ask for information and details, they are encoded with a stance. I explain this phenomenon of question invocations further with examples in Chapter 6.

It is also very important to highlight here that parliamentary questions are not only annotated from their attitudinal perspective, but also from a dialogistic point of view. Their role as ENGAGEMENT resources is also annotated where rhetorical questions and expository questions which sometimes convey expansive ‘entertaining’ resources and other invite contractive ‘concurring’ resources are highlighted.

- **ATTRIBUTION and Reported Text**

Another consideration that needs to be taken into consideration when annotating parliamentary texts is the reported text which is labelled as ATTRIBUTION under the APPRAISAL FRAMEWORK. In the attributed text, the source of appraisal is not the speaker, but another third party. If the appraisal resources in the attributed texts annotated, they will influence the quantification of appraisal items in CPDF. Therefore, a decision has been made to not annotate those appraisal items in ATTRIBUTION cases. To illustrate an example of this, let us consider the following excerpt:

Gavin Shuker (Luton South) (Lab/Co-op): The Building Societies Association has said that the consequences of failing to get a deal would be “*grave*”. [Hansard, HC, 7 Mar 2013-OAQ]

In this example, the appraisal item ‘grave’ (which is NEGATIVE REACTION-APPRECIATION) is not annotated as appraisal language produced by the Lab/Co-op MP Gavin Shuker because it is attributed to the Building Societies Association.

However, there are cases where the attributed text is fully endorsed by the speaker as in the appraisal resources as under ENDORSE. In such instances, the appraisal language is assimilated in the annotation under the speaking MP who is endorsing. Also, there cases which I refer to as self-attributions where the MP reference their own previous text. An example is the following:

Sir John Stanley (Tonbridge and Malling) (Con): As we now know, the autumn statement will be made on 3 December. That date will be of very great importance to me and many of my constituents, as we wait to hear the Government’s decision. As I hope the Minister will know, I wrote on 31 July to the present Secretary of State. I will conclude by reading what I said at the end of that letter: “I am writing to urge you in the strongest terms to include the scheme to increase the capacity of the Leigh Flood Storage Area in the Government’s flood protection projects to be given the go-ahead at the time of the Autumn Statement. I cannot state too strongly how important it is to a significant number of my constituents that the Government gives its approval to the Leigh Flood Storage Area increased capacity scheme this Autumn.” [Hansard, HC, 7 Mar 2013-OAQ]

In this example, the MP uses a statement previously attributed to him. Therefore, appraisal recourses in this self-attributed text are encompassed in the annotation because they include evaluations of the MP himself.

- **Negation**

Not all negation cases are annotated as DENY-DISCLAIM. There are a number of factors that influence such annotation particularly if we remember that we must annotate meaning not form. One consideration is the scope of negation which determines the semantic influence that negation exercises over the constituents of the clause where it appears (Hidalgo-Downing, 2000). This scope of negation greatly depends on how phraseology plays a role in determining negation’s meaning in text. For instance, there are a number of emphatic negation cases where negation is used to form hyperbolic patterns as in the following:

<u><i>I could not agree more</i></u> with my hon. Friend.
<u><i>I could not underline more the importance of</i></u> the new approach to funding flood defences,
That is a glorious question, because the hon. Gentleman <u><i>could not be more wrong</i></u> .
<u><i>I cannot state too strongly</i></u> how important it is to a significant number of my constituents that the Government gives its approval to the Leigh Flood Storage Area
<u><i>I cannot think of many things worse than</i></u> coming home and finding one’s house inundated with water or being there when it happens.

I cannot pay enough tribute to the Environment Agency staff, who were superb, as were the local fire services.

I cannot remember a more complacent or inadequate response from a Cabinet Minister to a serious matter in this House.

I could not underline more the importance of the new approach to funding flood defences, which is to encourage partnership funding

One resident I met in East Brabourne, Oliver Trowell, has lived in his house for more than 80 years and ***he had never seen flooding like it***—I hope he does not see it again.

I was in Rossendale last Friday night and ***I have never seen rain like that before*** in the United Kingdom.

I cannot think of any activity that involves spending central Government money that better delivers those two key priorities ***than*** what we are doing on flood spending.

One cannot but reflect on the irony of that situation.

I am fortunate to represent ***one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful,*** constituencies within 30 miles of London.

it is incredibly difficult, if not impossible. My proposal for the Minister is radical, but my goodness it is needed.

we are on course to ***seeing 4°, if not 6°,*** of climate change within our children's lifetimes.

the impact will take ***months if not years*** to come to a conclusion.

this is one of ***the most exceptional periods—if not the most exceptional period***—for winter rainfall for at least 248 years. [Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]

there can be ***no greater example of*** a public good ***than*** flood defences.

Not as nice as Seaton Carew.

These instances from CPDF are only examples of how negation particles (*no, not, never, etc.*), if annotated in its phraseology and not as isolation, is used to achieve hyperbolic purposes. There are also instances where negation particles are used as descriptive and not as dialogistic. Example of this:

Richard Benyon (Newbury) (Con): ... There is an ongoing emergency. In the Lambourn and Pang valleys, we have historically high levels of groundwater, and ***houses that had not been flooded*** have now been flooded. A number of people are absolutely exhausted as a result of their constant efforts to keep floodwater and sewage out of their properties...
[Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]

In this excerpt, ‘not’ in ‘houses that had not been flooded’ is used as a descriptive and not used for dialogistic purposes.

- **Irony**

One of the challenges encountered while annotating CPDF for appraisal resources is the ironic utterances. The problem with such cases is that the polarity of such utterances is twisted (Partington, 2007). An example of this is:

The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson):
I love the way the hon. Lady always looks for the downside in a story—her ingenuity is tremendous. [Hansard, HC, 6 Dec 2012-OAQ]

In this example, ironic expressions; ‘I love the way the hon. Lady always looks for the downside in a story’ and ‘her ingenuity is tremendous’ are used by the Government MP to criticize the Opposition MP. Appraisal resources ‘love’, ‘ingenuity’ and ‘tremendous’ are not used in a positive way, rather they evoke negative attitudinal meaning. Annotating ironic utterances literally might result in distorting the statistical load of the polarity of text. Therefore, a decision is made to deal with such instances based on their evoked meanings rather than literal ones.

- **Metaphor and Figurative Language**

Metaphoric and figurative language is an important factor influencing the inscription and invocation of ATTITUDE. As one of the aims of this study is to analyse the inscribed and invoked attitudinal language, should we treat them as inscriptions or invocations? Martin and White (2005) dealt with all types of metaphors as invocations. However, White (2012) in another occasion recommended to deal with dead metaphors as inscriptions and creative ones as invocations which the approach we are adopting for this Thesis. To illustrate with examples, let us consider the following excerpts:

Gavin Shuker (Luton South) (Lab/Co-op): The Building Societies Association has said that the consequences of failing to get a deal would be “grave”. [Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]

Dr Sarah Wollaston (Totnes) (Con): We cannot afford to delay, because the implications for Beesands of another high tide and a south-easterly are grave indeed. [Hansard, HC, 7 Mar 2013-OAQ]

In these two examples, ‘grave’ is an INSCRIBED NEGATIVE REACTION. The word ‘grave’ is used in CPDF more than once by MPs as to react or describe a situation explicitly. Whereas, the idiomatic expressions ‘knee-deep in sewage’ is annotated as an INVOKED NEGATIVE REACTION in the following example:

Natascha Engel (North East Derbyshire) (Lab): Many people in North East Derbyshire who are moving into newly built homes are finding themselves knee-deep in sewage every time it rains, because the drains cannot cope with the extra capacity. [Hansard, HC, 29 Jan 2015-OAQ]

- **Hypothetical Statements**

Hypothetical statements such as (if- clauses, will-clauses, subjunctive mood statement, modal statements, etc) are projecting evaluative language in a conditional manner. Therefore, any attitudinal language in these statements should be excluded from annotation. Examples of such instances are:

Maintenance of these defences and the effective dredging of watercourses must be <u>a priority</u> .	<i>a priority, better, honest and brief</i> here are not attitudinal because MPs are only projecting a recommendation or a conditional hypothesis.
We need that money over the next 25 years to protect homes and businesses <u>better</u> .	
The Government should now be <u>honest</u> with the country	
If they were <u>honest</u> , the reality is that after the devastating flood in 2000, which affected a large part of my constituency, the Government at the time increased flood funding but not to the level that they should have done,	
Order. We want <u>brief</u> questions, and I will cut off the debate at 12.30 pm. It is up to hon. Members to look after themselves.	

These factors (phraseology, interrogation, attribution, negation, irony, metaphor and hypothetical statements) are all textual criteria that need to be taken into consideration when annotating parliamentary texts for appraisal resources. Another important factor that needs to be considered is the conventionalized nature of parliamentary language. For instance, when annotating attitudinal language, we need to consider the nature of parliamentary forms of address. Phrases such as (my right honourable. Friend, the Honourable Friend, the Honourable lady/gentleman ...) are not attitudinal as such, instead they represent a conventionalized language of address used in UK parliamentary context.

All contextual and textual criteria discussed above highlight the fact that automatic annotation of text for appraisal resources can be very challenging. It is a very complex matter that needs a human analysis in order to pay attention to all the textual aspects that play a role in constructing the appraisal meaning in text.

4.5.2 Research Techniques

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are involved in this study. The quantitative approach is adopted to study the distribution and frequencies of appraisal resources and a comparative analysis between Government and Opposition uses. In order to make the quantitative study more scientific and efficient, a computer-assisted discourse analysing software---UAM Corpus Tool will be adopted in data analysis. UAM Corpus Tool is a set of tools developed by Mick O'Donnell (2008) for the linguistic annotation of text and images. It can provide some basic statistics and some research tools for the statistical results. It allows manual tagging of text as well as storing, organizing, and recalling analysed text segments.

Coding of texts was done using an appraisal analysis scheme based on Martin and White (2005). To maximize the reliability of data analysis, another analyst was asked to do the analysis. Then, the other analyst and I sat to discuss and agree upon the few different annotations to achieve a higher level of consistency in the analysis.

For further analysis related to keyword analysis, concordances and collocations, AntConc (Version 3.2.1) is used. AntConc is a freely-available corpus search and concordancing program (Anthony, 2010).

Other useful resources have been used in this research. For example, Hansard - UK Parliament (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/>) is a very valuable website to extract all parliamentary data. Also, other resources such as the online Hansard corpus which contains all speeches in the British Parliament from 1803-2005, and it allows to search these speeches for everything including semantically-based searches. The link for this online Hansard corpus is (<https://www.english-corpora.org/hansard/>) and previously was (<http://www.hansard-corpus.org/>).

4.6 Conclusion

This Chapter presented the main research questions of the present study and explained how these questions will be examined. Also, the Chapter attempted to highlight the methodological considerations for this Thesis. It provided a proposal for a CADS analytical framework that was adopted for analyzing the data. Methodological justifications of why CADS is a favored approach for the analysis are also presented. The Chapter also discussed the whole process of compiling a corpus for the present Thesis and what analytical decisions were taken into account through the process. Furthermore, a discussion of contextual and textual criteria that influenced the analysis of parliamentary debates is presented with examples of each criterion from the corpus. The following Chapter aims to present the quantitative findings of analyzing attitudinal language in parliamentary debates based on our analysis of CPDF.

CHAPTER 5 ATTITUDINAL LANGUAGE IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The chapter makes a quantitative analysis of the language of ATTITUDE in parliamentary debates. I first focus on the occurrences of ATTITUDE in the whole corpus of parliamentary debates (CPDF). As noted by proponents of the APPRAISAL system (Martin & White 2005), the division of ATTITUDE into AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION should “be treated at this stage as a hypothesis about the organisation of the relevant meanings” (p. 46). I accept the implicit challenge to investigate the patterning of these linguistic resources in the language of the UK Parliament. This study presents the numbers and percentages of inscribed and invoked tokens realized in the parliamentarians’ discourse. A comparative analysis on the use of the ATTITUDE resource between government and opposition members is also conducted. The comparison evaluates how parliamentarians that belong to the two camps engage in attitudinal arguments. Parliamentary discourse is argumentative by its very nature. Parliamentarians resort to dialectic and rhetorical acts advancing arguments to win debates and have bills and policies ratified in their favor. Thus, I also evaluate how ATTITUDE is realized in parliamentary debates, and in so doing, I uncover several novel insights into parliamentary discourse.

5.2 ATTITUDE In the Parliament: Quantitative Analysis

The section focuses on a quantitative analysis of ATTITUDE in the Parliament. The ATTITUDE system is one of the three main subsystems of APPRAISAL. It focuses on values by which speakers pass judgements (ethics) and show their emotions (affect/feelings) and appreciation of artifacts and processes (Bednarek, 2006). ATTITUDE is an evaluation of things, people’s characters, and feelings. These ATTITUDE evaluations can be the parliamentarian’s own or attributed to some other source (that is, to an “external voice”), but this study only analyses the parliamentarians’ own attitudinal language and excludes attributed language. This chapter’s methodological interest is the question of how best to quantify words and phrases that make up the attitudinal evaluation of parliamentarians, and indeed whether and to what extent such quantification is necessary or desirable. Whereas some leading

appraisal theorists are inherently suspicious of quantitative analysis, I will attempt to demonstrate that frequency observations provide an important and insightful perspective on my data.

Another area of controversy tackled in this chapter concerns the debate on how AFFECT can best be distinguished from JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION (For a discussion on the interplay between these ATTITUDE sub-types refer to White, 2007; Bednarek, 2006, 2009). As will be shown below, these ATTITUDE meanings can be either positive or negative, and are either inscribed or invoked. However, of the three sub-types of ATTITUDE, AFFECT is at “the heart of these regions since it is the expressive resource we are born with and embody physiologically from almost the moment of birth” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 42). The relationship between ATTITUDE sub-types is shown in Figure 5.1 below:

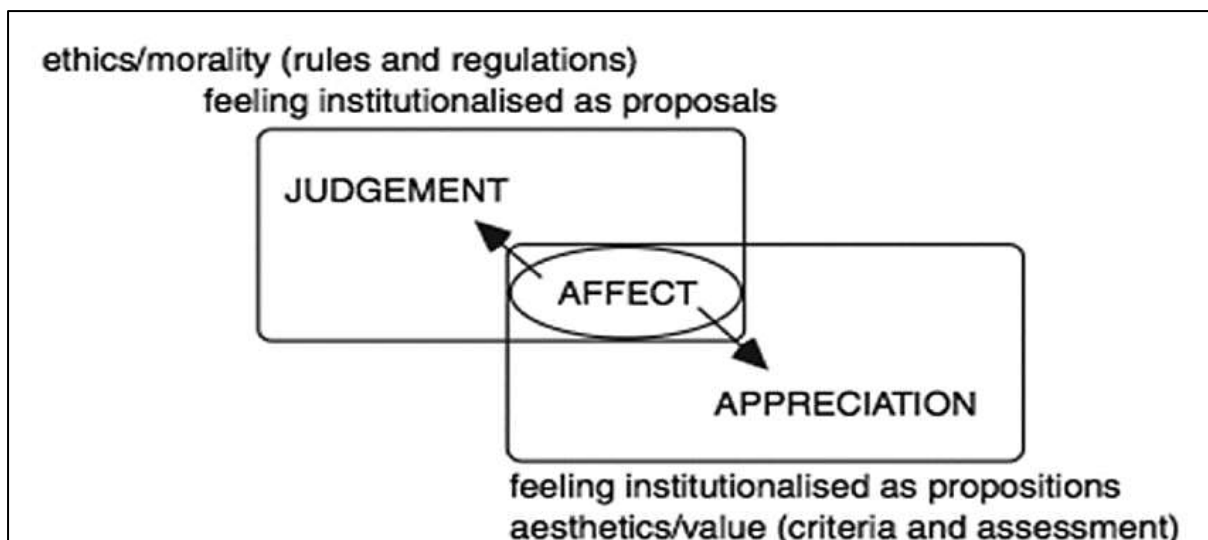


Figure 5.1 JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION as institutionalized AFFECT (Martin and White, 2005)

5.2.1 General Quantitative Analysis

We first make a general quantitative analysis of the occurrences of ATTITUDE values in the corpus. Even though the major focus of this chapter is ATTITUDE, the number of occurrences of ENGAGEMENT in the corpus is given for comparative purposes. The institutionalized and constrained context of the parliament calls upon participants to utilize evaluation discourse. Table 5.1 below shows the general occurrences of ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT resources. The number of occurrences of ATTITUDE (4802) in the table indicates that this type of Appraisal is 27% less common than ENGAGEMENT (6545) in the whole corpus:

Table 5.1 Occurrences of ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT resources in CPDF

	ATTITUDE	ENGAGEMENT
Number of Occurrences	4802	6545

Table 5.1 shows that ATTITUDE is realized in parliamentarians' discourse and that parliamentary discourse is attitudinal. The corpus shows that parliamentarians make evaluations expressing their feelings, judgements and appreciation of others and the processes in their debates and speeches. Figure 5.2 shows a representation of the occurrences of ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT values in the corpus.

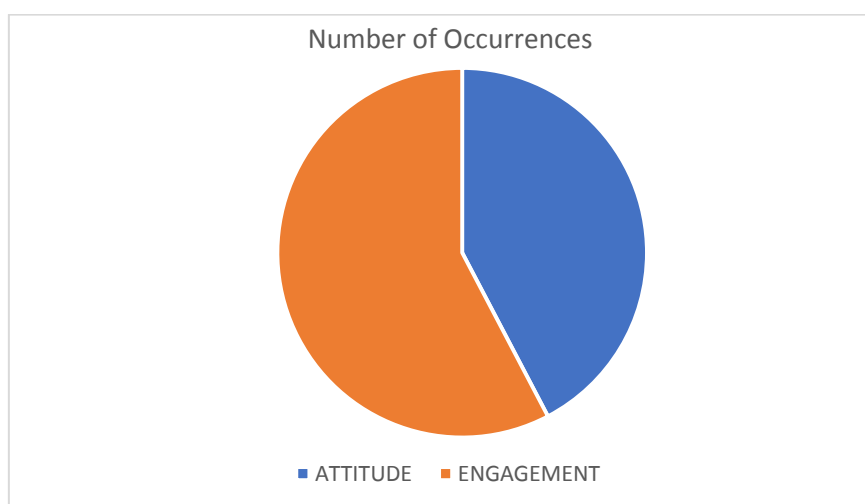


Figure 5.2 ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT values in CPDF

Inasmuch as ATTITUDE covers a slightly smaller portion on the chart, it is wholly present in the corpus. ATTITUDE is also shown to be a significant value in the language of the parliament.

As stated in Section 2, ATTITUDE has three sub-types: AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, AND APPRECIATION (Martin & White, 2005). A quantitative analysis of the corpus shows the ATTITUDE sub-types which are realized in parliamentary discourse (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Frequency of ATTITUDE sub-types in CPDF

Feature	Number	per 1000 tokens
APPRECIATION	2424	12.34
AFFECT	1387	7.06
JUDGEMENT	991	5.04

As can be seen, parliamentarians make evaluations of things and processes (APPRECIATION) more than they make JUDGEMENT evaluations or express their feelings (AFFECT). Of the three evaluative types, JUDGEMENT has fewer occurrences per 1000 tokens followed by AFFECT, and APPRECIATION tokens have the highest number of occurrences. As this chapter discusses later, MPs tend to use invoked JUDGEMENT more than inscribed JUDGEMENT. They use attitudinal invocations as a strategy to comply with parliamentary code, to soften criticism, or as a strategy of public image management.

In analyzing emotions as “complex physiological-affective-cognitive responses to the physical and social/cultural environment” (Bednarek, 2008, p. 148), we can note that emotional evaluations involve some cognitive efforts to retrieve the emotion. Even though AFFECT has been argued to be something that creates “pattern in text” (Hunston & Su, 2017) and is considered to be at the heart of all three evaluations, the analysis in Table 6.2 indicates that the context of parliament is not suitable for emotional evaluations. Affectional language used in parliament is less subjective or personal and most feelings used are institutionalized as propositions concerning aesthetics and value. Therefore, AFFECT tokens are realized but do not manifest as often as APPRECIATION tokens. This probably indicates the MPs desire to balance emotion and reason in their arguments by reducing the use of personal affectional language. Combining emotion with cognition is essential in political arguments. In the Pragmatic-Dialectical Theory of Argumentation, van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004), argued that strategic maneuvering is achieved by combining emotion and reason in the argumentation process.

Another interesting finding that supports this observation is that, based on our analysis, most personal affectional language used in the corpus is mainly rhetorical and dialogical. It generally serves empty rhetorical and parliamentary-specific language which usually does not represent authentic and real affection. For example, it is common to initiate each parliamentary entry with affective expressions such as: (I am grateful to the Minister for that reply; I am grateful for those questions; I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for his comments; I am delighted to have

the opportunity to discuss, etc.). Figure 5.3 confirms the dominance of APPRECIATION in the corpus, followed by AFFECT and then JUDGEMENT:

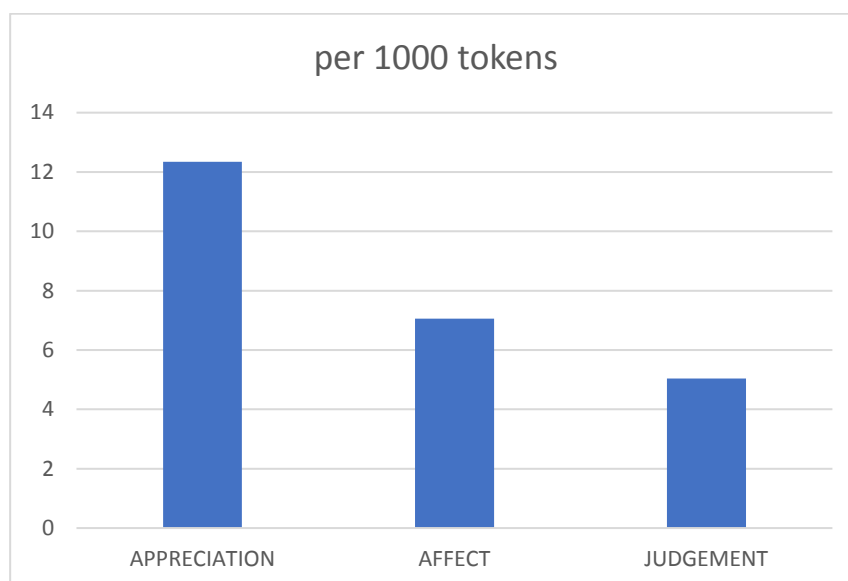


Figure 5.3 Distribution of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION in CPDF

5.3 Inscribed vs. Invoked ATTITUDE

There are two ways that ATTITUDE evaluations are activated in texts: implied/invoked/indirect versus the direct/explicit/inscribed. Speakers/writers can either use explicit attitudinal terms which are inscribed in texts or use inferences to invoke meanings as they are interpreted by the reader/ listener. Inscribed and invoked evaluations are distinguished based on the understanding that “it is difficult to conceive of any phrase which would be evaluation free” (Malrieu, 1999, p. 134). Thus, we can state that inscribed evaluation relates to situations “where the positive/negative assessment is directly inscribed in the discourse through the use of attitudinal lexis, and what it terms invoked evaluation where it is not possible to isolate such explicit attitudinal vocabulary” (White, 2007). The analysis of inscribed and invoked ATTITUDE in the corpus is shown in Table 5.3 below:

Table 5.3 Frequency of Inscribed and Invoked Attitude in CPDF

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
Inscribed	4034	20.53
Invoked	768	3.91

The context of parliament seems to encourage members to express their position explicitly. To reach decisions and pass acts of parliament, members are expected to take a position. This defining context calls for members to make their ATTITUDE evaluations more inscribed than invoked. The restrictive and codified context of parliament also calls for members to strategically maneuver to advance their argumentative positions. To do so, parliamentarians invoke evaluative language which is “potentially manipulative” (Ethelston, 2009, p. 687), particularly with negative evaluations (as will be discussed later in this chapter). It is also important to highlight that implicit and invoked evaluations are more difficult to detect in text than inscribed ones, and the subjectivity factor involved in the analysis even more so. Figure 5.4 below graphically confirms the prevalence of inscribed evaluations over invoked ones in the corpus:

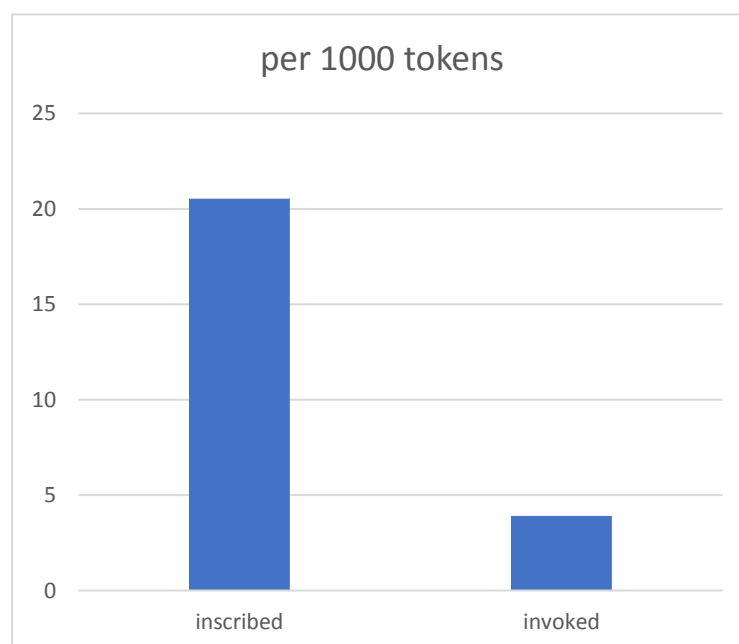


Figure 5.4 Inscribed vs. Invoked ATTITUDE in CPDF

Inscribed and invoked evaluations in discourse are realized across all the three ATTITUDE sub-types. Table 5.4 shows the distribution of inscribed and invoked AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION in the corpus. Emotional evaluation (AFFECT) patterns are more inscribed (34.18%) than invoked (6.38%). Ethical evaluation of human behavior (JUDGEMENT) is more implicit (69.87%) than it is explicit (6.70%). Aesthetic evaluations of

items, products, and services (APPRECIATION) are patterned more as inscribed (59.13%) than invoked (23.75%):

Table 5.4 Percentages of Inscribed vs. invoked AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION

	Inscribed	Invoked		
Feature	Percent	Percent	ChiSqu	Signif.
AFFECT	34.18%	6.38%	324.94	+++
JUDGEMENT	6.70%	69.87%	2122.9	+++
APPRECIATION	59.13%	23.75%	427.465	+++

Table 5.4 shows the variation that is realized in the occurrences of the three ATTITUDE sub-systems. Parliamentarians seem to be more explicit in their APPRECIATION (59.13%) than their JUDGEMENT (6.70%), and more implicit in their assessment of human behavior (69.87%) than in their opinions on items and processes (23.75%). JUDGEMENT evaluations tend to be acts that threaten a loss of respect. To save face, parliamentarians become more implicit in their judgements. Figure 5.5 clearly pictures the representation of inscribed vs. invoked ATTITUDE values as distributed across the three sub-types in the corpus:

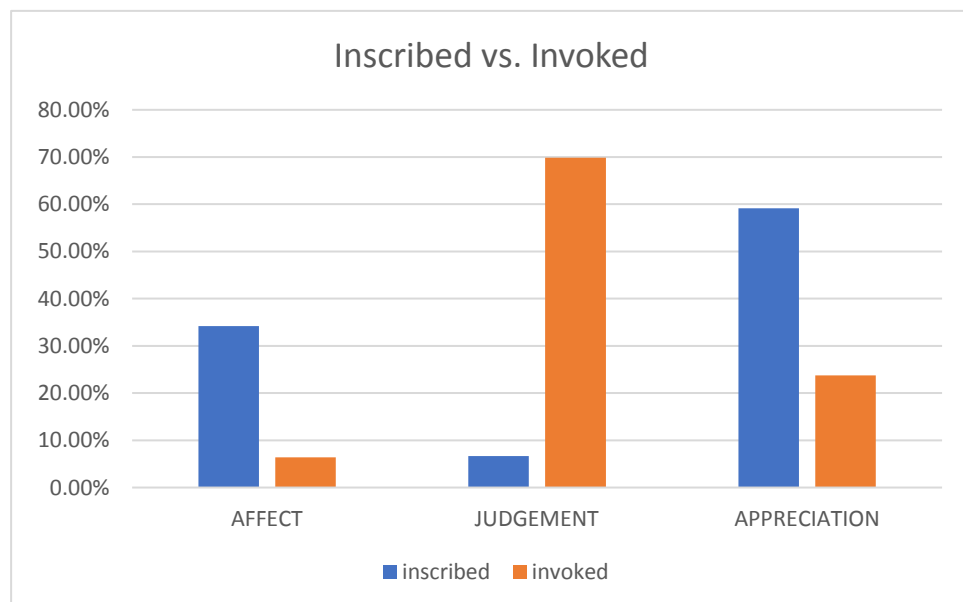


Figure 5.5 Distribution of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION as inscribed or invoked

5.4 Positive vs. Negative ATTITUDE

Systems of meanings that are traditionally referred to as emotions, ethics, and aesthetics can be placed on two poles of assessment: positive and negative. The ATTITUDE subsystem can also be examined in this way. Table 5.5 shows the distribution of positive and negative evaluations as realized in CPDF:

Table 5.5 Frequency of Positive vs. Negative ATTITUDE in CPDF

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
Positive attitude	2983	15.18
Negative attitude	1819	9.26

Parliamentarians employ both positive and negative evaluations in their discourse. However, there are more positive evaluation tokens (2983) in the corpus than negative evaluative tokens (1819) as represented in Figure 5.6:

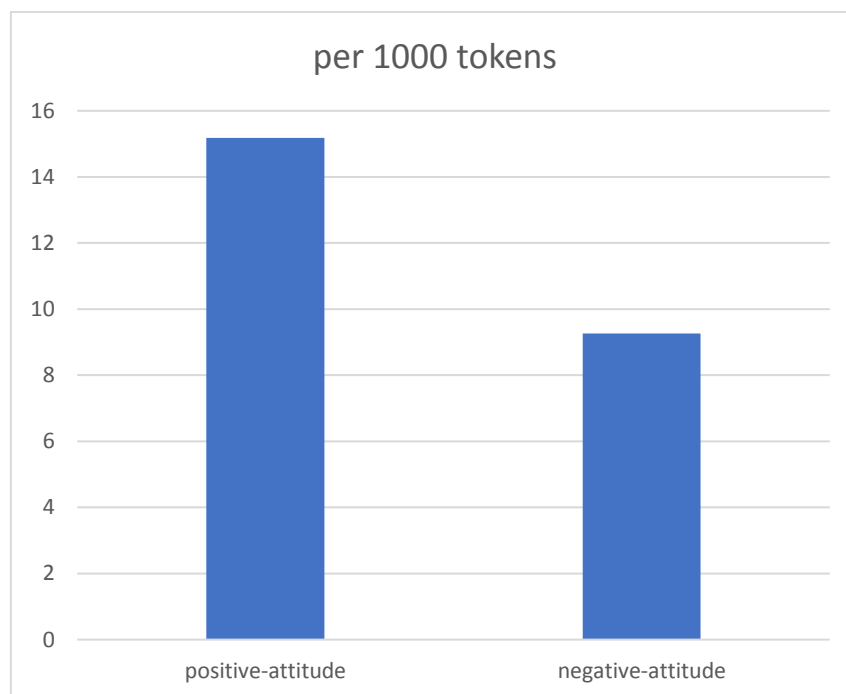


Figure 5.6 Distribution of positive ATTITUDE vs. negative ATTITUDE in CPDF

Figure 5.6 shows that MPs seem to be more positive in their attitudinal evaluations than in negative evaluations in this corpus. Positive evaluations boost the appraised person’s self-esteem and shows the shared affection of the appraised and appraiser. Negative evaluations, even though they might be constructive, are a distancing technique from affections, morals, and creations in the dialogic space. However, it must also be emphasized that rhetoric makes up the bulk of positive ATTITUDE and mainly serves dialogical purposes.

Parliamentarians vary in how they portray their emotions and opinions during debates and speeches. Thus, evaluators do not classify items as belonging to only one of the two poles on the scale of positivity and negativity. Positive and negative evaluations are either explicit or implied in the corpus. Table 5.6 represents the distribution of inscribed and invoked positivity and negativity in evaluation as realized in the corpus:

Table 5.6 Percentages of inscribed and invoked positive and negative ATTITUDE

	Positive attitude	Negative attitude	ChiSqu	Signif.
Inscribed	85.19%	78.19%	39.517	+++
Invoked	14.81%	21.81%	39.517	+++

Table 5.6 provides an extended analysis of explicit and implicit evaluations. Positive inscribed evaluation is more common (85.19%) than invoked positive ATTITUDE (14.81%). Also, invoked evaluations are more negative (21.81%) than positive (14.81%). In other words, positive ATTITUDE tends to be more inscribed than invoked and negative ATTITUDE tends to be more invoked than inscribed.

Overall, inscribed positive and negative evaluations are more prevalent in CPDF. Thus, unexpressed arguments cannot compel one to act or be considered as points of disagreement. Explicit arguments are utilized by speakers to show their commitments. Moreover, “expressed opinions by verbal means” (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984, p. 5) are dialectically argumentative and thereby depart from logicians and guard against psychologizing. Expressed but implicit evaluations are minimal in the corpus (Figure 5.7):

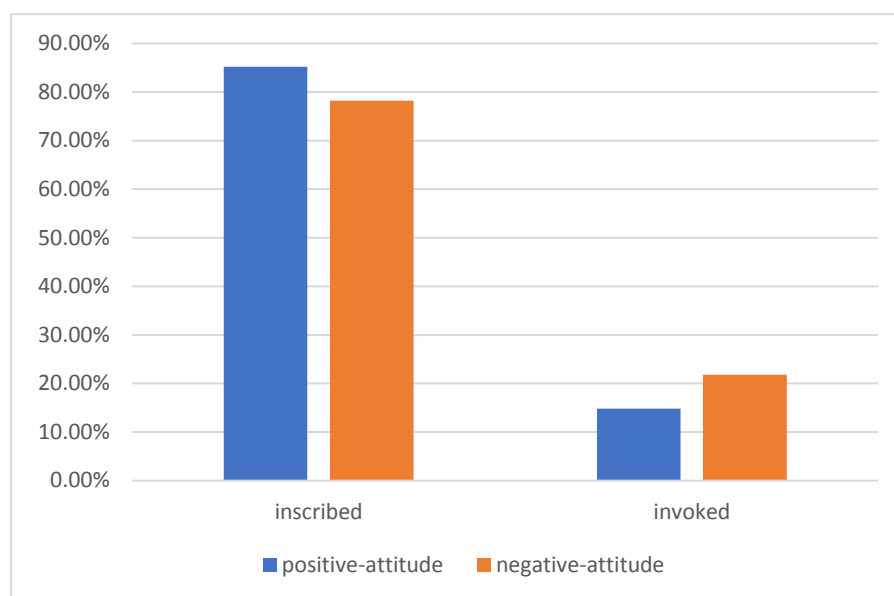


Figure 5.7 Distribution of inscribed and invoked positive and negative ATTITUDE

As mentioned earlier, although inscribed ATTITUDES outnumber invoked ATTITUDES overall, what is invoked is mostly negative. This is justified if we remember that parliamentary debates must follow a restricted language code and highly regulated language. In such contexts, both positive and negative criticism might be invoked to maintain relationships and image on the House floor. Also, to avoid losing face, parliamentarians attempt to hide harsh criticism with invocation.

As stated earlier, those emotions and opinions are binary: positive or negative. The corpus shows that while parliamentarians are somewhat more likely to express positive emotions (32.34%) than negative emotions (21.44%), they tend to be more negative in their opinions (JUDGEMENT 24.57%, APPRECIATION 53.99%) than they are positive (Judgement 20.52%; Appreciation 47.14%). The institutional context of parliament is constituted by a heated, ritualized exchange of pro and con arguments. Emotive tokens and sourced opinions are positively and negatively expressed. Table 5.7 represents this distribution of positivity and negativity among the three ATTITUDE sub-types:

Table 5.7 Percentages of positivity and negativity among the three ATTITUDE sub-types

	Positive Attitude	Negative Attitude		
Feature	Percent	Percent	ChiSqu	Signif.
AFFECT	32.34%	21.44%	68.264	+++
JUDGEMENT	20.52%	24.57%	11.119	+++
APPRECIATION	47.14%	53.99%	21.791	+++

This distribution of positivity and negativity among the three ATTITUDE sub-types is also represented in Figure 5.8 below:

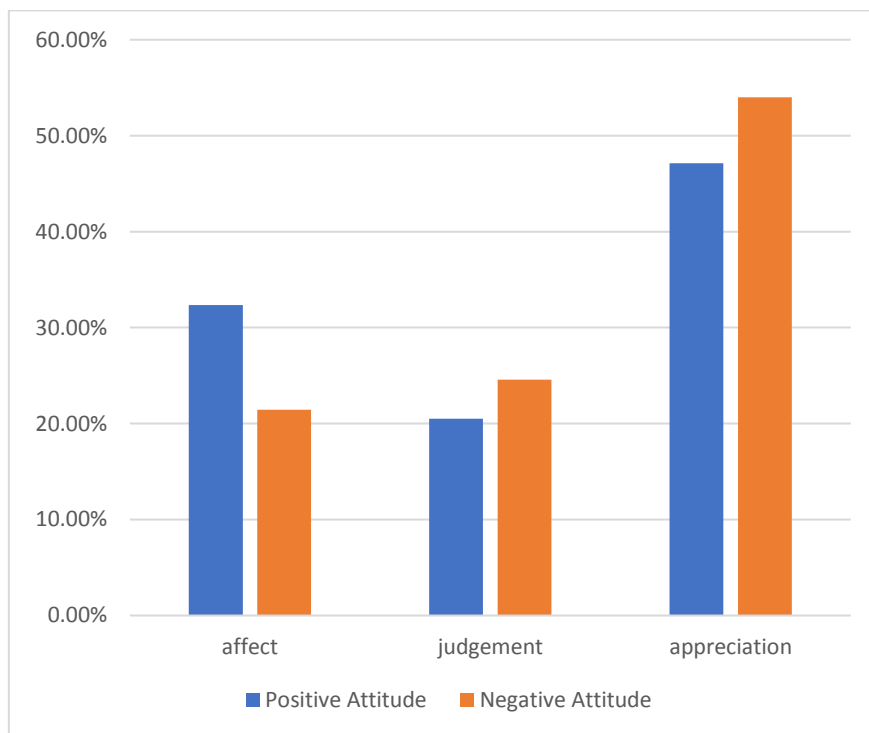


Figure 5.8 Distribution of positivity and negativity among the three ATTITUDE sub-types

5.5 AFFECT

Studies on AFFECT have been largely qualitative and either on a small corpus or analyzing individual texts (Bednarek, 2008). The semantic system of AFFECT is concerned with

emotional responses and dispositions which can either be positive or negative. Emotional evaluations are either inscribed or invoked.

Table 5.8 Frequency of Inscribed versus invoked AFFECT

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
Inscribed	1380	7.02
Invoked	7	0.04

AFFECT values are more often inscribed (1380) than invoked (7) in CPDF as shown in Table 5.8 above. Emotions have to be explicit to be aligned into “the same community of shared value and belief” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 95). Members of parliament explicitly show their AFFECT towards an entity (person, object, proposition, or situation) in the House. As indicated in Figure 5.9 below, indirect or implied AFFECT is almost extinct in the parliament. The context of parliament calls for an explicit expression of AFFECT in order to aid in decision making. Arguments must convince members both dialectically and rhetorically to believe a specific viewpoint.

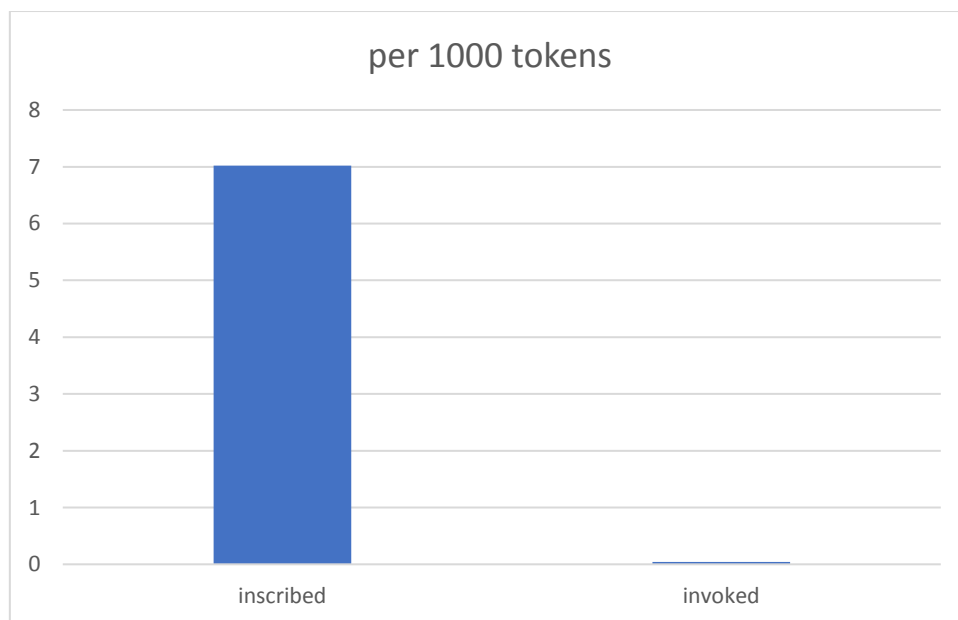


Figure 5.9 Distribution of Inscribed and Invoked AFFECT

Thus, with AFFECT, the focus is on the evaluation of feelings as happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored, as they are expressed implicitly or explicitly in discourse in relation to a response to things, persons, or events. Though some researchers have expressed

reservations about the practice of “assign[ing] universal values of affect and label[ing] them as positive or negative,” (Galasiński, 2004, p. 46, cited in Bednarek, 2008, p. 157), the consensus view among emotion researchers across disciplines is that positive and negative emotions are clearly differentiated and easily distinguished in the vast majority of cases (Bednarek 2008).

Table 5.9 Frequency of Positive and negative AFFECT

Feature	Number	per 1000 tokens
Positive affect	985	5.01
Negative affect	402	2.05

MPs use positive AFFECT (985) more than negative (402) in the corpus, as shown in Table 5.9. Positive emotions create a community of shared beliefs and are thus developmental in nature. This is usually represented in various ways. One example is the conventionalized parliamentary practice of addressing MPs on the floor of parliament. MPs use different attitudinal language to address other MPs according to their political party. MPs from the same political party are addressed using expressions such as *my honourable friend*, *my Hon. Friend-ish*, whereas MPs from other political parties are addressed by; *the honourable member/the honourable Lady/the honourable Gentleman*. Another way to use positive AFFECT is to establish convergent views with other MPs by expressing praise and inclination. Examples of such incidences are:

The Secretary of State for Defence (Mr Philip Hammond): **I am happy to join my Hon. Friend** in congratulating the Royal Engineers on the role they have played.

Maria Eagle (Garston and Halewood) (Lab): **I am happy to acknowledge the support** that has been given in the manner that the right Hon. and learned Gentleman sets out to the House.

Mr Andrew Smith (Oxford East) (Lab): **I am grateful to my Hon. Friend-ish for giving way**. Flood waters are no respecters of constituency boundaries and we work closely on these issues.

The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson): **I admire the right Hon. Gentleman** for grabbing the opportunity to promote that project, of which he is a very strong supporter.

On the other hand, negative AFFECT is used as a distancing technique. Members use negative AFFECT to disprove of and condemn behaviours, persons, and processes. Opposition members and individual members who want to grandstand may show negative emotions towards a bill or persons being discussed. Examples of such negative AFFECT are:

Sheryll Murray (South East Cornwall) (Con): ... **I am disappointed** that the request has been met with what I understand to be accusations of scaremongering.

The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson): ... **there is exasperation** at the lack of work on low-risk rural waterways, which stopped under the last government.

Toby Perkins (Chesterfield) (Lab): ... Does he not think that the many people in the Environment Agency who have worked so tirelessly will be feeling pretty **disgruntled** that after all the work they have done and at a time when all of us are worried about flooding, they are seeing huge numbers of job cuts?

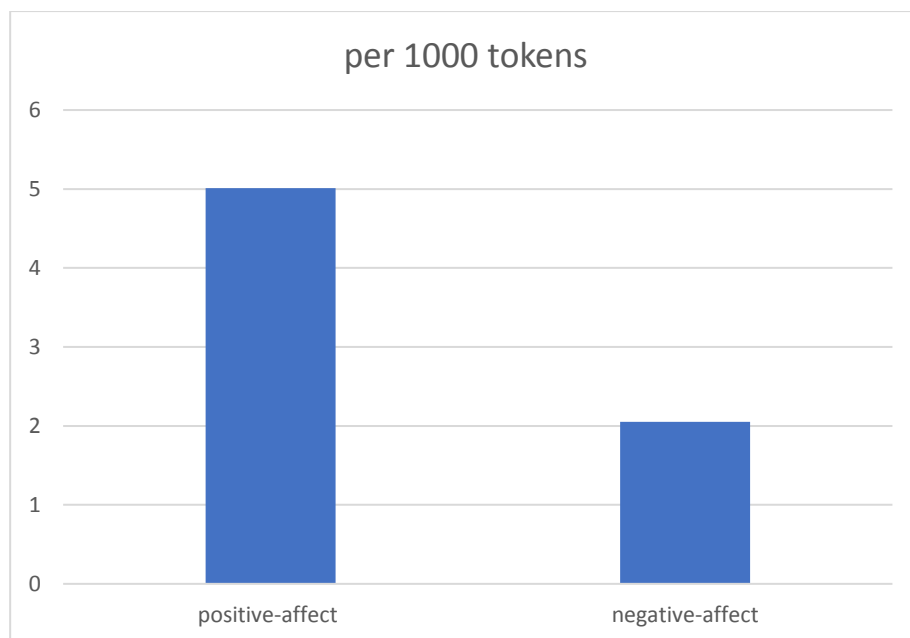


Figure 5.10 Distribution of Positive and Negative AFFECT

Positive and negative labels of affectual values have been quantified as shown in Figure 5.10. The analysis has shown that the discourse in the House of Parliament often exhibits positive

emotional evaluations. Instances of AFFECT such as *grateful, pleased, welcome, happy, delighted*, etc. are among the most frequently used words in the corpus. Such affective language is mostly used to preface each parliamentary entry, where it is conventional for MPs to express a positive emotion to establish common ground before they advance their parliamentary contribution. Examples of such instances are:

Mr Smith:	I am grateful to the Hon. Gentleman for giving way. I strongly support
Julian Sturdy (York Outer) (Con):	I am grateful for the opportunity to make a short contribution to this
Miss McIntosh:	I am grateful to the Hon. Lady for giving me the opportunity to
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for that question. I took a
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to the Hon. Gentleman for giving me the chance to
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for his comments and wholly endorse
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for trying to tempt me into
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend. I was in his city on
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for raising the situation in Kempsey.
Chris Williamson:	I am grateful to the Secretary of State for giving way. I indicated
Mr Robertson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for his intervention. I have to
Mr Robertson:	I am grateful to the Minister for that and I will certainly take
Mr Andrew Turner (Isle of Wight) (Con):	I am grateful for the opportunity to highlight the issues that we on
Karl Turner (Kingston upon Hull East) (Lab):	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend the shadow Secretary of State for
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to the Hon. Gentleman for his comments about those who
(Mr Owen Paterson):	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for her letter on behalf of
Miss McIntosh:	I am grateful for that reply. A ministerial visit to North Yorkshire would
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for her question. The Under-Secretary
Mark Garnier:	I am grateful to my right Hon. Friend for that answer and for
Barry Gardiner:	I am grateful to the Minister for his response. He will know that
Dan Rogerson:	I am grateful for the Hon. Gentleman's question, but there are no
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my right Hon. Friend and predecessor for her question
Peter Aldous:	I am grateful to the Secretary of State for her answer, which I
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for his comments. He and my
Chris Williamson (Derby North) (Lab):	I am grateful to the Secretary of State for praising the work of
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for his question. I remind him
Mr Paterson:	I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for that question. He is absolutely
Mary Creagh:	I am grateful to the Minister for that reply, but I am surprised
Richard Benyon:	I am grateful for those questions and I am sure I can reassure
Mr George Mudie (Leeds East) (Lab):	I am grateful for those words from the Minister, but is he aware

Mr McLoughlin:	I am grateful to my right Hon. Friend, who knows better than most
Mr Speaker:	I am grateful to the Secretary of State and colleagues.

Researchers have determined different AFFECT classification typologies (Martin & Rose 2003; Martin & White, 2005; Bednarek 2008). Bednarek (2008) has criticized Martin and Rose (2003)'s three-way classification approach as too simplistic, stating that "emotions are complex physiological-affective-cognitive responses to the physical and social/cultural environment" (p. 148). However, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, Martin and White's approach (2005) addresses the classification of AFFECT not only as positive and negative but also as either inscribed or invoked, thereby allowing for "complex physiological-affective-cognitive responses to the physical and social/cultural environment" to be taken into consideration in the coding process. Accordingly, Table 5.10 presents the statistical distribution of inscribed and invoked AFFECT in CPDF:

Table 5.10 Percentages of Positive and negative inscribed and invoked AFFECT in CPDF

	Positive AFFECT	Negative AFFECT	ChiSqu	Signif.
Inscribed	99.80%	98.76%	6.137	+++
Invoked	0.20%	1.24%	6.137	+++

Martin and Rose's general and broad classification system shows that members in the House use words that denote "behaviour that also directly expresses emotion" (2003, p. 26) or that describe "unusual behaviour which we read as an indirect sign of emotion" (2003, p. 27) which represents the invoked type of AFFECT. However, AFFECT is in general inscribed in the corpus, which is clearly visible in Figure 5.11.

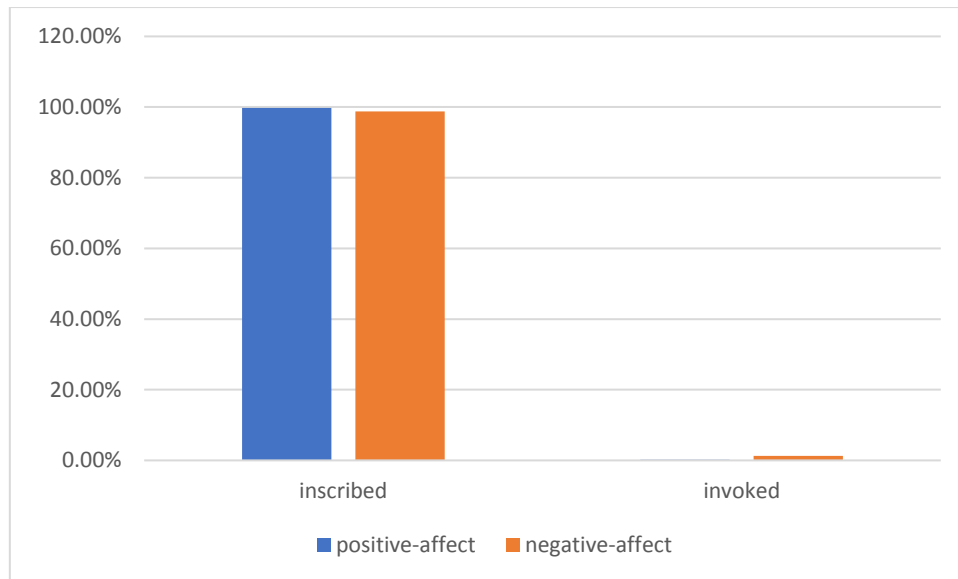


Figure 5.11 Distribution of Positive and negative inscribed and invoked AFFECT in CPDF

5.5.1 Subtypes of AFFECT

AFFECT is further subdivided based on Martin and White (2005) and Bednarek’s (2008) classifications. These classifications provide deeper insights into how AFFECT manifests in the UK Parliament. Emotions can be grouped into four major sets: un/happiness, in/security, dis/satisfaction, and dis/inclination. The Un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with “affairs of the heart” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 49). In/security “covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – *anxiety, fear, confidence* and *trust*” (White, 2007, p.27), which are feelings “with respect to our environments (including people)” (Bednarek, 2008, p. 156). On the other hand, dis/satisfaction “deals with our feelings of achievement and frustration in relation to the activities in which we are engaged, including our roles as participant and spectators” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 50). Dis/inclination is classified as an irrealis affect while the other three categories are realis affect. The four categories of AFFECT appear to be on a cline of use (based on the number of tokens) in parliamentary discourse. Table 5.11 shows how frequently each category is used in CPDF.

Table 5.11 Frequency of Un/happiness, dis/satisfaction, in/security, and dis/inclination

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
Dis/inclination	584	2.97
Un/happiness	536	2.73
In/security	246	1.25
Dis/satisfaction	21	0.11

Martin and White (2005) did not include dis/inclination among the major categories but listed it separately. According to Bednarek (2008), the reason for its exclusion might be its unrealistic trigger and directedness. The following representation (Figure 5.12) shows the occurrences of the sub-categories of AFFECT.

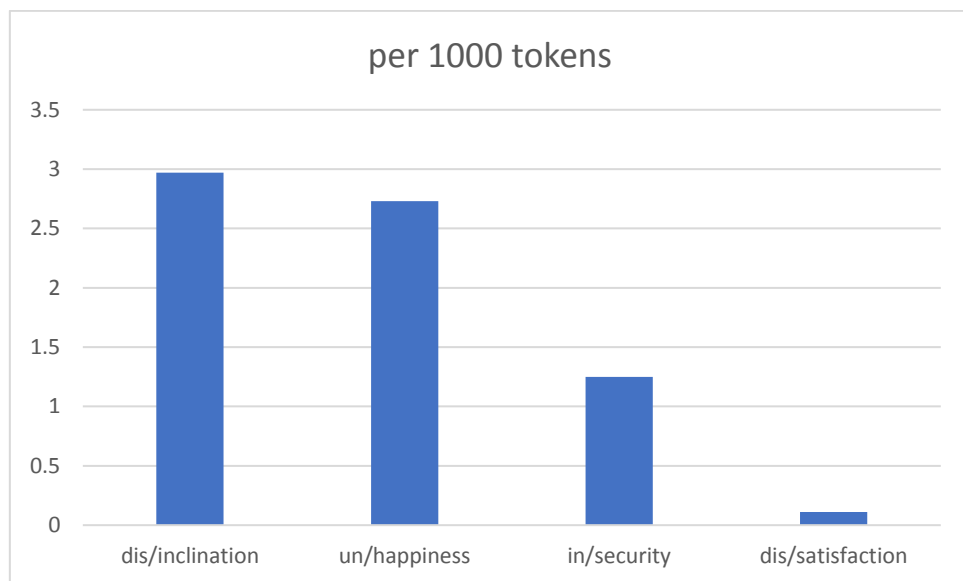


Figure 5.12 Distribution of Un/happiness, dis/satisfaction, in/security, and dis/inclination

An analysis of positive and negative AFFECT as realized in the sub-categories of emotion reveals important insights. Both positive and negative feelings exist in the corpus, as shown in Table 5.12 and Figure 5.13. Even though dis/satisfaction occurs rarely in the corpus, negative tokens (2.23%) of dis/satisfaction outnumber positive tokens (1.22%).

Table 5.12 Percentages of AFFECT subcategories in CPDF

	Positive AFFECT	Negative AFFECT		
Feature	Percent	Percent	ChiSqu	Signif.
Un/happiness	42.64%	28.78%	23.162	+++
Dis/satisfaction	1.22%	2.23%	1.977	
In/security	0.81%	59.06%	665.342	+++
Dis/inclination	55.33%	9.93%	241.799	+++

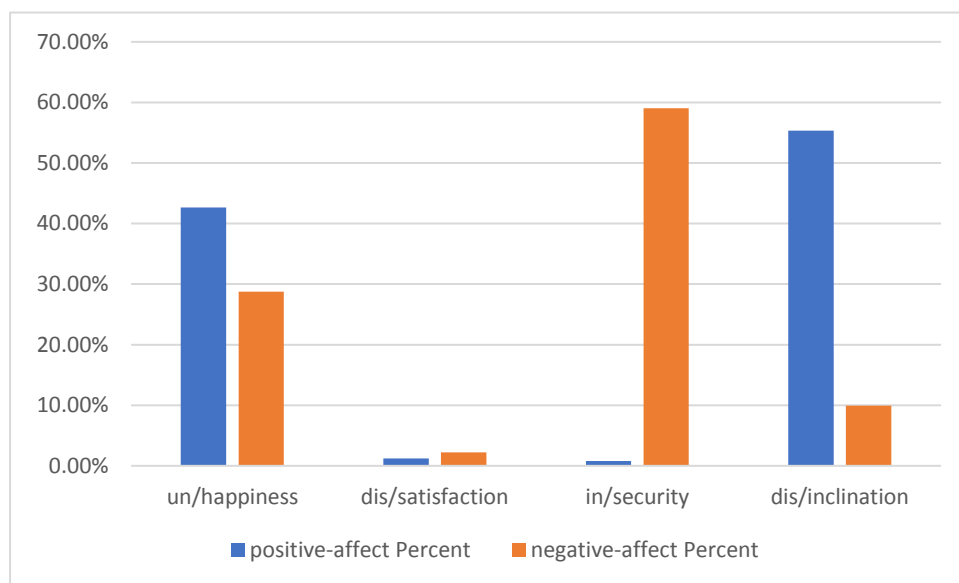


Figure 5.13 Distribution of AFFECT subcategories in CPDF

The quantitative analysis of AFFECT sub-categories as positive or negative has revealed that some feelings are prevalent as positive emotions and others as negative. Positive in/security is almost extinct in the discourse of parliamentarians, yet negative in/security tokens outnumber all the categories. Ideas, persons, processes, and actions are put to test in the argumentative context of parliament. Members may use negative in/security tokens because they fear their positions being challenged or exposed. Overall, feelings of un/happiness and dis/inclination are more prevalent in the corpus. Table 5.13 presents the most frequently used instances of positive and negative AFFECT as classified into their four subtypes with their frequency as extracted from CPDF.

Table 5.13 The most frequently used instances of positive and negative AFFECT in CPDF

AFFECT Feature	Positive	Negative
Un/happiness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - grateful 82 - welcome 50 - thank 50 - pleased 44 - happy 32 - pay tribute 25 - delighted 19 - commend 15 - congratulate 15 - glad 10 - impressed 9 - thankfully 8 - praise 5 - enjoyed 5 - it is a pleasure to 5 - my thanks 4 - I thank 4 - welcomed 3 - I commend 3 - applaud 2 - paying tribute 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sadly 20 - sympathy 12 - condolences 11 - sorry 11 - upset 5 - disappointed 5 - apologize 4 - devastated 4 - regret 4 - frustration 3 - sympathies 3 - frustrated 3 - tragically 3 - tragedy 2 - sad 2 - exasperation 2 - unhappy 2 - regrettable 2 - sorrow 1 - disappointment 1 - disgruntled 1
Dis/satisfaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - interested 3 - proud 3 - pleasure 2 - satisfied 1 - honor 1 - satisfaction 1 - impressed 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - frustration 5 - anger 1 - desperate for a change 1 - complained 1 - frustrated 1
In/security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - confident 2 - convinced 2 - assured 1 - emphatic 1 - sure 1 - confidence 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - suffered 35 - concerned 31 - concerns 31 - concern 29 - fear 13 - uncertainty 10
Dis/inclination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hope 86 - want 52 - we need to 48 - I want to 29 - we need 27 - I would like to 26 - need 20 - urge 19 - wish 15 - I hope 15 - I would be happy to 12 - I look forward to 12 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I am afraid that 10 - I do not want to 4 - I do not want 3 - we do not want to 3 - I am afraid 3 - I do not wish to 2 - I fear that 2 - they do not want 1 - we do not expect him to 1 - I would not want 1 - I do not need to 1 - they do not want to 1

	- I hope that 11	- they would not want to 1
	- need to 8	- do not want to 1
	- I am happy to 6	- I have no wish to 1
	- keen 6	- heaven forbid that 1
	- the need for 5	- the people of West Lancashire do not want to 1
	- I wish to 5	- he will not want to 1
	- want to 5	- we are not looking for 1
	- we want 4	

5.6 JUDGEMENT

JUDGEMENT is one of the semantic systems of ATTITUDE that is concerned with the assessment of human behavior with reference to aspects such as legality/illegality, morality/immorality, politeness/impoliteness as they are more or less codified by culture (Martin and White, 2005). Parliamentarians express their opinions as they criticize or praise, “condemn[ing] or applaud[ing] the behaviour – the actions, deeds, sayings, beliefs, motivations etc. – of human individuals and groups” (White, 2005b, p.17). These evaluations are either expressed explicitly (inscribed) or implicitly (invoked). Table 5.14 and Figure 5.14 below show the occurrences of JUDGEMENT as inscribed and invoked ATTITUDE in CPDF. Tokens of JUDGEMENT either criticizing or applauding the actions and deeds of individuals or groups appear to be expressed more implicitly in the House.

Table 5.14 Frequency of Inscribed and invoked JUDGEMENT in CPDF

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
Invoked JUDGEMENT	721	3.69
Inscribed JUDGEMENT	270	1.38

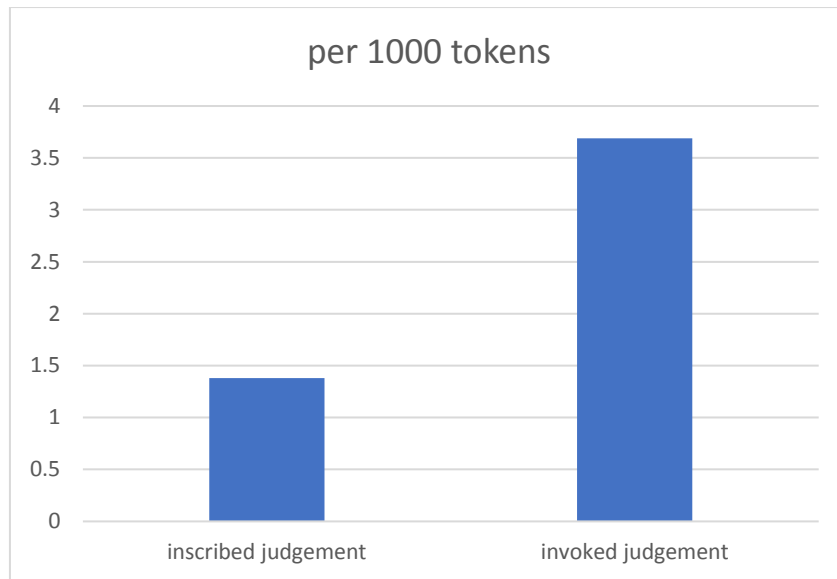


Figure 5.14 Distribution of Inscribed and invoked JUDGEMENT

Similar to AFFECT, JUDGEMENT can be either positive or negative. Members can express their likes or dislikes, thereby aligning or dis-aligning themselves with a particular member or group. Table 5.15 and Figure 5.15 show a quantitative analysis of the corpus that demonstrates a balanced view between positive and negative JUDGEMENT tokens.

Table 5.15 Frequency of Positive JUDGEMENT versus negative JUDGEMENT

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
Positive JUDGEMENT	578	2.96
Negative JUDGEMENT	413	2.11

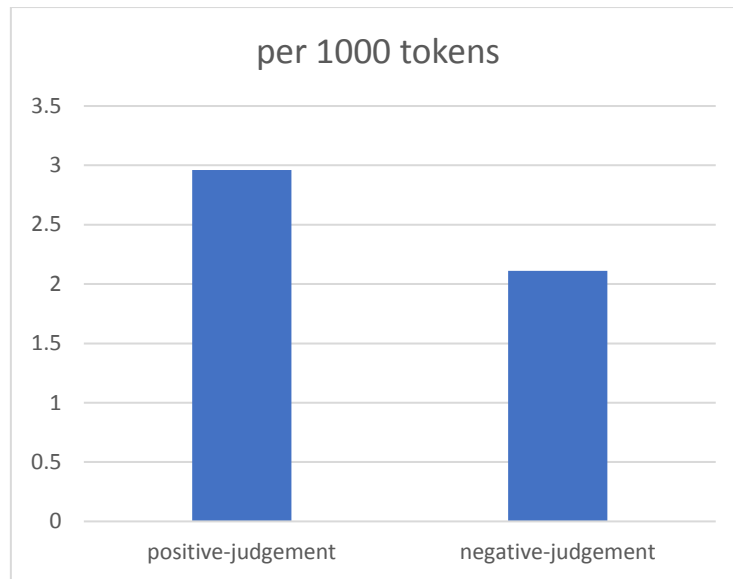


Figure 5.15 Distribution of Positive JUDGEMENT versus negative JUDGEMENT

Table 5.16 shows the percentages of positive and negative inscribed and invoked JUDGEMENT. Invoked negative JUDGEMENT is dominant in the discourse of parliamentarians.

Table 5.16 Percentages of Positive JUDGEMENT and negative JUDGEMENT

	Positive JUDGEMENT	Negative JUDGEMENT	ChiSqu	Signif.
Inscribed	31.36%	16.67%	30.493	+++
Invoked	68.64%	83.33%	30.493	+++

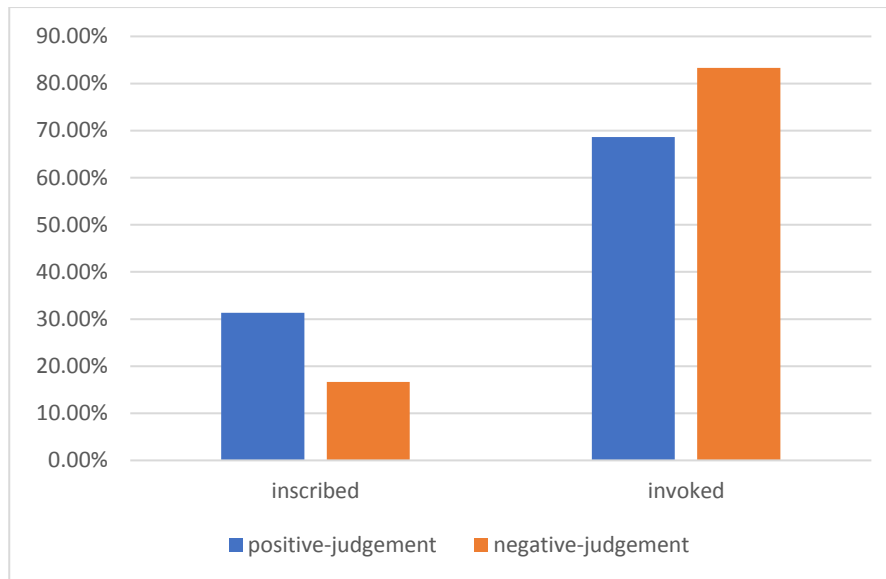


Figure 5.16 Percentages of Positive JUDGEMENT and negative JUDGEMENT

The above analysis shows that, in the corpus, most instances of JUDGMENT are invoked, and most of those instances are negative. In CPDF, invoked negative JUDGEMENT is mainly used to criticize, to question the veracity of other party, or to blame them for inaction. Table 5.17 presents some instances of invoked negative JUDGEMENT extracted from CPDF and identifies their sub-type.

Table 5.17 Instances of Invoked Negative JUDGEMENT extracted from CPDF

#	Invoked Negative JUDGEMENT	Sub-type
1	Parts of the press that I have come across in recent weeks and years—they know who they are— have asked me some of the most stupid questions I have ever heard.	Normality
2	In South Cerney, for example, a recently passed new development is right next door to an estate that has had sewerage flooding problems. How daft is that?	Normality
3	The government have dragged their feet on this issue , which is so important to so many householders up and down the country.	Capacity
4	This is the mañana department of a mañana government—always tomorrow and no help for today	Capacity
5	The government were caught sleeping on the job when the severe weather first hit the country in December	Capacity
6	Why is the Secretary of State ignoring the science?	Capacity
7	Why did that money fail to materialise in the autumn statement? Did he just forget?	Capacity
8	We are investing more in flood defences than the last government	Capacity

9	The government are spending more in this spending round than was spent by the previous government	Capacity
10	I have to say to the Hon. gentleman that the figures belie that	Veracity
11	the minister dodged my question in Westminster Hall this morning	Veracity
12	if they were honest	Veracity
13	the prime minister has gone from “money is no object” to “out of sight, out of mind.”	Veracity
14	This is happening on Ministers’ watch, and they have responsibility.	Propriety
15	we inherited a hideous mess from her government	Propriety
16	the Labour party left the nation’s finances in a very bad state.	Propriety
17	leaving this government with a ticking time bomb in the safe where no money was left.	Propriety

Examples 8 and 9 in Table 5.17 show one of the common patterns of JUDGMENT, where comparisons are used for criticism. The use of comparative patterns is interesting as they communicate what I refer to as a double invocation or hybrid invocation, where one proposition implies both negative and positive JUDGEMENT. For instance, the statement “*we are investing more in flood defences than the last government,*” indicates a polarized stance where a positive JUDGMENT of “we/the government” invokes a negative JUDGMENT of “them/the last government.” Such oppositional patterns of JUDGMENT occur so frequently in CPDF that they will be discussed further in the next chapter.

5.6.1 Subtypes of JUDGEMENT

JUDGEMENT values are further subdivided as shown in Table 5.18 below.

Table 5.18 Frequency of JUDGEMENT sub-semantic values

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
Capacity	465	2.37
Tenacity	207	1.05
Propriety	151	0.77
Veracity	97	0.49
Normality	71	0.36

Figure 5.17 shows the trend of the occurrences of JUDGEMENT sub-systems in parliamentary discourse.

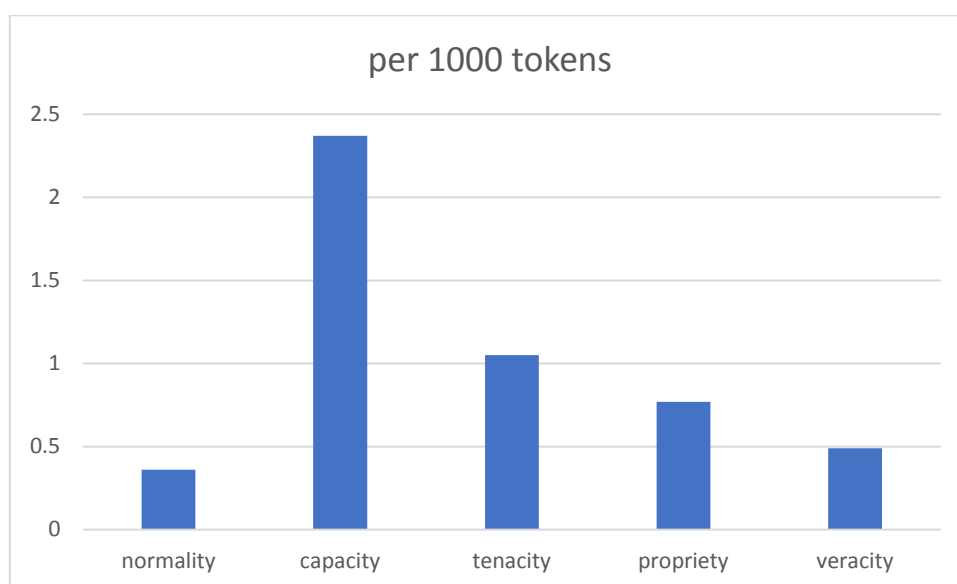


Figure 5.17 Distribution of JUDGEMENT sub-semantic values in CPDF

Table 5.19 shows the occurrence of JUDGEMENT subsystems in the corpus, quantified in percentages.

Table 5.19 Percentages of JUDGEMENT sub-semantic values

Feature	Positive JUDGEMENT	Negative JUDGEMENT	ChiSqu	Signif.
Capacity	51.36%	48.27%	1.016	
Tenacity	32.64%	1.08%	170.342	+++
Normality	8.80%	3.46%	12.393	+++
Propriety	6.72%	26.84%	83.106	+++
Veracity	0.48%	20.35%	128.997	+++

JUDGEMENT of social sanction [veracity and propriety] is negative more often than it is positive. Thus, assessments that relate to how truthful or creditable someone is [veracity] and how ethical someone is [propriety] are largely negative rather than positive. In general, criticism around the semantic values of capacity, veracity, and propriety are the types of criticism forwarded most often by MPs in CPDF. Figure 5.18 shows the occurrences of JUDGEMENT sub-semantic values in the corpus. As can be seen, esteem in the eyes of the public in relation to how capable they are [capacity], [both positive and negative], is predominant in the House. However, members are also judged based on the tenacity (positive), propriety (negative is high and positive is low), veracity (only negative is realized) and minimal

cases of normality (with positive slightly higher than negative). Negative assessments on the esteem of how resolute one is [tenacity] are occur very infrequently in the corpus. Thus, negative discourse in CPDF is largely about one’s capabilities, truthfulness, and ethical propriety. Table 5.20 presents the most frequently used instances of JUDGEMENT in CPDF classified according to their positive and negative subtypes.

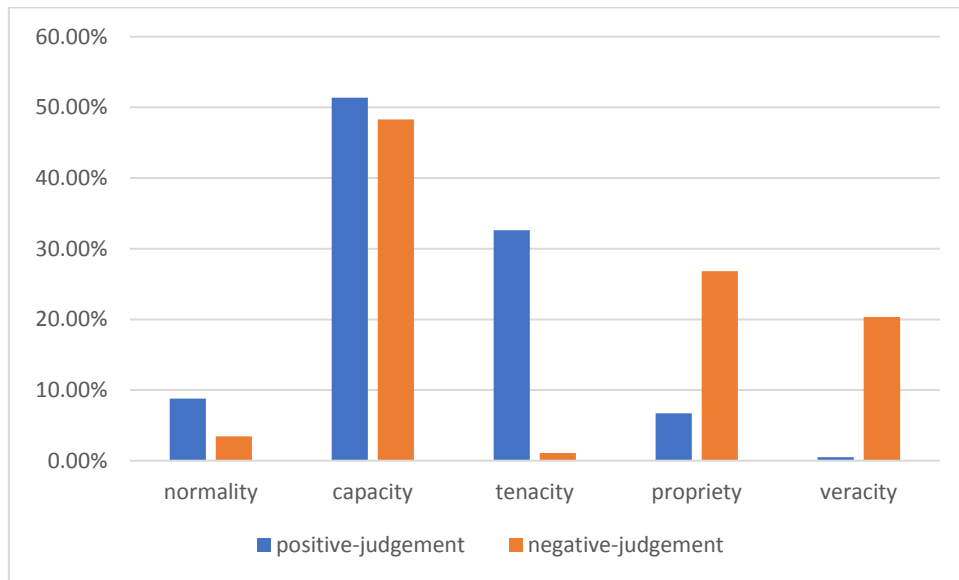


Figure 5.18 Distribution of JUDGEMENT sub-semantic values

Table 5.20 The Most Frequently Used Instances of JUDGEMENT in CPDF

JUDGEMENT Feature	Positive	Negative
Normality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fortunate 4 - phenomenal 2 - lucky 2 - the level of development on flood-risk areas is now at its lowest rate since modern records began 1 - I always feel that I am on the receiving end of a learned academic treatise 1 - the Hon. gentleman has a deserved reputation 1 - we are spending more this year than ever before 1 - over the past few weeks in my constituency, I have seen an incredible example of what the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - have asked me some of the most stupid questions I have ever heard 1 - I wonder whether that UKIP councillor had a point—even if the point was wrong 1 - reckless 1 - staunch defender of the fossil fuel industry 1 - when this government came to power, with their obsession with deregulation, they specifically exempted maize cultivation from all soil conservation measures. that seems absolutely crazy. 1 - obsessed 1 - partisan 1

	<p>prime minister would call the big society 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the environment agency has drawn praise not just from the local communities that were flooded this weekend, but from those that were flooded the week before last in Sussex 1 - the deal that we are in the process of negotiating with the insurance industry tackles for the first time the question of affordability 1 - we announced a headline agreement with industry to guarantee affordable flood insurance for people in high-risk areas 1 - responsive 1 - behaved admirably 1 - a gentleman called David Sullivan gets up very early and does a water level reading, which he e-mails to me. He has done that every day for the past fortnight 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - it is a crazy example of barmy deregulation 1 - how daft is that? 1 - the Hon. gentleman raised, as he has in the past, the specific example of the bridge in the isolated community in his constituency, which is incredibly frustrating 1 - those are skewed priorities 1 - complacent 1 - some of its members even appear to hold the view that same-sex marriage is responsible for the flooding 1 - zealots 1 - that kind of nonsense must end 1 - the Hon. gentleman strays ever so slightly from the question on the order paper 1
Capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - working closely 12 - successful 4 - able 3 - wisely 2 - astute 2 - successfully 2 - thoughtful 2 - progress 2 - diligent 2 - they do a fine job 1 - the community should be commended for its collective approach to the problems that it faces 1 - the environment agency is spending £18 million on waterlogging some of the best farmland in the country in my constituency to create a habitat for birds, in a scheme due to start in a couple of months 1 - the government have committed around £560 million to support those affected by flooding last winter 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - failed 7 - failure 5 - slow 5 - armchair experts 2 - the difficult financial circumstances we inherited from the last government 1 - when will he get a grip on the issue? 1 - confused about the figures 1 - the Hereford and Worcester fire and rescue service told me that it was better equipped and trained for water rescue during these floods than in 2007 1 - three years of inaction from ministers 1 - we are on course to bring in £148 million of additional funding over this spending review period compared with just £13 million in the previous period 1 - we are spending approximately 8% less than the previous government over the same period 1 - the secretary of state will be failing in his aim to ensure that our citizens are safe 1

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - schemes in Salford, which will improve protection for more than 2,000 homes and businesses 1 - we have set aside £130 million to ensure that the capital we are investing goes to new schemes 1 - I praise the fire service and the local authorities, and the environment agency and its subcontractors 1 - we are spending approximately 8% less than the previous government over the same period 1 - Northamptonshire’s fire brigade and local councils are doing an excellent job 1 - we have secured £2.3 billion on capital alone into the next spending review period 1 - a record level of investment—a level of investment never reached by the previous government 1 - the government stayed in contact with the industry throughout the Christmas and New Year period and into January and February to ensure that we fed back what we were hearing from people on the ground 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the lack of national leadership since the crisis began 1 - a record level of investment—a level of investment never reached by the previous government 1 - if help did not arrive to ensure that elderly people got the assistance they needed, to help folk move furniture and valuables upstairs to stop them being wrecked by the water, and to evacuate people in a timely way, why did it not arrive, especially in places where there had been flooding previously? 1 - this is the mañana department of a mañana government—always tomorrow and no help for today 1 - given the scale of the cuts in spending on flood protection that have taken place under this government 1
Tenacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - commitment 11 - determined 8 - committed 7 - worked tirelessly 6 - worked so hard 5 - dedicated 5 - hard work 4 - tireless 3 - dedication 3 - working so hard 2 - heroic 2 - advocate 2 - working hard 2 - praises the work of communities, the environment agency, the armed forces, the emergency services, and local councils in assisting those affected 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - impatient 3

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I appreciate how hard everyone has been working 2 - we will keep providing whatever immediate practical support and assistance is needed 1 - we will continue to do whatever it takes nationwide to support local communities across the country 1 - I know he works hard to ensure that flooding is on the government's agenda 1 - I pay tribute to the engineers and emergency workers who came out in the middle of the night to fix it 1 - all those who have been working in the here and now, dealing with our emergency 1 - our public services have done an incredible job in difficult circumstances 1 - hundreds of volunteers who have rallied around to help their neighbours 1 - this government will take whatever action is necessary to defend our nation from the forces of nature, and will prepare for the threats that it faces in years to come 1 - we are helping households and businesses through the repair and renew grant, council tax and rates relief 1 - ministers have undertaken a great number of visits across the country 1 - huge amount of work has been done by these emergency services 1 - doing everything possible to support households that had been affected 1 - work very hard 1 	
Propriety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - kind 4 - fair 3 - fairness 2 - we want to use every £1 wisely 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - unfair 3 - is the secretary of state still refusing to be briefed by his own chief scientific adviser on climate change and the

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - we fully take on board how people have been affected 1 - on the other side of the river there were 500 acres, blighted and left alone by the last government, that are now up for redevelopment 1 - the government committed around £560 million to support those affected by the recent flooding 1 - I can safely say that the sum will be an awful lot more than my Hon. friend would have got under the previous regime 1 - generous 1 - will the Hon. lady praise the generosity of farmers and hunts, not just in Leicestershire but throughout other parts of England, who have been sending hay, haylage, straw and other types of animal fodder to affected farmers? 1 - generously 1 - we have addressed an intrinsic, long-term unfairness for people in the south-west 1 - that shows a commitment to the people of the south-west that was never shown by the previous government 1 - give comfort to everyone who is at risk of flooding, particularly those on low incomes 1 - advocate 1 - the excellent work that he did in drawing attention to the needs of the people of Littlehampton following the floods that they suffered so recently 1 - I did not want this to be a partisan exchange, which is not the attitude of the Labour party 1 - the previous Labour government gave £5 million as part of a grant scheme to enable local authorities to apply to help their residents 1 - fair-minded 1 - magnanimous 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> implications for more extreme weather conditions? 1 - i am not a Labour politician and it was the Labour government who agreed with the association of British insurers that they would not renew the statement of principles 1 - they refused to accept the need to act on insurance payouts 1 - this government have cut capital spending on flood defences by 30% from the 2010 baseline 1 - with spending on the maintenance of defences and watercourses apparently at its lowest for many years 1 - will the secretary of state take this opportunity to apologise to the people of Rhyl, St Asaph, Somerset levels, Dawlish and the Thames valley for the £400 million of costly capital cuts that have totally backfired and will cost this country billions? 1 - there has been a cumulative cut of £4 million to Cleveland fire brigade over this parliament, and there will be a further cumulative cut of £5.96 million to 2017-18 1 - in government, Labour provided funding to protect 160,000 households from flooding over two years. This government will take four years to protect the same number of properties. why? 1 - I do not think that it is responsible of opposition members to blame the government for the cuts 1 - the reason is that the current government have dropped that condition. that is one of the main causes of the extent of the floods 1 - they refused to accept the serious situation facing many farmers 1 - that shows a commitment to the people of the south-west that was never shown by the previous government 1 - the government's decision to reduce the commitment to flood protection was a deliberate one 1 - this is happening on ministers' watch, and they have responsibility 1
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - when the buckets were overflowing, they did not invest in our infrastructure; we are investing in it, rebuilding the British railways, and the roads as well 1 - generous contribution from Northumbrian water 1 - for us, it is a priority; for them it is not 1 - the money that the government have very generously provided 1 - the government, through grant in aid, provide those who might struggle to afford some of those products in their home with the opportunity to have support in bringing them in 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the government must stop their irresponsible use of public money 1 - will now suffer from the policies pursued by the coalition government 1 - then finding that the door is barred by some foolish bit of bureaucracy 1
Veracity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - conscious 1 - frank 1 - honestly 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sceptical 2 - unreliable 1 - I believe that those figures have been manipulated 1 - leaders of the day make lots of promises, but there then tends to be a fading away 1 - this is the mañana department of a mañana government—always tomorrow and no help for today 1 - 180(o) away from the facts 1 - ministers have refused to brief this house or involve the opposition in the discussions 1 - will he admit that £67.6 million of partnership funding has been raised since April 2011, not the £148 million that he repeatedly claims? 1 - a situation in which ministers appear to be drifting without giving any indication of when a deal will be concluded 1 - if they were honest 1 - we urgently need clarity on the progress—or lack of it—that has been made since January 2012 1 - no matter how much the opposition huff and puff, they cannot get away from that basic fact 1 - it is actions, not words, that count 1

5.7 APPRECIATION

APPRECIATION is one of the subsystems of ATTITUDE. APPRECIATION has to do with assessments of objects, artefacts, processes, and states of affairs as opposed to human behavior (Iedema et al, 1994). As with the other sub-categories, APPRECIATION can be either inscribed or invoked. Table 5.21 shows the occurrence of inscribed and invoked APPRECIATION in the corpus.

Table 5.21 Frequency of Inscribed and Invoked APPRECIATION

Feature	Number	per 1000 tokens
Inscribed APPRECIATION	2384	12.13
Invoked APPRECIATION	40	0.2

The table shows that inscribed APPRECIATION tokens are predominant over invoked in the corpus. Figure 5.19 shows that invoked APPRECIATION is almost non-existent in the corpus.

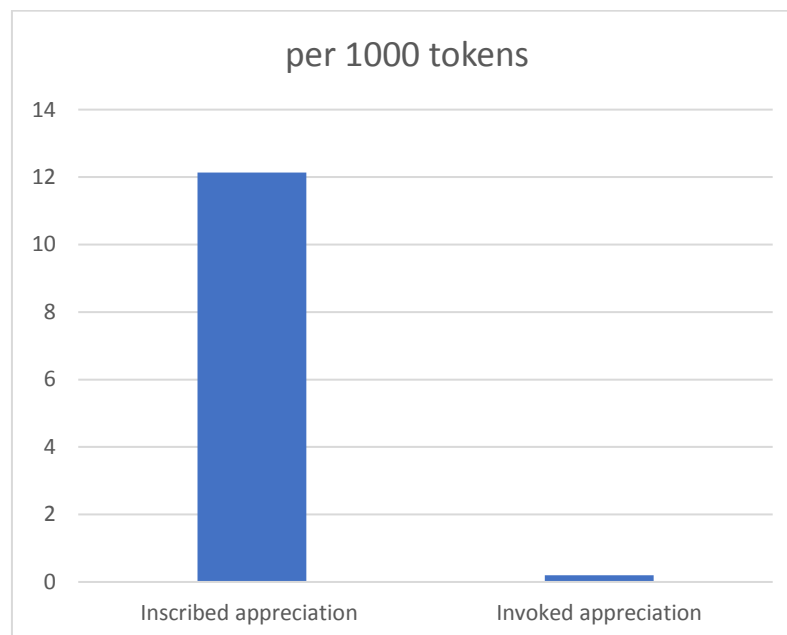


Figure 5.19 Distribution of Inscribed and invoked APPRECIATION

Based on meaning contrasts (Hunston & Su, 2017), APPRECIATION values are assessed on the basis of whether they are positive or negative. Table 5.22 shows the number of positive and negative APPRECIATION occurrences in the corpus.

Table 5.22 Frequency of Positive and Negative APPRECIATION

Feature	Number	per 1000 tokens
Positive APPRECIATION	1420	7.23
Negative APPRECIATION	1004	5.11

Table 5.22 shows that both positive and negative APPRECIATION assessments are realized in the House. However, there is more positive APPRECIATION than negative. As shown in Figure 5.20 below, parliamentarians largely positively appreciate processes, artefacts, and objects. Thus, the corpus shows the presents of members' ATTITUDE towards things including "things we make and performances we give" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 56).

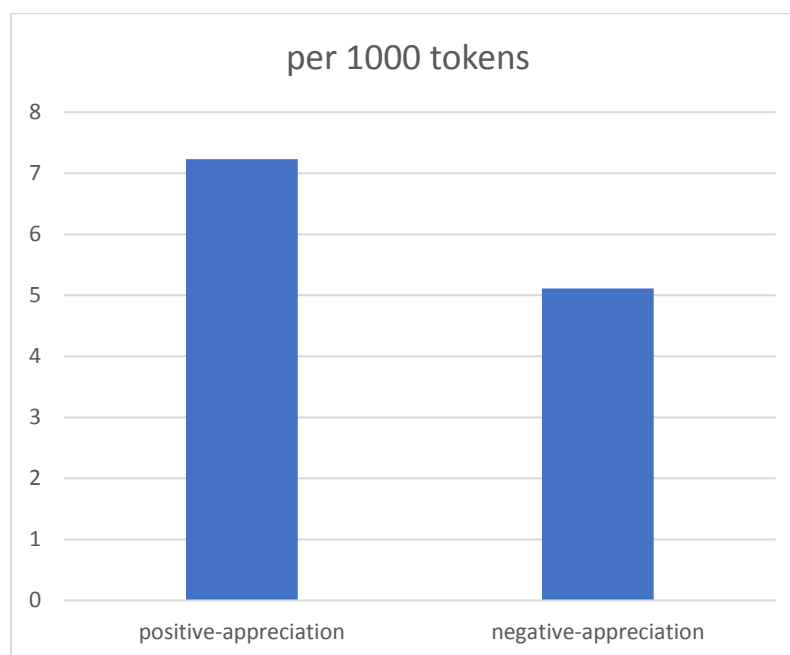


Figure 5.20 Distribution of Positive APPRECIATION and Negative APPRECIATION

For a deeper understanding of the occurrence of APPRECIATION values in the corpus, the values have been quantified. The statistics in Table 5.23 and Figure 5.21 show that positive APPRECIATION is nearly always inscribed while negative APPRECIATION is nearly always invoked.

Table 5.23 Percentages of Inscribed positive APPRECIATION and Invoked Negative APPRECIATION

	Positive APPRECIATION	Negative APPRECIATION	ChiSqu
Inscribed	98.61%	98.03%	1.236
Invoked	1.39%	1.97%	1.236

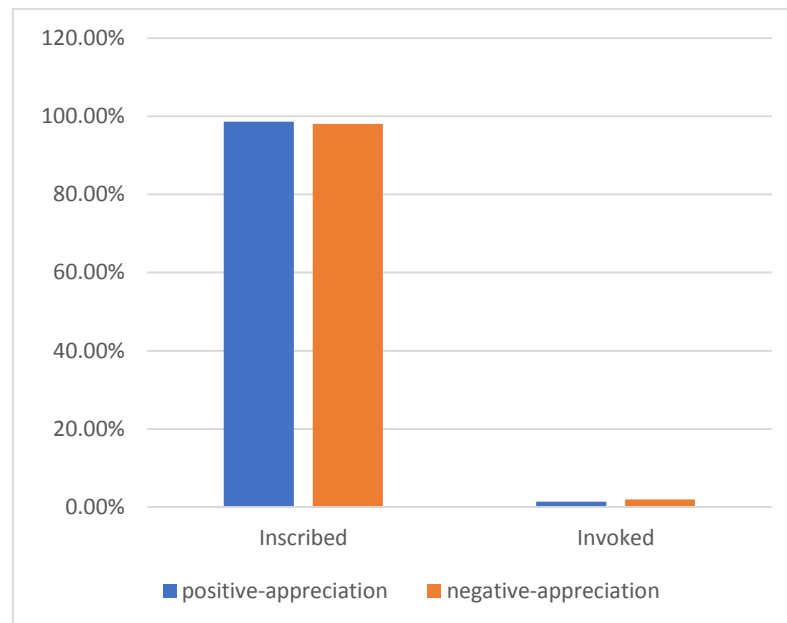


Figure 5.21 Distribution of Inscribed positive APPRECIATION and Invoked Negative APPRECIATION

The difference in inscribed positive APPRECIATION and inscribed negative APPRECIATION is statistically non-significant. Overall, APPRECIATION is mostly inscribed in the corpus. Though the invoked APPRECIATION is minimal, the difference between invoked positive and negative APPRECIATION can be observed with how negative APPRECIATION mostly invoked. For the three sub-systems of ATTITUDE (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION), the negative ATTITUDE is invoked most often. My analysis finds that the tendency to invoke negative ATTITUDE is frequently practiced by MPs in CPDF.

5.7.1 Subtypes of APPRECIATION

APPRECIATION values are divided into three subtypes: reaction, composition, and value (social valuation). The social valuation is the most frequently used subtype of APPRECIATION, followed by reaction, and then composition (Table 5.24).

Table 5.24 Frequency of Subtypes of APPRECIATION

Feature	Number	per 1000 tokens
Reaction	1036	5.27
Composition	213	1.08
Social valuation	1175	5.98

There is a prevalent argument that APPRECIATION of social valuation is related to “the perceived significance of an entity” (Ethelston, 2009, p. 686). However, assessments of reaction are also high in the corpus as shown in members’ reaction to the impact of flooding on their constituencies (see Figure 5.22).

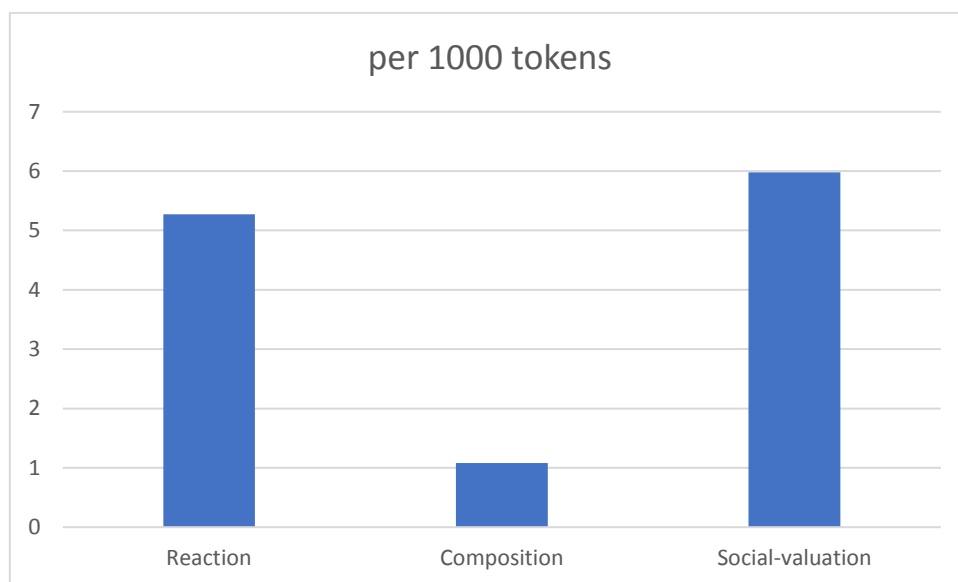


Figure 5.22 Distribution of Subtypes of APPRECIATION in CPDF

Members in the House make evaluations of whether processes, issues, and decisions made in parliament are worthwhile. Positive social valuations are realized more often than negative ones, with positive valuation emphasizing the significance of issues related to flooding to the

country. However, for reaction, negative APPRECIATION is expressed more often than positive, which mostly express the reaction of MPs towards the impact of flooding on the people and properties in their constituencies. Even though composition assessments are minimal, positive APPRECIATION of composition is realized more than negative APPRECIATION, as shown in Table 5.25 and Figure 5.23.

Table 5.25 Percentages of Positive APPRECIATION and negative APPRECIATION

Feature	Positive APPRECIATION	Negative APPRECIATION	ChiSqu	Signif.
Reaction	27.30%	64.53%	336.921	+++
Composition	11.63%	4.73%	35.384	+++
Social valuation	61.07%	30.74%	219.062	+++

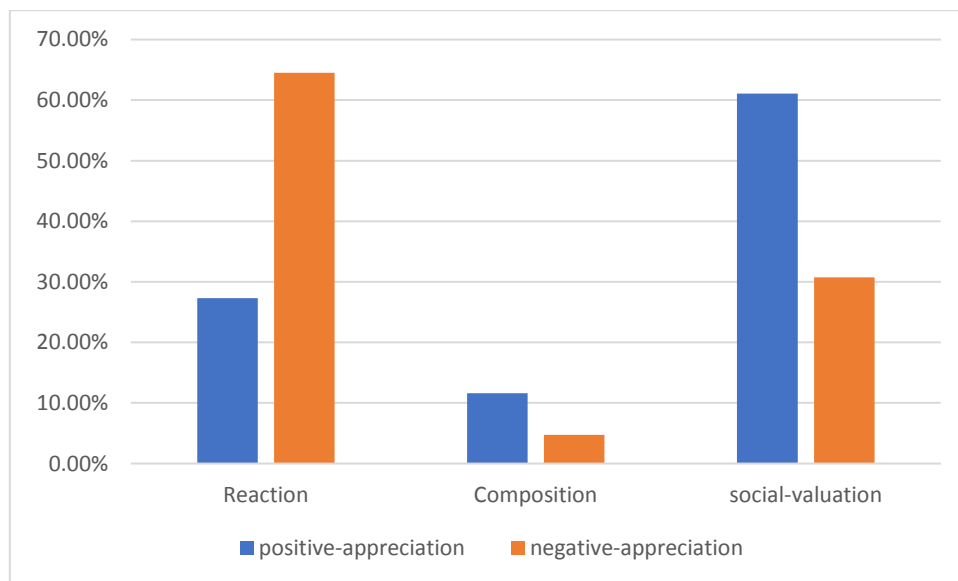


Figure 5.23 Percentages of Positive APPRECIATION and negative APPRECIATION

An analysis of the APPRECIATION semantic value in the corpus shows that evaluations of things, processes, and events are largely inscribed, positive, and of social valuation. However, invoked, negative APPRECIATION and other sub-semantic values of APPRECIATION are also found in the corpus.

Table 5.26 The Most Frequently Used Instances of APPRECIATION in CPDF

APPRECIATION Feature	Positive	Negative
Reaction	- good 87	- extreme 42
	- excellent 29	- damage 37
	- best 17	- severe 23
	- welcome 14	- devastating 22
	- beautiful 13	- worst 16
	- fantastic 12	- terrible 15
	- powerful 10	- misery 13
	- interesting 9	- worse 12
	- appreciate 8	- unprecedented 11
	- extraordinary 6	- bad 11
	- magnificent 6	- devastation 11
	- remarkable 6	- badly 10
	- huge 5	- severe weather 10
	- timely 4	- serious 7
	- terrific 4	- extreme weather 7
	- unprecedented 4	- badly affected 7
	- wonderful 4	- badly flooded 6
	- massive 3	- nonsense 6
	- welcomed 3	- extraordinary 6
	- nice 3	- awful 6
	- powerfully 3	- damaged 6
	- good point 3	- exceptional 5
	- ambitious 3	- intense 5
	- unique 3	- catastrophic 5
	- robust 3	- desperate 5
	- staggering 2	- miserable 4
	- amazing 2	- devastated 4
	- magnificently 2	- mess 4
	- incredible 2	- tragedy 4
	- a record £2.3 billion 2	- wettest 3
	- arduous 2	- dangerous 3
	- well 2	- slow 3
	- brilliant 2	- exceptional weather 3
	- sterling 2	- heavy rainfall 3
	- i appreciate 2	- tragically 3
	- great 2	- unacceptable 3
	- dramatic 2	- not good 3
	- immediate 2	- overwhelming 3
	- enormous 2	- impossible 3
	- for the first time 2	- frustrating 3
	- simple 2	- wrecked 3
	- impressive 2	- dreadful 3
	- splendid job 1	- distressing 3
	- may I commend the report on the water white paper published today by the	- daft 2
		- unprecedented rainfall 2
		- stormy 2

	departmental committee? 1 - astonishing 1 - great job 1 - strong point 1 - tremendous 1 - politely 1 - record levels 1 - wisely 1 - admirable 1 - sensitive 1 - uniquely 1 - excellently 1 - instinctive reaction 1 - admiration 1 - urgent 1 - kind remarks 1 - innovative 1	select - hell 2 - shocking 2 - exceptional rainfall 2 - immense 2 - relentless 2 - crisis 2 - dilapidated 2 - immense damage 2 - damaging 2 - bogus 2 - tragic 2 - dramatic 2 - outrageous 2 - enormous 2 - unsettled weather 2 - terribly 2 - appalling 2 - dramatically 2
Composition	- clear 47 - comprehensive 22 - detailed 15 - regular 8 - exactly 5 - holistic 4 - precise 4 - inclusive 3 - specific 3 - cohesive 3 - accurate 3 - regularly 3 - straightforward 3 - coherent strategy 2 - precisely 2 - balanced 2 - resilient 2 - regular basis 2 - clearly 2 - comprehensiveness 2 - well articulated 1 - wide-ranging 1 - clear warning 1 - apparent 1 - balanced debate 1 - transparent 1 - simple 1 - regular discussions 1	- confusion 7 - complicated 5 - chaos 3 - incoherence 3 - far from clear 2 - complex 2 - not clear 2 - difficult 2 - difficult to decide 1 - frequent volatile weather 1 - overstretched 1 - fragile 1 - irregularly 1 - inconsistencies 1 - complexions 1 - frequent 1 - complexities 1 - duplication 1 - a sticking point 1 - obfuscation 1 - complexity 1 - unco-ordinated 1 - unclear 1 - obscure 1 - lacking in accuracy 1 - overcrowded 1 - a lack of clarity 1 - hard to predict 1
Social Valuation	- important 175 - significant 47 - better 46	- difficult 56 - risk 38 - at risk 17

- real	37	- wrong	12
- vital	33	- difficulties	12
- importance	30	- threat	11
- key	28	- inadequate	8
- affordable	27	- inappropriate	7
- sustainable	20	- problem	7
- effective	19	- significant risk	6
- great	16	- dangerous	4
- reasonable	16	- flood-risk areas	4
- critical	15	- insufficient	4
- appropriate	14	- expensive	3
- helpful	13	- serious	3
- crucial	13	- danger	3
- constructive	12	- unnecessary	3
- major	11	- difficulty	3
- substantial	11	- unscientific	3
- sensible	11	- risks	3
- strategic	10	- partisan	2
- necessary	8	- unreasonable	2
- essential	8	- old	2
- resilience	8	- a false choice	2
- proper	7	- valueless	2
- fundamental	6	- deprived	2
- cross-party talks	6	- seriousness	2
- practical	6	- inefficient	2
- effectively	5	- petty politics	2
- useful	5	- significant	2
- resilient	4	- uninsurable	2
- extraordinary	4	- high-risk properties	2
- special	4	- incapable	2
- cost-effective	4	- exorbitant	1
- man-made	4	- old-fashioned	1
- at the heart of	3	- detrimental	1
- innovative	3	- depleted budgets	1
- properly	3	- poor deal	1
- sufficient	3	- wasted investments	1
- valid	3	- serious risks	1
- successful	3	- at-risk	1
- exceptional	3	- pernicious	1
- importantly	3	- unsellable	1
- valuable	3	- not sensible	1
- significantly	3	- too expensive	1
- viable	2	- unmortgageable	1
- new	2	- at-risk properties	1
- efficient	2	- this is not party political	1
- strict	2	- significant problems	1
- phenomenal	2	- financial pressures	1
- not a burden on the taxpayer	2	- less effective	1
- cheap	2	- useless	1
		- party political	1

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - natural 2 - at an all-time low 2 - best 2 - excellent 2 - adequate 2 - key infrastructure 2 - appreciated 2 - sustained 2 - affordability 2 - good value 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - unsustainable costs 1 - under-spend 1 - overbearing 1 - the party political nature 1 - critical 1 - meaningless 1 - unhelpful 1 - not a burden on the treasury 1 - overpriced 1 - pointless 1
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5.8 Conclusion

The corpus analysis conducted on CPDF described in this chapter finds that, overall, attitudinal language in parliamentary debates is mostly inscribed. However, while AFFECT and APPRECIATION behaved the same in the corpus with inscribed instances outnumbering the invoked, JUDGMENT tends to be more invoked than inscribed. A clear preference among parliamentarians was found for invoked ATTITUDE when attitudinal language is negative. With all subsystems of ATTITUDE (AFFECT, JUDGMENT, APPRECIATION), invoked is used most often when the ATTITUDE is negative. The desire to balance positive self-image combined with the goal of conforming to their party line might be the drive behind MPs' preferences to primarily present their negative views and criticism as invoked. Also, excessive negative and criticism language may signify party political conduct that is generally perceived as unparliamentary. The following concordances (Table 5.27) extracted from CPDF show how MPs view being party political as a negative characteristic and that it should be avoided to hold a constructive debate in the House.

Table 5.27 Concordances of 'party political' in CPDF

<p>time, individuals, families and small businesses suffer dreadfully. This is not <u>party political</u>. Will the Secretary of State do something to he</p> <p>'s question. Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): I am very disappointed at the <u>party political</u> nature of the right hon. Lady's comments. My rig</p> <p>schemes take several years to plan and this really is not a <u>party political</u> issue; schemes were built by the previous Labour Government fr</p> <p>for us all to start to work together, not to make silly <u>party political</u> points. I am confident that with the help of the Environment</p>
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The next chapter extends this analysis further by providing qualitative insights on these findings.

CHAPTER 6 : ATTITUDINAL LANGUAGE IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, POLARIZATION AND OPPOSITIONAL STANCE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to present the findings of the comparative analysis between Government and Opposition MPs in their uses of attitudinal language. The comparison is conducted quantitatively and qualitatively in terms of using the three attitudinal sub-systems; AFFECT, JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION. A further qualitative analysis of how MPs use attitudinal language and what argumentative and communicative functions they fulfil is also explored. These analyses are reinforced with examples and instances from CPDF.

6.2 General Comparative Analysis between Government and Opposition in terms of Attitudinal Language

The section presents a comparative analysis of Government and Opposition ATTITUDE evaluative tokens in CPDF. Based on the corpus analysis, the overall number of occurrences of ATTITUDE in the discourse of Government and Opposition MPs is shown in Table 6.1 below. As can be seen, Government MPs use ATTITUDE (1811; 37.7%) in the corpus 15.8% more frequently than do the Labour-Opposition MPs (1053; 21.9%).

Number of ATTITUDE Occurrences	Government		Opposition	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
	1811	37.7%	1053	21.9%

Table 6.1 Number of ATTITUDE Occurrences among Government and Opposition

As pointed out earlier, ATTITUDE is either inscribed or invoked (Martin and White, 2005). An analysis of the occurrence of inscribed and invoked ATTITUDE between Government and Opposition MPs reveals that MPs from both camps, Government and Opposition, have a general preference for inscribing their ATTITUDE (Government MPs = 82.99%; Opposition

MPs = 76.64%. Opposition MPs have a slightly higher rate in their use of invoked ATTITUDE (23.36%) compared to Government (17.01%).

As indicated in Chapter Five, most of the inscribed attitudinal language in CPDF represents what I refer to as *dialogical* attitudinal language, that is, language which is mainly used to conform to parliamentary conventions. This type of dialogical language, which mainly serves rhetorical ends, is prevalent in CPDF.

In contrast, while the use of implicit attitudinal tokens is generally minimal in the House, it is slightly more frequent in contributions by Labour-Opposition speakers than it is among Government MPs, as shown in Figure 6.1 below.

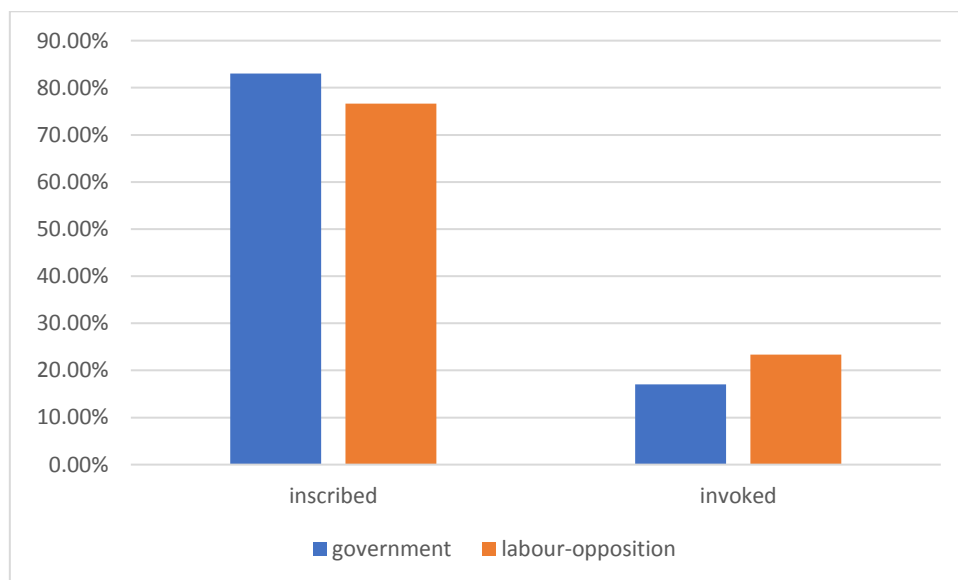


Figure 6.1 Inscribed and Invoked ATTITUDE across Government and Opposition Speakers

To understand why the Labour-Opposition MPs invoke their attitudinal language more than Government MPs do, it is necessary to widen the comparison by including data for all Conservative MPs, and not just the members of the Conservative Front Bench who represent the Government. An analysis of Government Ministers, Labour-Opposition and Back Bench Conservative MPs' discourse in the Parliament reveals that MPs use inscribed ATTITUDE more than invoked. A cline of relation in the use of inscribed ATTITUDE can be noted. Figure 6.2 shows that Conservative MPs use the most inscribed attitudinal tokens (89.91%), followed by Government MPs with 82.99% and lastly Labour-Opposition with 76.64%.

Conversely, Labour-Opposition MPs lead in the use of invoked ATTITUDE with 23.36%, followed by Government with 17.01%, and Conservatives in last place with 10.09%. Given that the Labour-Opposition MPs are in these data mostly aiming criticisms towards the Government, their tendency to use invoked ATTITUDE is higher, as shown in Figure 6.2 below.

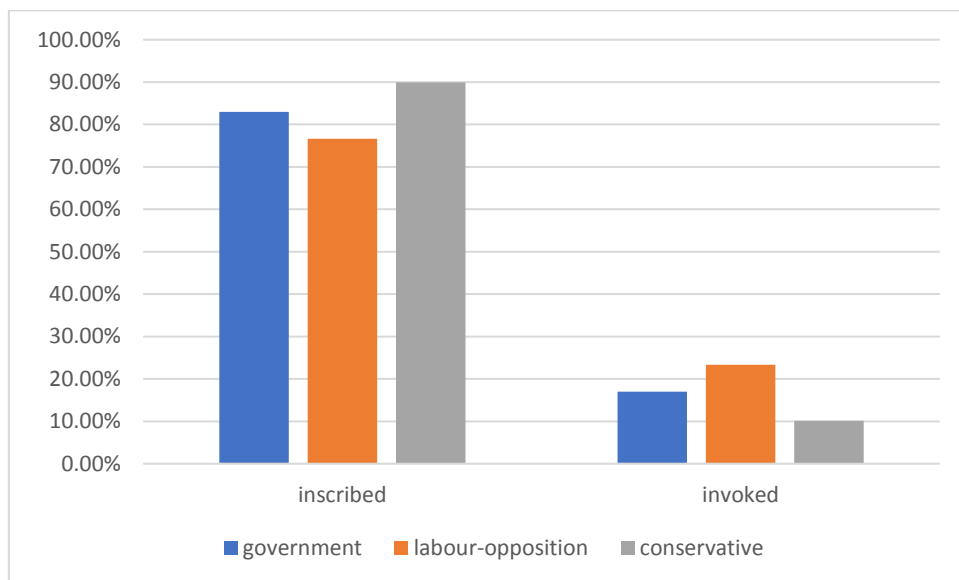


Figure 6.2 Inscribed and Invoked ATTITUDE among Government, Opposition & Conservative

Inscribed and invoked ATTITUDE evaluations can be either positive or negative. Once again, the existence of both positive and negative forms of ATTITUDE can be found in both the Government and Opposition MPs' discourse in CPDF. The corpus analysis indicates that Government MPs use positive ATTITUDE (73.05%) more frequently than do Labour-Opposition (44.35%). In contrast, Labour-Opposition MPs use negative ATTITUDE more often (55.65%) as opposed to than do Government speakers (28.7%). The likely reason for these observations is that it is the primary task of Opposition political parties to be critical of the Government. Correspondingly, the less frequent use of negative ATTITUDE among Government MPs can reasonably be interpreted as exhibiting aggregate level party unity (Carey, 2007) as parties demand loyalty. However, disloyalty can sometimes be exhibited, notably when MPs want to express their own ideology showing some degree of independence. Figure 6.3 displays distribution of positive and negative ATTITUDE among Government and Opposition MPs:

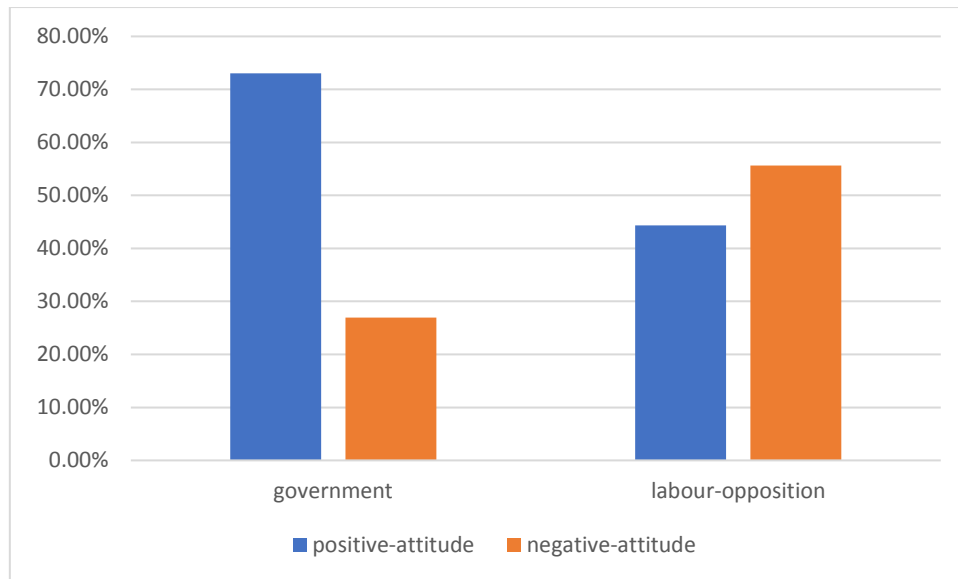


Figure 6.3 Positive vs. Negative ATTITUDE among Government and Opposition MPs

Strong political party discipline impacts on the patterns realised in the use of ATTITUDE values in the Parliament. Generally, whereas parties compel members to support the party position regardless of MPs' individual preferences (Slapin et al, 2017), extremists and rebellious members bring in variance in the use of ATTITUDE semantic evaluations. Adding Conservative Back Bench in the comparison reveals that that Government MPs use positive-ATTITUDE the most (73.05%), followed by Conservative MPs at 62.87% and finally Labour- Opposition MPs at 44.35%. The highest percentages of the use of negative-attitude by Labour- Opposition (55.65%) shows that opposition political parties employ negation discourse as they are critical of government. On the other hand, Conservative MPs make use of more positive-ATTITUDE evaluative tokens than negative-attitude assessment tokens conforming party affiliation towards the Conservative ruling party.

Convergence is realised in the use of ATTITUDE values when ideology and agenda of government and political parties converge. Convergence rather than divergence in the use of ATTITUDE evaluative tokens is greatly exhibited conforming party affiliation. Figure 6.4 shows that in the British Parliament, the way the attitudinal language is used by MPs is largely determined by their party affiliation.

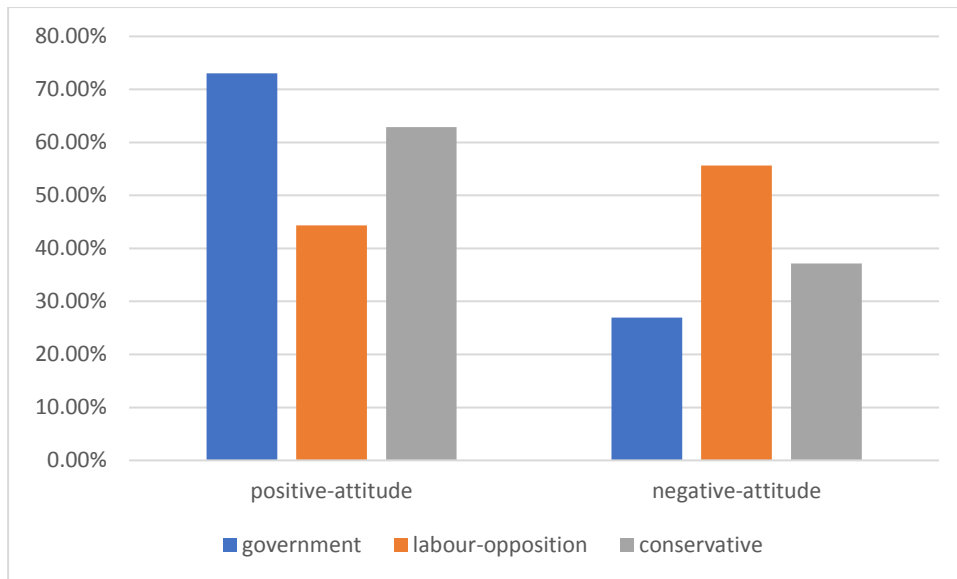


Figure 6.4 Positive vs. Negative ATTITUDE among Government, Opposition and Conservative MPs

Divergence in the use of ATTITUDE can be as a result of pressure from voters. Voters value some degree of independence among their MPs and political parties in the Parliament (Campbell et al, 2016). This observation explains why there is also negative-attitude in Government and also positive-attitude in Opposition MPs’ discourse.

6.3 A Comparative analysis of ATTITUDE Subsystems among Government and Opposition

We now turn to a comparative analysis of the occurrence of the three ATTITUDE subsystems in Government and Opposition discourse. As indicated in Table 6.2, Government MPs use ATTITUDE subsystems more than Opposition MPs. However, among all ATTITUDE subsystems, APPRECIATION values are used more than other semantic values by both Government (886 tokens) and Opposition (499 tokens).

Feature	government		labour-opposition		ChiSqu	Signif.
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
affect	492	27.17%	257	24.41%	2.628	
judgement	433	23.91%	297	28.21%	6.469	+++
appreciation	886	48.92%	499	47.39%	0.628	

Table 6.2 Comparison of the three ATTITUDE subsystems among Government and Opposition

Opposition MPs seem to use more JUDGEMENT values (297 tokens) than AFFECT values (257 tokens). However, the opposite is the case with Government MPs, who make more use of AFFECT (492 tokens) than JUDGEMENT (433 tokens). Also, as shown in Figure 6.5 below, evaluations of processes, artefacts, objects and state of affairs are realised more in the corpus of both Government and Opposition via the use of APPRECIATION. However, while Government MPs invest more in affective language, Opposition MPs are more concerned with JUDGEMENT.

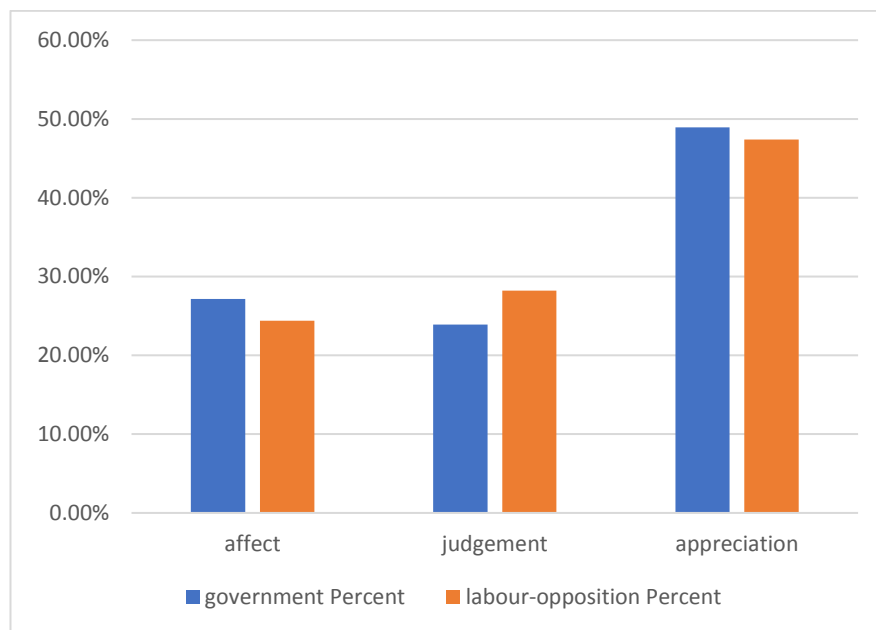


Figure 6.5 Comparison of the three ATTITUDE subsystems among Government and Opposition

Linguistic patterns have been noted to support the basic distinctions that can be made between emotion (AFFECT), evaluations of human behaviour (JUDGEMENT) and those of aesthetics (APPRECIATION) (Bednarek 2009, 2015; Hunston and Su, 2017). However, a ‘diagnostic’ analysis of their patterning in parliamentary discourse has not been done previously. An analysis of CPDF shows that APPRECIATION is realised more frequently among the three parties. However, as shown in Table 6.3, Back Bench Conservative MPs make use of more emotive values (33.89%) when compared to Government Ministers (27.17%) and Labour-Opposition (24.41%). On the other hand, JUDGEMENT values pattern more in Labour-Opposition discourse (28.21%) than in Government (23.91%) and Conservative (12.29%).

	government	labour-opposition	conservative
affect	27.17%	24.41%	33.89%
judgement	23.91%	28.21%	12.29%
appreciation	48.92%	47.39%	53.82%

Table 6.3 Comparison of the three ATTITUDE subsystems among Government, Labour-Opposition and Conservative

It is clear that attitudinal evaluations pattern in text and particularly in the British Parliament. Inasmuch as there are emotions expressed, there is also JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION of human behaviour and processes. Realisation of more APPRECIATION values points towards objective arguments that ensue in the House. Evaluations of APPRECIATION are typically made on artefacts rather than on their creators, (Martin and White, 2005). This is so because these subsystems have also been conceptualised as different ways of performing the same evaluative action (Hunston and Su, 2017).

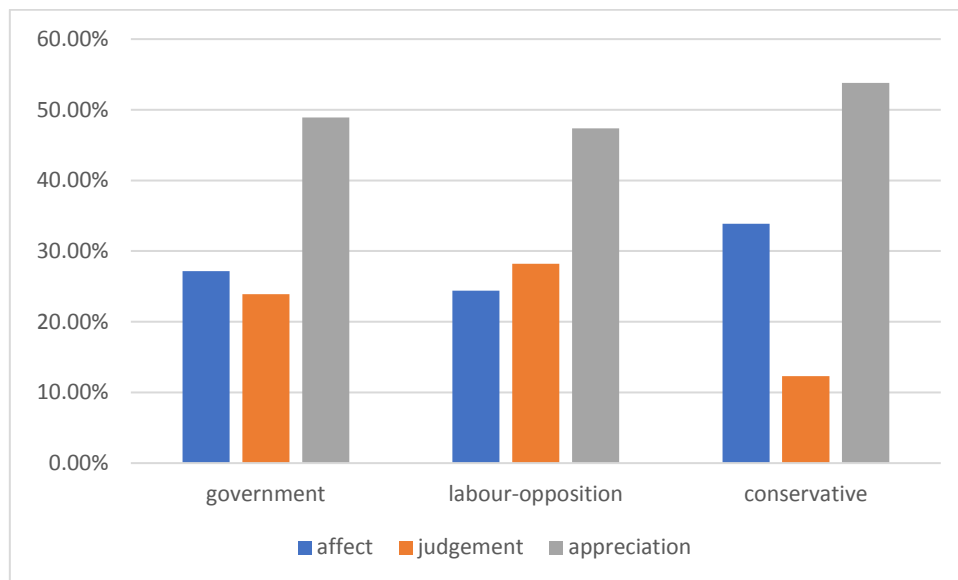


Figure 6.6 Comparison of the three ATTITUDE subsystems among Government, Labour-Opposition and Conservative

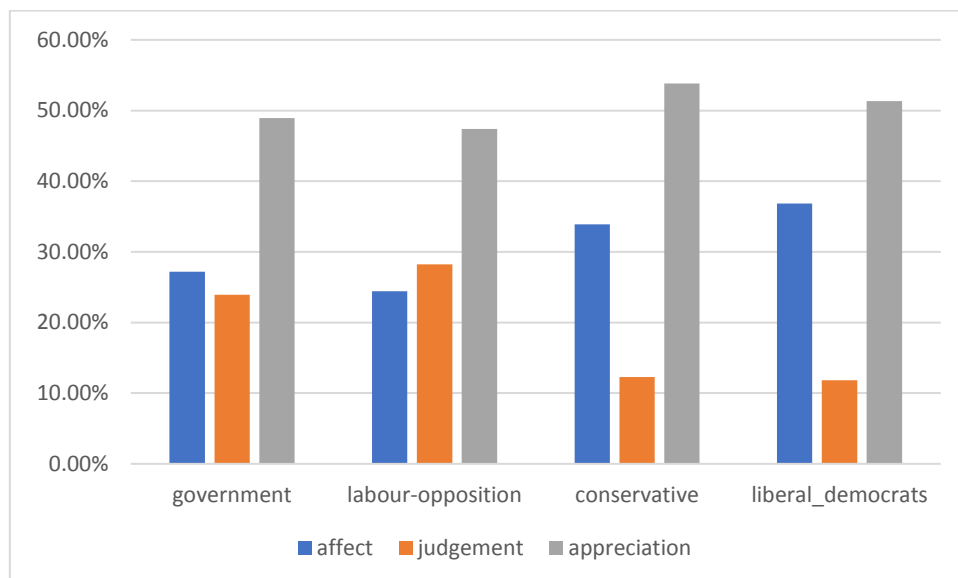
To further test the comparative results found among the Government Ministers, the Back Bench Conservative and the Labour-Opposition MPs, it might be necessary to include the Liberal-Democrats in the comparison. The reason for this is that during this parliamentary cycle 2010-2015 in which the corpus of this study was compiled, it was a Coalition Government represented by both the Conservative and Liberal Democrats. An analysis of the patterning of

the three subsystems in the discourse of Liberal-Democrats also confirms earlier observations. Liberal-Democrats, as shown in Table 6.4, use APPRECIATION values more often than they use the other two semantic values. As with the Conservatives, Liberal-Democrats use substantially more AFFECT tokens (36.84%) than JUDGEMENT (11.84%) values in their discourse. It is observed that both Conservative and Liberal-Democrats behave the same in the corpus in terms of their use of attitudinal language.

	government	labour-opposition	conservative	liberal_democrats
affect	27.17%	24.41%	33.89%	36.84%
judgement	23.91%	28.21%	12.29%	11.84%
appreciation	48.92%	47.39%	53.82%	51.32%

*Table 6.4 Comparison of the three ATTITUDE subsystems among Government, Labour-
Opposition, Conservative and Liberal-Democrat*

The patterning of ATTITUDE subsystems in text is shown in Figure 6.7 below. On average, there is high use of APPRECIATION values, medium use of AFFECT tokens and low use of JUDGEMENT values in the corpus.



*Figure 6.7 Comparison of the three ATTITUDE subsystems among Government, Labour-
Opposition, Conservative and Liberal-Democrat*

6.3.1 AFFECT

The subsystems of ATTITUDE have more delicate categories that fall under each subsystem. As discussed earlier, AFFECT is further subdivided into un/happiness, dis/satisfaction, in/security and dis/inclination (see Table 6.5 below). All the subcategories are realised in the discourse of both Government and Labour-Opposition. An analysis of the corpus has shown that there is a cline of patterning realised in the discourse of both Government and Labour-opposition in the use of the four subcategories of AFFECT.

Feature	government		labour-opposition		ChiSqu	Signif.
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
un/happiness	210	11.60%	88	8.36%	7.492	+++
dis/satisfaction	12	0.66%	3	0.28%	1.823	
in/security	61	3.37%	57	5.41%	7.048	+++
dis/inclination	209	11.54%	109	10.35%	0.954	

Table 6.5 Comparison of AFFECT subcategories among Government and Opposition MPs

In general, there is more use of un/happiness and dis/inclination values than dis/satisfaction and in/security values among both Government and Labour-Opposition MPs. Much of the language of un/happiness and dis/inclination represent parliamentary language conventions which are mainly used to achieve rhetorical ends. Examples of such instances of un/happiness and dis/inclination:

un/happiness	dis/inclination
<i>I am very happy to join my hon. Friend in paying tribute to the Environment Agency and everyone in those different services</i>	<i>We certainly hope and are keen to update the figures given to the Select Committee.</i>
<i>I am grateful to the hon. Lady for giving me the opportunity to say that I believe that there is an incoherence in policy.</i>	<i>I would love to be able to announce that a deal had been reached.</i>
<i>I am delighted to have the opportunity to discuss on the Floor of the House the matter of flooding and the River Ash in Staines-upon-Thames.</i>	<i>I look forward fervently to the day when he stands at this Dispatch Box and responds to the hon. Gentleman.</i>

In contrast, values of dis/satisfaction and in/security represent MPs concerns and worries, as in the following examples:

in/security	dis/satisfaction
<i>I know the human suffering when people lose personal possessions—photos of weddings and of deceased relatives—homes and businesses.</i>	<i>Frustrated local flood wardens tell of battling against multiple agencies that pass the buck among themselves or veto works that contradict their particular beliefs, and that act only when homes are seriously flooded and not before.</i>
<i>the level of stress and trauma among our constituents who have been previously affected rises.</i>	<i>I entirely understand the frustration that the hon. Gentleman’s constituents must feel.</i>
<i>I entirely understand the desperation that his constituents must feel as a result of repeat flooding events, and we are working hard to deal with those.</i>	<i>Does the Secretary of State understand people’s anger and frustration that it took so long for the Government to organise that level of response</i>

Another clear finding is that Labour-Opposition MPs outnumbered the Government MPs in using the values of in/security, as shown in Figure 6.8.

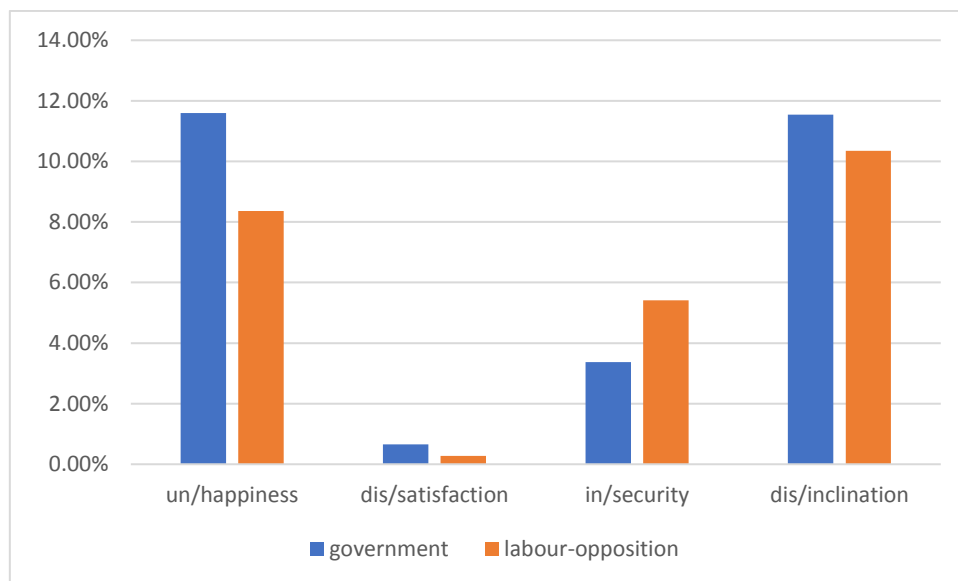


Figure 6.8 Comparison of AFFECT subcategories among Government and Opposition MPs

6.3.2 JUDGEMENT

A comparative analysis of subcategories of JUDGEMENT in the corpus shows that assessments of members’ capabilities are used more in both Government and Labour-Opposition discourse (at 216 and 130 tokens respectively). Assessments of how dependable

someone is are also realised more in the discourse of Government MPs via the use of tenacity evaluations (118 tokens). However, Labour-Opposition MPs are more likely than Government MPs to use evaluations of social sanction concerned with how honest (veracity) and how far beyond reproach (propriety) a person is (see Figure 6.9).

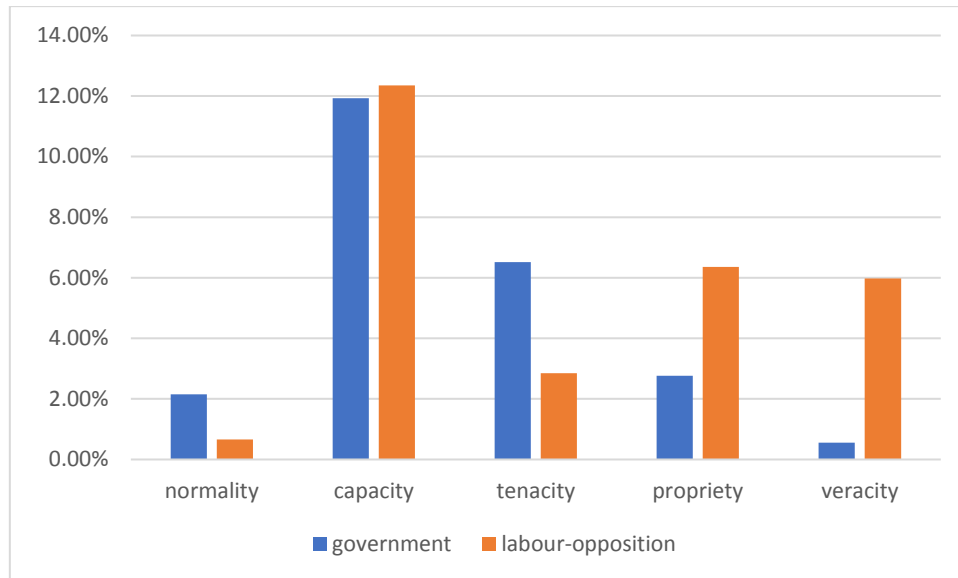


Figure 6.9 Comparison of JUDGEMENT subcategories among Government and Opposition MPs

As seen from Table 6.6, all of the differences except capacity are statistically significant. An overall assessment of the use of JUDGEMENT values in the House shows that Labour-Opposition MPs express JUDGEMENT of capacity, veracity and propriety more frequently than do Government MPs. However, Government MPs use assessments of normality and tenacity more in the corpus compared to Labour-Opposition MPs.

Feature	government		labour-opposition		ChiSqu	Signif.
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
normality	39	2.15%	7	0.66%	9.338	+++
capacity	216	11.93%	130	12.35%	0.11	
tenacity	118	6.52%	30	2.85%	18.268	+++
propriety	50	2.76%	67	6.36%	22.046	+++
veracity	10	0.55%	63	5.98%	79.059	+++

Table 6.6 Comparison of JUDGEMENT subcategories among Government and Opposition MPs

While the Labour-Opposition MPs invest more on criticising capacity, credibility and the ethical propriety of Government, the MPs of Government invest on glorifying their position by using normality and tenacity values. Table 6.7 presents examples of instances of sub-types of JUDGEMENT among Government and Labour-Opposition MPs:

JUDGEMENT Feature	Government	Labour-Opposition
normality	The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson): Over this four-year period, <u>we will spend more than any previous Government</u> and protect 165,000 households—20,000 <u>more than expected</u> .	Chris Williamson (Derby North) (Lab): When this Government came to power, <u>with their obsession with deregulation</u> , they specifically exempted maize cultivation from all soil conservation measures.
capacity	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Dan Rogerson): He will doubtless be reassured to know that <u>we are investing more in flood defences than the last Government</u> .	Jessica Morden (Newport East) (Lab): Home owners in flood-risk communities are becoming increasingly anxious about <u>this Government's failure</u> to get a deal on flood insurance.
tenacity	Harriett Baldwin (West Worcestershire) (Con): <u>She is an indefatigable supporter</u> of her constituents' demands and the Tenbury Wells scheme is in play as part of the extra funding that is being made available, but I cannot make any announcements today.	Diana R. Johnson (Kingston upon Hull North) (Lab): I first pay tribute to all the local services in Hull that <u>worked so hard</u> for my constituents on the day of the flooding and in the months and years that followed.
propriety	The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mrs Caroline Spelman): ... That underlines the significance of <u>the dereliction of duty</u> by the hon. Gentleman's party when in office.	Rosie Cooper (West Lancashire) (Lab): <u>This is happening on Ministers' watch, and they have responsibility</u> . They have their ministerial jobs, and now homeowners and business owners are looking to them, calling on them to act and to act now.
veracity	The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Mr Eric Pickles): She is <u>condemned out of her own mouth</u> , because the facts are straightforward and out there—under the last five years of the Labour Government, they spent £2.7	Paul Flynn (Newport West) (Lab): When will he answer the claim by the chairman of the UK Statistics Authority that last week <u>they fiddled the figures?</u>

	billion and we will be spending £3.1 billion.	
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Table 6.7 Instances of JUDGEMENT Sub-types used by Government and Opposition MPs in CPDF

6.3.3 APPRECIATION

APPRECIATION values as assessments of things have been noted to be dominant in the corpus. However, the question to explore is how the subcategories of APPRECIATION are comparable in the discourse of Government and Labour-Opposition. As shown in Table 6.8, social-valuation assessments are high in Government (457 tokens) than in Labour-Opposition (226 tokens).

	government		labour-opposition			
Feature	N	Percent	N	Percent	ChiSqu	Signif.
reaction	341	18.83%	220	20.89%	1.8	
composition	88	4.86%	53	5.03%	0.043	
social-valuation	457	25.23%	226	21.46%	5.217	++

Table 6.8 Comparison of APPRECIATION subcategories among Government and Opposition MPs.

Government MPs are more concerned with evaluations that have to do with significance or insignificance of an entity (social-valuation). The following are examples of such instances:

Positive Social-Valuation	Negative Social-Valuation
<i>One key issue is the balance of contributions by those owning properties at higher risk and ordinary insurance holders.</i>	<i>I am afraid that that is a rather old-fashioned view.</i>
<i>Transparency and greater local involvement are at the heart of the new proposals.</i>	<i>That points to a more systemic, bureaucratic problem, namely the lack of policy coherence between the Department of Energy and Climate Change and DEFRA</i>

This is closely followed by reaction values with Government having 341 tokens and Labour-Opposition with 220 tokens. Reaction values in CPDF mostly represent MPs' reaction towards

the impact of flooding both in their constituencies and in the country as a whole. The following are instances of such uses of reaction in CPDF:

APPRECIATION
Reaction
<i>many people as they see their homes <u>wrecked</u>, farmland <u>submerged</u> and businesses <u>suffer</u>.</i>
<i>People in the north-east whose homes were <u>devastated</u> by the floods in 2008</i>
<i>Given the <u>misery</u> caused by flooding to many people throughout the country</i>
<i>flood-hit communities deserve not to have to go through that <u>terrible</u> experience again.</i>

Evaluations of APPRECIATION composition are very minimal in CPDF for both Government and Labour-Opposition MPs as shown in Figure 6.10.

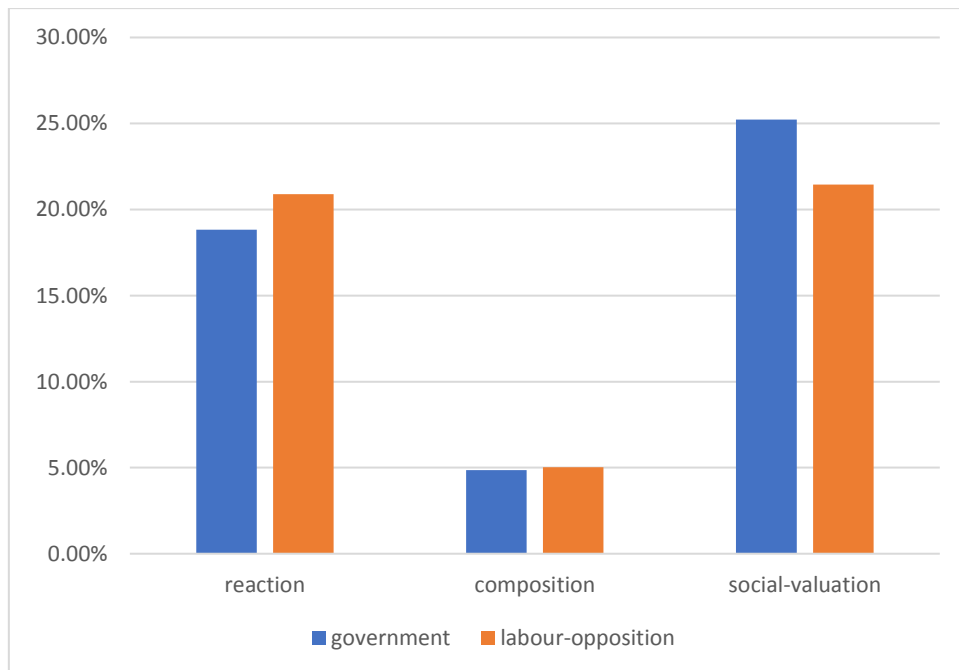


Figure 6.10 Comparison of APPRECIATION subcategories among Government and Opposition MPs

6.4 Qualitative Analysis of Attitudinal Language in Parliamentary Debates

The previous section presented the quantitative results of how ATTITUDE is used in the corpus and compared its uses among speakers based on their parliamentary role; i.e., Government vs. Opposition. This section aims to explore these results qualitatively answering the question; how is attitudinal language used and what does this language tell us about the parliamentary discursive practices?

6.4.1 Dialogical Attitudinal Language

Firstly, if we are to categorize ATTITUDE used in the parliamentary language, we can say that, in general, there are roughly three types of attitudinal language used in Parliament. They can be categorized based on the purpose and target of evaluation. First, there is the attitudinal conversational language which mainly used to fulfil communicative goals. This type mostly complies the conventionalized parliamentary language and aim at maintaining parliamentary relations and organizing discourse. Second, there is the topic-related attitudinal language that is targeted towards elements of the topic being debated. This type of ATTITUDE can reveal a lot about speaker' stance and positioning towards the subject matter being discussed. The third type usually involves ATTITUDE about other extra-topic matters such as evaluating and commenting about some current events whether national or international, evaluating other members of the Parliament, or evaluating the nature of debate itself. Of course, these categories of attitudinal language are hardly separable, instead they are intertwined and studying them clearly can inform us about the stance of their speakers and their positioning either towards the subject matter being debated or towards other speakers in the Parliament. Figure 6.11 exhibits the three types of attitudinal language detected in CPDF:

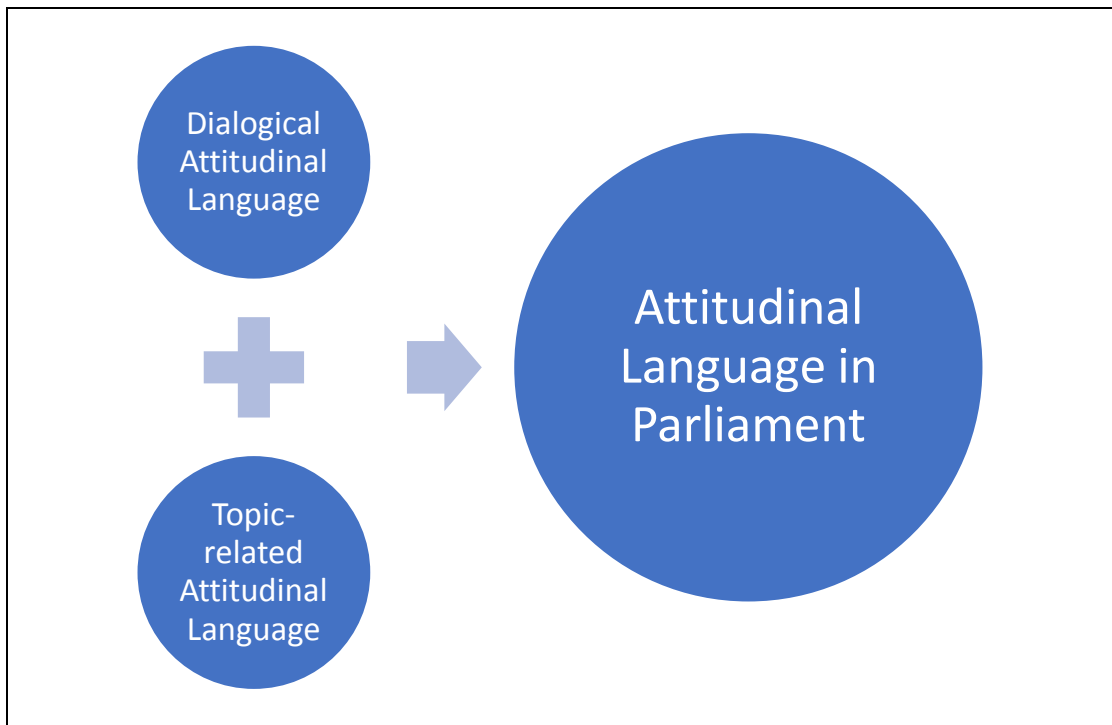


Figure 6.11 Types of Attitudinal Language in Parliamentary Debates

Jakobson's (1960) model of language functions depicts that any analysis of speech events has to conceptualize them as fulfilling several purposes, that is, a) referring to aspects of the concept, b) expressing the speaker's attitudes, c) influencing the hearer's actions, d) exhibiting poetic, e) reflexive (metalingual) and, f) phatic (basic social-relationship-establishing) aspects. Expressing the speaker's attitudes is not the only language function that attitudinal language is used in the Parliament. In fact, most of the instances of inscribed ATTITUDE identified in the corpus reflect merely phatic uses of attitudinal language. Hence, we refer to them as dialogical attitudinal language.

Thompson and Hunston (2000) stated three main functions for using evaluation in text. These are; expressing opinions, maintaining relations and organizing the discourse. If we are to study ATTITUDE as a reflection of political stance in parliamentary discourse, then we are mainly aiming towards attitudinal language that reflects expressing opinions. However, as Thompson and Hunston (2000) emphasized that these functions are not exclusive and that one instance of evaluation may realise two or the three functions simultaneously. Therefore, terms like 'honourable' and 'my friend' used in the parliamentary prototypical institutional formulas are not JUDGMENT values per se. They are not meant to express opinions of the speaker's JUDGMENT about the addressee. Yet, their rhetorical addition to the parliamentary interaction as a whole cannot be denied. Apart from their use to organize the discursive interaction inside

the Parliament as MPs are not permitted to address each other directly, they are used to maintain the pre-established partisan alignment. For instance, using “my honourable Friend” when addressing MPs from the same political party as opposed to using "the Honourable gentleman/lady" for addressing MPs who are not from the same political party, presupposes relational alignment among in-group speakers who presumably share the same political stance and distancing those who are out-group. These forms of address cannot only be viewed as mere compliance with the linguistic institutional norms. Instead, as Ilie (2010) puts it “the political uses of forms of address are particularly important in that they help articulate and reinforce ideologically biased views on behalf of groups, institutions, and/or political parties” (pp. 885).

Another form of communicative ATTITUDE is using conversational terms that usually preface most of parliamentary entries such as (I thank, I am grateful to/for.....). Such instances of Affect mainly reflect phatic purposes. This is probably due to the dialogic sequential nature of parliamentary interaction. They are formulaic politeness expressions and as Hood and Forey (2008) considered them to carry a minimal attitudinal weight. Such instances, however, are very pervasive in the corpus and they constitute the great bulk of inscribed ATTITUDE.

Given that most of AFFECT used in the parliament is dialogical, they cannot be entirely overlooked ignoring its rhetorical effects on parliamentary interaction. Based on my examination of these various instances of dialogical ATTITUDE, it becomes evident that there is a significant distinction between ATTITUDE that is used mainly for phatic conversational purposes and ATTITUDE that convey the stance and positioning of the speaker. This distinction is important if we to study any stance-taking in parliamentary texts. Although inscribed and hugely pervasive in the corpus, dialogical ATTITUDE represents a weak attitudinal weight. Their attitudinal value is mainly rhetorical as they play a role in maintaining parliamentary relations and help organize the pre-established discursive practices of parliamentary interaction. Few examples of these dialogical attitudinal language are:

Instances of Dialogical ATTITUDE
Stephen Gilbert: <i><u>I welcome the Secretary of State's reply and was delighted to welcome her to Cornwall</u></i> so that she could see for herself the recent flooding in my constituency and that of my hon. Friend the Member for South East Cornwall (Sheryll Murray)....
Barry Gardiner: <i><u>I am grateful to the Minister for his response.</u></i> He will know that last year in the UK flooding was experienced on one in every five days, while on one in every four days there was drought subject to a hosepipe ban.....

Nick Boles: *I am always happy to meet my hon. Friend.* Part 12 of the general permitted development order gives permitted development rights on land belonging to or maintained by local authorities, but there are some restrictions with regard to the scale of such development, so the specific case would not matter. *Of course, I would be happy to meet my hon. Friend.*

Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): *I am very disappointed at the party political nature of the right hon. Lady's comments.* My right hon. Friend the Member for Leeds Central (Hilary Benn) behaved admirably after the 2007 and 2009 floods, not least through the flood recovery grant....

6.4.2 Questions invoking ATTITUDE

As previously discussed in Chapter Two, questions are the most common Mood realization (in SFL terms) in parliamentary talk. Parliamentary Questions play an evident dialogistic role in parliamentary debates as Engagement resources (the contractive and expansive dialogistic functions of questions have been discussed extensively in Chapter Eight). White (2003) and Martin and White (2005) have categorized questions as Engagement dialogistic resources in their discussion of the Appraisal Framework. However, in this study the corpus analysis of CPDF has shown that questions also play a significant role as attitudinal resources. To further explore this, consider the following example:

Jonathan Edwards (Carmarthen East and Dinefwr) (PC): Following serious flooding in England in 2007, the UK Government accessed €162 million from the European Union solidarity fund. Why have the UK Government not accessed that fund, as a member state, following the storms this year, which have hit west Wales hard? ***In failing to do so, are they not guilty of absolving themselves of their responsibility to help Welsh communities in times of crisis?*** [Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]

In this parliamentary entry, the Plaid Cymru's MP questions the Government responsibility for not accessing the European Union solidarity fund during flooding. This question invokes the negative propriety of blaming the Government for its inability to take full responsibility during times of crisis.

As explained in Chapter Two that frequently parliamentary question has three components; i.e., prefacing, interrogation and supplement. MPs tend to advance their evaluative stance about the issue debated in the supplement section. Another important observation is that not all parliamentary questions are forwarded in order to seek information; on the contrary, most of

these questions are provocative and confrontational as they primarily aim to appraise, criticise or invoke a stance. This can be seen very clearly in a comparison of parliamentary oral questions as opposed to written questions. While written questions mainly aim at asking about detailed public policy, the main aim of oral questions is publicity seeking on the part of the MP her or himself. For that reason, oral questions are more provocative than written ones. (More details on this are presented in Chapter Two). Furthermore, oral questions also tend to be rhetorical in nature. Rhetorical questions are the ones that invoke stance the most. Here are some examples of such questions extracted from CPDF:

<i>Is sales blight on 200,000 properties an acceptable price to pay for this Government's inaction?</i>
<i>How can people facing an increasing risk of flood damage due to the effects of climate change have any confidence in a Secretary of State who has downgraded flood protection as a priority and thinks that climate change is benefiting Britain?</i>
<i>Does the right hon. Gentleman understand why the Prime Minister's claim yesterday that the Government's response has not been slow will have been met with incredulity by the people of Somerset?</i>
<i>The Secretary of State again used numbers today that are different from those that the Prime Minister used in the House yesterday. Thanks to a freedom of information request, we know that the Environment Secretary cut more than 40% from the domestic climate change budget last year. Was that really the right priority for the biggest cut to any DEFRA programme?</i>
<i>Why have the Government decided to ignore the Pitt recommendation that flood investment should enjoy an above-inflation settlement each year?</i>
<i>Does the Secretary of State really believe that that is a price worth paying for his ideological support for a free market in insurance?</i>

6.4.3 Oppositional Stance and Polarization

This takes three forms of attitudinal language in parliamentary debates:

6.4.3.1 *ATTITUDE using Comparatives and Superlatives*

This is a very pervasive form of stance taking that is found in CPDF. Instances of this type are cases where MPs compare own political party to another. This is usually done by using language of comparatives and superlatives as demonstrated in the example:

Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): I echo the condolences of the Secretary of State to the families and friends of those who lost their lives in the floods. Last week, there was an announcement of a new £120 million U-turn on flood defence spending. However, even after that announcement, *the Government will still spend less on flood defences in 2013 than Labour spent in 2008.*

In this example, the Labour MP criticizes the Government for cutting spending on flooding and compares it to the situation when was Labour in the Government seat, where they spent more on flood defences. Similar instances of comparing now and then, Government vs. Opposition are numerous in CPDF.

6.4.3.2 *Double Invocations or Hybrid Invocations*

This type is not so different from the comparative stance. Cases of double invocation or hybrid invocation invokes two stances; i.e., positive us vs. negative them as shown in the following example:

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): Partnership funding is enabling more schemes to go ahead and allowing greater local choice. It has already produced up to £148 million in external funding over the four years to 2015, compared with £13 million during the previous three years. There are indications that a larger proportion of protected households will be in deprived areas, and up to a quarter *more schemes are set to go ahead in the coming years than was the case under the old system.*

6.4.3.3 *The Default Stance*

Van Dijk (1992) argues that “outgroup derogation seldom takes place without expressions of ingroup favouritism or social face-keeping” (pp. 89). The default stance is the default meaning that another meaning attracts. Positively evaluating someone/something implies by default a negative evaluation to its counterpart and vice versa. Any stance enhancing the standing/position of the Government will automatically convey a default stance undermining their opponents; i.e., the Opposition and vice versa as in the following example:

Mr Ben Bradshaw (Exeter) (Lab): The city and county councils have come up with money to help fill *the shortfall left by his Government’s cuts*. Will he now get together with the Environment Agency to come up with a scheme urgently, so that Exeter is safe in the years to come, given the greater threat of climate change?

6.5 Conclusion

This Chapter has two parts. The first part attempted to present a comparative analysis between Government MPs and Opposition MPs in their uses of attitudinal language. Comparison was laid out supported with instances from CPDF. The second part of this Chapter attempted to provide qualitative analysis of some discursive practices of attitudinal language in parliamentary debates. The next Chapter will present a quantitative analysis of ENGAGEMENT resources in CPDF.

CHAPTER 7 ENGAGEMENT IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

The ENGAGEMENT system in the Appraisal Framework outlines a taxonomy within which the various meanings of dialogistic positioning are located (Martin & White, 2005). The aim of this chapter is to answer the research question: what ENGAGEMENT resources are most often used by parliamentarians and what functions do they fulfil in parliamentary context? To answer this question, this chapter provides a quantitative analysis of all ENGAGEMENT categories used in CPDF (Corpus of Parliamentary Debates on Flooding), as well as the two main ENGAGEMENT sub-systems of CONTRACT and EXPAND and their sub-categories. The frequency distribution of each sub-category in the corpus will be presented along with a list of key lexico-grammatical realizations and detailed analyses of how government and opposition politicians typically deploy ENGAGEMENT meanings within the context of parliamentary debates on flooding. The chapter also examines how each ENGAGEMENT category interacts with other categories and what meanings and functions are accomplished as a result of these interactions. All findings and results will be presented and reinforced with examples from the corpus for further elaboration and analysis.

7.2 ENGAGEMENT In Parliamentary Debates

This section presents the quantitative results of all ENGAGEMENT subcategories and discusses the frequencies of both contractive and expansive resources. Each ENGAGEMENT sub-category will be dealt with individually, and statistical findings are presented along with its key lexico-grammatical realizations in the corpus. Since the focus here is on dialogic expansion and dialogic contraction, no attempt has been made to analyze the monoglossic utterances (bare assertions) in our data of parliamentary debates.

7.2.1 General Quantitative Analysis

As discussed in Chapter Five, instances of ENGAGEMENT in CPDF are higher than are those for ATTITUDE. Specifically, there are 6545 instances of ENGAGEMENT compared with 4802 for ATTITUDE. These distributions are depicted in Figure 7.1.

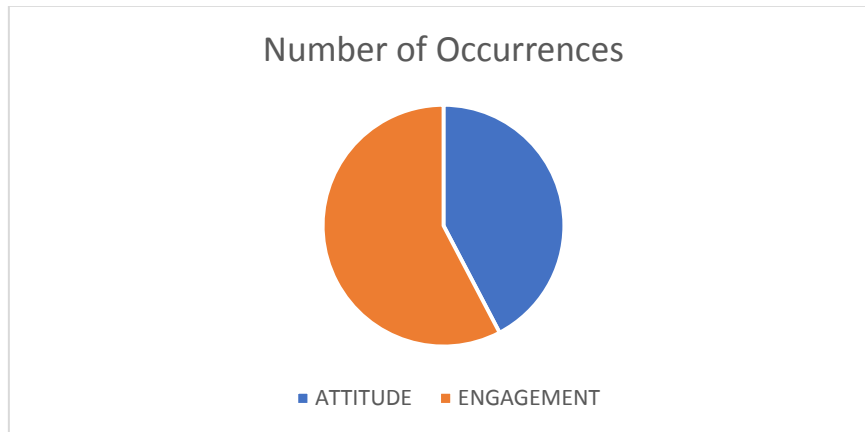


Figure 7.1 Frequency distribution of ENGAGEMENT vs. ATTITUDE in CPDF

The pervasiveness of ENGAGEMENT resources in the corpus indicates that aspects of dialogism are distinctive elements of parliamentary discourse. This is no surprise as parliaments are institutions for debating and discussing various viewpoints and engaging different voices. However, the contractive categories of ENGAGEMENT are used more often than the expansive ones. This means that although there is a recognition of other voices and alternative viewpoints, they are generally brought into text to be contracted and fended off. This is evident in the quantitative comparison between CONTRACT and EXPAND cases in the corpus as presented in Table 7.1 and Figure 7.2:

Table 7.1 Frequency distribution of CONTRACT vs. EXPAND in CPDF

Feature	Raw Frequency	Per 1000 tokens
Contract	3986	20.29
Expand	2559	13.02

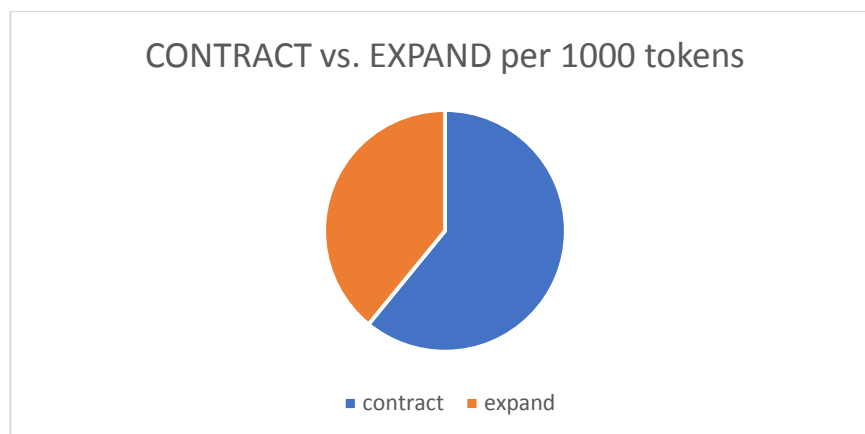


Figure 7.2 Distribution of CONTRACT vs. EXPAND in CPDF

The frequency of all contractive features (DENY, COUNTER, AFFIRM, CONCEDE, PRONOUNCE, ENDORSE and JUSTIFY) combined is higher than the uses of all expansive features (ENTERTAIN, ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE) combined. However, when analyzing each feature of heteroglossia individually, ENTERTAIN (which is an expansive sub-category) is the most frequently used feature in the corpus. Table 7.2 presents both the raw frequencies and the normalized frequencies per 1000 tokens of all categories of ENGAGEMENT in CPDF:

Table 7.2 Frequency of ENGAGEMENT categories in CPDF

Feature	Raw Frequency	per 1000 tokens
ENTERTAIN	1932	9.83
DENY	1193	6.07
COUNTER	1153	5.87
PRONOUNCE	771	3.92
ACKNOWLEDGE	460	2.34
JUSTIFY	427	2.17
AFFIRM	312	1.59
DISTANCE	167	0.85
ENDORSE	77	0.39
CONCEDE	53	0.27

As can be noted from Table 7.2 above, among both contractive and expansive features of heteroglossia, ENTERTAIN is the most preferred feature in parliamentary debates. This probably occurs because most locutions of ENTERTAIN are in fact parliamentary-specific. For instance, modal auxiliaries, mental verbs, modal adjuncts, attribute projections, and certain types of rhetorical or expository questions are all types of locutions of ENTERTAIN. Since parliaments are designed to express stances and beliefs rather than hard facts (Vukovic, 2014), such entertaining locutions, no doubt, prevail in parliamentary language. The statistical results showing ENTERTAIN as the most preferred ENGAGEMENT feature in parliamentary debates are in line with Vukovic’s (2014) finding that epistemic modality has a relatively strong presence in parliamentary discourse. Epistemic modality is both an entertaining aspect that is parliamentary language specific and an effective argumentative tool. ENTERTAIN allows MPs to position themselves vis-à-vis other alternative voices, which is fundamental to the essence of parliamentary debating. It follows, therefore, that ENTERTAIN scores as the most preferred ENGAGEMENT resource in parliamentary debates. Figure 7.3 below shows the distribution of all ENGAGEMENT features per 1000 tokens:

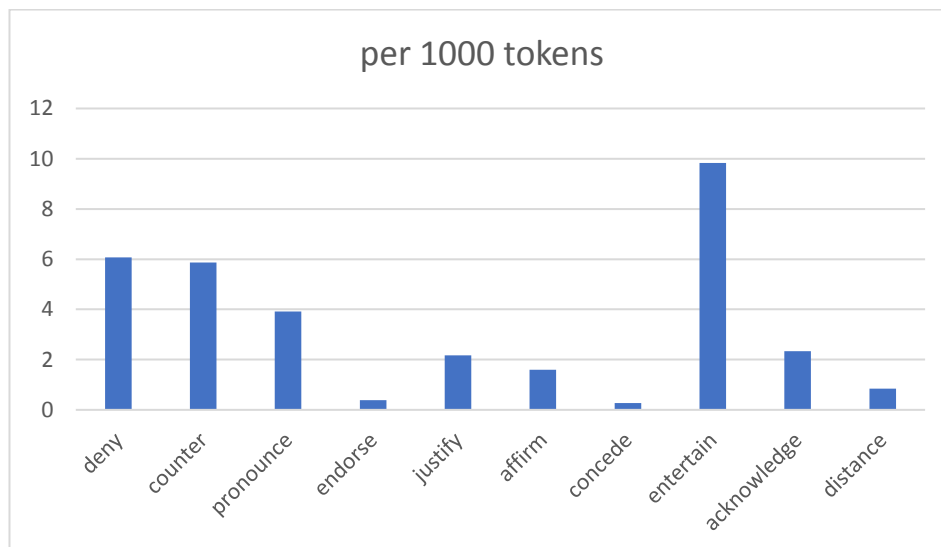


Figure 7.3 Distribution of all ENGAGEMENT Features per 1000 Tokens

The following section aims to study all types of ENGAGEMENT in detail. Each ENGAGEMENT category will be analyzed in terms of both its frequency and its key lexicogrammatical realizations in the corpus.

7.3 Contractive Resources

Contractive resources are divided into two sub-categories; DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM. While DISCLAIM encompasses meanings where some dialogic alternative is directly rejected or supplanted, or represented as not applying, PROCLAIM includes meanings through which authorial interpolation, emphasis or intervention, dialogic alternatives are confronted, challenged, overwhelmed, or otherwise excluded. The proportion of DISCLAIM in the corpus is higher than PROCLAIM as shown in Table 7.3 and Figure 7.4. The normalized frequencies presented in Table 7.3 and Figure 7.4 below indicate that DISCLAIM occurs at a rate of 11.94 instances per 1000 tokens, compared to 8.35 for PROCLAIM.

Table 7.3 Frequency of DISCLAIM vs. PROCLAIM

Feature	Raw Frequency	Per 1000 tokens
DISCLAIM	2346	11.94
PROCLAIM	1640	8.35

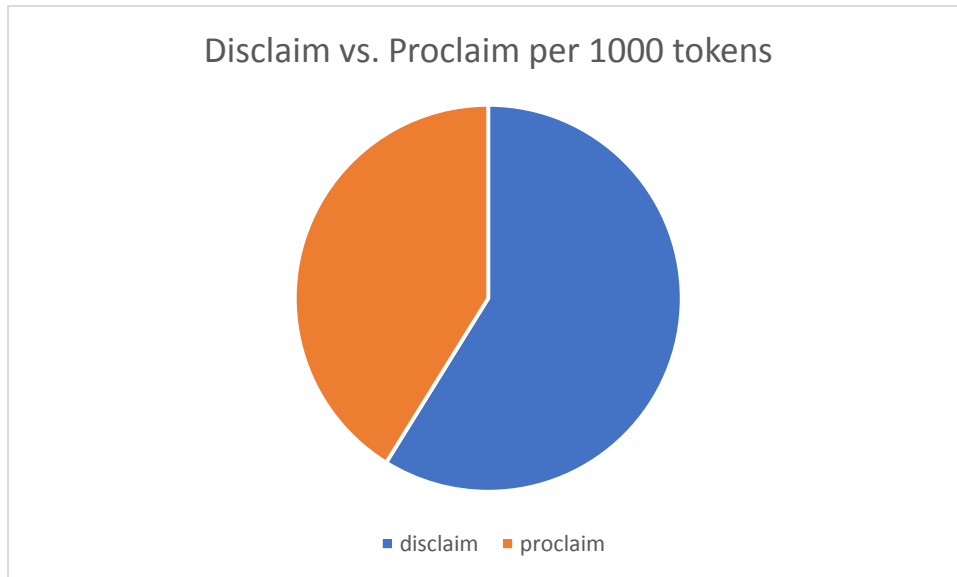


Figure 7.4 Distribution of DISCLAIM vs. PROCLAIM

The higher proportion of DISCLAIM compared to PROCLAIM in the corpus indicates that values of dis-alignment, disagreement, and dispute are more frequent than the values of

alignment, agreement, and concurrence. This is reflected in the statistical distribution of all sub-categories of DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM as outlined in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Frequency of sub-categories of DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM

Feature	Raw Frequency	per 1000 tokens
DENY	1193	6.07
COUNTER	1153	5.87
PRONOUNCE	771	3.92
JUSTIFY	427	2.17
CONCUR	365	1.86
ENDORSE	77	0.39

As Table 7.4 shows, values of DENY and COUNTER are more frequently used than values of PROCLAIM (CONCUR, PRONOUNCE, ENDORSE and JUSTIFY). The dominance of dis-alignment, disagreement, and dispute values conveyed through meanings of DISCLAIM reflects the very nature of parliament as a place where adversarial forms of interaction are widely exercised. This is clearly manifested in the dominance of DENY and COUNTER (which convey values of dis-alignment, disagreement, and dispute) compared to, for instance, CONCUR and ENDORSE (which represent values of agreement, alignment, and concurrence). These results are presented in full in Figure 7.5.

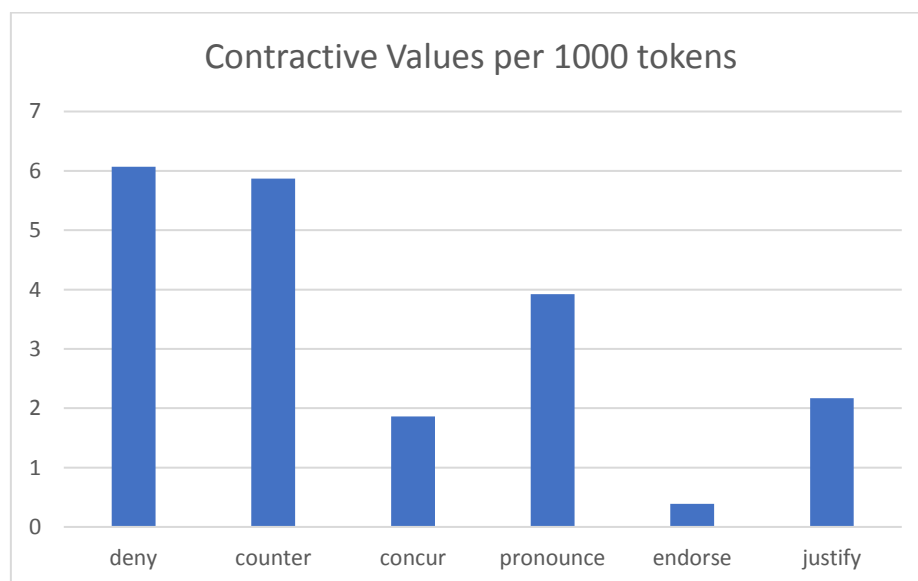


Figure 7.5 Distribution of sub-categories of DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM

7.3.1 DISCLAIM

DENY and COUNTER constitute the two main sub-categories of DISCLAIM. As Table 7.5 shows, there is very little difference in the frequency of these two sub-categories, with DENY being used only very slightly more than COUNTER. This quantitative parity is because COUNTER formulations often operate in conjunction with denials, where the sequence DENY + COUNTER is used as a dual strategy. The uses and functions of DENY + COUNTER pairings will be discussed in detail later.

Table 7.5 Frequency of DENY vs. COUNTER

Feature	Raw Frequency	Per 1000 tokens
DENY	1193	6.07
COUNTER	1153	5.87

Although DENY and COUNTER are the most frequent contractive resources in the corpus, the difference between them (Figure 7.6) is insignificant. This is because in most instances COUNTER formulations often operate in conjunction with denials where DENY + COUNTER is used as a dual strategy. The uses and functions of DENY + COUNTER pairings will be discussed later in details.

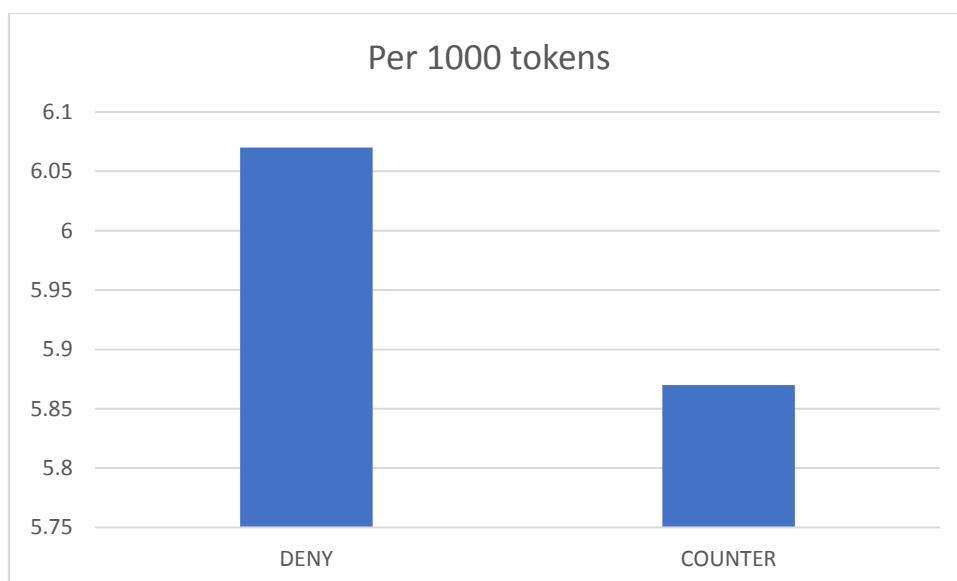


Figure 7.6 Distribution of DENY vs. COUNTER

7.3.1.1 DENY

As a sub-category of DISCLAIM, DENY is the most prevalent contractive resource in CPDF. Although DENY invokes an alternative contrary position, it introduces that position into text to reject it or state that it is not applicable. On retrieving all results for DENY from the corpus, it was found to be realized via various lexico-grammatical devices. Table 7.6 displays some of these:

Table 7.6 Lexico-grammatical realizations of DENY

DISCLAIM Feature	Key Lexico-grammatical Realizations
DENY	no, not, nobody, I do not know, there is nothing, none, no longer, no one, will not, never, only, cannot, didn't, not only, not just, disagree, neither ... nor, neither, I entirely reject the idea that, I do not accept, I do not agree, no way, should not, not possible, it is unacceptable that, unable, I do not think that, would not, no matter, not necessarily the case, not merely, rarely, no reason why, no single agency, not far away, not better, no progress, nothing wrong with, not their fault that, not eligible, no response, simply not, there is no one-stop option, nowhere, nor, that is not the case, does not fully, not least, not going away, we should not wonder, I cannot give way, there is no point, I did not say that, refused to accept, refused to countenance, refused to act, it is hardly, it is does not matter, the figures are unavailable, we have no choice, no idea, that does not mean, there is no answer from the government, ... etc.

As shown in Table 7.6 above, DENY is generally realized by forms of negation such as *no, not, none, nor, neither, nothing, no longer, nobody, nowhere, never, no one*, etc.; by negative adverbs such as; *never, only, hardly, rarely*, etc.; by morphological negative prefixes as in *unavailable, unacceptable, unable, disagree*, etc.; by negated modals as in *cannot, should not* etc.; or by using semantic negated words as exemplified by expressions like *reject, refuse*, etc.

Generally, negation appears twice as much in spoken English as it does in writing (Tottie, 1991) because spoken communication is usually reciprocal, which entails the frequent use of negation as a response to stimuli such as questions (Webber, 2004). Since parliamentary communication is reciprocal, most negated statements are responses to questions and are usually stimulated by accusations or counterarguments raised by opponents or other MPs. However, this does not fully answer the question of how DENY operates in parliamentary discourse and what dialogistic and argumentative functions it serves.

DENY, along with its most frequent form of negation, plays a significant role in any type of text (Jordan, 1998). DENY is used to communicate a variety of functions in parliamentary debates, most often achieving either opposition or alignment depending on co-textual and contextual elements. The majority uses of DENY can be categorized into two main functions: confrontational and corrective. The following parliamentary exchange demonstrates corrective DENY:

Rehman Chishti (Gillingham and Rainham) (Con): What steps are being taken to address the concerns about sinkholes, as they pose a real risk to road safety?

The Secretary of State for Transport (Mr Patrick McLoughlin): Sinkholes are not common events, but obviously we need to learn any lessons that we can from them.

[Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-UQ]

In this example, the Secretary of State for Transport challenges the Conservative MP Rehman Chishti's proposition that sinkholes pose a real risk. The government MP denies that sinkholes are common events and thus corrects Rehman Chishti's concern about sinkholes. By using corrective DENY, the government MP simultaneously dis-aligns himself with the views advanced by his political opponent and uses denial to correct any misunderstandings or misconceptions that his broader audience might have about sinkholes.

However, DENY is not used as a dis-alignment device in all instances. The following example shows how DENY can act as a supportive and converging element in the argument, where the speaking MP aligns himself with the denial of his interlocutor:

Mr Iain Wright (Hartlepool) (Lab): And not a pleasant one.

Tom Blenkinsop (Middlesbrough South and East Cleveland) (Lab): Not a pleasant image, no. However, I am sure that MPs from across the north-east can provide examples of where the fire service has helped to reduce damage caused by flooding.

[Hansard, HC, 4 Jun 2014-AD]

In this exchange, Labour MP Tom Blenkinsop aligns with his fellow Labour MP Mr Iain Wright's views that the catastrophic aftermath of flooding in his constituency is not a pleasant image. They both use DENY to show solidarity and thereby support each other's views about flooding.

Both instances of corrective and supportive DENY demonstrated above are used to achieve either convergent or divergent alignment depending on context. These corrective and supportive types of DENY constitute what Martin and White (2005) referred to as dyadic types of alignment/dis-alignment configuration. In this dyadic relation, the addresser dis-aligns with the addressee’s views to defend their position, as in corrective DENY, or aligns with the addressee to maintain solidarity, as in supportive DENY. In both examples, the alignment/dis-alignment is dyadic in that it is co-created by the addresser and the addressee. In the confrontational type of DENY, however, the configuration of alignment/dis-alignment is triadic. The examples below demonstrate this more fully.

1	The Secretary of State for Transport (Mr Patrick McLoughlin): When the buckets were overflowing, <u>they did not invest in our infrastructure; we are investing in it</u> , rebuilding the British railways, and the roads as well. [Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-UQ]
2	Chris Ruane (Vale of Clwyd) (Lab): According to the Environment Agency, for every pound invested in flood defence, there is an £8 return. Which of us would not bet on a horse if we were getting £8 back for a pound down? <u>The government are not doing that. They are not putting the investment in place.</u> [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]

In the examples presented above, DENY is used to confront opponents. This type of DENY is dominant in the Parliament since most parliamentary discussion is confrontational. In example (1), the government MP is confronting the opposition by accusing them of not investing in infrastructure when there were sufficient funds to do so. He shifts away from the point of discussion to advance blame to the opposition by using the reversal denial statement; “*they did not invest in our infrastructure; we are investing in it.*” The comparison achieved here by using DENY serves to attack opponents and maintain the oppositional relationship between them. In such cases, DENY is used to create positive self-representation versus negative other representation (Davies, 2010). Similarly, in example (2), DENY is used by the opposition MP to confront the government and accusing them for not investing properly; “The government are not doing that. They are not putting the investment in place.” The confrontational type of DENY included in these two examples clearly manifest conflict (Hidalgo-Downing, 2000).

These confrontational denials represent a triadic configuration of alignment/dis-alignment. For instance, in an attempt to align the public audience to their side, the government MP indicates dis-alignment with opposition as shown in example (1). The opposition MP dis-aligns with the government to align the public audience with their position as represented in

example (2). The oppositional stance realized via the denials represented in these two cases is aimed to align the public audience to each party's position.

Although DENY is considered a contractive resource, it plays a role in encouraging debate as it revives and stimulates argument and opposition (Apothéloz et al, 1993). There are also other forms of DISCLAIM that perform similar functions in parliamentary debates as DENY; I refer to these as OPPOSE and DENOUNCE. Further description and discussion of these resources will be presented in Chapter Nine.

There are also instances in the corpus where DENY is used in metaphorical statements. The following examples demonstrate this usage:

1	Chris Ruane (Vale of Clwyd) (Lab): <u>We are not comparing apples with apples.</u> [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]
2	Caroline Nokes (Romsey and Southampton North) (Con): <u>It does not take a rocket scientist to work out what will happen next: the river will flood.</u> [Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]

In some instances, DENY plays the role of intensifiers in parliamentary texts. Examples are presented below:

1	Mr Ian Liddell-Grainger (Bridgwater and West Somerset) (Con): <u>I could not agree more</u> with my Hon. Friend. His area has a slightly different type of flooding. [Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]
2	Sir John Stanley (Tonbridge and Malling) (Con): <u>I cannot state too strongly</u> how important it is to a significant number of my constituents that the government gives its approval to the Leigh Flood Storage Area increased capacity scheme this Autumn. [Hansard, HC, 11 Sep 2014-AD]
3	Sir Robert Smith (West Aberdeenshire and Kincardine) (LD): <u>I cannot think of many things worse than</u> coming home and finding one's house inundated with water or being there when it happens. [Hansard, HC, 26 Mar 2013-BB]
4	John McDonnell (Hayes and Harlington) (Lab): <u>I cannot pay enough tribute to</u> the Environment Agency staff, who were superb, as were the local fire services. [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]
5	Bob Stewart (Beckenham) (Con): I was in Rossendale last Friday night and <u>I have never seen rain like that before</u> in the United Kingdom. It was shocking. [Hansard, HC, 25 Jun 2012-UQ]
6	Sir John Stanley (Tonbridge and Malling) (Con): I am fortunate to represent <u>one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful,</u> constituencies within 30 miles of London. [Hansard, HC, 11 Sep 2014-AD]
7	Mr Brian Binley (Northampton South) (Con): ... the impact will take <u>months if not years</u> to come to a conclusion. [Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]
8	Mr Iain Wright (Hartlepool) (Lab): <u>Not as nice as Seaton Carew.</u> [Hansard, HC, 4 Jun 2014-AD]

9	Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): Just three of the 20 areas flooded last summer have reached the Bellwin threshold to receive <u>any money at all</u> from the government. [Hansard, HC, 26 Nov 2012-MS]
10	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): ... She worked hard to set in train something that the previous government did <u>not even</u> look at, which is a successor to the statement of principles. [Hansard, HC, 4 July 2013-OAQ]

In the instances above, the negation form “not” is used to form intensifying patterns such as

(could not/cannot + verb + comparative adj.)

as illustrated in examples 1, 2, 3, and 4. Also, in example 5, the negation form “never” is used as amplifier in the pattern “never like that before.” In examples 6, 7 and 8, “not” is used to form the intensifying pattern

(one of + superlative adj. + if not + superlative adj.)

as in “one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful,” the intensifying pattern

(noun + if not + noun)

as in “the impact will take months if not years to come to a conclusion” and the intensifying pattern

(not as + adj. + as)

exemplified in “Not as nice as Seaton Carew” in example 8. There are also emphatic negation forms such as “at all” and “not even” as illustrated in examples 9 and 10. These examples clearly stress the importance of phraseology in analyzing any text for APPRAISAL where meaning is realized through extended phraseological patterns rather than through individual lexical units.

Although DENY outnumbered COUNTER in the corpus, the majority DENY cases operate in conjunction with COUNTER. A discussion of COUNTER, its frequency, and lexicogrammatical realizations will be presented below. An examination of the communicative and argumentative functions of DENY + COUNTER constructions will be presented in Chapter 8.

7.3.1.2 COUNTER

Given the competitive nature of parliamentary debates, it is not surprising that COUNTER is the second most frequent contractive resource in the corpus. Just as DENY is an important argumentative device, COUNTER plays a significant role in structuring parliamentary arguments. As a sub-category of DISCLAIM, COUNTER invokes a particular expectation

which is not rejected directly; instead, an alternative is provided to counter the expectation (Martin & White, 2005). Table 7.7 outlines the most recurrent lexico-grammatical realizations of this sub-category:

Table 7.7 Key lexico-grammatical realizations of COUNTER

DISCLAIM Feature	Key Lexico-grammatical Realizations
COUNTER	but, however, yet, despite, only, although, sadly, even, already, rather than, unless, while only, even though, still, none the less, despite the fact that, instead, unlike, with respect, nevertheless, unfortunately, nevertheless, regardless of, even if, though, instead of, until that happens, by contrast, although I concede that, regrettably, in spite of, having said that, in opposition, on the contrary, ... etc.

As Table 7.7 shows, COUNTER is usually realized via conjunctions and connectives (*although, however, yet, but, etc.*). It can also be realized via linking phrases (*in spite of, in opposition, on the contrary, etc.*), comment adjuncts and adverbials (*regrettably, unfortunately, etc.*) or adjuncts (*even, only, still, etc.*).

Biber et al. (1999) discuss some of these forms of COUNTER (*although, though, while, whilst and whereas*), although they do not use the terminology of appraisal theory. Instead, they refer to the clause relations created by these forms as ‘contrast/concession’ relations, pointing out that these clauses are important in the construction of arguments, as shown below.

Mr Robert Walter (North Dorset) (Con): ... I am aware that dredging is not a suitable course of action in every instance. However, in my view, there should not be institutional resistance to such action if, in specific cases, it can lessen the damaging impact of the kind of excessive and prolonged floodwaters that some communities in North Dorset have been experiencing year on year. [Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]

In this parliamentary entry, the Conservative MP argues for taking the action of dredging to reduce the severe impact of flooding in his constituency. He uses COUNTER as a strategy of defense to forestall any negative evaluation that he might be a pro-dredging MP as some members of the public consider as non-environmentally friendly. He initiates his argument by saying, “I am aware that dredging is not a suitable course of action in every instance,” thereby establishing alignment with his audience as a starting point for defending his position. He then presents a counter-argument that dredging *should* be implemented in the exceptional circumstances of his constituency by using the conjunctive adverb “however.”

Here, the MP anticipates disagreement on the part of the target audience that dredging should be the solution, so he establishes alignment and solidarity before going on to advocate a course of action that he knows some may find unpalatable.

7.3.2 PROCLAIM

Whereas DISCLAIM features are primarily associated with dispute, conflict, and disagreement, PROCLAIM features represent propositions as warrantable, agreeable, and/or reliable. My analysis finds that PROCLAIM features are found less frequently than DISCLAIM features in CPDF. Although this may seem dispiriting in some ways, the apparent preference for negative argumentation may not be surprising in the context of UK parliamentary debates, which have long been structured and practiced as adversarial encounters between government and opposition.

Among the sub-categories of PROCLAIM, PRONOUNCE is the most frequently used feature, as can be seen in Table 7.8 and Figure 7.7.

Table 7.8 Frequency of PROCLAIM values in CPDF

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
PRONOUNCE	771	3.92
JUSTIFY	427	2.17
CONCUR	365	1.86
ENDORSE	77	0.39

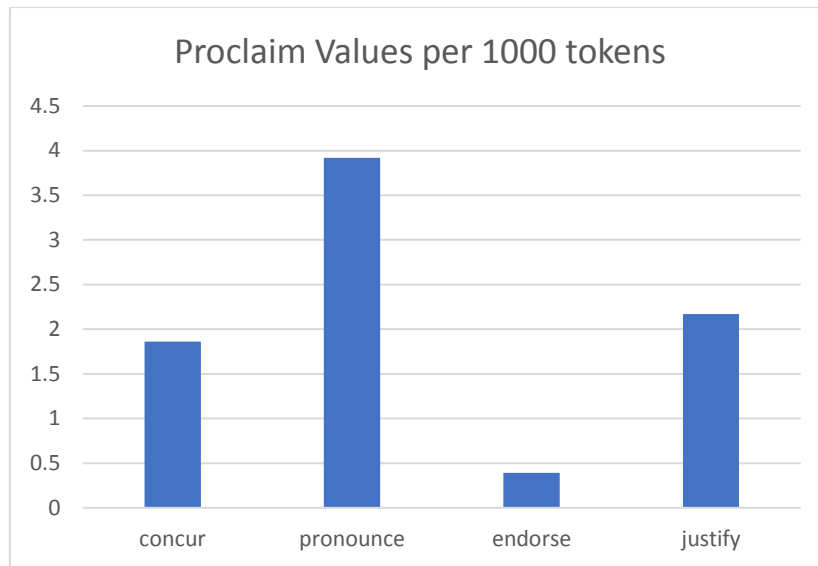


Figure 7.7 Distribution of PROCLAIM values in CPDF

PRONOUNCE is followed by JUSTIFY and CONCUR, which have very similar frequencies, and ENDORSE is found to be very rare indeed. Each of these features will now be discussed in turn.

7.3.2.1 CONCUR

CONCUR includes formulations that explicitly present the addresser as agreeing or sharing the same knowledge and opinion as their audience. CONCUR is the third most frequent PROCLAIM feature in the corpus and it is used as a conforming and a convergence technique in parliamentary debates. It includes two sub-categories; AFFIRM and CONCEDE. Their frequency is shown in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9 Frequency of AFFIRM vs. CONCEDE

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
AFFIRM	312	1.59
CONCEDE	53	0.27

CONCEDE is formulated by pairing CONCUR + COUNTER. Interestingly, when compared with DISCLAIM-DENY, COUNTER interacts more with DENY than it does with

CONCUR. Thus, the pairing of DENY + COUNTER is more frequent than the pairing of CONCUR + COUNTER in our corpus. This also explains why CONCEDE occurs with even less frequency than AFFIRM, as shown in Figure 7.8:

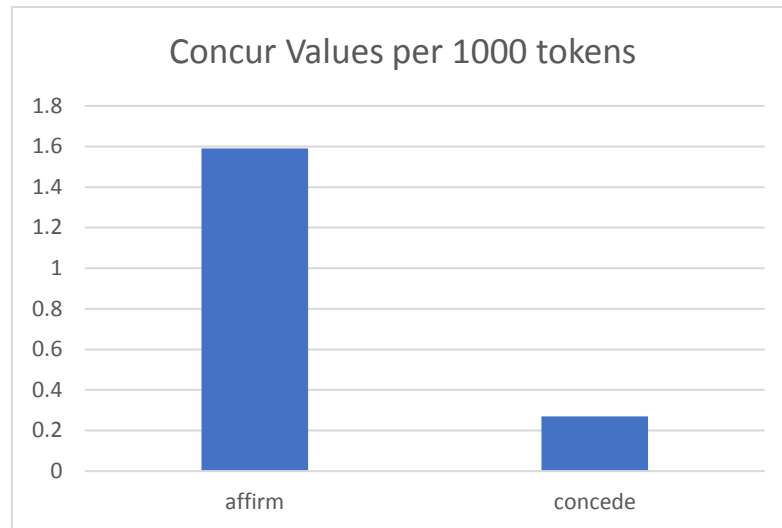


Figure 7.8 Distribution of *AFFIRM* vs. *CONCEDE*

7.3.2.2 *AFFIRM*

As the predominant feature of CONCUR in the corpus, *AFFIRM* does not only represent common sense or taken-for-granted propositions, but also cases of agreement and concurrence expressed by MPs while debating. Accordingly, most occurrences of CONCUR-*AFFIRM* include instances of agreeing with the previous interlocutor. In such instances, *AFFIRM* is used to align the addresser with the addressee. MPs align with fellow MPs by explicitly declaring concurrence using locutions such as those listed in Table 7.10 below.

Table 7.10 Key lexico-grammatical realizations of *AFFIRM*

PROCLAIM Feature	Key Lexico-grammatical Realizations
<i>AFFIRM</i>	Yes, I know, I know that, We know that, we all know, everyone knows, I agree that, I completely agree that, I totally agree, I totally agree with him, I agreed with every word, of course, obviously, absolutely, clearly, exactly, certainly, surely, I agree entirely, It is as certain as death and taxes, I could not agree more with my Hon. Friend, I start by concurring with everything said by, I firmly support the motion, many of my constituents know, I strongly support the motion, the Minister knows, I readily accept that point, he is 100% correct, His point about

	the Kennet is correct, I entirely agree with my Hon. Friend, I accept what my Hon. Friend says, I associate myself with the Secretary of State's remarks, I wholeheartedly concur with my Hon. Friend's comments, I entirely accept what my Hon. Friend says, What she says about maintenance is absolutely correct, etc.
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7.3.2.3 CONCEDE

As mentioned above, CONCEDE is formulated by pairing CONCUR + COUNTER where CONCUR occurs as a precursor to COUNTER formulations (Martin & White, 2005). CONCEDE is an ENGAGEMENT sequence/move/pattern where the authorial voice presents itself as agreeing with the putative audience with respect to a proposition, only to step back and indicate a rejection. Examples of CONCEDE formulations in the corpus include the following:

Table 7.11 Key lexico-grammatical realizations of CONCEDE

PROCLAIM Feature	Key Lexico-grammatical Realizations	
	CONCUR	COUNTER
CONCEDE	<u>Of course</u> , the island has experienced flooding in the past,	<u>but</u> the meeting that I called about three weeks ago, with representatives of the Isle of Wight council, the Environment Agency, Island Roads and Southern Water, was to discuss a totally different type and scale of flooding from that experienced in the past.
	<u>He will doubtless be reassured to know that</u> we are investing more in flood defences than the last government.	<u>However</u> , it is right for us to ensure that those figures are in the public domain.
	<u>Of course</u> , we need to invest in adaptation, which is what we are doing, as I set out in relation to flood prevention,	<u>but</u> we also need to take action on mitigation, and I am proud of this government's progress on our commitments on carbon.
	<u>I obviously cannot reveal</u> , because we do not negotiate in public.	<u>However</u> , I reassure the Hon. Lady that the government take this matter very seriously.
	<u>We know that</u> the greatest risk that the UK faces from climate change is flooding,	<u>but</u> the developing world will be hit even harder, so we all need a global climate deal.

<u>Of course</u> , it is great to build flood defences,	<u>but</u> it is just as important to maintain the ones we already have and to keep our rivers clear.
<u>I entirely accept</u> what my Hon. Friend says. There is an urgent need to get a resolution,	<u>but</u> I hope that he agrees—I am sure he does—that it cannot be at any price; we have to be mindful of the needs of the taxpayer as well as those of his constituents.
<u>Of course</u> , we take climate change into consideration in all the modelling we do with regard to flooding,	<u>But</u> the Hon. Lady will accept that the weather patterns we have had have been truly remarkable—nothing like them have been seen since the latter part of the 18th century.
<u>Obviously</u> , we need to repair the rail system and make it safe,	<u>but</u> we also need to provide alternative ways of getting about, which is why we have laid on extra coaches and the like.
<u>I entirely agree</u> with my Hon. Friend that strong local input is immensely important.	<u>Although</u> authorities from nearby cities or from London can have a grand strategic view, local people know how the rivers and culverts flow, and are in a position to offer good advice.
<u>Clearly</u> , one cannot build alternatives to cover every situation that might arise,	<u>but</u> will the work on resilience—the word the Secretary of State is talking about—examine the possibility of making sure that it is much easier to use alternative routes when disruption occurs?
That is <u>absolutely</u> our intention.	<u>However</u> , the Hon. Gentleman knows as well as I do that the banks are not safe at the moment, so if we are to use any technologies immediately, they will have to be vessel-borne.
<u>I accept that</u> it would need to be implemented over a period,	<u>but</u> it would be an immense step forward in terms of transparency and accountability.
<u>I know that</u> my Hon. Friend will be doing that locally,	<u>but</u> I am happy to support him in seeking the answers that his constituents understandably want in response to their queries.
<u>Clearly</u> , investment in flood defences has been effective,	<u>but</u> with severe weather apparently becoming more common, yet more needs to be done—we must not be complacent.
<u>I know that</u> significant progress has been made,	<u>but</u> the one point on which we do not seem to have made a great deal of progress is having a single number for residents to use to report all surface water flooding.

Of course, we want to encourage private investment and partnership to add to our flood protection work.	However, handing flood defence to the private sector is not the way forward to protect us from flooding, and would be another burden on people and businesses in my constituency, which has some of the most deprived areas in the country.
Yes, we need a solution,	but not at any price.
Yes, it has taken longer than any of us would have wished,	but I hope that the deal we bring to the House will be better than what we have now, especially for those of our constituents who are on low incomes.
We know that more must be done,	but let us put on the record what has been done.
I know that the Environment Agency has taken a kicking from many quarters,	but I must say that from what I have seen it appears to be the best reservoir—that is the right term—of expertise for our country.
We know that every pound invested in flood defences saves £8 in costs further down the line,	Yet this government have cut capital spending on flood defences by 30% from the 2010 baseline.
Our priority is obviously to deal with the immediate aftermath,	but we clearly need to look at dredging.
I will certainly take it up with the Environment Agency locally,	but the map I saw just a couple of weeks ago was not coloured blue where there is surface water flooding.

The interaction between CONCUR and COUNTER in CONCEDE formulations once again clearly signifies the importance of viewing ENGAGEMENT resources as connected constructions rather than individual units. The examples given above show that CONCEDE is employed by MPs as an argumentative tool in parliamentary discussion. Another example is provided here:

Diana R. Johnson (Kingston upon Hull North) (Lab): Of course, we want to encourage private investment and partnership to add to our flood protection work. However, handing flood defence to the private sector is not the way forward to protect us from flooding, and would be another burden on people and businesses in my constituency, which has some of the most deprived areas in the country. [Hansard, HC, 13 July 2010-AD]

In the above example, the Labour MP anticipates that some of her audiences might disagree with her proposition regarding not transferring the flood protection work to the private sector. Therefore, to mitigate this potential disagreement, she advances her argument by expressing a desire to encourage private investment in general where she initially establishes solidarity and a common ground with audiences who are generally pro-private investment. This

solidarity is established as a precursor to her countering argumentative position that the private sector is not the way forward for flood defense and justifies that the privatizing flood protection “would be another burden on people and businesses,” particularly in deprived areas such as her constituency. This example showcases how MPs do their best to win different types of audiences (their immediate audience, their political party, their constituency, and the wider public) when presenting their arguments. In attempting to resolve the dilemma of multiple audiences, MPs sometimes present argumentative propositions in a calibrating and scaling manner. Using CONCEDE formulations (CONCUR + COUNTER) is one way to do so. Using CONCEDE allows MPs to scale different arguments and opinions and justify their positions. This feature of scaling arguments provided by CONCEDE formulations is a powerful evaluative move and is essential in parliamentary debates where various viewpoints and arguments are debated in a calibrating manner. Further instances of how CONCEDE formulations work not only in mitigating disagreement and establishing solidarity but also as an argumentative tool for calibrating and scaling different propositions are presented below.

	CONCUR	COUNTER
1	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): <u>Yes</u> , it has taken longer than any of us would have wished,	<u>but</u> I hope that the deal we bring to the House will be better than what we have now, especially for those of our constituents who are on low incomes. [Hansard, HC, 26 Mar 2013-BB]
2	Sir Gerald Howarth (Aldershot) (Con): <u>We know that</u> more must be done,	<u>but</u> let us put on the record what has been done. [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]

The above two examples exhibit how CONCEDE is used as a calibrating and a scaling device in relation to different kinds of arguments in parliamentary debates. In example (1), the government MP agrees with the proposition that the government is taking a very long time to make an agreement with some insurance companies. He follows this concurrence with a countering argument that the length of time has been necessary to acquire a better deal with those companies. Thus, instead of entirely disagreeing with the MP who is asking the question, the government MP affiliates with his fellow MP’s concern but then advances his argument justifying his government’s position. Similarly, in example (2), the Conservative MP uses CONCEDE to shift the audience’s attention toward what has been achieved in flood prevention more than what needs to be done. Although the MP concurs with the argument of “more must be done” in flood prevention, he places greater emphasis on the argument that a lot has been done already.

7.3.2.4 PRONOUNCE.

PRONOUNCE covers formulations which involve authorial emphases through explicit and overt authorial interventions. These authorial emphases come as a default response to other implicit or explicit counter viewpoints. To counter these contrary viewpoints, the authorial voice asserts itself using PRONOUNCE resources. By emphasizing the proposition, the authorial voice closes other dialogistic alternatives, or to use appraisal terms, “contracting.”

PRONOUNCE is the most frequently used feature of PROCLAIM in CPDF. This is not surprising, given that parliaments are institutions where many pronouncements are declared and announced, particularly from the government. The roles of government and opposition are also shown in this finding as government MPs use PRONOUNCE more than opposition MPs do.

There are diverse ways in which PRONOUNCE is linguistically realized in the corpus. In fact, it is hard to delimit a typical grammar for PRONOUNCE in general because it is a discourse-semantically and a rhetorically motivated category (Martin & White, 2005). Nevertheless, this analysis shows the forms listed in Table 7.12 to be some of the key lexico-grammatical realizations of PRONOUNCE in parliamentary debates.

Table 7.12 Key lexico-grammatical realizations of PRONOUNCE

PROCLAIM Feature	Key Lexico-grammatical Realizations
PRONOUNCE	In fact, The fact is that, It is precisely, indeed, frankly, To be frank, Rightly, It is absolutely right that, Truly, undoubtedly, admittedly, To underline the fact that, I remind the House that, As I have made clear, We have made it clear again that, As I said, as I have said, Let me say this, I have to say that, As I say, I simply say that, I say from the start that, I say again that, I can safely say that, I say to the Minister that, it is fair to say that, I have mentioned , I indicated that, In short, For the sake of clarity, It is crucial that, The crucial measure that we are taking forward is..., it is crucial that, it is vital that, this is a vital point, It is essential that, It is obvious that, it is evident that, That is categorical, As I have set out, I bring to the House’s attention, I have absolutely no doubt that, As I have said before, I repeat, To repeat what I said earlier , I repeat again that, I reiterate, It is a matter of fact that, In view of the fact that, It is an incredibly important scheme that, It is important to say that, It is important to remember that, This is one of my key priorities, I remind the House that, I remind Members that, I gently remind the Hon. Lady that, It is of great importance to the government that, It was clear from that meeting that, I am pleased to say that, It is remarkable that, I have no doubt that, there is no doubt that, There is little doubt that, It is true that, The truth is that, it is right that, It is quite wrong that, it is no

	<p>wonder that, Let me make it absolutely clear that, it was very clear that, it is important that, My most important point today is that, the simple fact is this, The simple point is that, I also point out very clearly that, I stress again that, I emphasise that, As already announced, I put it to the Minister that, It is quite right that, It is also worth mentioning, The first of the major issues is, the issue is that, One key issue is, Let me reinforce the point that, Let us be clear, Let us be fair, Let me say, The key point is, My point is that, I point out politely that, as I have already pointed out, the point I am making is that, The central point, I begin by drawing attention to, I draw attention to, The reality is that, The final issue that I will touch on is, That is key, The kernel of the argument is, The big question is about, it is simply a question of, There is a perception that, I say this most emphatically, I declare an interest, I spoke about, It is absolutely critical that, Another issue is that, With regard to, In that regard, On that point, In response to the situation, let us put on the record, the facts speak for themselves, I have raised the issue before, One thing has been noticeable, One of the problems is that, one thing that has genuinely surprised me is, the obvious and understandable concern that, It is absolutely imperative that, That is a powerful comment with which, The most difficult thing that we must face is that, I am impatient to share the details, It is important to point out that, That is the very point at which it, One of the lessons we have learned is that, It is important that, It is appropriate at this point to, the reality of the situation is that, The most important thing is that, what they want is, A concern that I raised for debate before Christmas was that, etc.</p>
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As it can be observed from Table 7.12 above that PRONOUNCE is realized through expressions such as; *I repeat again that, I reiterate, It is a matter of fact that, In view of the fact that, It is an incredibly important scheme that, It is important to say that, It is important to remember that, ...etc.* It is also realized by using intensifiers such as; really, indeed, frankly, rightly, precisely, etc. Another way of realizing PRONOUNCE is through repetition and varying stress and intonation to emphasize some parts of the spoken statement (although these latter features are clearly beyond the scope and remit of this thesis, given its exclusive focus on Hansard as a written record of spoken discourse). These are all various ways to increase personal investment and assert or insist upon the warrantability and the value of the proposition.

According to Martin and White (2005), the types of lexico-grammatical realizations of PRONOUNCE can be classified into subjective versus objective and explicit vs. implicit realizations. The subjective PRONOUNCEMENT is explicitly grounded in the subjectivity of the authorial voice while the subjective role is obscured and impersonalized in the objective PRONOUNCEMENT. At the same time, the emphasis is via a main matrix clause in the explicit PRONOUNCEMENT and a sub-clausal element in the implicit PRONOUNCEMENT.

Table 7.13 demonstrates some realizations of PRONOUNCE extracted from the corpus into subjective-objective and explicit-implicit types:

Table 7.13 Examples of subjective vs. objective and explicit vs. implicit types of PRONOUNCE

	Subjective PRONOUNCE	Objective PRONOUNCE
Explicit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As I have set out - I declare an interest - That is a powerful comment with which - I remind the House that - My most important point today is that - Let me say - I draw attention to - I am pleased to say that - We have made it clear again that 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The fact is that - It is precisely - That is a powerful comment with which - There is little doubt that - The central point - The truth is that - It is remarkable that - It is essential that - On that point
Implicit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One of the problems <u>is</u> that - One of the lessons we have learned <u>is</u> that - A concern that I raised for debate before Christmas <u>was</u> that 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In short - Indeed - Frankly - Truly

Turning now to the argumentative functions that PRONOUNCE plays in parliamentary debates, the first point to note is that MPs most commonly use PRONOUNCE as an emphatic strategy, exploiting the heightened degree of personal investment that it brings to a proposition. Typically, MPs interpolate themselves explicitly into the text to indicate their maximal investment in the current proposition. This heightened personal investment does not occur in a communicative vacuum but as a response to a potential resistance, challenge, or doubt from opposition where each party employs PRONOUNCE resources to strengthen their public position on the floor of Parliament. By way of exemplification, we can consider various instances of the commonly used locution “I remind”, as in the following.

Table 7.14 Instances of “I remind...” in CPDF

I <u>remind</u> the Hon. Gentleman that we are spending £2.4 billion, which is more than the previous government, over this spending round....
I <u>remind</u> him that we are protecting significant areas of agricultural land as we speak, but my view of the future, as he has probably ...
I <u>remind</u> the House that the flooding in Hull was caused by surface water flooding, that one in five homes were flooded, and that June 2007
I <u>remind</u> Members that on 5 and 6 September 2008 Morpeth—a market town in my constituency—found itself at the centre of the most intensive rainfall in
I <u>remind</u> the House that 55,000 properties were flooded in this country in 2007, and 2,500 of them were in my constituency. That was a devastating experience ...
I <u>remind</u> the Hon. Gentleman that the statement of principles was always going to run out in 2013. That was confirmed in 2008, and we inherited ...
I <u>remind</u> the House that in February the head of the UK Statistics Authority wrote to me saying that the figures published by DEFRA on

In the above examples, the speaking MP uses “I remind” to highlight and strengthen their position. For instance, when the government MP states “I remind the Hon. Gentleman that we are spending £2.4 billion, which is more than the previous government, over this spending round,” he is using PRONOUNCE to strengthen the public position of his government. The following two examples show a further comparison of how government and opposition MPs use PRONOUNCE.

The government MP	The opposition MP
<p>The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Dan Rogerson): ... <u>I have been ensuring that</u>, as Flood Re goes forward, it takes account of extreme weather events and factors involving climate change. <u>As I have set out</u>, the government will be investing more in flood defences than any previous government, given our spending review deal on capital investment. In the first four years of this Parliament, we have spent more on flood defences than the previous government did in their last four years in office. [Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-OAQ]</p>	<p>Maria Eagle (Garston and Halewood) (Lab): ... <u>The fact is that</u> the government were caught out by the floods and Ministers took far too long to recognise the seriousness of the situation. Does the right Hon. Gentleman understand why the Prime Minister’s claim yesterday that the government’s response has not been slow will have been met with incredulity by the people of Somerset? <u>The fact that</u> DEFRA cannot answer parliamentary questions on when it first received requests for assistance from Somerset county council and Sedgemoor district council says everything about the chaos and confusion that has beset its response. [Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]</p>

While the government MP uses PRONOUNCE to strengthen the government’s public position, the opposition MP uses it to attack the government. In the government example, Dan

Rogerson employs PRONOUNCE to stress that extreme weather events and climate change are also factors to be blamed for the current state of flooding in the country and its aftermath. He also invokes a heightened sense of personal intervention by saying “As I have set out, the government will be investing more in flood defences than any previous government,” to emphasize the government position that it is investing a lot on flood defences. In the opposition example, Maria Eagle uses PRONOUNCE to reinforce a criticism of the government’s response to flooding. She pronounces that the government is slow and inefficient in its response to flooding and blames them for the chaos and confusion that this slow response has caused.

Yet, in both examples of PRONOUNCE the alignment/dis-alignment configuration is clearly triadic. This strategy, where the addresser standing with the addressee against some dialogic third-party adversary is frequently exploited in political rhetoric and journalistic commentary (Martin & White 2005), and it is a clear manifestation of the confrontational nature of the relationship between the government and the opposition in Parliament. For instance, when the government MP uses the heightened tone in PRONOUNCE, they attempt to align their addressees (who not only include their immediate addressee but the wider public as well) to their position against the opposition. In so doing, they aim to boost their public image and at the same time discredit that of their opponents. Similarly, the opposition MP introduces PRONOUNCE values into their argument to encourage their addressees to align with them in criticizing the government position.

7.3.2.5 *ENDORSE*

ENDORSE is another subcategory of PROCLAIM. It refers to “those formulations by which propositions sourced to external sources are construed by the authorial voice as correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 126). By referencing other sources, ENDORSE retrospectively recognizes propositions from these sources and therefore is inherently dialogistic. However, the maximal alignment of the inner authorial voice with the purported proposition excludes any other alternative positions, thereby contracting the dialogic scope of ENDORSE formulations.

There is some inconsistency in the classification of ENDORSE in the appraisal literature. While ENDORSE is classified as a contractive resource in the appraisal framework, some other scholars view ENDORSE as an expansive subtype of ATTRIBUTE because it recognizes an alternative external position and thus expands the dialogic space (e.g., Abbamonte & Cavaliere, 2010; Nakamura, 2009; Ryshina-Pankova, 2014). Others, such as

Smith and Adendorff (2014), agree with Martin and White (2005) and view ENDORSE as a sub-type of CONTRACT-PROCLAIM.

The position of this thesis is that the distinction is not clear-cut. While ENDORSE formulations introduce an external voice to the text, this external voice is fully assimilated with the stance of the authorial voice. This assimilation of the external voice with the internal one leads to the perception of ENDORSE formulations as dialogistically multiple, or as White (1998, 2004b) argues, combining both extra-vocalization and intra-vocalization where the stance and the responsibility of the proposition is shared by both the internal and the external voice.

Therefore, we see that whenever there is extra-vocalization, each statement behaves differently depending on how the authorial voice presents it to the text. If there is a full assimilation and endorsement of the external voice, then the proposition is contractive because it minimizes the possibility for alternative positions. However, the neutrality of the authorial voice and dissociation from the external voice in ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE expands the dialogistic space because it implies alternative contrary positions. Whether the text behaves contractively or expansively, therefore, depends largely on how the authorial voice is using these attributive resources on any particular occasion. This implies that interpretation of this feature is even more heavily reliant on the intuitions of the individual researcher than is usually the case in appraisal research. The analysis in this thesis needs to be considered in this light.

In our corpus of parliamentary debates, the expansive extra-vocalization via ATTRIBUTE resources occurs far more frequently than does the use of contractive extra-vocalization via ENDORSE. This contrast is shown very clearly in Figure 7.9 below:

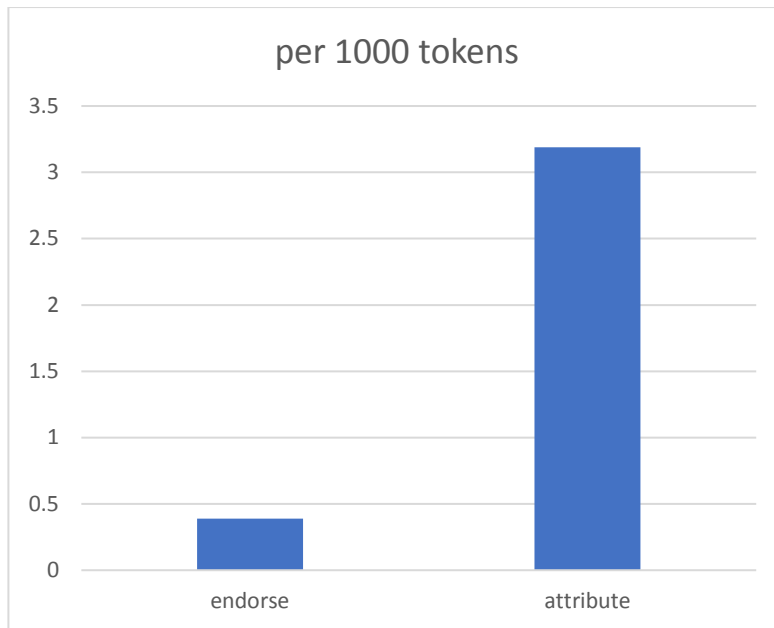


Figure 7.9 Distribution of ENDORSE vs. ATTRIBUTE in CPDF

Since parliaments are institutions where various points of view are debated, it would be reasonable to anticipate that MPs will refer to external voices for the purpose of argumentation via ATTRIBUTE resources whether this attribution is immediate or non-immediate to the debate. However, Chapter 10 shows that ATTRIBUTE is primarily used in debates by MPs that have confrontational purposes, that is, those that are designed to criticize and attack opponents.

In contrast, ENDORSE presents a proposition as maximally valid and warrantable using verbs that reflect factivity, such as *prove*, *demonstrate*, *show*, *find*, and *point out* (Martin & White, 2005). Similar verbal processes and other nominal equivalents are used to construe ENDORSE in our corpus of parliamentary debates, as shown in the examples in Table 7.15 below:

Table 7.15 Key lexico-grammatical realizations of ENDORSE

PROCLAIM Feature	Key Lexico-grammatical Realizations
ENDORSE	the latest figures show that
	DEFRA's own figures show that
	Met Office data show that
	Recent Met Office figures show that
	Environment Agency records show that
	I totally endorse his view that

I totally endorse my Hon. Friend's point
wholly endorse them
That was a further Pitt recommendation
there were recommendations that
the Environment Agency recommends that
One key recommendation of the Pitt review was that
The Pitt report after the 2007 floods recommended that
modelling done by the university of Cardiff that shows that
Given the advice, which I respect, from scientists
A condition assessment following the events of the winter showed that
parliamentary answers from the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs show that
The Environment Agency has confirmed that
That was brought out in the Pitt review
Friday's edition of "Newsnight", which showed
the long-term investment strategy put out by the Environment Agency in 2009 made it clear that
Such cases prove that
The statement governs the provision of insurance to properties that
which arose from Sir Michael Pitt's recommendations after 2007
we adopted this report in July 2013
Our report states that
the expert recommendations of
a report from the Sussex Wildlife Trust that sets out an evidence-based approach to flood protection
The report reinforces a key lesson that we need to learn from the recent floods recorded by the Met Office as
Aerial photographs taken in my constituency show
As the UK Statistics Authority reported
the guidance makes it clear that
All the evidence points to that
The government's own figures, published last month by DEFRA, show that
The Pitt review commissioned by Labour after the 2007 floods made it clear that
The Stern report set out clearly
this House demonstrates that
The Committee on Climate Change warns that

In instances like these, the authorial voice typically presents the proposition as based on statistics, figures, government reports, scientific recommendation, and other authoritative sources. This indicates that, in ENDORSE, MPs attempt to forward arguments as based on facts and evidence, thus strengthening their persuasive force. The following parliamentary statement demonstrates this further:

Barry Gardiner (Brent North) (Lab): DEFRA's own figures show that climate change could see the number of homes at risk of flooding more than double to more than 800,000 by the mid-2020s, yet the Committee on Climate Change's report on adaptation makes it clear that even these figures underestimate the risk and that up to 500,000 homes might be left without protection. Why is the Secretary of State ignoring the science? [*Hansard, HC, 21 Nov 2013-OAQ*]

In the example above, the Labour MP Barry Gardiner uses ENDORSE twice to bolster his argument by using government data and reports to show that the number of homes at risk of flooding is higher than estimated. He does this by following his ENDORSE statements by a question: “Why is the Secretary of State ignoring the science?” which presents his own position as based purely on scientific evidence. In arguments like these, using facts and statistics as a tool to establish credibility adds value to the statements (Lodge & Norderland, 2017). Interestingly, however, such evidence-based arguments in our corpus are less frequent than arguments that are based purely on rhetoric. This is clearly indicated in Figure 7.9, where ENDORSE (which represents arguments based on facts and evidence) is found much less frequently than ATTRIBUTE (which mostly puts forward arguments based on rhetoric). This finding is in line with the widely recognized perception that the driving force for policy arguments in parliaments is rhetorical, not scientific, and that academic argument gives way to opportunistic point-scoring (Peart, 2013). This is concerning because it means that numerical statements and facts are not used as reference points to settle arguments but are instead manipulated to serve political ideologies and to disparage political opponents (cf. Lodge & Norderland 2017). Some of the ENDORSE instances in CPDF are used in this way, such as:

Maria Eagle (Garston and Halewood) (Lab): The government's own figures, published last month by DEFRA, show that they reduced the budget from £670 million in 2010-11 to £573 million in 2011-12, a cut of over £97 million. The budget has remained at a similar level for the past two years. Reversing that cut for just over a year is a complete admission by the government that they got it wrong. [*Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS*]

Angela Smith (Penistone and Stocksbridge) (Lab): The government's response to the winter floods was slow and chaotic. Four months on, parliamentary answers from the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs show that, of the £10 million pledged by the Prime Minister to Somerset farmers, only £403,000 has been paid out, and only £2,320 has been paid out to one fisherman in the south-west. The Prime Minister has gone from “money is no object” to “out of sight, out of mind.” What will the Department do to ensure that people get the help they were promised? [*Hansard, HC, 17 July 2014-OAQ*]

In these two examples, Labour MPs, who represent the opposition, confront the government, questioning its decisions and integrity on funding flooding expenses. In the first example, Maria Eagle endorses the government's own figures and uses these to attack the

government for cutting the budget. In the second excerpt, Angela Smith criticizes the government response to winter floods as slow and chaotic. She endorses a previous government parliamentary answer and employs it as instrument to question the veracity of government’s promise to pay the £10 million already pledged to Somerset farmers. In both examples, ENDORSE is used as a resource for attacking and criticizing opponents.

7.4 Expansive Resources

Expansive resources are divided into two sub-categories; ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE. ENTERTAIN encompasses meanings by which the authorial voice expands the dialogic space by indicating that their position is but one of a number of possible positions, and thereby recognizing other points of view. ATTRIBUTE includes formulations by which the authorial voice attributes the proposition to some external sources via reported speech and thought. ATTRIBUTE is divided to ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE.

ENTERTAIN is more frequently used than ATTRIBUTE in CPDF. In fact, as indicated in the earlier quantitative results, ENTERTAIN is the most frequently used dialogistic feature in CPDF when compared with both contractive and expansive resources. It is the most frequent dialogistic feature in parliamentary debates.

Table 7.16 and Figure 7.10 demonstrate the distribution of ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE in CPDF. This section is only dedicated to discussing the uses of ENTERTAIN in CPDF. Full and detailed discussion about the uses of ATTRIBUTION in CPDF is presented in Chapter 10.

Table 7.16 Frequency of ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE in CPDF

Feature	Number	per 1000 tokens
entertain	1932	9.83
attribute	627	3.19

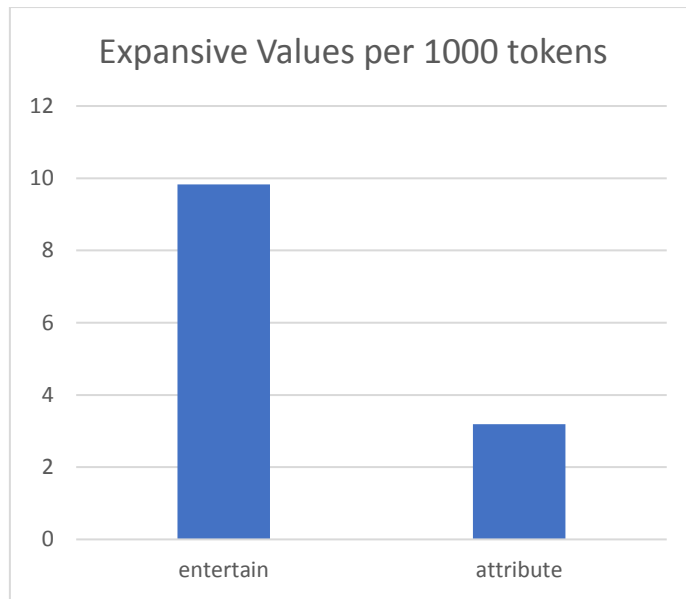


Figure 7.10 Distribution of ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE in CPDF

7.4.1 ENTERTAIN

ENTERTAIN allows MPs to position themselves vis-à-vis other alternative voices, which is fundamental to the essence of parliamentary debating. Most locutions of ENTERTAIN in CPDF are: modal auxiliaries, mental verbs, modal adjuncts, and certain types of rhetorical or expository questions. Table 7.17 presents some instances of ENTERTAIN found in CPDF:

Table 7.17 Key Lexico-grammatical Realizations of ENTERTAIN

EXPAND Feature	Key Lexico-grammatical Realizations
	<i>I think that, We think that, I like to think that, I thought that, I should like to acknowledge, I acknowledge that, I believe that, I firmly believe, I believe deeply that, I certainly believe that, I see that, I have my own view of what happened, I am firmly of the view that, Personally, that is a personal view, It is my personal belief that, in my view, I know from my own experience, I am absolutely clear in my own mind that, My understanding is that, we have as broad an understanding as possible, I feel strongly that, I note that, I did not note that, I have noticed that, I suspect that, I suppose I should admit to that, I should like to express, We recognise that, We must recognise that, I realise that, I am sure that, We are convinced that, I am confident that, I am certain that, I am conscious of, As the hon. Lady also knows, As the hon. Gentleman knows, The hon. Lady will be aware that, I can confirm that, I am well aware of, we are fully aware that, I am certainly aware that, May I begin, May I ask, May I say, May I gently say, I must say that, May I suggest, May I welcome, May I point out that, May I reinforce, May I commend, As all the</i>

ENTERTAIN	<p><i>evidence suggests, early indications suggest that, We estimate that, it seems to be, it appears that, it is anticipated that, I understand, As I understand it, I understand his point, I entirely understand, I perfectly understand, I absolutely understand that, hopefully, apparently, probably, often, perhaps, perhaps I can say, we can discuss those issues, we can work through them, I would like to take the opportunity to, I look forward to, I hope that, I very much hope that, I hope the whole House will join me in, as I hope, As we would hope, We are aiming to, We are trying to, If I may say so, I urge the Secretary of State to, I urge my hon. Friend and his constituents to, I would strongly urge, we want to make sure that, May I add my congratulations to, I would love to be able to announce that, I can assure my hon. Friend that, I can give the hon. Gentleman an absolute assurance, I would like to reassure my hon. Friend emphatically that, much work can be done, I would be happy to hear from her, I would be happy to, Everyone realises that, lessons can be learned, I would advise, The Secretary of State must resolve it, as we all know, Mr Speaker, you can understand that, A number of things can be done, a number of houses may be flooded, The Government fully understand the need to, I quite understand what my hon. Friend says, I just wish that, I fully share his wish, It seeks to ensure that, I hope it reassures my hon. Friend to hear that, likely, likely to be, This is likely to increase further, It is likely to take weeks, unlikely, It is also highly unlikely, Early indications suggest that, I suggest that, I suggest to the hon. Member for Brighton, Pavilion that, the hon. Gentleman might be pleased to note that, There are indications that, There seems to be confusion, it was expected, DEFRA is expected to, we plan to, It would mean that, If it can, there might be, I am open to evidence, I shall touch on briefly, The Government ought to place greater emphasis on, We recommend that, we must consider, One problem seems to be that, We need to, as far as I know, It would be better if, We are seeking an arrangement that, Can Ministers please confirm that, can my right hon. Friend reassure us that, The point my hon. Friend highlights must be taken into consideration, ... etc.</i></p>
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Most instances of ENTERTAIN are used to express stances and epistemic beliefs. The prevalent use of ENTERTAIN in CPDF demonstrates the parliamentary-specific language which is dominant with epistemic modality (Vukovic, 2014). Therefore, it is found out that ENTERTAIN scores as the most frequently used ENGAGEMENT resource in parliamentary debates in CPDF. One of the commonly used parliamentary-specific feature of ENTERTAIN is its uses in formulating expository questions which tend to entertain by giving the hearer the space to provide an open-ended answer. In fact, the very typical language of parliamentary questions is constructed using locutions of ENTERTAIN as exemplified in Table 7.18:

Table 7.18 Examples of parliamentary questions using ENTERTAIN

<i>May I reinforce to the Minister the importance of achieving affordability?</i>
<i>May I associate myself with the Secretary of State's remarks a moment ago?</i>
<i>May I join the Secretary of State in expressing my condolences to the family of the Environment Agency member of staff who tragically lost his life?</i>
<i>May I draw her attention to the fact that the statement of principles may well not be reviewed in 2013?</i>
<i>Can my right hon. Friend reassure my constituents that those businesses that have been affected will be supported when the second tranche is announced next week?</i>
<i>Can the Minister confirm that the business support money that is available is capped at £5,000?</i>

Another common communicative functions of ENTERTAIN values in parliamentary debates is its uses to establish solidarity and alignment with the other interlocutor and/or the public audience. Such instances usually enable the MPs to establish a common ground before forwarding any disagreement as a means of mitigating and softening any possible resentment from the other side. Examples of such uses are listed in Table 7.19:

Table 7.19 Examples of Solidarity and Alignment via ENTERTAIN Values

Solidarity and Alignment via ENTERTAIN
<i>I understand the frustration felt by my hon. Friend's residents.</i>
<i>I entirely understand the frustration that the hon. Gentleman's constituents must feel</i>
<i>I quite understand what my hon. Friend says, and I fully share his wish to give proper assistance to those in the UK affected by flooding.</i>
<i>I will be happy to pass on her comments, but I suggest that she takes up the matter directly with the Welsh Government and the Welsh Secretary.</i>
<i>I understand my hon. Friend's concerns on behalf of his constituents.</i>
<i>I accept what my hon. Friend says and I hope that he will come to the meeting I am organising with Network Rail, which I will also attend.</i>

7.5 Conclusion

Presenting a quantitative analysis of ENGAGEMENT resources in CPDF is the main purpose of this chapter. Analysis of both contractive and expansive resources is demonstrated with

examples and instances from the corpus. This chapter unveiled the main ENGAGEMENT resources that are most often used by parliamentarians and what functions do they realize in parliamentary context. Among the main findings of this chapter is the pervasiveness of ENGAGEMENT resources which outnumbered the attitudinal resources in the corpus. This ubiquity of dialogistic resources manifests the very nature of parliamentary discourse as institutions for engaging different voices and discussing various viewpoints. That being said, however, the chapter also found out that although there is a recognition of other voices and alternative viewpoints, they are generally brought into text to be contracted and fended off. This is manifested by the higher frequency of contractive resources which predominated the expansive resources in CPDF.

The next chapter aims to extend this analysis of ENGAGEMENT system by providing qualitative insights on these findings and conducting a comparative analysis between government and opposition uses of ENGAGEMENT resources.

CHAPTER 8 ENGAGEMENT IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS & FURTHER QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a further comparative quantitative and qualitative analysis of the ENGAGEMENT sub-systems in UK parliamentary debates. The linguistic semantic system of ENGAGEMENT provides the tools to analyze monoglossic and heteroglossic discourses (Martin & White, 2005) from a social dialogic perspective, and is concerned with the degrees of heteroglossic space that speakers show in their commitment to the appraisal they are making. In more conventional terms, ENGAGEMENT focuses on how speakers or writers align or dis-align themselves with real and potential interlocutors. As such, the ENGAGEMENT system provides insights into how Members of Parliament (MPs) dialogically negotiate, and in so doing, show their affiliations and ideological inclinations. The chapter makes a quantitative comparative analysis of ENGAGEMENT values used by government and opposition MPs in the British Parliament. The focus in this comparison is on the kinds of ENGAGEMENT meanings that are realized, with the aim of establishing whether and to what extent government and opposition MPs use these semantic resources differently. This chapter will show that ENGAGEMENT resources are prevalent in the discourses of both government and opposition MPs and suggest that MPs make dialogic and ideological choices, aligning or dis-aligning themselves with interlocutors based on their political and parliamentary roles.

Further qualitative analysis on what textual factors influence the span of heteroglossia in the British parliamentary context is also presented. A number of factors such as the dialogic space, intertextuality, epistemic status, and alignment/dis-alignment of the textual voice will all be shown to play a role in determining the degree of contractiveness or expansiveness of ENGAGEMENT in parliamentary debates. A discussion of the differences between contractive and expansive parliamentary questions will be provided along with illustrative examples for each type from CPDF. The chapter ends by proposing that ENGAGEMENT values should be viewed as interconnected ENGAGEMENT sequences instead of viewing them as isolated units, as appraisal studies typically do. It argues that the intersubjective stance of speakers is

best viewed and analyzed if we consider these sequences and that the construction of these sequences helps build a more general understanding of parliamentary argumentation.

8.2 Comparative Analysis of Engagement Across Government and Opposition MPs

Parliamentary discourse is inherently ideological in nature and characterized by the negotiation of solidarity as MPs engage in the processes of alignment and dis-alignment with each other (Van Dijk, 2000). The analytical resources afforded by the ENGAGEMENT semantic system allow us to see how these processes are instantiated in debates, in which MPs EXPAND or ENTERTAIN and CONTRACT or DENY other discourses in the dialogic space. The heteroglossic principles position an MP’s opinion in relation to the other possible opinions through countering, quoting, affirming, acknowledging a possibility, or denying. These mechanisms by which MPs adopt different stances towards various attitudinal propositions are dealt with under dialogistic ENGAGEMENT (White, 2015). Table 8.1 below shows the number of heteroglossic ENGAGEMENT occurrences in the corpus:

Table 8.1 Number of ENGAGEMENT occurrences in CPDF across Political Parties

Number of ENGAGEMENT Occurrences		
	Number	Percentage %
Government	2225	33.9%
Principal opposition (Labour)	1394	21.2%
Other political parties and the Speaker	2926	44.9%

An analysis of Table 8.1 above shows that government MPs use ENGAGEMENT in the corpus more than the opposition MPs. As can be seen, 33.9% of all instantiations of ENGAGEMENT in CPDF are spoken by government MPs, compared to only 21.2% from the principal opposition. In this form of ENGAGEMENT, MPs indicate their “position towards the attitudinal value expressed and in some way endeavour ... to condition some receiver’s response by reducing or expanding the possible range of responses” (Munday, 2015, p. 5). Thus, the MP is presented with two choices in the ENGAGEMENT process: monogloss and heterogloss.

Heterogloss acknowledges that alternative viewpoints or truth values are possible. Speakers use heterogloss to EXPAND or CONTRACT the dialogic space. In dialogic expansion, speakers will be entertaining other voices or ideas, and in dialogic contraction, they will deny space for any contrary voices. According to Wilson, the difference between dialogically expansive and dialogically contractive evaluations can be “understood in terms of the difference between stating a fact and offering an opinion” (2011, p. 104). Table 8.2 below shows that government MPs use heteroglossic forms almost twice as frequently as opposition MPs do.

Table 8.2 Frequency of Heteroglossic by Government vs Opposition

	government	labor-opposition
heteroglossic	2225	1394

The number of times government and opposition MPs use heterogloss is also graphically presented below in Figure 8.1:

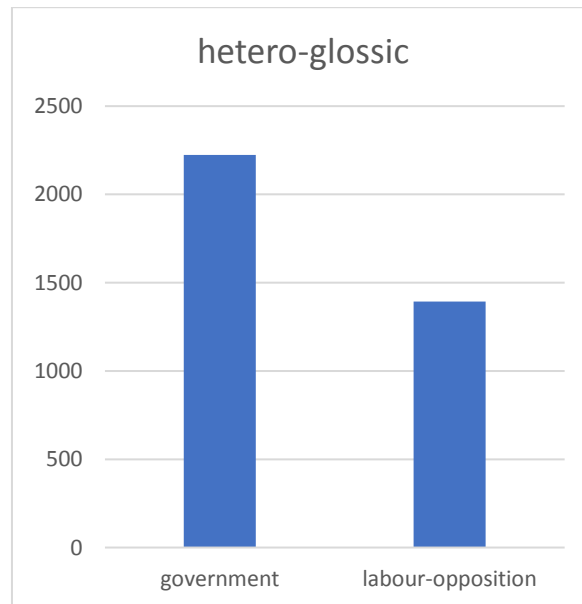


Figure 8.1 Distribution of Heteroglossic among Government vs. Opposition

As stated earlier, heteroglossic evaluations can either be dialogically expansive or dialogically contractive (Martin & White 2005). Dialogic contraction has to do with shutting down dialogical alternative voices in discourse. The authorial voice explicitly or implicitly invests in

the current proposition as true or valid and sets itself against actual or potential conflicting propositions. In contrast, dialogic expansion resources open up the dialogic space, entertaining alternative voices. Table 8.3 and Figure 8.2 below show that opposition MPs are very slightly more dialogically contractive than government MPs, and, conversely, that government MPs dialogically expand entertaining alternative voices very slightly more frequently than opposition MPs do.

Table 8.3 Percentages of CONTRACT and EXPAND among Government & Opposition

	Government	Labour-opposition
CONTRACT	59.08%	60.33%
EXPAND	40.92%	39.67%

As illustrated in Figure 8.2, there are slight differences in the quantitative analysis of the use of ENGAGEMENT resources of dialogic CONTRACT and EXPAND. However, both government MPs and opposition MPs use contractive values more than expansive values. This indicates how the parliamentary dialogue in CPDF is generally contractive where MPs close down the dialogic space and minimize other alternative voices in their debating.

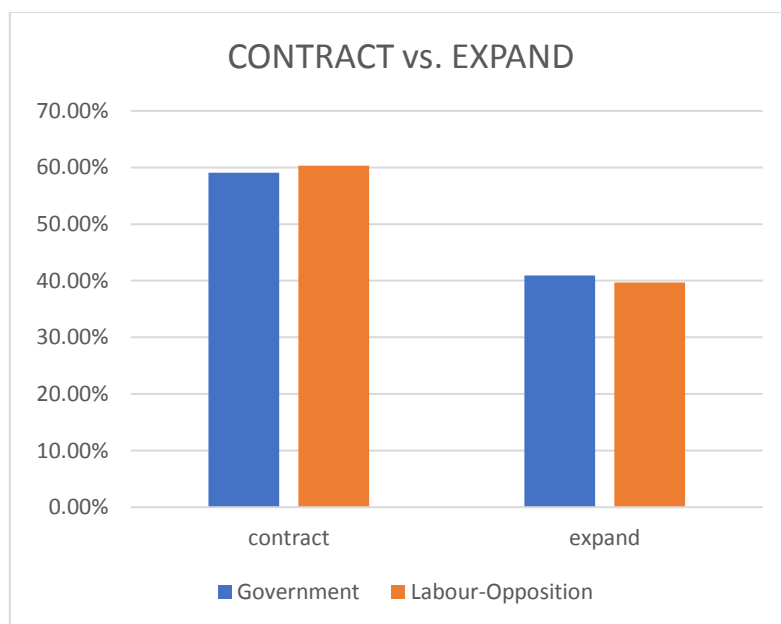


Figure 8.2 Distribution of CONTRACT and EXPAND among Government & Opposition

As institutionalized discourse, parliamentary discourse is largely shaped by the institution of parliament (Snoeck et al., 2012). The parliament is characterized by a struggle where “language is used as a tool to consolidate and manipulate concepts and relationships in the area of power and control” (Fowler, 1985, p. 61). In these power struggles, in both divergent and consensus debates and speeches, parliamentarians position themselves in relation to attitudinal values expressed. The ENGAGEMENT system allows MPs to CONTRACT or EXPAND the dialogic space. The process of closing down or limiting the dialogistic space (ENGAGEMENT-CONTRACT) is realized through the use of either DISCLAIM or PROCLAIM values as shown in Table 8.4:

Table 8.4 Percentages of DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM among Government & Opposition

	Government	Labour opposition
DISCLAIM	32.33%	37.09%
PROCLAIM	26.75%	23.24%

Among other things, MPs are trustees and holders of a mandate to perform. As Ilie notes, this makes “the MPs’ interaction in parliament ... a competition for power and leadership roles” (2003b, p. 30), and also for fame. As they compete against each other, they utilize DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM contract values to advance their positions. Table 8.4 shows that Opposition MPs use more DISCLAIM resources (37.09%) than Government MPs (32.33%) to explicitly reject alternative positions. PROCLAIM resources “act to limit the scope of dialogistic alternative in the ongoing colloquy” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 121). Figure 8.3 shows the percentage of government MPs who use PROCLAIM resources compared to opposition MPs:

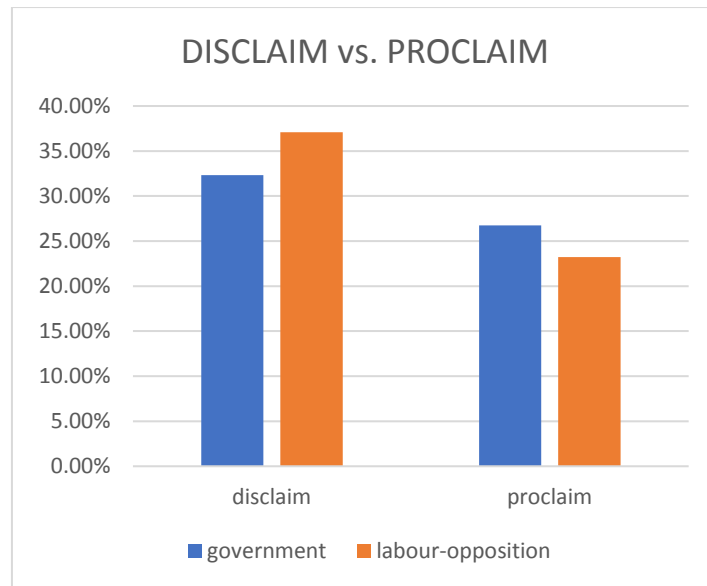


Figure 8.3 Distribution of DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM among Government & Opposition

As always, it is important to keep in mind that appraisals are immersed in a particular socio-cultural and institutionalized context. The mandate of the citizens, party political ideologies, and personal identities impact MPs’ use of the semantic system of ENGAGEMENT. The linguistic act of limiting the dialogistic space (PROCLAIM) rather than closing it down (DISCLAIM), which is predominant among government MPs, invites and considers alternative voices. However, opposition MPs position themselves “at odds with, or rejecting, some contrary positions” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 97).

A quantitative analysis of the realization of these ENGAGEMENT values in the corpus has revealed intrinsic linguistic variations. The ENGAGEMENT: CONTRACT and EXPAND values are sub-divided into a number of sub-semantic values as indicated in Table 8.5, which are then discussed in more detail below.

Table 8.5 Comparison of ENGAGEMENT values between Government & Opposition

ENGAGEMENT Value	Government	Labour opposition
DENY	16.68%	19.37%
COUNTER	15.65%	17.72%
CONCUR	7.73%	4.81%
PRONOUNCE	12.77%	9.90%

ENDORSE	0.99%	2.22%
JUSTIFY	5.26%	6.31%
AFFIRM	6.79%	4.09%
CONCEDE	0.94%	0.72%
ENTERTAIN	32.69%	24.61%
ATTRIBUTE	8.23%	15.06%
ACKNOWLEDGE	6.88%	9.47%
DISTANCE	1.35%	5.60%

DISCLAIM-DENY dialogically rejects any alternative positive positions after having been introduced in the dialogic space. Both government and opposition MPs use this resource in their argumentation. Table 8.5 shows that the DISCLAIM-DENY value is realised more by Opposition MPs (19.37%) than Government MPs (16.68%). Opposition MPs use DENY and negation discourse more frequently as they want the audience to align with them in condemning or criticizing government policies and actions.

DISCLAIM-COUNTER is also realized in the discourse of parliamentarians in the British House of Commons. This resource acknowledges the existence of alternative voices only to reject them. The current alternative is identified as the best option. Government MPs used the DISCLAIM-COUNTER resource less than (16.65%) Opposition (17.72%). Even though opposition MPs seem to have an edge over government MPs in invoking alternative positions only to reject them, it is clear that MPs from all political parties utilize DISCLAIM-COUNTER in their discourse to reject contrary voices and bolster their position in the argumentation process. Invoking alternative voices in the dialogic space strategically works to make the speaker appear not only professional and objective but also democratic and pluralistic. Politicians generally want to be thought of as knowledgeable and in touch with current developments. The DISCLAIM-COUNTER resource enables MPs to systematically argue by engaging with their interlocutors and presenting their positions as the only arguments that can be accepted. By using the DISCLAIM-COUNTER resource, MPs encourage their audience, both internal and external, to share the same beliefs and expectations as them.

PROCLAMATION resources serve to limit the scope of the dialogic alternative rather than directly rejecting it (White, 2015). MPs in the British Parliament do not often realize the use of PROCLAIM-CONCUR values in discourse. Table 8.5 above shows that PROCLAIM-

CONCUR accounts for only 7.73% of ENGAGEMENT instantiations from Government MPs and an even smaller 4.81% of instantiations from the main Opposition. CONCUR resources show the MP as either conceding or affirming that their position is both known and expected. This resource contracts the dialogic space by presenting the speaker as simply echoing what is already shared knowledge, thereby suppressing any potential alternatives. This is conveyed when MPs make use of locutions like *obviously, of course, naturally, admittedly, certainly, not surprisingly, rhetorical questions, etc.* CONCUR resources are further subdivided into AFFIRM and CONCEDE. Government MPs use more CONCUR-AFFIRM resources (6.79%) compared to opposition MPs (4.09%). In terms of CONCUR-CONCEDE, there is almost no statistical difference between government MPs and opposition MPs.

PROCLAIM-PRONOUNCE is used somewhat frequently in the British Parliament. PRONOUNCEMENT resources are utilized to indicate “heightened investment or involvement in the proposition by the speaker/writer” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 133). PRONOUNCEMENT values are not only dialogically prospective but also raise the interpersonal cost of doubting a proposition. Quantitative analysis on the use of PRONOUNCE resource in Table 8.5 above shows that Government MPs use PRONOUNCE more (12.77%) than Opposition’s (9.90%). The quantitative analysis indicates that government MPs explicitly invest in propositions that confront and defeat any contrary position. PRONOUNCEMENT is realized when MPs use such formulations as *I contend, The facts of the matter are that, It’s a fact that, or I’d say*, or use intensifiers such as *really, indeed* and place stress on auxiliaries (e.g., *did, is*). The MP’s explicit involvement and investment in a text not only raises the interpersonal cost of rejecting their position but also defines their allegiance, ideological alignment, and inclinations.

Of the four PROCLAIM resources, ENDORSE is both minimally and the least realized. In ENDORSEMENT resources, the authorial voice construes the proposition as un-contestable because it is proven, shown, and demonstrated. Government MPs use PROCLAIM-ENDORSE values only 0.99% compared to OPPOSITION with 2.22%. The institutional context of the Parliament presents MPs with an opportunity to market themselves, so instead of merely endorsing the other MPs’ propositions, the MPs use APPRAISAL resources that define their identity. The low percentage realization of ENDORSE values also shows that the Parliament is made up of members who want their own positions to be heard rather than only endorsing others’ positions as correct. This also explains that propositions that are based on statistics, figures, government reports, scientific recommendation, and other authoritative sources are

used less in forwarding the parliamentary argument. As discussed in Chapter Seven, this finding is actually in line with the widely recognized perception that the driving force for policy arguments in parliaments is not scientific but rhetorical. In some cases of ENDORSE, numerical statements and facts are used for confrontational purposes to serve particular political ideologies and to disparage political opponents. This is shown in the following example from the opposition MP Maria Eagle:

Maria Eagle (Garston and Halewood) (Lab): Will the right Hon. Gentleman accept that the Prime Minister was wrong when he again claimed yesterday that more would be spent in the four years between 2011 and 2015 than in the previous four years? DEFRA's own figures show that £2.37 billion was spent between 2007-8 and 2010-11 and that £2.34 billion will be spent between 2011-12 and 2014-15. The Prime Minister and the government really must stop fiddling the figures. The Secretary of State again used numbers today that are different from those that the Prime Minister used in the House yesterday. Thanks to a freedom of information request, we know that the Environment Secretary cut more than 40% from the domestic climate change budget last year. Was that really the right priority for the biggest cut to any DEFRA programme? [*Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS*]

Political deliberations are encompassed by politicians justifying themselves and affirming certain positions. Quantitative analysis of CPDF indicates that Opposition MPs use JUSTIFY (6.31%) slightly more than the Government MPs (5.26%). Parliamentarians use the JUSTIFY resource to reinforce their actions and positioning. Opposition MPs seem to use JUSTIFY more as they still feel that they have to prove to the electorate that they deserve to be in the government position. The argumentative exchanges present MPs with the opportunity to affirm certain positions that have been realized in the deliberations. In PROCLAIM-AFFIRM, parliamentarians dialogistically present certain positions as warrantable and widely held views that are not contestable. Government MPs use CONCUR-AFFIRM more than (6.79%) the Opposition MPs (4.09%). The analysis shows that it is government that mainly wants to 'naturalize' positions and attempt to make the opposition accept their policies.

Corpus analysis shows that CONCEDE is rarely used. This could occur because CONCEDE is considered a statement of defeat in political deliberations. Thus, an MP who concedes is regarded as weak and not able to fight for the electorate's cause.

To summarize the comparative analysis across government and opposition MPs, Figure 8.4 below presents a graphical representation of all ENGAGEMENT categories used in CPDF:

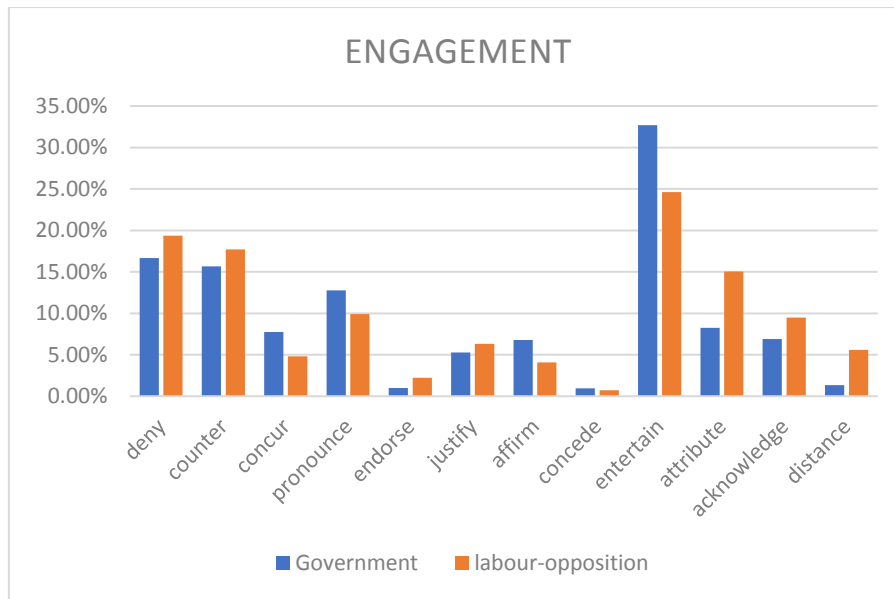


Figure 8.4 An overview of ENGAGEMENT across Government and Opposition

Appraisal categories that EXPAND the dialogic space are also used in the British Parliament. These resources open up the dialogic space by inviting alternative voices (White, 2015). Dialogic EXPAND categories include resources that serve to ENTERTAIN, ACKNOWLEDGE, and DISTANCE. ENTERTAIN is used more by Government MPs (32.69%) as compared to Opposition MPs (24.61%). MPs make use of ENTERTAIN modal values to indicate that their position is one among many possibilities. Conversely, Table 8.5 and Figure 8.4 also show that opposition MPs use other EXPAND values (ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE) more than government MPs. Of the three EXPAND values, DISTANCE is used less frequently. Opposition MPs use DISTANCE more (5.60%) compared to Government MPs (1.35%). The use of EXPAND-DISTANCE is a strategic move by politicians as they distance themselves from certain positions that they regard as incompatible with or even harmful to their image and that of their political party. This allows opposition MPs to forward criticism toward government without jeopardizing their political image.

8.3 ENGAGEMENT and Span of Heteroglossia in Parliamentary Debates

One of the main characteristics of parliamentary debates are their heteroglossic hybridity; these debates are a space where various voices and viewpoints are negotiated. The juxtaposition of different viewpoints in the parliamentary context necessarily creates contradictions and

conflicts between various value positions. MPs rely on the resources of ENGAGEMENT to manage those voices and views and to advance their own intersubjective positionings.

MPs manage different voices by either contracting or expanding them. The span of heteroglossia ranges from highly contractive to highly expansive depending on the degree to which the parliamentary proposition opens up or fends off the dialogic space. In a dialogic contraction, the parliamentary proposition restricts the scope of other alternative voices, whereas allowing alternative positions by definition expands the dialogic space. The interplay between various contractive and expansive propositions determines the power of argument in parliamentary context. What this means in practice is that it is essential for the current analysis to view ENGAGEMENT values as interconnected and not as isolated units. This point will be discussed in more detail in the section about ENGAGEMENT sequences.

First, however, it will be useful to explore the textual factors influencing the span of heteroglossia of parliamentary propositions. Accordingly, the next section will identify four textual factors that determine the contractiveness or expansiveness of a proposition, illustrating each factor with examples from CPDF. This discussion will be followed by consideration of the issue of gradeability and the intensity of each ENGAGEMENT value due to the effect of attitudinal and intensifying co-text.

8.3.1 Contractiveness And Expansiveness of ENGAGEMENT

Although it is often associated with evidentiality, Martin and White (2005) view ENGAGEMENT as being beyond epistemic and truth conditions and give a primary focus to the social dialogistic perspective. Inspired by Bakhtin's notions of dialogism and heteroglossia (Bakhtin et al., 1981), Martin and White have developed a framework for ENGAGEMENT as a resource for managing the play of voices in discourse. Based on this framework, each utterance is viewed as it exists against a heteroglossic backdrop. Dialogistically contractive and dialogistically expansive utterances are classified based on the extent to which the authorial voice recognizes other alternative voices.

While contractiveness and expansiveness of an utterance is primarily determined by the degree of its dialogistic status, the number of factors can be seen operating in the text in a way that regulates this dialogistic perspective. The results of my analysis show at least four factors that are at play when deciding whether an utterance is a dialogistically contractive or dialogistically

expansive. These factors are interconnected and influence the dialogistic status of an utterance in one way or another. They can be summarized in Figure 8.5 and are discussed in more detail below.

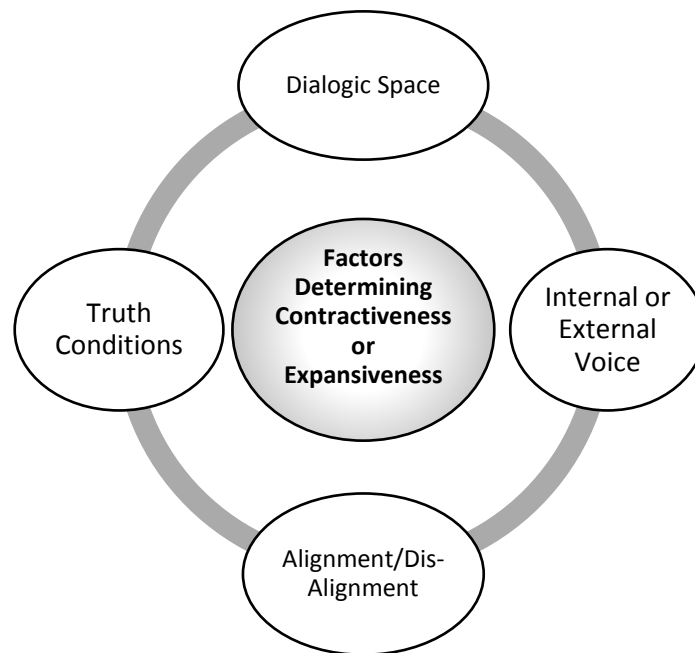


Figure 8.5 Factors Influencing Contractiveness and Expansiveness in the Text

8.3.1.1 The Dialogic Space

The first factor, the dialogic space, can be viewed as the main distinguishing factor between CONTRACT and EXPAND. If an utterance opens the space for other alternative positions, then it is dialogistically expansive, and if it limits that space, then it is dialogistically contractive. ENGAGEMENT resources such as DENY, COUNTER, CONCUR, PRONOUNCE, and ENDORSE close the dialogic space while ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE open the dialogic space for alternative positions. Examples of contractive and expansive parliamentary statement extracted from the same debate are:

Contractive Dialogic Space	Expansive Dialogic Space
<p>Kwasi Kwarteng (Spelthorne) (Con): <u>It is absolutely right that</u> attention should be given to the issue. I am grateful to my right Hon. Friend the Prime Minister, who came to Guildford street, and saw for himself the problems caused by flooding. [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]</p>	<p>Chris Ruane (Vale of Clwyd) (Lab): <u>It is my personal belief that</u> global warming and climate change are occurring, that they had an effect on the recent flooding and that they will have a bigger effect on flooding in the future. [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]</p>

In the contractive example, the Conservative MP uses PRONOUNCE by saying “*It is absolutely right that*” to limit the dialogic space of his statement. In the expansive example, the Labour MP says “*It is my personal belief that*” as ENTERTAIN-EXPANDING and opens the dialogic space for other alternative views.

8.3.1.2 Intertextuality: Internal or External Voice

A second factor influencing the dialogic space is the presence of intertextuality in text. The more the voice of the text is exclusively internal, the more contractive the proposition is, and the more the text incorporates external voices via ATTRIBUTE, the more dialogistically expansive it is. This is with the exception of ENDORSE, which, although recognizing an external voice, assimilates it with the internal voice by strongly aligning to it. ENDORSE is thus considered dialogistically contractive. In the example of internal voice presented below, the government MP solely invests in his own internal voice to forward an ACCLAIM. In the second example, the Labour Opposition MP integrates an external voice of the Building Societies Association to support his proposition:

Internal Voice	External Voice
<p>The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): <u>I give full praise to him and his constituents</u> for the leadership that they have shown.... [Hansard, HC, 26 Mar 2013-BB]</p>	<p>Gavin Shuker (Luton South) (Lab/Co-op): <u>The Building Societies Association has said that the consequences of failing to get a deal would be “grave.”</u> Potential buyers would find it difficult or impossible to get a mortgage, loan book values would drop, capital requirements would rise, and there would be less money to lend in the real economy. Is sales blight on 200,000 properties an acceptable price to pay for this government’s inaction? [Hansard, HC, 7 Mar 2013-OAQ]</p>

8.3.1.3 Epistemic Status and Truth Conditions of the Proposition

As regarding the factor of truth conditions, the epistemic status of a proposition is not a primary consideration in Martin and White’s (2005) ENGAGEMENT framework. However, although I agree that the social perspective is the primary and essential aspect for analysing ENGAGEMENT in discourse, truth conditions of the proposition do play an implicit role in its dialogic space. In fact, Martin and White argue that “this potential ‘epistemic’ effect is not at odds with the fundamentally dialogistic role of such locutions” (2005, p. 107). The more a proposition is presented as reliable and taken for granted as in locutions of CONCUR, the more the speaker limits the dialogic space and the more contractive the proposition will be. On the other hand, advancing the proposition as probable and less credible in its truth conditions, as occurs in some meanings that are included under ENTERTAIN, the more the speaker allows space for alternative positions. This indicates that the degree of the dialogic space is influenced by truth conditions implied in the proposition. In other words, the epistemic status of the proposition does not contradict with its social dialogistic status and it does play a role in contracting and expanding it. In the following example of AFFIRM, the government MP presents the proposition with a higher degree of certainty by using “Certainly.” In the ENTERTAIN example, the Conservative MP forwards his proposition with a lower level of certainty by using “Perhaps.”

AFFIRM	ENTERTAIN
<p>The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Mr. Eric Pickles): <u>Certainly</u>, part of the amount that I have just announced with regard to businesses will be, although the rate rebate will not be available. [<i>Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD</i>]</p>	<p>Martin Vickers (Cleethorpes) (Con): <u>Perhaps</u> a greater involvement of the farming community would be helpful in future. Those whose homes or businesses have been flooded do not want to hear politicians’ debate which government spent, are spending or will spend more than the other; nor do they want to hear endless arguments about whether the cause is climate change. [<i>Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD</i>]</p>

8.3.1.4 Alignment/dis-alignment of the Authorial Voice

The authorial voice’s alignment with or dis-alignment from particular value positions is another factor that influences the dialogic space of the proposition. This factor signifies the emphasis

of the ENGAGEMENT system on both intersubjectivity and the social aspect as it represents how the speaker/writer engages with other speakers, other voices, and with their addressees. It is very important to note that the issue of alignment/dis-alignment is complex. This complexity occurs because alignment/dis-alignment can be directed at various elements in the communicative event. For instance, is the alignment/dis-alignment directed towards the value position advanced in the speaker/writer's proposition, or is it directed towards their immediate addressee? Or it is directed towards a third party, or to a much wider and more general audience? If we take DENY as an example, we observe that the authorial voice might use DENY to indicate dis-alignment with the value position presented in the proposition, but that this dis-alignment is used to win an alignment with a third party. For example, the following is an exchange between the Government MP and the Opposition MP:

Mr Dave Watts (St Helens North) (Lab): Yesterday the Prime Minister refused to say whether he would reverse the massive cuts in the number of staff working on flood prevention. Will the Minister give us an assurance today that those cuts will not go ahead?

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Dan Rogerson): I am grateful for the Hon. Gentleman's question, but there are no massive cuts in the number of people involved in flood protection. The Environment Agency, like all other agencies and Departments across government, is having to use resources more efficiently as we seek to sort out the financial mess that the previous government left us. [*Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-OAQ*]

In this excerpt, the government MP is denying that there are massive cuts in the number of staff working on flood prevention and thus dis-aligning with the position that "there are massive cuts" which is held by the opposition MP who posed the question. However, this DENY not only corrects the questioner's statement, but confronts and attacks the opposition by following his DENY move with the statement "we seek to sort out the financial mess that the previous government left us." This indicates that DENY is not only used as a corrective device but also a strategy aimed at winning an alignment with a third party, i.e., the public, by attacking and blaming the opposition for the current financial mess. If other parts of the ENGAGEMENT system are examined, it is apparent that each of its subcategories involves complex relations of alignment/dis-alignment which can be deciphered by attending to co-textual and contextual variables.

But how does the issue of alignment/dis-alignment influence the dialogic space and play a role in determining the contractiveness or expansiveness? Martin and White (2005) made

alignment/dis-alignment central in modelling how the speaker/writer negotiates the value-position of their text with their putative addressee(s). To determine what type of alignment/dis-alignment relationships are envisaged by which ENGAGEMENT resources, the particular contexts in which these resources operate must be considered. Different alignments or dis-alignments are realized by different ENGAGEMENT values. The key to understanding how alignment/dis-alignment influences the dialogic space does not depend on whether the authorial voice is aligning or dis-aligning; instead, it is related to whether the authorial voice overtly and explicitly reveals this alignment/dis-alignment in the text. When there is a more explicit indication of the textual voice's alignment/dis-alignment toward the value position, there are fewer allowable dialogic alternatives which creates more contractiveness. When the alignment/dis-alignment is indicated in the text is less explicit (e.g., via hedging or attributing), more expansive space is allowed for potential dialogic positions.

In EXPAND values such as ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE, the textual voice tends to hedge this alignment/dis-alignment to the proposition in the text by entertaining other voices and accordingly opening the dialogic space for potential alternatives. This hedging strategy is also manifested via ATTRIBUTE. By attributing external sources in text, the speaker/writer is ascribing views to others and implicitly declaring that they remain aloof from its value position. Despite this, as Martin and White have noted, “there are all manner of ways in which such texts may indirectly indicate that the writer either supports or is opposed to the attributed value position. In which case, greater to lesser degrees of alignment (either for or against the value position) will be indicated and the text may be interpreted as more or less forthrightly aligning the reader into a particular value position” (2005, p. 115). At the same time, they also observe that the speaker/writer's categorical alignment/dis-alignment to the attributed material via explicit attitudinal assessment overrides the heteroglossia of that ATTRIBUTION, consequently limiting its dialogic scope. In other words, the more the textual voice expresses attitudinal assessment of the attributed materials, the less expansive ATTRIBUTE will be. Further discussion on this point is presented in Chapter Ten.


As for CONTRACT values, such as DISCLAIM and PROCLAIM, the speaker/writer's alignment with or dis-alignment from a given value position is explicitly and actively stated. For example, by using DENY, the textual voice overtly indicates a dis-alignment from the value position advanced, and in PRONOUNCE, the textual voice conveys a heightened personal investment in the viewpoint, indicating an explicit alignment. By displaying such an

explicit and heightened personal investment, the textual voice limits the dialogic space for potential alternatives and thus contracts the discourse.

8.3.1.5 Gradeability and Intensity of ENGAGEMENT Values

Another significant characteristic feature of ENGAGEMENT in general is its gradeability. Each ENGAGEMENT value scales on a gradable spectrum ranging from low to high in the intensity of that value (Martin & White, 2005). This gradeability is determined by the infused meaning in locutions realizing ENGAGEMENT, the contextual variables, and the intensifying co-text such as GRADUATION resources. Table 8.6 provides an example of how some ENGAGEMENT values (i.e., CONCUR, ENTERTAIN, and ATTRIBUTE) can be scaled based on their intensity along the gradable spectrum.

Table 8.6 Intensity of ENGAGEMENT Values



CONCUR	I will <u>certainly</u> take it up with the Environment Agency locally...	<u>Clearly</u> , investment in flood defenses has been effective,	I <u>accept that</u> it would need to be implemented over a period,
ENTERTAIN	<u>I am firmly of the view that</u> the impact of the floods—even though they were a natural event—was exacerbated by a degree of underinvestment in key infrastructure.	<u>We recognise that the</u> government’s first and primary role is to tackle risk by building flood defences.	<u>It is anticipated that</u> £10.7 billion will be spent on subsidies to low-carbon electricity generation
ATTRIBUTE	<u>He said categorically</u> that the government face a conundrum.	<u>Lord Smith stated that</u> asset management spend would equate to £169 million in 2012-13, reducing to £146 million in 2013-14 and £136 million in 2014-15.	<u>He again claimed</u> yesterday that more would be spent in the four years between 2011 and 2015 than in the previous four years

As seen in Table 8.6, instances of CONCUR, ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE vary considerably in their intensity and gradeability. For instance, using “I will certainly” as CONCUR is more intensified and more contractive than “I accept that.” Similarly, “I am firmly

of the view that” is a more intensified instance of ENTERTAIN than “it is anticipated that,” which is less intensified and less contractive. Also, an utterance such as “he again claimed” is more expansive than “he said categorically that” where using an attitudinal assessment such as “categorically” overrides its expansiveness. This shows how the intensity of ENGAGEMENT values influences the degree of its contractiveness and expansiveness and accordingly determines its position along the span of heteroglossia.

Engagement resources should not be treated as either contractive or expansive, but as operating gradually along the continuous spectrum of heteroglossia and ranging from highly contractive/expansive to moderate contractive/expansive to low contractive/expansive. This is because of the influence of co-text and context in the categorization of these resources. To exemplify this, consider the following instances of CONCUR extracted from CPDF:

I went around visiting flooded properties. <u>I concur</u> with my Hon. Friend about sirens. A lot of people did
Affected members of the local farming community will <u>no doubt concur</u> with the Committee’s view that
the contents of their houses? Mr Paterson: I <u>wholeheartedly concur</u> with my Hon. Friend’s comments about

The highly contractive “I wholeheartedly concur with” uses the attitudinal intensifier *wholeheartedly* to strengthen the degree of CONCURRENCE. In contrast, “no doubt concur with” can be considered an instance of moderate contractive CONCURRENCE. The contractively lowest instance of CONCUR is “I concur with my Hon. Friend.” This example indicates that attitudinal co-text and GRADUATION resources play a role in modifying the contractiveness/expansiveness of an utterance. It also demonstrates that in any text, the three systems of APPRAISAL (i.e., ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT, and GRADUATION) interact with each other. Thus, interpreting the meaning of any APPRAISAL locution must consider the textual and contextual interaction between these systems. This proved to be the case after analyzing parliamentary debates in CPDF; the APPRAISAL language in parliament can be summarized as primarily constituent of ENGAGEMENT constructions that are supported by hyperbolic language and surrounded by attitudinal language. This integrated pattern occurs repeatedly and regularly in every parliamentary speech and debate. Any evaluative meaning and any intersubjective stance thus need to be understood as the result of these interactions rather than as a single isolated Appraisal item.

8.4 Contractive Questions vs. Expansive Questions in Parliamentary Debates

As mentioned in Chapter Two, parliamentary questions are the key discursive action in the Houses of Parliament, occupying the bulk of all parliamentary proceedings. As they constitute the most frequently used parliamentary tool in argumentation, it is hard to ignore their dialogic role. The contractiveness and expansiveness of particular questions largely depends on what type of question is being asked. However, although one could assume that interrogation implies expansiveness, this is not always the case. Some questions, particularly rhetorical questions, are revealed to be contractive when studied more closely. To exemplify each type, here is a list of expansive questions extracted from the corpus:

#	Expansive Questions
1	Does the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government agree that this was a terrible error of judgment on the part of his colleague?
2	Does the Secretary of State really believe that that is a price worth paying for his ideological support for a free market in insurance?
3	Can my right Hon. Friend reassure my constituents that those businesses that have been affected will be supported when the second tranche is announced next week?
4	Can the Minister confirm that the business support money that is available is capped at £5,000?
5	Does my right Hon. Friend share my concern that small businesses will be excluded from the Flood Re insurance scheme, and that that will have an impact on their future reinsurance and excess premiums?
6	Will he ensure that any future investment in flood defenses takes into account protecting vital transport infrastructure, not just homes and businesses?
7	May I ask, in the presence of the Leader of the House of Commons, whether it would be a good idea to have a national statement on adaptation and on climate change generally for this purpose?

These parliamentary questions are expansive because they open the dialogic space for possible answers. They are the types of expository questions that do not assume a specific response. According to White (2003), such formulations are dialogic because the textual voice implicitly indicates that alternative propositions are possible. By asking such parliamentary questions, the MPs ENTERTAIN possible alternatives and thereby locate the question's implied proposition in the context of heteroglossic diversity.

However, the expansiveness of these questions needs to be considered carefully in the parliamentary context. It is the nature of parliamentary rhetoric to use modals such as *will*, *can*, *may*, etc. to formulate parliamentary questions. So, questions like “Will my Hon. Friend reassure,” “Can the Minister confirm” and “May I” represent a commonly used language to ask questions in parliament. Therefore, there is no doubt that the ubiquity of these expository questions in CPDF results in the current study’s finding that ENTERTAIN is the most frequently used ENGAGEMENT value in the corpus.

On another note, expansiveness can be elusive in the sense that it may not always be used to consider other alternative points of view even if they seem to be constructed to do so. The MP may ask questions that are expansive but encode them with a point of view that they aim to advance, particularly when asking yes/no questions that implicitly force ministers to publicly acknowledge inconvenient or embarrassing facts. For instance, in example 1 above, the opposition MP introduces their question in a way that opens the dialogue for a number of possible positions; (i.e., agree or not agree) as in; “Does the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government agree that...?” However, the MP’s proposition that “that this was a terrible error of judgment on the part of his colleague?” is implicitly being reinforced, even if the question formulation explicitly seems entertaining. The propositional content of these questions makes it difficult to answer them with a direct yes or no. Similar occurrences are presented below:

1	Will the right Hon. Gentleman accept that the Prime Minister was wrong when he again claimed yesterday that more would be spent in the four years between 2011 and 2015 than in the previous four years?
2	Does the right Hon. Gentleman understand why the Prime Minister’s claim yesterday that the government’s response has not been slow will have been met with incredulity by the people of Somerset?
3	Will the Minister tell us whether the Secretary of State now regrets his intemperate attacks last month on the Environment Agency and its staff over flooding?
4	Will he remind the planning Minister that his comments about building on the countryside have caused great concern among those facing the risk of flooding?
5	Will the Minister confirm that even with the money announced in the autumn statement, capital spending by his Department in 2013-14 will be less than it was in 2008?
6	Does he agree that that shows a commitment to the people of the south-west that was never shown by the previous government?

Contractive questions restrict dialogic space by implying only one possible obvious response. They are less frequent than expansive questions and formulate CONCURRENCES. Here are some instances of contractive questions extracted from CPDF:

#	Contractive Questions
1	Is sales blight on 200,000 properties an acceptable price to pay for this government's inaction?
2	In failing to do so, are they not guilty of absolving themselves of their responsibility to help Welsh communities in times of crisis?
3	How can people facing an increasing risk of flood damage due to the effects of climate change have any confidence in a Secretary of State who has downgraded flood protection as a priority and thinks that climate change is benefiting Britain?
4	The Secretary of State again used numbers today that are different from those that the Prime Minister used in the House yesterday. Thanks to a freedom of information request, we know that the Environment Secretary cut more than 40% from the domestic climate change budget last year. Was that really the right priority for the biggest cut to any DEFRA programme?

As noted from these examples, these contractive strategies are realized using rhetorical questions and operate to represent the proposition as self-evident and thus not needing to be stated explicitly using the textual voice. Consequently, such questions are understood as CONCURRENCES in the Appraisal Framework. For instance, in example 1, the MP uses a rhetorical question to promote a critical position against the government's inaction. Similarly, in example 2, the MP implies the stance that the government is guilty for not taking on the responsibility to help Welsh communities in times of crisis. The same is applicable in examples 3 and 4. These contractive questions all present propositions as CONCURRENCES.

As mentioned earlier, parliamentary questions are not always asked to gain information but can be used to criticize or question the government's veracity. It is probably for this reason that most of the contractive rhetorical questions in CPDF imply negative presuppositions. Their goal is not to request information; instead, they aim to criticize because they mostly invoke negative JUDGEMENT (For more on the attitudinal invocations of questions see the extended discussion of this point in Chapter 6).

8.5 Engagement Sequences and Intersubjective Stance in Parliamentary Debates

This section develops my proposal for viewing and analyzing ENGAGEMENT categories as sequences. First, I provide some theoretical justifications for this proposal and its general implications. Then, I discuss examples of various ENGAGEMENT sequences extracted from CPDF and consider their strategic uses and functions in parliamentary debates.

8.5.1 Why ENGAGEMENT Sequences?

As we have already seen, ENGAGEMENT values offer linguistic tools for MPs to negotiate their intersubjective stance. Using appraisal theory as an analytical method is very helpful for understanding how parliamentary intersubjective stance is formulated. However, it does not convey the whole picture of these meanings when analyzed individually because ENGAGEMENT values do not operate separately, as self-standing units; rather, they occur in sequences. Analyzing them as sequences allows us to understand their interconnections and view their role in constructing the intersubjective positioning more comprehensively.

This Thesis therefore proposes a new concept of ENGAGEMENT sequences to help understand the interplay between various ENGAGEMENT values in text. This will help us better assess how MPs manage various viewpoints in parliamentary debates as well as assist in viewing the dynamic perspective of ENGAGEMENT values as they are performed in text (Macken-Horarik & Martin, 2003; Pöldvere et al., 2016).

Analysing ENGAGEMENT values as sequences or as a constellation of statements enables us to identify the various argumentative moves that are performed at different stages in the resolution process of parliamentary debates because the parliamentary argumentation is primarily set around them. It is also important to note that patterns of ENGAGEMENT sequences are not constructed randomly, but to serve the purposes of the MPs who are speaking them. The process of constructing these sequences is more important than the product of the sequences themselves. As van Eemeren and Grootendorst argue, we must view “argumentation not only as a product of a constellation of statements but also as a process” (1984, p. 8).

Pöldvere et al. (2016) argued against the rigid treatment of ENGAGEMENT values because of the highly context-dependent nature of stance-taking. One of their proposals is to adopt a more dynamic approach in analysis, which is also emphasized in this Thesis. My proposal to use

ENGAGEMENT sequences as a methodological tool in analysing ENGAGEMENT expressions comes as an operational mechanism to deal with complexities and the context-dependency in analysing stance constructions in text.

Adopting a more dynamic approach in viewing and dealing with ENGAGEMENT expressions as sequences also helps in understanding the dialogic effect of these expressions. Viewing statements as sequences provides analysts with an all-encompassing view of meaning where it is easier to measure how both dialogic contractive and expansive markers interact in text. Pöldvere et al. (2016) demonstrated this dialogic dynamism in text using the following:

Example: “We firmly believe deep-water drilling can be done safely and in an environmentally sensitive manner.”

Although *believe* is an expansive marker, it is contractive in this sentence because of its co-occurrence with the contractive marker *firmly*. Therefore, this statement represents a warrantable proposition suppressing other possible alternative views. This example is a clear indication of how text is dynamic and operates in sequences and patterns, rather than isolated units.

Similar cases that demonstrate the dynamic interplay between expansive and contractive markers in parliamentary debates as extracted from CPDF are listed here:

<u>I am firmly of the view that</u> the impact of the floods—even though they were a natural event—was exacerbated by a degree of underinvestment in key infrastructure.
<u>I firmly believe</u> , as the Committee does, that we should not rely completely on government sources, but should look at partnership approaches
<u>I certainly believe</u> that someone whose house is flooded, someone who is worried about their future employment or someone who is worried about their communities wants to know whether the government
<u>I believe deeply</u> that many of the problems we face today stem from an inherited legacy of bad planning.

These instances show that measuring the expansiveness and the contractiveness of any text cannot only be measured by counting the expansive and contractive markers. Because of the

dialogic interplay between contractiveness and expansiveness, it is important to adopt a more dynamic approach in analysis, such as using ENGAGEMENT sequences.

8.5.2 Patterns of ENGAGEMENT Sequences in Parliamentary Debates

The following example of a parliamentary entry extracted from CPDF exemplifies how ENGAGEMENT sequences operate in parliamentary text.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): ...Yes, we face very difficult financial circumstances [**CONCUR**], and yes, DEFRA faces the challenge of identifying the savings that are necessary to the government's plans for dealing with the deficit [**CONCUR**]. However, our absolute priority is to ensure that our flood defenses remain as robust as possible [**COUNTER**]. Of course, I cannot guarantee that every single scheme will continue – I would not give that impression at a time when we are going through such a difficult process – but I can assure the Hon. Lady that flood resilience is an absolute priority [**CONCEDE**]. This government want to continue in the spirit of the last government, and to ensure that the schemes that are needed are there [**PRONOUNCE**]. We want to ensure that we are using every possible means to access funds-to use local resources and, when possible, levy funding-and also to ensure that we are fulfilling our responsibilities as a government [**ENTERTAIN**]. We will not satisfy everyone [**DENY**], but I can assure the Hon. Lady that this is an absolute priority for the Department and the government [**COUNTER**]. [**Hansard, HC, 13 July 2010-AD**]

In this extract, the government MP is putting forward a reassurance that his government considers flood resilience to be a priority despite the difficult financial circumstances by using the ENGAGEMENT sequence:

CONCUR	CONCUR	COUNTER	CONCEDE	PRONOUNCE	ENTERTAIN	DENY	COUNTER
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Clearly, contractive markers occur more frequently than expansive markers in this excerpt. The government MP employs contractive values such as CONCUR, CONCEDE, PRONOUNCE, DENY and COUNTER, to promote and reinforce the government position and fend off other alternative views. The repetitive use of CONCUR + CONCUR + COUNTER + CONCEDE and then DENY + COUNTER represents an empathetic stance where the MP attempts to establish solidarity with the audience by reassuring them of the government's commitment to building resilient flood defenses despite the very difficult financial circumstances. Within these

ENGAGEMENT sequences, various arguments are scaled in favor of the government's position.

However, while it is undoubtedly interesting to observe these longer sequences in particular texts, it may be more useful for analytical purposes to identify shorter sequence pairs that are frequently used by MPs. The following section provides examples of some of the most frequently occurring ENGAGEMENT sequence pairs and analyses their argumentative uses in parliamentary debates.

8.5.3 Strategic Moves of Engagement Sequence Pairs

The power of parliamentary argument originates from the interplay between various ENGAGEMENT values. The way the ENGAGEMENT sequences are constructed in text determines the authority of a parliamentary argument. This section aims to explore some of the commonly used ENGAGEMENT sequence pairs in CPDF and discuss their argumentative role. Some of these sequences are constructed for strategic and manoeuvring purposes such as maintaining respect, establishing solidarity and alignment, or confronting and attacking opponents.

As argued above, it is very important to look to ENGAGEMENT resources on a clausal level, that is, to see them as blocs of combined resources rather than isolated units. These combined resources create parliamentary argumentation consisting of ENGAGEMENT pairings of DENY + COUNTER, AFFIRM + COUNTER, ENTERTAIN + PRONOUNCE, ENDORSE + COUNTER, PRONOUNCE + JUSTIFY, etc. As an example, we can consider the ENGAGEMENT resources that interact with COUNTER.

COUNTER mostly operates in two-part structures where there is a mismatch between the information given in the two clauses. What is said in one clause is unexpected and surprising in the light of what is said in the other clause. With its feature of making straightforward contrasts, COUNTER is a key function in the construction of convincing arguments, which is of course a fundamental element in all debates, but is particularly important in the partisan debates that constitute the bulk of parliamentary debating. I claim that COUNTER's effectiveness in argumentation is not only due to its ability to create semantic discrepancy between clauses, but also its characteristic of operating with other ENGAGEMENT resources such as DENY, CONCUR, PRONOUNCE, ENDORSE, ENTERTAIN, and ATTRIBUTE.

The pair of CONCUR + COUNTER forms what Martin and White (2005) refer to as CONCEDE. This ENGAGEMENT sequence represents one of the most common ENGAGEMENT sequences in parliamentary debates. Some examples of CONCUR + COUNTER sequences are presented below in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Examples of CONCUR + COUNTER Sequence

	CONCUR	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD]	Martin Vickers (Cleethorpes) (Con): <u>I know that</u> the government were taking action and making help available where it was necessary,	<u>but</u> the lack of an official statement was regrettable.
[Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD]	Martin Vickers (Cleethorpes) (Con): <u>Of course</u> , actions speak louder than words,	<u>but</u> the feeling of being ignored could so easily have been avoided.
[Hansard, HC, 11 Sep 2014-AD]	Sir John Stanley (Tonbridge and Malling) (Con): <u>I accept that</u> it would need to be implemented over a period,	<u>but</u> it would be an immense step forward in terms of transparency and accountability.
[Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD]	Martin Vickers (Cleethorpes) (Con): <u>Clearly</u> , investment in flood defences has been effective,	<u>but</u> with severe weather apparently becoming more common, yet more needs to be done—we must not be complacent.
[Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD]	Sir Tony Cunningham (Workington) (Lab): <u>I accept</u> the importance of flood defences and in some respects flood resilience measures, which the Hon. Gentleman is talking about,	<u>but</u> does he agree that just as important is ongoing maintenance? We have to have that ongoing maintenance from the EA week in, week out.
[Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD]	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Dan Rogerson): <u>Obviously</u> , I would be happy to do anything to help in discussions with the insurance industry,	<u>but</u> the Flood Re scheme is focused on residential properties.

Clearly, these instances represent a mitigating intersubjective stance where criticism and disagreement are softened by using CONCUR + COUNTER sequence. The first part of the sequence CONCUR is used to establish solidarity with the other interlocutor, but the speaker then pulls back and presents a divergent view in the COUNTER part. Thus, the COUNTER part of the sequence conflicts with the initial alignment maintained with CONCUR. This

rhetorical strategic move is frequently used as a parliamentary technique to soften disagreement and criticism particularly from MPs of the same party who are considered less likely to diverge from their party line. This study found out that most instances of this move are used by Conservative MPs who are strongly aligned with their Conservative government.

Another common ENGAGEMENT pairing is PRONOUNCE + COUNTER, as in this example where the Liberal Democrat MP Jeremy Brown strategically softens criticism by countering it with a mitigating stance:

	PRONOUNCE	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]	Mr Jeremy Browne (Taunton Deane) (LD): To offer a balanced view, <u>it is fair to say that</u> many residents of Somerset feel that the government were slow off the mark,	<u>but</u> they are now grateful that the government appear to be acting in a way that matches the enormous size of the challenge, particularly in dredging the River Tone and the River Parrett.

COUNTER also interacts with ENDORSE as in the following example, where the pair ENDORSE + COUNTER is used to confront and challenge opponents. Such confrontational sequences are particularly frequently used by opposition MPs:

	ENDORSE	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 21 Nov 2013-OAQ]	Barry Gardiner (Brent North) (Lab): <u>DEFRA's own figures show that</u> climate change could see the number of homes at risk of flooding more than double to more than 800,000 by the mid-2020s,	<u>yet</u> the Committee on Climate Change's report on adaptation makes it clear that even these figures underestimate the risk and that up to 500,000 homes might be left without protection. Why is the Secretary of State ignoring the science?

Similarly, a confrontational sequence can be created by pairing COUNTER with ATTRIBUTE, as exemplified in the following:

	ATTRIBUTE	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]	Alison Seabek (Plymouth, Moor View (Lab)): In response to a question asked yesterday by my right Hon. Friend the Member for Exeter (Mr Bradshaw), <u>the Prime Minister said:</u> “Where extra investment and protections are needed, they must be put in place.”—[Official Report, 5 February 2014; Vol. 575, c. 269.] Those good words were followed today by a £30 million pledge from the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government,	<u>yet</u> the local enterprise partnerships, local authorities, local transport boards and people in the south-west simply do not believe them.

Another expansive resource that interacts with COUNTER is ENTERTAIN. The result of this pairing is to create the effect of contracting the dialogistic expansiveness of ENTERTAIN. As the following examples show, using the ENTERTAIN + COUNTER sequence communicates an empathetic intersubjective stance where an MP initiates their speech empathetically, attempting to establish solidarity with audiences before introducing their clarification or statement.

	ENTERTAIN	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD]	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Dan Rogerson): <u>I understand the concern,</u>	<u>but</u> the Flood Re scheme is focused on residential property.
[Hansard, HC, 24 Jan 2013-OAQ]	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): <u>I entirely understand that frustration,</u>	<u>but</u> the Environment Agency now provides mapping down to a 50 metre by 50 metre square, which is a lot more accurate than using postcodes.
[Hansard, HC, 1 Mar 2012-OAQ]	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): <u>I understand the frustration</u> felt by my Hon. Friend’s residents.	The Environment Agency makes the latest flood risk information available to insurance companies, on licence, on a quarterly basis. The approaches of insurance companies vary considerably, <u>however.</u>

However, of all ENGAGEMENT categories, COUNTER mostly operates in conjunction with DENY. Previous research supports the view that following negation, suppression is at times a default strategy (Giora, 2006). The DENY + COUNTER sequence pairs the denying

proposition in direct contradistinction with the expectation that is assumed to arise from a proposition that occurs immediately before or after (Martin & White, 2005). An example of DENY + COUNTER is:

	DENY	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 16 May 2013-OAQ]	The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson): ... We are <u>not</u> quite there yet,	<u>but</u> I hope to be able to come to the House soon to announce a resolution of the problems.

Now consider the following example of COUNTER + DENY:

	COUNTER	DENY
[Hansard, HC, 13 July 2010-AD]	Diana R. Johnson (Kingston upon Hull North) (Lab): ... It is disappointing that <u>although</u> some local authorities have adopted a cheap insurance scheme for council tenants,	<u>this has not been taken up by my local authority.</u> I am concerned, therefore, about the future for residents in my constituency and their ability to find affordable insurance in the future.

The pairings of DENY + COUNTER or COUNTER + DENY constitute what are referred to by Van Dijk (1984, 1991, 1992, 1997) as disclaimers. Disclaimers are very prevalent in all forms of public and political discourse, including CPDF. The ENGAGEMENT sequence of DENY + COUNTER is used in parliamentary debates to construe various functions. The following sheds light on some of those functions, supported with instances from the corpus.

Disclaimers generally take different patterns and forms, such as the pairing of DENY + COUNTER. They are used to realize various functions in parliamentary debates, such as a corrective device that rectifies real or anticipated misconceptions or misunderstandings among an audience. In this pairing, the recurrent pattern of “not X, but Y” is utilized, where the first segment represents the rejected claim and second segment represents the correction. Example of this corrective use are:

	DENY	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]	Barry Gardiner (Brent North) (Lab): ... Those figures are not the ones that the Prime Minister used two weeks ago at Prime Minister’s questions,	<u>but</u> they are the ones set out clearly by the independent Committee on Climate Change in its policy note on 21 January
[Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]	Dr Sarah Wollaston (Totnes) (Con): ... this sort of flooding <u>will not be an exceptional weather event</u>	<u>but</u> the new normal.

In most cases disclaimers are used strategically. For instance, the government MP in the following example uses a DENY + COUNTER sequence to create a confrontational contrast which construes positive self-representation against a negative representation of others. This type of confrontational sequence also plays a role in deflecting blame to others in an attempt to glorify self-image. Here is an example where a government MP uses a DENY + COUNTER sequence to create a contrast between his government and the opposition with regard to investment in infrastructure. Using such a contrast strategically challenges opponents and enhances the speaker’s own image (or that of their party). In this example, COUNTER is realized via the semicolon:

	DENY	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-UQ]	The Secretary of State for Transport (Mr Patrick McLoughlin): When the buckets were overflowing, <u>they did not invest in our infrastructure;</u>	<u>we are investing in it,</u> rebuilding the British railways, and the roads as well.

Furthermore, the ENGAGEMENT sequence of DENY + COUNTER is an effective tool for mitigating criticism. In the current data, this sequence is mostly used by Conservative MPs who tend to soften their criticism to the government in their aim to strike a balance between representing the concerns of their constituents and supporting their political party. The following are examples of the mitigating use of DENY + COUNTER:

	DENY	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 12 May 2014-AD]	Kwasi Kwarteng (Spelthorne) (Con): <u>I am not trying to apportion blame;</u>	<u>I am just saying that</u> this is something that we, as parliamentary representatives, should be seriously investigating.
[Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]	Mr Brian Binley (Northampton South) (Con): <u>I am not saying that</u> flood defences have not improved—they have—	<u>but</u> little has happened in those respects, and that is because we have not listened to people in the localities.
[Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]	Caroline Nokes (Romsey and Southampton North) (Con): <u>I do not blame the Minister.</u> He attended a flood summit back in 2010, and he absolutely understands all the issues.	<u>However,</u> I wonder to what extent his hands are tied elsewhere, perhaps not so much by the change in Secretary of State but by the involvement of the Cabinet Office in some aspects of these discussions.
[Hansard, HC, 26 Mar 2013-BB]	Neil Parish (Tiverton and Honiton) (Con): <u>There is nothing wrong with profit,</u>	<u>but</u> we must not set up a system that puts a levy on all insurance payers in order to pay for those in flood-risk areas.

Another strategic use of DENY + COUNTER is impression management (Goffman, 1959). When MPs anticipate the threat of a negative accusation and want to clarify their intentions, they use the DENY + COUNTER sequence to construct their argument. In the following two examples, both the government MP and the Conservative MP deny that their statements have any political motivation or that they are attempting to incite blame or create party political tension. Being party political might be perceived negatively as it reveals that the speaker's intention is not to advance rational argument, but simply to provoke division and polarization. Politicians and political commentators in the media refer to this as “playing party politics,” and this practice is widely disparaged (even though it is very common). To avoid such accusations, therefore, MPs often use DENY + COUNTER sequences to clarify their intentions, aiming to eliminate any negative impressions that might be given by what they say:

	DENY	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 26 Nov 2012-MS]	The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson): ... Under very difficult circumstances—I <u>do not want to make tiresome political points,</u>	<u>but</u> we inherited them from the previous government—we have managed to hold up the investment in flood defence schemes.
[Hansard, HC, 3 Mar 2014-ED]	Mr Robert Walter (North Dorset) (Con): ... The local GP surgery had been forced to close temporarily, and the only village shop estimated that it had lost a devastating £20,000 in turnover. I share my constituents' views and experiences here today <u>not to lay blame,</u>	<u>but</u> to make three simple points.

The following two examples show other ways of using DENY + COUNTER for impression management purposes.

	DENY	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 3 Feb 2014-UQ]	The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson): <u>.... I am not an expert</u> on the Gwent levels,	<u>but</u> I have made it clear that, for the long term, there is a role for holding water further back in the catchment....
[Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]	Diana Johnson (Kingston upon Hull North) (Lab): <u>I do not know</u> whether it is parliamentary to say this,	<u>but</u> I am gobsmacked by that response.

In the first example, the government MP is denying any expertise in the Gwent levels before advancing a proposition directly affecting them. Denying expertise protects the government MP from being held accountable for what he says about the Gwent levels. In the second example, the Labour MP denies any intention to violate parliamentary regulation by using the casual word “gobsmacked.” In all cases of impression management and self-presentation, the speaker uses DENY + COUNTER to avoid misunderstanding and deflect the possibility of any negative accusations. By doing so, the speaker attempts to construct a desired self-representation in the hope that this will be perceived by their audience (Albu, 2012).

The DENY + COUNTER sequence can also be employed as a defense strategy (Van Dijk, 1992). In this situation, the MP has actually been accused of something, and uses DENY to justify their position or actions, typically using euphemisms. If the MP feels that their respectability and public image are being threatened, they sometimes rely on this denial

strategy to minimize the effects of that threat. The following two examples showcase how the MPs react to a previous accusation using denial and euphemism to both defend and justify their case:

	DENY	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]	Maria Eagle (Garston and Halewood) (Lab): ... <u>I did not say that</u> there was no support or preparation,	<u>but</u> the government did not act in the requisite fashion to deal with the seriousness of the situation in many places.
[Hansard, HC, 23 Jan 2014-AD]	Andrew Percy (Brigg and Goole) (Con): ... <u>We did not necessarily agree with everything</u> in the Water Bill Committee,	<u>but</u> I know he is incredibly competent on this matter and I reiterate to him our invitation to our constituencies to see the clear-up work going on.

In some instances, the DENY + COUNTER sequence is used as an alignment strategy, particularly by government MPs. In cases where government MPs anticipate that their target audience may not be satisfied with a parliamentary answer, they use DENY + COUNTER constructions to align that target audience to the government position. This strategy is used as a technique to boost a positive public image of the government. There are numerous cases representing this usage in the corpus, and a small selection follows. In the first example below, the government MP denies any ability to comment on the project that her fellow MP is asking about, but then assures him that the government is taking his concern seriously. That assurance from the government side is advanced to align the questioner and audience to the government position by confirming that the government is doing its best. By doing so, even if the parliamentary answer does not satisfy the target audience, the effect is minimized, and the audience is strategically aligned to the government's side. All of the examples below demonstrate this strategy.

	DENY	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 9 Dec 2010-OAQ]	The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mrs Caroline Spelman): ... <u>I cannot comment</u> on individual projects ahead of Environment Agency decisions, which it has said it will make after the end of the consultation period on payment for outcomes, which concludes on 16 February.	<u>However,</u> my Hon. Friend's concern about flooding in her constituency is taken very seriously by all of us.

[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]	The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Mr Eric Pickles): <u>We cannot control the weather,</u>	<u>but</u> we can and will provide the security that hard-working families deserve to allow them to get on with their daily lives.
[Hansard, HC, 16 May 2013-OAQ]	The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson): <u>We are not quite there yet,</u>	<u>but</u> I hope to be able to come to the House soon to announce a resolution of the problems.
[Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-UQ]	The Secretary of State for Transport (Mr Patrick McLoughlin): <u>I cannot</u> give my Hon. Friend an absolute commitment at the Dispatch Box today,	<u>but</u> I will certainly investigate the point that she has made.

Among the common patterns of disclaimers is the emphatic discontinuous phrase *not only* and *but also*, where “also” is optional and other words can substitute for “only,” such as just, simply, merely, etc. This pattern is both interesting and ubiquitous in political discourse and parliamentary debates (Albu, 2012). A detailed analysis of this specific pattern in CPDF and the investigation of its various functions is beyond the scope of this thesis. For our present purposes, it will suffice to focus on one of its most striking and distinctive uses in constructing parliamentary argument. Consider the following instances:

	not + (only, just, etc.)	but
[Hansard, HC, 13 July 2010-AD]	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): ... I have seen wonderful examples of communities pulling together and <u>not only</u> enjoying the process,	<u>but</u> creating a flood watch scheme rather like a neighbourhood watch scheme.
[Hansard, HC, 4 July 2013-OAQ]	The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): ... When the deal was announced from the Dispatch Box last week, there was an audible sigh of relief, <u>not only</u> from Government Back Benchers	<u>but</u> from Opposition Back Benchers.
[Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-UQ]	Kerry McCarthy (Bristol East) (Lab): ... <u>Not only</u> do rail users in Bristol have to contend with the usual overpriced, overcrowded trains,	<u>but</u> they are now being hit by disruption in both directions;
[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]	Maria Eagle (Garston and Halewood) (Lab): ... The floods have <u>not only</u> left homes wrecked,	<u>but</u> have left businesses facing ruin, and severe difficulties in accessing schools, workplaces and essential services.

The first two examples are uttered by government MPs and the second two are uttered by opposition MPs. The examples illustrate how the sequence “*not (only) ... , but ...*” is being used to create a cumulative effect in relation to a particular proposition. So, if the statement being advanced discusses something in positive attitudinal language, this pattern expands the positive effect of the meaning, as shown clearly in the first two examples by government MPs, reproduced below:

... I have seen wonderful examples of communities pulling together and not only enjoying the process, but creating a flood watch scheme rather like a neighbourhood watch scheme

When the deal was announced from the Dispatch Box last week, there was an audible sigh of relief, not only from Government Back Benchers, but from Opposition Back Benchers.

If, on the other hand, the statement being advanced conveys a negative attitude, using the pattern “*not (only) ... , but ...*” extends that attitudinal negative meaning further. This is evident in the two examples by opposition MPs;

... Not only do rail users in Bristol have to contend with the usual overpriced, overcrowded trains, but they are now being hit by disruption in both directions,

the floods have not only left homes wrecked, but have left businesses facing ruin, and severe difficulties in accessing schools, workplaces and essential services.

Based on this, one can argue that this pattern plays a hyperbolic role, extending the effect of the attitudinal meaning where that meaning is positive or negative because the “*not (only) ... , but ...*” pattern has an expansive function which extends boundaries of meaning. If the argument is constructed around praising, for example, then this praising meaning is extended and thus amplified by the use of this pattern. Similarly, if the argument aims to criticize or problematize, then both the criticism and the problem are exaggerated by using this sequence.

This demonstrates how the interplay of COUNTER with other ENGAGEMENT values results in various sequences that are used as strategic moves in parliamentary argumentation. Many

different strategies are accomplished using these sequences, including mitigating, empathetic, deflective, defensive, confrontational, managing impression, or to establish a point of solidarity, as have been shown in examples presented above.

My approach of taking one ENGAGEMENT sub-category such as COUNTER and then studying how it interacts with other ENGAGEMENT sub-categories proves to be a practical approach for identifying ENGAGEMENT sequences in text (Figure 8.6). It enables us to analyze these sequences thoroughly and examine their meanings in context. A similar approach can be used to analyze other ENGAGEMENT sequences where one sub-category is taken as a starting point and then study its interplay with other sub-categories.

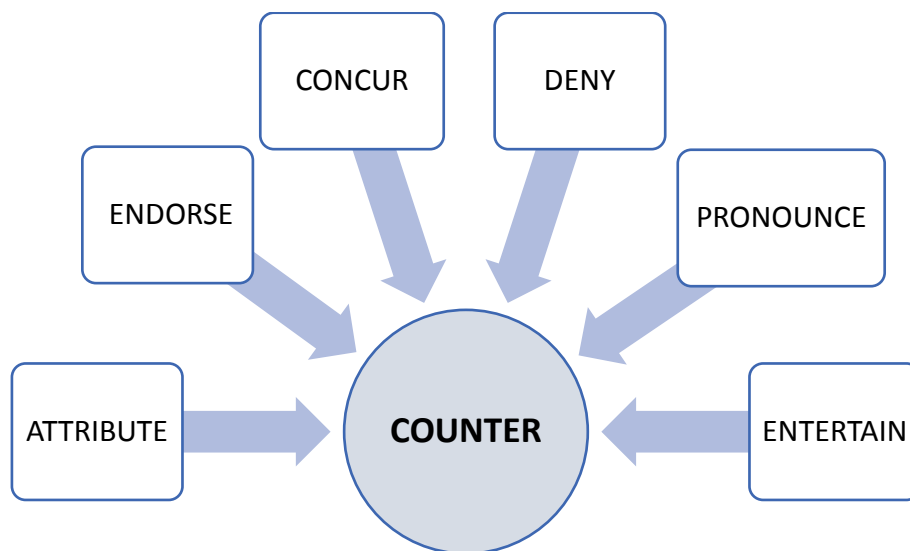


Figure 8.6 Interaction of COUNTER with other ENGAGEMENT sub-categories

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented a comparative analysis of all ENGAGEMENT categories across government and opposition MPs. The quantitative analysis of CPDF shows that both government and opposition MPs use contractive values more than expansive values. While opposition MPs use DENY most frequently as a contractive value, government MPs tend to invest the most on ENTERTAIN values.

The chapter has also highlighted the contextual conditions affecting the heteroglossic contractiveness and expansiveness in parliamentary debates. Although Martin and White (2005) recognized the important role of context in determining the span of heteroglossia in text, there was no attempt made to study these conditions and how they influence the level of contractiveness and expansiveness. This chapter explored these contextual conditions and discussed them with reference to parliamentary debates. An additional step is made by proposing a mechanism to deal with this contextual complexity by using what I refer to as ENGAGEMENT sequences to view and analyse heteroglossic values. This mechanism helps analysts to understand how ENGAGEMENT values operate in text and enables them to view these meanings in their extended context, rather than viewing them as isolated units.

The next chapter (Chapter 9) will provide a discussion about ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE as contractive ENGAGEMENT resources in parliamentary debates. The following chapter (Chapter 10) aims to offer a detailed investigation about the uses of ATTRIBUTION in CPDF.

CHAPTER 9 ACCLAIM AND DENOUNCE IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES: A CASE OF CONTRACTIVE ENGAGEMENT

9.1 Introduction

On the basis of my analysis of parliamentary debates in CPDF, this chapter proposes that two ENGAGEMENT categories need to be added to the current APPRAISAL framework. ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are the two proposed contractive ENGAGEMENT resources. The chapter discusses the theoretical justifications for proposing these resources and examines their dialogic and intersubjective functions in parliamentary discourse.

Martin and White (2005) have suggested that the Appraisal Framework is a work in progress and that it is a reference point for those with alternative classifications. This chapter does not come up with an alternative classification per se, but rather aims to expand the current Appraisal Framework in order to encompass new meanings that are not yet fully incorporated in the framework.

One of the discursive practices that my analysis has observed in the UK parliamentary discourse involves making statements that lie on a cline from acclaiming to denouncing someone or something. Appreciating something or someone using what we will call ACCLAIM resources, or at the other end of the spectrum, denigrating something or someone using DENOUNCE, turn out to be commonly used discursive strategies in parliamentary debates. Although ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are inherently attitudinal, and therefore would seem to be part of the JUDGEMENT system in Appraisal Theory, this chapter argues that they are better conceptualised as ENGAGEMENT resources in parliamentary debates. Through an analysis of instances of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in the parliament, it will be shown that these resources affect the dialogic span of the text, and that the apparent dialogic and intersubjective properties of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE encourage us to incorporate them under the ENGAGEMENT system.

Unlike epistemic and cognitive positioning, ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE represents a type of attitudinal or moral positioning. The existing ENGAGEMENT resources in the Appraisal Framework (e.g., DENY, CONCEDE, CONCUR, ENTERTAIN, etc.) fall under epistemic and cognitive positioning. However, propositions of praise, acclamation, denunciation,

condemnation, etc. are not yet incorporated despite their evident dialogic effects in texts. It is the purpose of this chapter to redress this, by proposing a modification to the Appraisal system that acknowledges that the language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE plays a major role in moral and attitudinal positioning and affects alignment/dis-alignment in Parliamentary discourse.

The chapter begins by presenting the theoretical justifications for incorporating ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in the ENGAGEMENT system. This section is followed by analysis of instances of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in CPDF. A comparative discussion on uses of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE by different parliamentary parties is also presented. The chapter then explores the communicative and rhetorical functions of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE and how they play a role as positioning and alignment/dis-alignment acts. Finally, the chapter ends by explaining how the language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE functions as an argumentative instrument and considering its political implications in parliamentary debates.

9.2 ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE as ENGAGEMENT Resources

This section aims to discuss the theoretical justifications for the proposal to incorporate the linguistic resources of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE under the ENGAGEMENT system of the Appraisal Framework.

9.2.1 Why ACCLAIM?

While coding the data for ENGAGEMENT resources, I came across cases where their prominent dialogistic and engaging effects were simply too obvious to be ignored. Such cases are as in the following:

<p>The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): I <i>give full praise</i> to him and his constituents for the leadership that they have shown. [<i>Hansard, HC, 26 Mar 2013-BB</i>]</p>

<p>Hilary Benn (Leeds Central) (Lab): I <i>commend</i> the approach taken by Sir Michael Pitt in carrying out his review in 2007. [<i>Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD</i>]</p>
--

In these two examples, the MPs express praise and commendation in a very direct and speech-act-like manner. In the first, the Government MP announces his full praise to a fellow MP and his constituents. In the second example, the Opposition MP commends the Pitt Review which

was a review report on the issue of flooding initiated in 2007 by the previous Labour Government. In bestowing commendation and praise on a fellow MP, these MPs clearly recognise that there is a dialogistic alternative. It is this opening up of an evaluative alternative which leads us to consider such occurrences from a dialogistic point of view. Nor are these isolated examples; on the contrary, the corpus contains many other similar instances as in:

<u>I acclaim</u> <i>the work of the business improvement district in Worcester.....</i>
<u>I praise</u> <i>the work of individuals such as Chris Brook who have gone to</i>
<u>I really do want to praise</u> <i>the local Environment Agency and council staff.....</i>
<u>I want publicly to praise</u> <i>all those in the fire services: they have supplied specialist vehicles...</i>
<u>I applaud</u> <i>the residents of Purley, because I have seen that approach work not</i>
<u>I very much applaud</u> <i>the tremendous efforts of the Hambledon community in</i>
<u>I commend</u> <i>the tireless work of local councils, firefighters, Environment Agency</i>
<u>I commend</u> <i>the good work done by the fire and rescue services, the police,</i>
<u>I really admire</u> <i>the work that they have done around the country. The fire services</i>
<u>I admire</u> <i>the right hon. Gentleman for grabbing the opportunity to promote that</i>

There can be no doubt that such cases are dialogistically engaging, and their proliferation in our data prevent from ignoring them and neglecting their dialogistic and rhetorical effects. However, it is difficult to locate these under any of the current categories within the ENGAGEMENT system as proposed by Martin and White (2005). It was hard to find an ENGAGEMENT category that satisfactorily incorporates these instances and reflects their evident intersubjective functions in the text. These instances clearly fall under the PROCLAIM category. All the current subcategories of PROCLAIM (CONCUR, PRONOUNCE and ENDORSE) can be related in some way to the above formulations of praise and commendation even though they lexicographically lack the explicit wordings to indicate this. For instance, praising someone or something implies approval and CONCURRENCE with what is being praised. Additionally, when an MP praises, applauds or commends someone or something, they implicitly ENDORSE the value position advanced in these propositions. These examples can also be regarded as PRONOUNCE due to their heightened involvement on the part of the speaker. Yet, incorporating these under CONCUR, ENDORSE or PRONOUNCE does not seem to fully explain their dialogistic ENGAGEMENT effects. Tagging them under CONCURRENCE, PRONOUNCEMENT or ENDORSEMENT would washout their distinct dialogistic meaning, which is especially problematic in the context of this thesis as they represent one of the main characteristics of parliamentary talk.

Thus, this study proposes to add another sub-category under PROCLAIM to incorporate these meanings. We refer to this subcategory as ACCLAIM¹⁶. This new sub-category is illustrated in Figure 9.1 below:

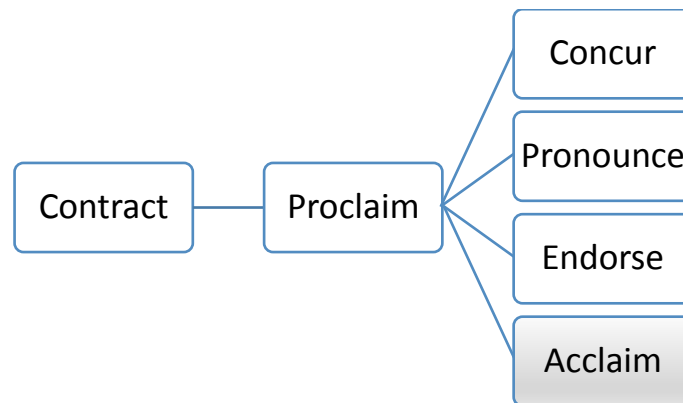


Figure 9.1 ACCLAIM as a Sub-category of PROCLAIM

ACCLAIM is an overt expression of commendation, praise, welcome or appreciation of someone or somebody which entails that the textual voice aligns itself with the value position advanced in these expressions. If you praise someone or something without irony, it goes without saying that this indicates that you strongly approve of it and present it as highly valued and appreciated. It is also very important to note here that ACCLAIM can be realized variously. For instance, ACCLAIM can be communicated via non-verbal realizations such as applause, cheering and standing ovations. ACCLAIM also is implied in the language of positive ATTITUDE in that evaluating someone or something positively simultaneously aligns you with that position (Du Bois 2007) and therefore is as an implicit instance of ACCLAIM. Indeed, it is obvious that locutions such as *I/We praise, commend, applaud, acclaim, admire, appreciate, compliment, ...etc.* are inherently attitudinal. However, our concern here is not with non-verbal ACCLAIM nor its attitudinal aspect but its dialogistic and ENGAGEMENT functionality as locutions of intersubjectivity in the text. The next section will explain this intersubjective and dialogistic role of ACCLAIM in detail.

¹⁶ It is important to mention here that this proposal is based on our analysis of parliamentary debates. The validity of this proposal in other types of genres might need to be tested.

9.2.2 ACCLAIM as ENGAGEMENT

The obvious intersubjective functionality of ACCLAIM nominates it to be another ENGAGEMENT category. We argue here that it is not only the resources of DISCLAIM, PROCLAIM, ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE that the authorial voice draws upon to negotiate their alignment/dis-alignment, but also that ACCLAIM resources can play a dialogistic role in the text. ACCLAIM as intersubjective and dialogistic act acknowledges other views and brings them into the text in order to praise and commend them, thereby indicating strong approval and alignment with whoever or whatever is being praised and acclaimed. It is heteroglossic because it recognises those other views that it is evaluating positively and it is contractive because by acclaiming the authorial voice it is embracing the value position advanced and advancing a strongly heightened approval of and alignment to that position. In other words, by presenting something or someone as publicly and overtly acclaimed, the textual voice limits the dialogic space and challenges potential or actual opposing positions or views.

The language of ACCLAIM is directly related to this issue of speaker's alignment/dis-alignment. By using locutions such as *I praise...*, *I acclaim...*, *I admire...*, *I commend...*, etc., the speaker states explicitly an alignment and approval of what or who is being praised, acclaimed, commended, etc. This alignment is even amplified by infused intensification inherited in these lexes of *praise*, *commend*, *applaud*, *admire*, *acclaim*, etc. Not only does the speaker CONCUR-AFFIRM, PRONOUNCE or ENDORSE something or someone, but they also intensify their evaluations by praising, commending, applauding, etc., all of which indicate a heightened stance of alignment. Such expressions of ACCLAIM are also inherently attitudinal. This indicates that alignment/dis-alignment is not in all cases epistemic or cognitive (as in CONCUR and DENY, etc.), but it can be attitudinal, instead, or in addition (as in cases of ACCLAIM). In fact, this aspect of attitudinal alignment connects the ENGAGEMENT system to Du Bois's intersubjective stance triangle (2007) (as discussed in Chapter Three). When a speaker evaluates something or someone, they are positioning themselves and simultaneously aligning or dis-aligning with other subjects. Similarly, in ACCLAIM when the speaker/writer praises, commends, acclaims, applauds.... etc., they are positioning themselves and those they ACCLAIM which accordingly aligns them to the value position advanced and in relation to those they address.

It is also worth mentioning here that locutions of ACCLAIM can represent the explicit stance-taking in the text. By acclaiming, the authorial voice adopts an overt stance towards the value

position being forwarded by the text and with respect to those they address. Thus, analysing instances of ACCLAIM can help reveal the stance-taking of the speakers. Locating a speaker or writer's stance through the text they produce is not an easy, straightforward process, as we have discussed in Chapter Three, but the language of ACCLAIM may be one of the principal linguistic resources through which analysts can observe stance-taking at work in a text.

In the Parliament, MPs can use ACCLAIM to indicate their alignments by using resources of public praise, applause, commendation, etc. If an MP publicly acclaims the Government's flood prevention policy, this simultaneously shows his/her alignment with the Government on that policy and attempts to align his/her audience with this position. Similarly, if an MP publicly commends a new motion on combating climate change threats, this commendation indicates that this MP is strongly aligned to a pro-environment stance. In short, by observing the language of ACCLAIM, we can tell where an MP stands regarding various issues and matters being debated in Parliament. The next section aims to discuss how ACCLAIM is realized linguistically in the Parliament and investigates its key dialogistic and rhetorical effects.

9.2.3 ACCLAIM in the Parliament

Before we begin discussing how ACCLAIM is linguistically realized in our corpus of parliamentary debates, we need to attend to its gradability in text.

The language of ACCLAIM scales on a gradable spectrum ranging from low towards high in the semantic intensity of that value. This gradability is usually reinforced by the infused meaning in locutions realizing ACCLAIM, the contextual variables and features of co-text such as GRADUATION resources. The results of my ACCLAIM analysis extracted from CPDF confirm this gradability behaviour. Analysing these results, we found out that the meanings of ACCLAIM range from recognition and appreciation of something or someone towards highly commending and praising it. Various linguistic realizations of ACCLAIM span from higher to lower intensity, as illustrated in Figure 9.2:

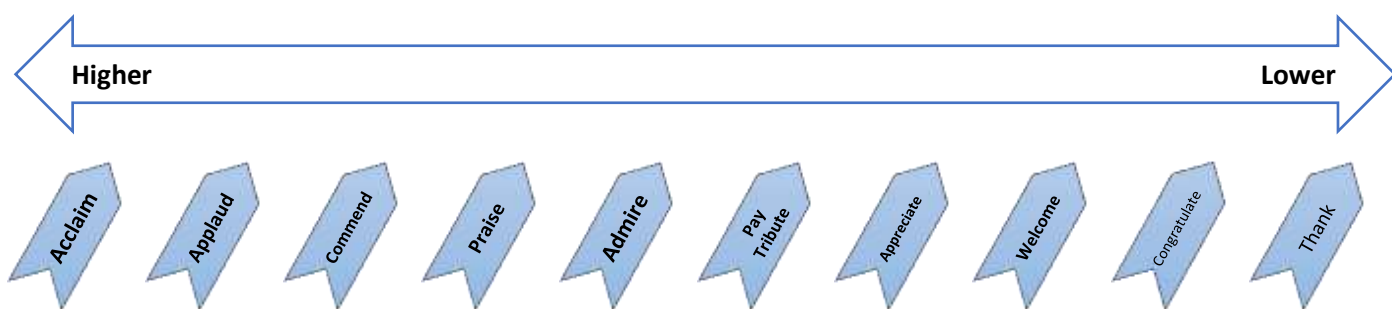


Figure 9.2 Degrees of Intensity of ACCLAIM

To give examples for each of these linguistic retaliations, the following table (Table 9.1) lists some extracted CPDF:

Table 9.1 Examples of ACCLAIM in CPDF

Locution	Examples
Acclaim	<i>I acclaim the work of the business improvement district in Worcester, which ran a</i>
	<i>That won great acclaim from city centre businesses. It helped loads of people to get to....</i>
	<i>In Worcestershire, however, there has been universal acclaim for the agency's round-the-clock work.....</i>
Applaud	<i>I very much applaud the tremendous efforts of the Hambledon community in its response to the</i>
	<i>I applaud the residents of Purley, because I have seen that approach work</i>
	<i>I have found that the whole community has rallied round, and I applaud that. The Department has a procedure for dealing with flooding at three</i>
Commend	<i>I commend the approach taken by Sir Michael Pitt in carrying out his review</i>
	<i>I commend the tireless work of local councils, firefighters, Environment Agency</i>
	<i>I commend the good work done by the fire and rescue services, the police,</i>
Praise	<i>I give full praise to him and his constituents for the leadership that they have shown.....</i>
	<i>I praise the work of individuals such as Chris Brook who have gone to enormous trouble to source</i>
	<i>I want publicly to praise all those in the fire services: they have supplied specialist vehicles that have been of</i>
Admire	<i>I really admire the work that they have done around the country. The fire services have been key during</i>
	<i>I admire the right hon. Gentleman for grabbing the opportunity to promote that project, of which he is</i>
	<i>My right hon. Friend the Member for Leeds Central (Hilary Benn) behaved admirably after the 2007 and 2009 floods, not least through the flood recovery grant.</i>

Pay tribute	<i>I pay tribute to all the agencies that have worked together on the River Hull Advisory Board.....</i>
	<i>This has been an excellent debate and I pay tribute to many Members for their contributions, including the hon. Member for Brighton,</i>
	<i>I enjoyed my visit to Exeter and I pay tribute to everyone who pulled together—councils, public services, the Environment Agency and</i>
Appreciate	<i>We very much appreciate the role that they have played, not just in response but in coming up with innovative</i>
	<i>The level of response, and the spirit of it, was staggering. I appreciate how hard everyone has worked and just how hard it is for those people whose homes</i>
	<i>I appreciate how hard everyone has been working, and how difficult it is for those whose homes and</i>
Welcome	<i>I welcome the Government's efforts to ensure that everyone who buys a house on a floodplain.....</i>
	<i>I welcome the £10 million that the Government have already set aside to help those businesses,</i>
	<i>The policies adopted for those two sections are welcome,</i>
Congratulate	<i>I thank and congratulate Northumberland county council, which has allocated £12 million towards the cost of new</i>
	<i>I also congratulate Ministers on getting a grip of this situation and offering support wherever they can.....</i>
	<i>I congratulate the charities that raised funds, materials and gifts in kind for the victims.....</i>
Thank	<i>I thank the Minister and the whole team for all their work—I am talking about the.....</i>
	<i>Finally, I thank the hard-working and dedicated emergency services, in particular the firefighters</i>
	<i>I thank the volunteers from the Flooding on the Levels Action Group for their sterling work in</i>

It is not only the gradability behaviour that is notable in these linguistic realizations of ACCLAIM, but also other prominent aspects that need to be illuminated. For instance, ACCLAIM can be realized either in a subjective way or in an objective way. Martin and White's (2005) distinction between subjective vs. objective PRONOUNCEMENT can be drawn upon here to categorize the lexico-grammatical realizations of ACCLAIM into subjective or objective. This subjectivity and objectivity can be observed in number of realizations of ACCLAIM in the Parliament, as shown in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2 Examples of Subjective vs. Objective ACCLAIM

	Subjective ACCLAIM	Objective ACCLAIM
1	<i>I acclaim the work of the business improvement district in Worcester, which ran a</i>	<i>That won great acclaim from city centre businesses. It helped loads of people to get to....</i>
2	<i>I praise the fire service and the local authorities, and the Environment Agency and its subcontractors</i>	<i>The Environment Agency has drawn praise not just from the local communities that were flooded this weekend, but from those that were It was a widely praised report. I thought it was exemplary.</i>
3	<i>I really admire the work that they have done around the country. The fire services have been key during</i>	<i>My right hon. Friend the Member for Leeds Central (Hilary Benn) behaved admirably after the 2007 and 2009 floods, not least through the flood recovery grant.</i>
4	<i>I welcome the £10 million that the Government have already set aside to help those businesses,</i>	<i>the 25% reduction in those walk-on fares is welcome</i>
5	<i>I appreciate how hard everyone has worked and just how hard it is for those people whose homes</i>	<i>the work that has taken and is taking place in Westy is much appreciated...</i>
6	<i>I thank the Minister and the whole team for all their work—I am talking about the.....</i>	<i>it is to the credit of the previous labour government that</i>

As can be seen in these examples, subjective ACCLAIM is chiefly grounded in the subjectivity of the speaker/writer, whereas in objective ACCLAIM subjectivity is less personalised. Instance as (*I acclaim X*) in example 1 is more subjective than (*X won great acclaim*). Similarly, (*I praise X*) in example 2 is more subjective than (*X has drawn praise*) or (*It was a widely praised report*) and so on. It can be observed that subjective ACCLAIM is mostly realized using the performative speech acts (e.g. *I acclaim, I praise, I welcome, I thank ...etc.*).

Another distinction that can be drawn is that between ACCLAIM that is realized implicitly and ACCLAIM that is realized explicitly. As mentioned earlier, evaluating someone or something positively can imply praising it and hence could be seen as a case of ACCLAIM. Yet, it should be noted here that it is not only positive attitudinal assessment that qualifies a proposition to be an instance of ACCLAIM; rather it is about how this positive ATTITUDE is advanced in the text; i.e., monoglossically or heteroglossically. To illustrate this further, let us compare four examples extracted from CPDF as shown in Figure 9.3.



Figure 9.3 Variations of Presenting ATTITUDE in a text (Monoglossically and Heteroglossically)

All these examples advance positive attitudinal assessment, yet each presents it differently. In the first example, positive ATTITUDE is advanced monoglossically. “**My hon. Friend has been a strong advocate** for his constituents...” might imply acclaiming the Honourable Friend by positively evaluating him (+JUDGEMENT) yet cannot be considered an instance of explicit ACCLAIM as it is presented in the text monoglossically. In the following three examples (*I know ...*, *I praise ...* and *I think ...*) the positive ATTITUDE is expressed heteroglossically. It is heteroglossically contractive in (**I know that she has been a strong advocate** ...) where the authorial voice presents the positive ATTITUDE in a CONCUR-AFFIRM proposition using (**I know** that ...). Likewise, the authorial voice advances the proposition as dialogistically contractive by highly praising someone using the performative speech act (**I praise** ...) as in (**I praise the work of individuals such as Chris Brook** ...). This contrasts with the previous example, in which the positive ATTITUDE is advanced as ENTERTAIN in a dialogistically expansive proposition using (**I think** ...) as in (**I think Hampshire has behaved particularly well throughout the crisis**...).

Based on these examples, we can see that a monoglossic proposition presenting attitudinal assessment could imply an acclamation, yet this does not qualify it as an instance of ACCLAIM because it is not about attitudinal assessment but rather about how this ATTITUDE is presented in text. This ATTITUDE, as we witnessed in the above examples in Figure 9.3 can be advanced heteroglossically in the text via CONCUR-AFFIRM, ACCLAIM or ENTERTAIN.

Before moving on, there is one further aspect of the lexico-grammatical realizations of ACCLAIM that needs to be discussed here. Just like all APPRAISAL resources, ACCLAIM is context-dependant. Therefore, it is essential to attend to context when coding text for instances of ACCLAIM meanings. A good example of this is the verb *commend*. Not all cases of *commend* in my corpus can be coded as instances of ACCLAIM. In fact, ending one's statement in the Parliament with *I commend this statement to the House* is a ritual parliamentary practice; it is a conventional form of words used at the end of a major policy statement by a government minister, and does not convey any real ACCLAIM meaning at all, even though it may appear thus in its surface realisation. This usage contrasts sharply with examples such as (*I commend the tireless work of local councils, firefighters, Environment Agency staff*, or *I commend the good work done by the fire and rescue services, the police . . .*), which clearly do fall under ACCLAIM.

Another parliamentary practice is explicitly commending motions and bills. In debates on proposed motions and bills, MPs explicitly express whether they commend or oppose these motions or bills as in (*I commend the Bill/the motion to the House*). Such instances do fall under ACCLAIM because they explicitly express the MPs' position regarding these parliamentary motions and bills.

Another example of this context-dependency is 'thank'. The majority of cases of (*thank*) are simply interactive moves used for phatic purposes and they do not represent an instance of ACCLAIM. For instance, thanking another MP for his question or thanking the Government MP for his reply or his statement, as in (*I thank my hon. Friend for her comments*, *I thank my hon. Friend for that question . . .*, *I thank the hon. Gentleman for welcoming me to my new post . . .*, *I thank the Secretary of State for his reply*) are not instances of ACCLAIM. Yet there are other cases in which (*thank*) is used as ACCLAIM. For example, publicly thanking the dedication and hard work of some group as in (*I thank the hard-working and dedicated emergency services, in particular the firefighters . . .*) is a case of ACCLAIM. On the same vein, (*welcome*) can be either used for purely phatic purposes or it can be instances of

ACCLAIM as in the examples listed above in Table (9.1). Similar context-dependency applies in other ACCLAIM locutions, such as (*pay tribute*) and (*appreciate*).

The rhetorical and communicative functions of ACCLAIM will be discussed later in this chapter. However, before that the next part attempts to shed a light on another a sub-category of ENGAGEMENT that I aim to propose based on my analysis of APPRAISAL in parliamentary debates.

9.2.4 DENOUNCE in the Parliament

Just as there are meanings that express ACCLAIM, we can postulate that there are meanings of disapproval, denouncement and condemnation on the other side of the spectrum as in:

<i>I condemn the Government because they do not know how many people are affected.....</i>

<i>I condemn utterly those who organised and participated in the disruption of that event</i>
--

Condemning the Government as in example (1) or condemning a group of people who organised a disturbing event as in example (2) clearly express strong disapproval. While ACCLAIM expresses alignment with the value position, meanings of denouncement and condemnation express a divergence from the value position advanced in the text. Analysing our corpus for these meanings shows that such meanings are not frequently used or at least not often explicitly stated. This could be due to the relatively small size of our corpus, or it may be the case that the language of denouncement and condemnation is so attitudinally charged that MPs might be reluctant to use it frequently and explicitly in debates on the issue of flooding. However, meanings of denouncement and condemnation are implied in various ways. For instance, some locutions of negative ATTITUDE imply denouncement as in:

<i>I am very disappointed at the party-political nature of the right hon. Lady's comments.</i>

<i>I am disappointed that the request has been met with what I understand to be accusations of scaremongering.</i>

In other cases, denouncement meanings are communicated via criticisms implied in some uses of DENY as in:

*The Government did **not** act in the requisite fashion to deal with the seriousness of the situation in many places.*

The intensity of these implied and indirect denouncements may not convey the same effects that explicit forms of denouncement do in the text particularly from a dialogistic point of view. To examine the explicit uses of denouncement, I decided to investigate this using a larger corpus of UK parliamentary debates. The online Hansard corpus¹⁷ was used for this purpose. The Hansard online corpus includes debates from both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, unlike our corpus which only cover debates from the HoC. Therefore, I limited my searches exclusively to debates from the HoC. I also delimited my searches to debates delivered during the most recent time frame available in the corpus interface (2000-2005) as this period is the closest time frame to the debates included in our corpus¹⁸.

A useful feature of the Hansard online corpus is that it is annotated semantically, which thus allows for semantically-based searches. I used this feature to extract synonyms of two lexical items that, arguably, convey meanings of denouncement. These two items are: *denounce* and *condemn*. I then selected seven of these synonyms to run my corpus analysis with. These seven search items are (*denounce, decry, abhor, deprecate, disapprove, condemn, deplore*). As searching for all of the linguistic patterns for these lexical items would have brought up numerous occurrences that might not be relevant to my analysis of them as heteroglossic and ENGAGEMENT resources, I delimited the corpus search of these seven lexical items to only one linguistic pattern; i.e. (I/We + adv. + [search item]) where I/We is the subject of the search item and *adv.* is optional to incorporate cases where adverbs might be used. I considered in this pattern all possible lemmas of the search items as well as occurrences with or without adverbs. So, for instance, for the search item (*denounce*), I not only extracted (*I/We denounce*) but also (*I/We denounced*) and (*I/We utterly denounce*). Additionally, we excluded negative instances

¹⁷ The Hansard Corpus is an online collection of texts covering nearly every speech given in the British Parliament from 1803-2005. It was initiated as part of the SAMUELS project and can be accessed via this URL: <https://www.english-corpora.org/hansard/>

¹⁸ Our corpus includes debates on the issues of flooding during the parliamentary cycle from 2010 to 2015.

such as (I never denounced), (I neither denounce), (It does not mean that I denounce), hypothetical utterances as in (if I/We denounced ...) and so on.

Table 9.3 presents the results of my corpus searches for this linguistic pattern. It shows the raw frequency for each search item along with few examples:

Table 9.3 Examples of DENOUNCE

Search Item	Raw Frequency	Examples
[deplore]	230	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>I deplore</u> any company that is trading without proper insurance, which is illegal • <u>I deplore</u> the way in which this Government have increased the burden of council tax on my constituents • <u>I unequivocally deplore</u> and condemn that behaviour, as does my right hon: Friend, and I call on all community leaders, including the people who lead those organisations, to work for its cessation • <u>I wholly deplore</u> the policy of the Conservative party, which is to cut the number of people who are able to go to university
[condemn]	183	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>I condemn</u> the Government and their fellow travellers in the hon: Gentleman's party for doing what he has described and claiming it as a virtue.. • <u>I utterly condemn</u> those who stir up religious hatred, whether we are talking about Abu Hamza in the Finsbury park mosque or thugs in the National Front.... • <u>We condemn</u> the Government's delay and dithering for the past five years: It has led to uncertainty, confusion and distress among employees and sub-postmasters
[disapprove]	59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>I disapprove</u> of the Government's shameful action and, if we were in government today, I would not be doing as they are ... • <u>We strongly disapprove</u> of tobacco subsidies— a view that is shared on both sides of the House • <u>We disapprove</u> of people breaking the law, but a civilised way of dealing with such offences is fines, heavy only when appropriate, and perhaps when an offence is repeated
[deprecate]	55	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>We deprecate</u> the tacit anti-Americanism that motivates some European leaders to seek a separate European military capability • <u>I strongly deprecate</u> the manipulation of correspondence from Officers of the House in a way that misrepresents its contents • <u>I deprecate</u> newspaper reports suggesting that we have cut our hours
[abhor]	35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>I abhor</u> the torture and humiliation of the Iraqi prisoners and I say so, but <u>I also abhor</u> the execution of Nick Berg • More than 2 million women are now receiving the pension credit and <u>we abhor</u> the Opposition proposals that would take that away from the poorest pensioners • <u>I wholly abhor</u> any form of homophobia; I want no truck with that....
[decry]	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>We entirely decry</u> such behaviour.... • <u>I decry</u> the Government's failure to assess regulatory controls, especially in Europe... • Like the noble Lord, Lord McNally, <u>I decry</u> the current vogue of undermining political parties
[denounce]	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>We denounced</u> the crimes and atrocities, as those hon: Members who remember the situation will bear out.... • <u>We regularly denounce</u> slavery to give a lead to our European partners • The relationship between Australia and New Zealand is in fact very good, and <u>I utterly denounce</u> the rumour that the Australians think that the word " aperitif " means a set of dentures

As can be observed from Table 9.3, the meanings of denouncement and condemnation indicated in these seven lexical items are used quite frequently when searched for in a larger

corpus of parliamentary debates. That is if we bear in mind that we delimited our search to only one linguistic pattern and to only seven lexical items during a span time of five years only.

Obviously, these meanings (denounce, decry, abhor, condemn, etc.) are intrinsically attitudinal. However, I argue here that they also create dialogistic effects in the text and can be viewed as ENGAGEMENT resources. The decision as where to fit these meanings in the current ENGAGEMENT system is a complicated one. On the one hand, if an MP expresses an explicit denunciation and condemnation about anything or anyone as in one of the examples mentioned in the above table, it can be classified as PRONOUNCEMENT. However, as I argued earlier considering these meanings under the category of PRONOUNCE does not fully cover their dialogistic effects. On the other hand, denouncing or condemning something/someone is more of rejecting it than proclaiming. Thus, it has a semantic affinity with DENY, but more as an attitudinal and moral denial rather than the current Appraisal's mostly truth-based conceptualisation of DENY. Cases of DENY proposed by Martin and White (2005) are mainly about negation; i.e., rejecting a position by negating or representing it as not applying. However, I argue here that a speaker can reject something not only by denying its existence but also by denouncing, condemning, deploring, etc. By meanings of denouncement and condemnation, the textual voice rejects a contrary position and presents itself at odds with it. Thus, to incorporate these meanings in the current ENGAGEMENT system, I propose to encompass them under a category that can be termed DENOUNCE as illustrated in Figure 9.4:

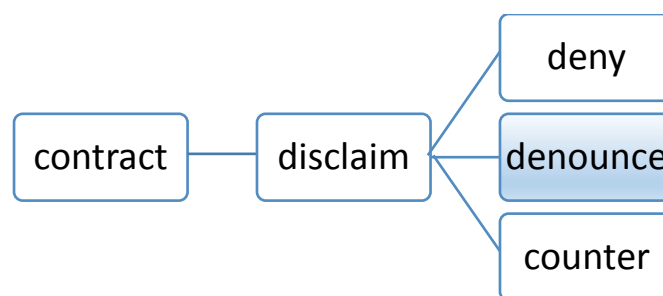


Figure 9.4 DENOUNCE as a Sub-Category of DISCLAIM

DENOUNCE is an explicit statement expressing disapproval, censure, denunciation and condemnation of a contrary position. By using DENOUNCE, the textual voice dis-aligns itself from what is being denounced and positions itself as in divergence with it. Instances of DENOUNCE are regarded as heteroglossic because by denouncing, the textual voice acknowledges an alternative position. To DENOUNCE that position is also dialogistically

contractive because although it is recognised, it is brought into the text to be denounced and condemned which in turn limits the dialogistic space for other possible alternatives.

Our proposal to include a category of DENOUNCE shows that the textual voice can reject a contrary position not only by denying it but also by denouncing it. This proposal extends the current definition of DENY to include cases of attitudinal deny where it is not only about stating something as untrue or non-applicable but also presenting it as morally and socially unacceptable via denunciation and condemnation. It enacts an emotional and moral commitment to denying.

In fact, our corpus reveals that there are three explicit forms of rejecting a position that are used in the Parliament. First, the textual voice can express rejection by DENY which is mainly realized using negation words such as *not, never, neither, none, no longer, nothing, no more, scarcely, hardly*, etc. Second, the textual voice rejects a position by using the language of DENOUNCE as exemplified above. Third, there are other cases between DENY and DENOUNCE where the textual voice rejects a position by explicitly opposing it using speech acts such as *I/we reject ..., I/we oppose ..., I/we refuse ..., I/we dismiss ..., I/we stand against., I/we dissent ...etc.* These three forms of rejection are exemplified in Figure 9.5:

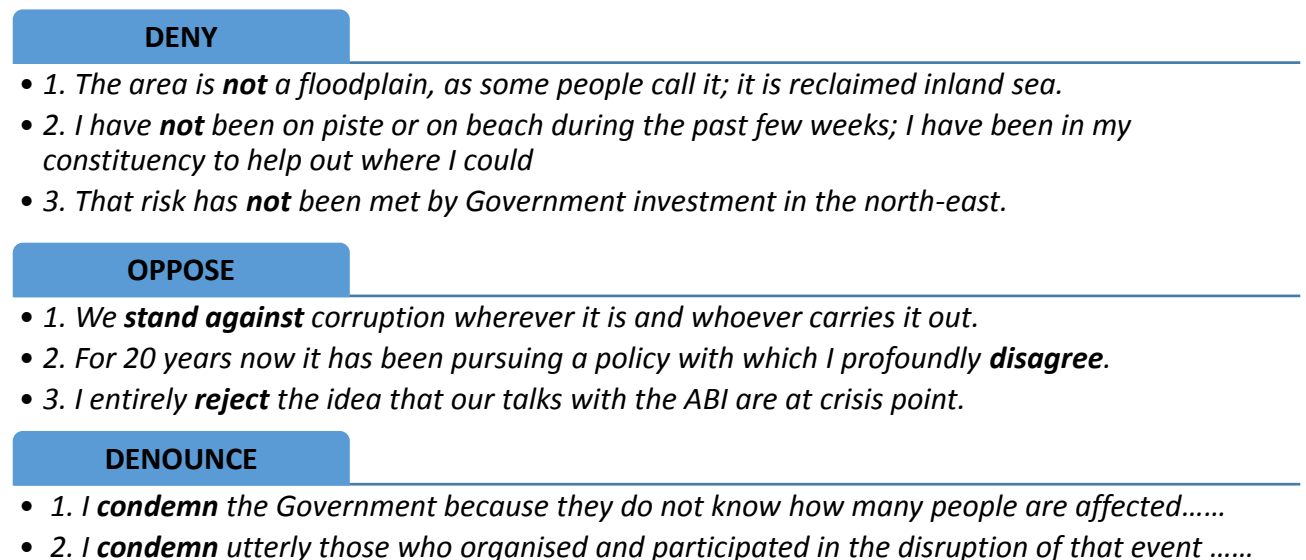


Figure 9.5 Modes of Rejecting positions in the Parliament

As we can observe that DENY, OPPOSE and DENOUNCE are three modes of rejection that are available to MPs to express denial, objection or any divergent opinion. Beside the basic function of these forms as rejecting a contrary position, each creates distinctive effects. DENY, for instance, is used to achieve various functions. In example (1) above, DENY is used to refute a common belief and advance it as untrue. In example (2), the MP uses DENY to reject an accusation that he was not in his constituency during a flooding event. In example (3), DENY is used to direct a criticism at the Government for not meeting the risks of flooding in the north-east of England. As regard to OPPOSE, it is mainly used to express disagreement in opinion as the three examples indicate. However, we find cases of OPPOSE problematic, because in some cases as in example (3) “***Entirely reject*** the idea that our talks with the ABI are at crisis point”, it can be regarded as DENY. Similarly, if we consider other examples of DENY as in (***do not agree*** with the comments of the noble Lord Smith), we observe that such example can be regarded as OPPOSE because the MP is expressing a disagreement, too. Clearly, there are cases which overlap between DENY and OPPOSE where meanings of DENY convey OPPOSE and vice versa. Nevertheless, most cases of OPPOSE are unlike DENY in that they explicitly acknowledge the existence of an opposing position, yet just disagree with it. On the other hand, most cases of DENY refute the truth or existence of an opposing position and bring it only to the text to disprove it. In that, we observe a characteristic difference between DENY on one hand and OPPOSE and DENOUNCE on the other hand. While the textual voice mostly uses DENY to refute the truth of something, it uses OPPOSE and DENOUNCE to express their contradicting and divergent opinion about it. Furthermore, although both OPPOSE and DENOUNCE are used to express objection to something/someone, they are clearly not the same in the way they advance this objection into the text. While OPPOSE mostly expresses an emotionally-neutral disagreement, there is an emotional and moral dimension attached to the objection expressed in DENOUNCE. In other words, DENOUNCE is more about moral exclusion than just rejecting a position.

Acknowledging these distinctive features between the three forms; DENY, OPPOSE and DENOUNCE, we propose to integrate them into the ENGAGEMENT system as shown in Figure 9.6 below:

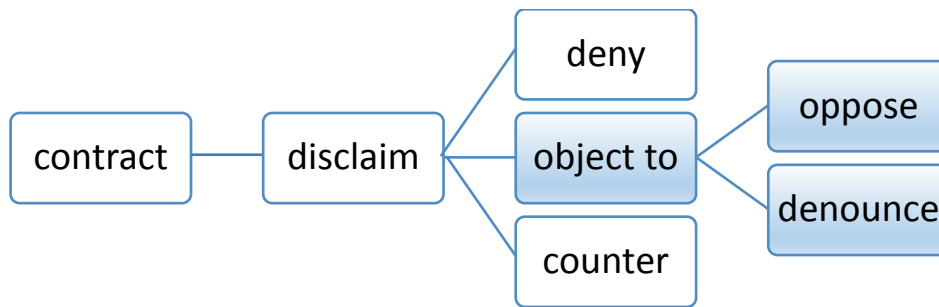


Figure 9.6 OPPOSE and DENOUNCE as Sub-Categories of DISCLAIM

This proposal indicates that the textual voice can express objection either by OPPOSE or DENOUNCE. With this proposal, it can be assured that diverse instances of rejecting contrary positions are encompassed. It is also worth mentioning here that in parliamentary debates, some cases of OPPOSE are part of a ritual parliamentary practice used by MPs when expressing objection to motions and bills. Just as there are cases of commending bills and motions under some instances of ACCLAIM, there are cases of opposing these bills and motions. Here are a few illustrative examples of this kind of OPPOSE retrieved from the online Hansard corpus:

I oppose the Bill presented today by the hon: Member for Putney (Mr: Colman), but wish to make it clear at the outset that it is nothing personal..

We oppose the Bill and we have tabled a reasoned amendment...

I firmly oppose the motion, and support the amendment....

Accordingly, ***we totally oppose the motion***, just as we shall continue utterly to oppose the Bill

This proposal incorporates language of OPPOSE and language of DENOUNCE into the current ENGAGEMENT system where both categories are viewed as dialogistically contractive resources. The next part aims to discuss how ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are used as positioning and alignment/dis-alignment acts in the Parliament.

9.3 ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE as Positioning and Alignment/Dis-alignment Acts

This section aims to explore how ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE function as positioning and alignment/dis-alignment acts in parliamentary debates. Based on Du Bois's (2007) argument, positioning and alignment are viewed here as simultaneous acts. Alignment can either be convergent via the language of ACCLAIM or divergent via the language of DENOUNCE. If it is accepted that stance is realized by both direct and indirect linguistic modes, it can be said that the language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE represent the most direct and explicit modes

of stance-taking in the text. When MPs ACCLAIM (align to), and when they DENOUNCE (dis-align from), they explicitly position themselves and communicate what they affiliate to and what they disaffiliate from. If we aim to study the discursive construction of political stance in any text, the language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE therefore undoubtedly represent a key pair of discursive features that can help indicate the political stance of the speaker.

Statements of ACCLAIM such as ‘I/we certainly praise..., I/we applaud..., I/we strongly commend ..., etc.’ and statements of DENOUNCE such as (I/we utterly condemn ..., I/we entirely decry ..., I/we deplore, etc.) represent explicit self-defining attitudinal stances. Studying these explicit statements in the text can contribute to the identification of what Bednarek (2015) refers to as attitudinal identity and elsewhere as expressive identity (Bednarek 2011). Attitudinal identity is defined by Bednarek (2015) as those aspects of identity that relate to positive and negative value judgments and positions. By using ACCLAIM, the authorial voice communicates a strong alignment with the value judgment whereas, with DENOUNCE, the authorial voice conveys a strong dis-alignment. In that sense, it can be argued here that language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE constitutes a significant dimension of the attitudinal identity.

According to Palonen (2009: 82), ‘parliamentary procedure is built on the rhetorical assumption that a proper judgement of any proposal can only be made if it is confronted with opposing views’. This confrontation is presented verbally between MPs who proclaim which views they stand for and which views they stand against using various linguistic and rhetorical devices. One of these linguistic devices is the language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE. From our analysis above of some cases of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE, it should already be clear that this type of language is common in parliamentary debates. In their study on self-reported verbs used in Prime Minister’s Questions from 1979 to 2010, Sealey and Bates (2016) found that verbs denoting emotion come directly under verbs of cognition and communication in their frequency as opposed to the underrepresented verbs denoting physical or material actions. This indicates the significance of emotion verbs in parliamentary discourse. Some meanings of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are realized using verbs such as ‘*admire, applaud, denounce,* etc’. fall under these emotion verbs.

Sealey and Bates’ (2016) findings are in line with other research conducted on other parliaments. For instance, using Searle’s classification of speech acts (1969, 1976), Agbara (2016) investigated the uses of speech acts in Nigerian legislative debates. Agbara found out that representative speech acts (as in cognition verbs such as *think, believe, ...* etc.) and

expressive speech acts (as in emotion verbs such as; *admire, denounce,* etc.) are the most frequent types of speech acts used. In another study conducted on Iran's 2013 presidential election candidates' uses of speech acts by Soleimani and Yeganeh (2016), they found out that expressive acts are used by candidates to communicate emotional and psychological statements of pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes, joy or sorrow and to express feelings of admiration, appreciation, disapproval, anger and dissatisfaction. No doubt, such expressive features are semantically implied in meanings of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE. In that sense, I argue here that the language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE can be regarded as a subcategory of what Searle (1969, 1976) referred to as expressive speech acts.

9.4 Analysis of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in the Parliament

Why do MPs use ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in the Parliament? What is the role of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE as a positioning and alignment/dis-alignment act? As argued above, the language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE constitutes an important aspect of attitudinal identity. Thus, one way of exploring how this attitudinal identity is discursively constructed in parliamentary texts is by examining the role of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in positioning and alignment/dis-alignment. To study this thoroughly, it is very important to consider the target of these acclaims/denounces; i.e., what and who do MPs ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE?

Parliamentary debates are about taking sides regarding issues presented in Bills/motions/amendments. As Ilie (2010) puts it; "parliament has developed into a prototypically institutional *locus* devoted to a verbal confrontation between politicians representing opposite political parties who present arguments supporting the *pros* and *cons* of issues under discussion." MPs use ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE to express their stance regarding these issues where they routinely ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE motions and Bills presented. Examples¹⁹ of this type of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE are presented in Table 9.4 below:

¹⁹ Examples presented in this section are extracted from both our corpus of parliamentary debates on issues of 'flooding' (2010-2015) and Hansard online corpus.

Table 9.4 Examples of Acclaiming and Denouncing Bills and Motions in the Parliament

ACCLAIM	DENOUNCE
<u>I commend the motion</u> as a way of keeping up the pressure and highlighting our constituents' perspective	I believe that policy is deliberate. If it had been expounded at the General Election, I believe that this Government would not have been in power. That is why <u>I condemn the Motion</u> because it does not go far enough
I hope that we will be able to discuss these matters in greater detail in Committee, and I can assure the Minister that when we do, we will co-operate to the best of our ability. <u>We commend the Bill</u> and thoroughly support it, and we are glad to see it at last before this House	If that were to be done, and if investment were to be cut in the nationalised industries, the Government would have a much greater problem to face in reducing unemployment. <u>I condemn the Bill</u> as irrelevant and irresponsible
<u>I praise the Bill</u> for many reasons. First of all, for the first time in any international loan arrangements it as it was eliminating the problem of transfer. In all these international troubles and difficulties due to international loans, the fundamental problem has been how to transfer the interest	<u>I denounce the Bill</u> , but I do not fear it. In that respect, I seem to diverge from the opinions of a number of my hon: Friends. Mine is the sort of constituency that might be affected by the Bill
<u>I applaud the Bill's</u> strategy in not pushing that extra measure at this stage. The skill of the Secretary of State is that he has introduced measures which are exclusively beneficial, but the country will wait to see whether further measures are needed.	<u>I censure the Bill</u> on grounds on which it has been censured by more than one hon: Member opposite, because the Government and the party acting in co-operation with them have foregone the opportunity of considering the whole of our representative system and of considering what remedies are necessary for its defects, and have dealt only with those defects which happen to tell against their own particular party politics

Also, it is very important to mention here that MPs usually express their commendation of motions and Bills explicitly by ending their parliamentary entry with the fixed expression '*I commend the Bill/the motion to the House*'. In contrary, denouncing and condemning motions and Bills is not very common, rather MPs present their disagreement with that Bill/motions by using DENY as in; (*I don't commend the Bill/the motion, I don't support the Bill/the motion, I don't agree with the Bill/the motion*). However, if they express their disagreement by using DENOUNCE (as in *I denounce the Bill, I condemn the motion, or I censure the Bill*) shown in the examples above, it clearly represents a strong condemnation of those Bills and motions.

As mentioned earlier in this section, some locutions (such as; *I pay tribute to many Members for their contributions, I thank the right hon. Gentleman for his statement, I congratulate the hon. Gentleman on securing this very important debate ...*) are mainly used for phatic purposes and do not fall under the rubric of ACCLAIM. Yet, such expressions are essential in organizing the parliamentary interaction as they are mostly used as a preface for most parliamentary entries. There are also some cases of ACCLAIM that often preface parliamentary entries and

those aim at acclaiming the work of some community members, a Government representative, a Governmental institution, an organization, other MPs, ...etc. Examples of this type of ACCLAIM are as follows:

<i><u>I praise</u> the fire service and the local authorities, and the Environment Agency and its subcontractors, which have been pumping and saving buildings from flooding by the River Misbourne.</i>
<i><u>I give full praise</u> to him and his constituents for the leadership that they have shown.</i>
<i><u>I praise</u> the work of individuals such as Chris Brook who have gone to enormous trouble to source the rock armour from a quarry in Cornwall.</i>
<i><u>I very much applaud</u> the tremendous efforts of the Hambleton community in its response to the groundwater flooding and the issues it is facing.</i>
<i><u>I applaud</u> the residents of Purley, because I have seen that approach work not only in my constituency but right across the country.</i>
<i><u>I acclaim</u> the work of the business improvement district in Worcester, which ran a successful open for business campaign.</i>
<i><u>I want publicly to praise</u> all those in the fire services: they have supplied specialist vehicles that have been of great succour to those on the levels, and <u>I really admire</u> the work that they have done around the country.</i>
<i><u>I thank</u> the Secretary of State for his support for and visit to Dawlish; they were very much appreciated by one and all.</i>
<i><u>I also thank</u> my local council and volunteers who did a sterling job in extremely difficult circumstances.</i>
<i><u>I congratulate</u> the Secretary of State on his robust management of this crisis, and on focusing on what matters—namely, helping those people who are knee-deep in water.</i>
<i><u>I congratulate and thank</u> the agencies in Gloucestershire for dealing so well with the various transport challenges and the localised flooding.</i>
<i><u>I pay tribute</u> to the Secretary of State and his Ministers for the hard work they have been doing.</i>
<i><u>I pay tribute</u> to all those who put themselves in harm's way in the event of floods. All who serve on the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Committee would like to record our appreciation of their work.</i>
<i><u>I pay tribute</u> to those in the Environment Agency, councils and other public services who worked so hard over Christmas and the new year.</i>
<i><u>I pay tribute</u> to his constituents, who have rallied round magnificently in very difficult circumstances, particularly all those in the services whom I met today.</i>
<i><u>I pay tribute</u> to the ABI for the constructive manner in which it has engaged in the regular meetings and discussions that have taken place.</i>

This type accounts for most cases of ACCLAIM that are used in our corpus of parliamentary debates on the issue of flooding. When MPs ACCLAIM the hard work of the emergency services or thank and pay tribute to the community and constituents for their tremendous work, MPs are publicly announcing their acknowledgement and appreciation and thus aligning with the value position expressed in these propositions. By using such cases of ACCLAIM, MPs express their solidarity with the shared community values representing themselves as actively

engaged members of that community. This does portrait them as having attitudinal personas converged with the attitudinal identity of the audience they address in their speeches. In other words, what they ACCLAIM very much complies with the collective judgment and the value system of their audience. To use the shared values when addressing the public is certainly an effective strategy and an influential instrument for persuasion.

9.5 Comparative Analysis of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in the Parliament

This takes us to another aspect of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE where it is used strategically and tactically. To examine this, it is important to consider not the target, but the subject of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE; i.e., who expresses ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE meanings in the Parliament? In the following, I present some comparisons between Government/Opposition uses of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE. The strategic and tactical use of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is reinforced by the results came out when analysing the corpus. Table 9.5 exhibits the occurrences of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE distributed among main parties in the Parliament:

Table 9.5 Statistical Distribution of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in CPDF

	Government	Opposition	Other Parties	Total
ACCLAIM	268 (76%)	4 (1%)	81 (23%)	353
DENOUNCE	0 (0%)	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	8

As shown in Table 9.5, in general the cases of ACCLAIM massively exceed those of DENOUNCE. The Government MPs ACCLAIM more than other MPs in the Parliament (76%). Opposition MPs, on the other hand, ACCLAIM far less than the Government (1%) as demonstrated in Figure 9.7:

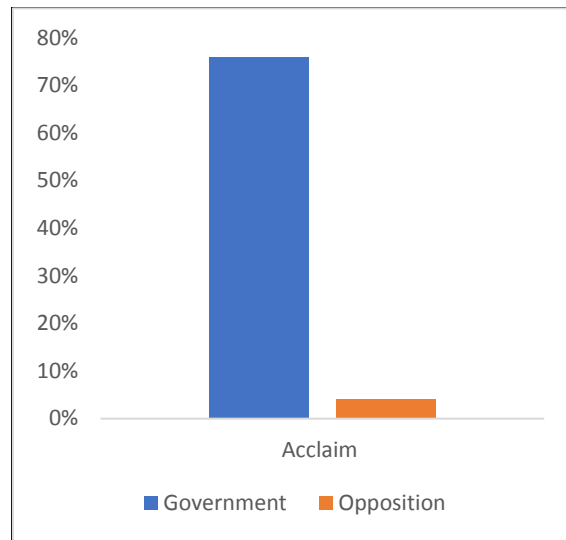


Figure 9.7 Distribution of ACCLAIM between Government and Opposition

Yet, it is the other way around with occurrences of DENOUNCE. While there is no instance of DENOUNCE by the Government in the corpus, the majority cases found were uttered by Opposition MPs. These findings certainly comply with the parliamentary role of these parties. While the Government ACCLAIMs its position and policies, the Opposition, on the other side, challenge those by denouncing or condemning. Let us consider the following parliamentary exchange which clearly exhibits this dynamic ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE play between the Government and the Opposition MPs:

Chris Williamson (Derby North) (Lab): I am grateful to the Secretary of State for praising the work of the emergency services. *He may not be aware that the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, who is sitting next to him, is recklessly cutting the number of firefighters: there will be 5,000 fewer in England by 2015 than there were in 2010. Will he ask the Secretary of State to stop those cuts and will he recommend that the Pitt review, which suggested that a statutory responsibility should be given to fire and rescue services, be implemented without further delay?*

The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mr Owen Paterson): I suggest that the hon. Gentleman goes to look in the mirror and reminds himself that his Government left us borrowing £400,000 a minute. *I want publicly to praise all those in the fire services: they have supplied specialist vehicles that have been of great succour to those on the levels, and I really admire the work that they have done around the country.* The fire services have been key during this very difficult period—over Christmas, the new year and right through January—and *I am very grateful to them for the splendid job that they have done.* [3 Feb 2014-UQ]

In the above example, the Opposition Labour MP is criticizing the Conservative Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government for cutting the number of firefighters which causes delay in fire and rescue services. The Government Representative replies to this criticism by praising and acclaiming the firefighters' services. Such exchanges of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE between the Government and the Opposition recur constantly in the Parliament. Whenever there is DENOUNCE coming from the Opposition benches, it is usually confronted with ACCLAIM from the Government side. This position of acclaiming is also adopted by most Conservative MPs. Interestingly, the Conservative²⁰ MPs ACCLAIM more than any other party in the Parliament. About 70 instances of ACCLAIM are uttered by Conservative MPs which accounts for 20% of the total cases of ACCLAIM in the corpus. Thus, the Conservative Party is the second highest in their ACCLAIM after the Government which accounts for 76% of the overall ACCLAIM. In some of these instances, the use of ACCLAIM deliberately brought into questions by Conservative MPs probably as a strategy to support their Government position. This becomes obvious in the comparison between two parliamentary entries from the Opposition and a Conservative MP:

Table 9.6 Example of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE by Conservative MP vs. Opposition MPs

Opposition	Conservative
<p>Wayne David (Caerphilly) (Lab): <i>Given that the Secretary of State obviously has difficulties with Barnett consequentials, may I simply ask him how much extra money will be coming to Wales? [13 Feb 2014-UQ]</i></p>	<p>Mr Marcus Jones (Nuneaton) (Con): These are unprecedented weather conditions, and <i>I commend my right hon. Friend for the work he is doing. I also commend all the people across the country</i> who are working so hard to get our rail and road network open again and back to normal. Many of my constituents depend daily on the west coast main line. What more is the Secretary of State doing to make sure that there is better resilience against this type of weather on that line? [13 Feb 2014-UQ]</p>

These two entries were uttered in the same debate. As it is noticed that while the Opposition MP prefaces his question with criticism, the Conservative MP prefaces his question by commending the work of the Secretary of State for Transport. Clearly, MPs use ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE to serve their parliamentary and political ends. How each party uses ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE does not solely depend on their personal judgement or value system,

²⁰ During 2010-2015 parliamentary cycle, the Conservative Party was the governing party after a coalition government was formed with the Liberal Democrats.

but rather on how the language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE can be used to promote their political image and reflect their party loyalty. This supports White's (2008) argument that in any praising and criticizing, there is always more involved communicatively and interpersonally than only self-expression.

Nonetheless, the question of who acclaims more and who denounces more remains an interesting one. Benoit who studied campaign discourse (e.g., see Benoit, 1999; Benoit et al., 2002; Benoit, 2003; Benoit, 2004; Benoit & Sheaffer, 2006; Benoit & Klyukovski, 2006; Benoit, 2007; Benoit & Henson, 2007; Benoit, Wen, & Yu, 2007; Benoit and Benoit-Bryan, 2013; Benoit, 2014; Benoit and Benoit-Bryan, 2015), analysed the frequencies of acclaims, attacks and defences in candidates' speeches. Using his Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse (Benoit, 1999, 2007, 2014), Benoit investigated these three functions; i.e., acclaim, attack and defend, arguing that candidates use these functions to promote for themselves to win more electorates.

Benoit's approach of acclaim-attack-defend can be likened to our proposal of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in the Parliament. Yet, there are differences between the two. For instance, while Benoit's approach is a theme-oriented, our proposal is primarily a lexico-grammatically-based. In his studies, Benoit mainly segmented debates into three themes; i.e. acclaim, attack and defend and then analysed those both quantitatively and qualitatively. Our aim, however, is to locate the values of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE via their lexico-grammatical realizations in text. Under acclaims, Benoit encompassed all positive statements that portray the candidate in a favourable light and under attacks, he incorporated all negative statements that portray the opposing candidate in an unfavourable light. Thus, Benoit's approach to acclaims and attacks is mainly attitudinal (JUDGEMENT), whereas ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in our model is mostly concerned with their dialogistic perspective as ENGAGEMENT resources. The reason for that is because our analysis is based on APPRAISAL Theory which already encompasses attitudinal language under its ATTITUDE system. However, this does not abolish the argument that these positive/negative JUDGEMENTS still fall under the category of implicit ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE as I argued previously in the above section. In fact, Benoit's Functional Theory of Political Campaign and the Appraisal Theory can both be theoretically integrated and used to investigate acclaims and attacks in political discourse in general.

We can relate Benoit's acclaim to our proposal of ACCLAIM as an engagement resource and Benoit's attacks to our proposal of DENOUNCE. However, it is important to stress here that the primary focus of Benoit's acclaims is the candidate himself/herself and the target of Benoit's attacks is the opposing candidate, whereas, in our proposal, the target of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is not prespecified. Generally speaking, the findings of Benoit's research are compatible with our findings. For instance, in their study on British PM televised debates of 2010 (Benoit and Benoit-Bryan, 2013) using the Functional Theory, Benoit and Benoit-Bryan found out that acclaims are more than the attacks in those debates. Additionally, they found that the incumbent Gordon Brown acclaimed more than the challengers Cameron and Clegg, who attacked more. This is consistent with the data extracted from our corpus of parliamentary debates, where the Government ACCLAIM more than the Opposition MPs who DENOUNCE more.

Thus, as demonstrated by the analyses and discussions above, the use of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE largely manifests the political and parliamentary role played by the speakers. The incumbent Government will certainly acclaim their position and policies, whereas the Opposition will challenge those policies and denounce them. Interestingly, however, if we relocate Opposition MPs on the Government benches and vice versa, most likely the distributional results of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE between Government/Opposition will not vary regardless of the political party. If the Labour MPs are in the position of governing party and not the Opposition, they will certainly acclaim their position. The same case will be with the Conservative MPs who will denounce more if they are sitting in the Opposition benches. This means that the same Opposition MP who is denouncing the Government policies will be acclaiming the Government if his political party is the governing party. The outcome will be that the same speakers produce different acclaims/denounces according to the role they play in the Parliament. In other words, as Van Dijk (2009) argues that contextual cues influence the discourse of MPs, the parliamentary role (as an example of those contextual cues) influences the speakers' acclaims/denounces. That is, when you are in Government, you ACCLAIM more and when you are in Opposition, you DENOUNCE more. This indicates that an MP's attitudinal identity and alignment is greatly determined and pre-supposed by the role they play in the Parliament.

This may seem an obvious point on the surface, but it is actually critical if we aim to consider the language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE as an indicator of stance in the text or indicator of the speakers' positioning and alignment. ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is clearly not a mere

reflection of the speaker's stance; rather, it is being used strategically by parliamentarians. It is used as an instrument to advocate their position and discourage their opponents' one. This strategic and tactical aspect of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE highlights the political dimension of language in general (e.g., see Orwell 1946; Lakoff 2001; Lakoff 2008; Lakoff, 1990; Van Dijk 2008 and Van Dijk 2009). Language is generally exploited by its users to meet specific ends. Speakers use certain linguistic means to fulfil these ends. The language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is one of the means through which language users meet their desired ends, whether these ends are political (e.g., acclaiming own position to win electorate), ideological (e.g., to promote party's ideologies), social (e.g., to align for desired social relations), or even economic (e.g., praising a product to make it more appealing for consumers).

This reveals an important characteristic of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE and attitudinal language in general where speakers use this language to tactically and deliberately align with others. What they ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE could be decided by their interest and not necessarily a reflection of their genuine stance. MPs in the Parliament ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE deliberately to maintain their alignment with their political party members and show dis-alignment with those of their opponents. This tactical and biased alignment/dis-alignment is not new in political and parliamentary context. The whole institution of parliamentary debating is based on party discipline. As these acclaims and denounces will eventually influence MPs' votes on legalisations, political parties work on managing and maintaining party discipline through the establishment of the whip system as it is called in the UK Parliament. But those who deviate from their party's acclaims and denounces are viewed as disloyal and undisciplined 'rebels' who are expressing their private stance and not their party line.

Nevertheless, the issue of using ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE for biased alignment/dis-alignment has a major consequence for the quality of parliamentary debates. MPs' commitment to comply with their party's acclaims and denounces creates a barrier that prevents them from expressing their personal stance. This results in blocking a genuine debate from taking place; MPs are gradually distanced from debating the core issue and shift their focus on only competing with the opponent. Also, the presumed stance that the Government needs to ACCLAIM their position and the Opposition needs to DENOUNCE creates a rigid pattern. This pattern of the Government acclaiming on one side of the Parliament and the Opposition denouncing on the other side has long since become an entrenched parliamentary habit; a tradition that occupies most of the speeches produced in the Parliament. The recurrent pattern of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE between Government and Opposition repeats itself over and over,

resulting in noticeable redundancy in parliamentary language. Not only that but also such a rigid pattern of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE can establish an obvious polarized divide between parties in a parliamentary institution, even on issues where consensus is needed. This polarized stance affects the process of genuine argumentation required for debating. This takes us to the next section, which discusses how the language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is used in parliamentary and political argumentation in general.

9.6 ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in the Political Argument

This section aims to explore the role of language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in political discourse in general before we move towards discussing its political implications in parliamentary debates.

9.6.1 ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE and Epideictic Rhetoric

The language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE can be theoretically related to the classical Aristotelian epideictic rhetoric of praise and blame (Aristotle, 1991). Although Aristotle initially limited epideictic rhetoric to forms of ceremonial discourse such as weddings, funeral orations and obituaries, more recently some scholars have expanded the study of epideictic rhetoric into more contemporary genres such as graduation ceremonies, retirement speeches, letters of recommendation, and nominating speeches at political conventions (Lausberg, 1998). Also known as ceremonial oratory, epideictic rhetoric is one of three main branches of rhetoric, the other two being forensic and deliberative. Each of these branches relates to a different time phase: forensic or judicial rhetoric includes discourse discussing past events based on existing laws; epideictic rhetoric encompasses speech or writing that usually distributes praise or blame about present events; and in deliberative rhetoric, the orator aims to persuade their audience to decide on a course of future action (Aristotle, 2006).

However, Vatnoey (2015) observes that this temporal division is an oversimplification: that is, all forms of public discourse involving collective judgement will necessarily include the making of judgements about the past, the present, or the future. For instance, parliamentary debates clearly fall under deliberative rhetoric because the main purpose of parliamentary debates is to persuade the audience regarding a given policy or action. Yet, there is still a judicial and epideictic aspects in these debates. Parliamentarians aim to persuade the audience

regarding a given policy by using various rhetorical means. One of these rhetorical means they use is epideictic rhetoric. Thus, Sheard (1996) recommends that we should understand epideictic rhetoric less as a genre with a fixed set of rhetorical elements and more as “a persuasive gesture or mode we might locate in any number of discourses, including those we might regard as deliberative or forensic” (Sheard, 1996, pp. 774).

In fact, the three modes; i.e., judicial, epideictic and deliberative, are essential in creating powerful rhetoric in any discourse context. As Smith (1979) asserts, it is the interaction among the three that contributes to the rhetorical effectiveness of a speaker’s contribution. Thus, any public speech can simultaneously be epideictic, deliberative and forensic. Nevertheless, the concern here is how praise-and-blame epideictic rhetoric plays a part in the deliberative parliamentary argument. Some scholars (e.g., Beale, 1978; Smith, 1979; Rorty, 1992; Sheard, 1996; Hauser, 1999; Hubanks, 2009 and Vatnoey, 2015) stressed the integration between epideictic and deliberative rhetoric. Hubanks (2009) discussed how epideictic means are used to reach deliberative ends. He states that “whether intentionally or unintentionally, rhetoric can be simultaneously epideictic and deliberative; speaking not only to what is, but to what should or should not be” (2009:210). Therefore, if an MP is denouncing a Government policy for cutting spending for health services or public welfare, s/he is not only describing this act as a bad decision, but he is also arguing that this decision is socially unacceptable and should not happen. In other words, the MP’s evaluation of this policy “goes beyond evaluation toward envisioning and actualizing alternative, possible worlds” (Sheard, 1996, p. 787) where prosperous public welfare and generous health services are deserved for the community and arguing that it should be the aim of the Government.

The role of epideictic rhetoric in the Parliament is certainly a matter worth investigating. The relation between epideictic and deliberation has not been researched enough due to traditional Aristotelian view of political communication as being only about rational deliberation, and epideictic rhetoric as being limited to ceremonial practices. As Vatnoey (2015: p.1) argues,

deliberative theory should be more attentive to the functions of epideictic discourse. By considering such non-deliberative modes of discourse, we can give a more comprehensive description of political communication in modern societies. Epideictic discourse plays a significant role in deliberative processes. It has the potential to strengthen the common values in society, create community, and form the beliefs that determine future decision-making. Understood as such, the epideictic has the ability to define public issues.

~In other words, praise and blame not only defines situations but also encourages political and moral judgments (Hubanks 2009). In that sense, the epideictic mode constitutes the common ground that makes deliberation possible where it establishes and re-establishes the premises on which deliberative arguments are built (see e.g., Vatnoey, 2015; Rorty, 1992). Theoretically likened to epideictic rhetoric, the language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE thus clearly influences political deliberation. Deliberative discourses as in parliamentary debates will undeniably rely on epideictic functions to persuade and argue effectively. Using epideictic speech of praise and blame increases the intensity of adherence to values held in common by the audience and by the speaker (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1991). As Aristotle (1991) advises, when creating epideictic speech, the author should consider the attitude and values of the audience. The values of his/her praise and blame should be compatible with those held praiseworthy or blameworthy by the audience. When used in any speech, praise and blame rhetoric emphasizes shared values and principles (e.g., Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1991; Condit, 1985; Hauser, 1999 and Benkharafa, 2015). It is seen as a celebration of traditional values and communal beliefs (Braden and Mixon, 1988). Emphasizing and promoting collective values and principles in epideictic speeches undoubtedly creates a persuasive impact on the audience.

9.6.2 ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in Political Communication

Braden and Mixon (1988) viewed epideictic rhetoric as linked with both ethos and pathos. Like epideictic praise-and-blame, ACCLAIM AND DENOUNCE derives its core argument by using shared values. In their public acclamations and denunciations, politicians not only maintain already existing values, but also create in the process a system of political ethics. By using shared values and morals in the political argument, politicians are clearly investing on both ethos and pathos to persuade. It is investing in ethos because usually the politician is a character who is a legitimate credible representation of the public and his praises (ACCLAIM) and blames (DENOUNCE) are perceived as a mirror of the views held by the public. As a legitimate representor, the politician invests in their public character to advocate values that they believe should be praised publicly and those that should be denounced. The pathos of epideictic rhetoric is manifested through the emotional appeal that these epideictic messages leave on the audience by invoking shared and often deep-seated values in the argument.

There is no doubt that the epideictic of praise and blame is one of the main argumentative strategies that is used in politics. Public praise and condemnation are a common political practices. For instance, human rights discourse is constructed mostly on the use of epideictic rhetoric (Rosenfield, 1980). It is an instrument of political stance-taking that political actors use to state where they stand regarding current issues and events. They use praise (ACCLAIM) to announce their approval and acknowledgment and use blame (DENOUNCE) to declare their disapproval and condemnation regarding current affairs. A very prominent example of such language in politics is public political condemnations. International organizations and human rights NGOs use political condemnations to establish a discourse of accountability in international affairs (Lebovic and Voeten, 2006). Kampf and Katriel (2016) confirm that these condemnations “serve as an important device in the toolkit of human rights and political organizations for mobilizing shame in contemporary global politics”.

To illustrate the argument that the language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are commonly used in politics, we will consider the discourse of the United Nations as a way of exemplification. Of course, to study this matter thoroughly, a large corpus of UN discourse would be needed. However, for the reasons of space, I will only consider one case, i.e., resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council during the year 2018 (from January till May). According to the UN webpage, “resolutions are formal expressions of the opinion or will of United Nations organs. They generally consist of two clearly defined sections: a preamble and an operative part. The preamble generally presents the considerations on the basis of which action is taken, an opinion expressed, or a directive given. The operative part states the opinion of the organ or the action to be taken²¹”. Based on this definition, these resolutions then clearly state the UN’s opinion and where it stands regarding current political events.

During the time span (January-May 2018), a corpus of 20 resolutions²² was compiled and studied thoroughly for cases of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE. Table 9.7 lists some examples of these:

²¹ UN.org. (2018). *Resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council since 1946*. [online] Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/> [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

²² UN.org. (2018). *Resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council in 2018*. [online] Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/2018.shtml> [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Table 9.7 Uses of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in UN Resolutions

ACCLAIM	DENOUNCE
<u>Welcoming</u> the contribution of the International Contact Group (ICG)	<u>Condemning in the strongest terms</u> all terrorist activity and all violent attacks
<u>Commending</u> the efforts of ECOWAS in helping to sustain peace, security and development and to support the security sector reform	<u>Strongly condemns</u> the continued flow of weapons, including small arms and light weapons (SALW), military equipment and IED components to the Taliban
<u>Paying tribute</u> to the bravery and sacrifices made by the African Union Mission in Somalia	<u>Reiterating its grave distress</u> at the continued severity of the devastating humanitarian situation in Syria
<u>Strongly supports</u> the Government of Afghanistan's efforts	<u>Deplores</u> the reported lack of respect for the right of peaceful assembly as recognized by the Constitution of Guinea -Bissau
<u>Expressing its deep appreciation</u> for the actions taken by UNMISS peacekeepers and Troop- and Police-Contributing Countries	<u>Expresses disappointment</u> that the parties have taken few steps to implement the Agreement on Temporary Arrangements

These instances are only few examples of how political organizations like the UN announce their public opinions using language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE. The instances listed in the table above represent only the explicit cases of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE. There are as well other implicit instances where attitudinal language is used to imply ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE. Another common feature observed in these instances is the variation in its intensity and gradability in conveying praise and condemnation. Just as it is argued above that language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in the Parliament varies in its intensity, the same is observed in the UN's deployment of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE statements. This variation in intensity and gradability is realized using various linguistic means such as the infused meaning of the lexis used, GRADUATION resources such as intensifiers (as in *strongly* condemn, *extremely* deplore, *deeply* concerned, etc.), or via attitudinal language as in (expressing *grave alarm*, expressing its *deep appreciation*, reiterating its *grave distress*, etc.). Table 9.8 presents this feature of intensity in ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE with examples extracted from the UN resolutions (the table presents my estimated sequence of gradability in the meaning of the listed items).

Table 9.8 Examples of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE with various intensity

ACCLAIM		DENOUNCE	
Higher	•Commending	Higher	• Condemning in the strongest terms
	•Paying tribute		•Strongly condemning
	•Welcoming		•Reiterating its condemnation
	•Expressing its deep appreciation		•Expressing grave alarm
	•Expressing appreciation		•Deploring
	•Noting with appreciation		•Reiterating its grave distress
	•Reaffirming its strong support		•Gravely distressed
	•Expressing its full support		•Expressing outrage
	•Expressing its support		•Deeply concerned
	•Acknowledging that ...		•Expresses disappointment
Lower	•Recognizing that ...	Lower	•Reiterating its deep disturbance

It is worth mentioning here that political acclamations and denunciations are a key political instrument. For instance, public condemnations announced by international organizations like the United Nations constitute an influential means to maintain and restore peace and stability in the world. Yet, these public condemnations are only one instrument of a scale of measures that international organizations adopt. If language of condemnation is not effective in some cases, other measures are sometimes adopted, such as economic sanctions or travel bans. Such measures are endorsed as means to avoid using armed force. These political measures are not only used by international organizations but also used as an instrument of foreign policy between countries.

No doubt, then, political acclaims and denounces play an important role in political judgment (Beiner, 1983; Bourke and Geuss, 2009). By using political acclaims, countries celebrate shared values (Braden and Mixon, 1988) and by declaring denounces and condemnations, they publicize the violations of these values and norms (Kampf and Katriel, 2016). However, these

acclaims and denounces are not all genuine. As Safran (2004) argues, language is an instrument for building political community. The declared acclaims and denounces can be politically motivated where ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are used as strategies for constructing desired political relations with others. Having said that, however, if the condemner failed to adhere to the same norms and rules they are acclaiming or denouncing, their ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE will be received as hypocritical, and therefore considered ineffective (Kampf and Katriel, 2016).

9.7 Political Implications of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in Parliament

Incorporating shared values in political argument is likely to create an emotional response among the audience because these values are highly cherished and often culturally entrenched. By invoking these values, speakers aim to echo the values of the public, arouse emotions and motivate action. The following examples of parliamentary ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE exhibit this kind of value-based argumentation:

	ACCLAIM	DENOUNCE
1	I pay tribute to all those who put themselves in harm's way in the event of floods.	Children were being used. We condemn the putting of children in the front line in other countries to make a case for adults standing behind them.
2	We applaud the Chancellor's stubborn and consistent commitment to supporting families and children ... We welcome the fact that as a result of this Budget up to one third of a million children will also be lifted out of poverty.	As I made clear yesterday in my statement to the House, we condemn unreservedly the outrageous behaviour over the past weekend, in Brussels and Charleroi, of the so-called English football fans who brought such shame to our country and to our national game.
3	Every time I have visited a flood situation I have found that the whole community has rallied round, and I applaud that.	We condemn all acts of violence that bring suffering to the people of Kashmir. We are of course appalled by the murders on 20 March.

From the above instances, values such as sacrifice (acclaimed in examples 1 and 3) are considered cherished values. Incorporating ACCLAIM of such values in their parliamentary

speech, MPs align themselves with their community values. This invites their audience to align with them and with what they are saying. Similarly, condemning acts of abusing children (as in example 1), condemning shameful behaviour of football fans (example 2) or condemning causing suffering and violence against civilians (example 3), all employ shared values and morals to make a political point. The morals the audience value the most are the ones that provoke emotional response because emotions are tied to our moral views, as Dowding (2018) suggests.

No doubt then touching the target audience emotions (pathos) is important in persuading. Using emotion in the argument can affect beliefs and heightens the concern. On one hand, beliefs trigger emotions; on the other hand, emotions can affect beliefs. This integration between emotion and beliefs in political arguments prompts the birth of a theoretical notion termed ‘emotional belief’ by Mercer (2010). Mercer explains that “an emotional belief is one where emotion constitutes and strengthens a belief” (pp. 2). Since political arguments that are based on ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE motivates emotion among audience, it can be argued here that they fall under this type of emotional belief where emotional attachment to shared values and morals guides reasoning in the argument. This reinforces the view that emotion and reason are inseparable in politics and that they are both needed in any effective argumentation (see, McDermott, 2004; Jeffrey, 2014; Mercer, 2010; Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2002 and 2006).

The language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in the Parliament is an effective strategy which uses shared values as an argumentative tool to create emotion in the target audience. In that sense, ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE can be viewed as an instrument for political reflection in which MPs indicate where they stand with respect to other members and with respect to the subject matter debated. By announcing their acclaims and denounces, MPs reflect on social, cultural and political situations taking place in their constituencies, in their country or in the world. To further understand how ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is used as political tool, consider the following excerpt from the Hansard Corpus:

The Prime Minister: Of course, the situation in Zimbabwe is disgraceful and **we condemn** utterly the barbaric attacks on farmers, which are totally unacceptable. The question is what should be the right response of this country? As the right hon. Gentleman knows, we are in touch not only with other African leaders in the area, but with people who represent the Opposition and the farmers union in Zimbabwe. It is important to consult those people and take their advice, and we are acting in accordance with that advice. Of course, we are pursuing every avenue open to us at Commonwealth level.

In the above example, the Prime Minister announces his public condemnation of the ‘barbaric’ attacks on farmers in Zimbabwe. Reading the full excerpt, it can be clearly recognized that this condemnation is used as a political device to gather support for action to cooperate with the Opposition in Zimbabwe against the current oppressive Government. Therefore, this DENOUNCE statement is not only a mere political reflection but it is used as an argumentative move to persuade for political action. Speaking of rhetoric of praise and blame, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1991), argue that it “strengthens the disposition toward action by increasing the adherence to the values it lauds” (p. 50). In the same way, ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE is used by MPs to argue for a political case, and it derives its persuasive power from its appeal to sacred values.

One of the political implications of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE in the Parliament is its significance in shaping parliamentary and political relationships. As a means for discursive inclusion or omission, the language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE plays a substantial role in forming political relations of allies or opponents. For instance, in the above example, the Prime Minister states that the British Government condemns the barbaric acts of the Zimbabwean Government and implies that allying itself with the Zimbabwean Opposition is a required step against those unacceptable acts.

Since parliamentary discourse is a version of public discourse, it is reasonable to assume that the value judgments represented in the parliamentary acclaims and denounces will both impact on and be impacted by perceived public sentiments. As noted from the above example, the British Government hopes that its stance towards the Zimbabwean Government and Opposition will influence the stance of the public audience who receives such discourse. Thus, the public discourse of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE not only echoes the sentiments, values and morals of the public; it also contributes to shaping those sentiments as well (cf. Hauser, 1999).

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter presents a case study where the inherently attitudinal meanings of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE create intersubjective and dialogic effects in the text. This strengthens the argument that ATTITUDE values have ENGAGEMENT properties, too. As Thompson (2008) suggests, any representation of human ATTITUDE is likely to be engaging. Additionally, Hunston (2011) asserts that evaluation is both subjective and intersubjective. In fact, a fine-grained typology of Appraisal can be problematic, as Hyland (2005) has argued. A word or an expression can exhibit multiple APPRAISAL features simultaneously. Thus, although ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are attitudinal, it is found in this chapter that they have undeniable dialogic and intersubjective influence in the text.

ACCLAIM as a sub-system of PROCLAIM and DENOUNCE as a sub-system of DISCLAIM both represent cases of contractive ENGAGEMENT resources. With these two proposed ENGAGEMENT resources, this chapter has attempted to capture meanings of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE in parliamentary debates, and their rhetorical and argumentative functions. The chapter also studies the theoretical similarities between ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE and the Aristotelian epideictic rhetorical notions of praise and blame; a type of rhetoric that has been unexplored in deliberative discourse such as parliamentary debates. The chapter has argued that ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are epideictic strategies that are used to achieve deliberative ends in the Parliament. Furthermore, ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE has also been compared theoretically to Benoit's approach of acclaim-attack-defend of presidential elections. In the light of this comparison, it becomes clear that ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are very common political moves where ACCLAIM is employed to promote self-image and DENOUNCE is used to attack opponents.

ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is undoubtedly an explicit representation of stance-taking. As an important tool for political judgement, ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE represent important discursive building blocks that can help reveal the political stance of the speaker. Beyond its role as an indicator of stance, the chapter discusses how ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE are used as a means for alignment/dis-alignment in the Parliament. Using instances from parliamentary debates, we have examined how ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is used as a device to manage relations. The chapter has shown that the language of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE is used

politically and strategically to serve speakers' desired ends. This becomes particularly obvious in the recurrent parliamentary pattern of ACCLAIM-DENOUNCE where Government MPs ACCLAIM more while Opposition MPs DENOUNCE more. Moreover, the political implications of ACCLAIM/DENOUNCE such as arousing emotions among audience, urging a certain response or justifying a political choice have been explored in this chapter. Above all, it has been argued throughout the chapter that the proposal of incorporating ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE into the current APPRAISAL model provides a more linguistically-informed framework for exploring these two prevalent moves in political discourse in general, and in parliamentary debates in particular.

CHAPTER 10 ATTRIBUTION IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES: A CASE OF EXPANSIVE ENGAGEMENT

10.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the ways in which parliamentarians employ external voices to support their arguments. MPs usually enhance their speeches by embedding other voices via ATTRIBUTION. ATTRIBUTION, or representing a proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external source, is mostly realized through the grammar of direct and indirect speech and thought. It disassociates the proposition from the authorial voice by ascribing it to an external voice. The main purpose of this chapter is to examine how ATTRIBUTION is used in British parliamentary debates. What role(s) does ATTRIBUTION play in parliamentary debates? How does it affect the positioning and alignment/dis-alignment of parliamentarians? What argumentative strategies are enacted through the interplay between the stance of the authorial voice and the stance of the attributed text? What does ATTRIBUTION do in parliamentary argument in general?

Drawing once again on the Appraisal Theory by Martin and White (2005), specifically its system of ENGAGEMENT, this chapter investigates common ATTRIBUTION practices in the British Parliament. The following main research questions are asked:

- **Question 1.** What is the quantitative distribution of ATTRIBUTION in CPDF corpus?
- **Question 2.** How is ATTRIBUTION linguistically realized in the Parliament?
- **Question 3.** What are the communicative and rhetorical functions of ATTRIBUTION in the Parliament?
- **Question 4.** Is there any variation in the use of ATTRIBUTION between government MPs and opposition MPs?
- **Question 5.** How do MPs use ATTRIBUTION to support their parliamentary arguments?

I elucidate these questions using a corpus-assisted analysis of CPDF. Occurrences of different ATTRIBUTION patterns are studied both quantitatively and qualitatively along with their communicative and rhetorical functions in parliamentary texts. A comparative analysis of government use and opposition use of ATTRIBUTION will also be closely explored using empirical examples from the corpus. The chapter is organized into four main sections. In section one, a theoretical discussion of ATTRIBUTION as a dialogic expansion is presented. This section also highlights the elements that constitute ATTRIBUTION and the interplay between them in text. Furthermore, this section discusses the differences between contractive ATTRIBUTION and expansive ATTRIBUTION as well as distinguishing between immediate and non-immediate ATTRIBUTION in the parliamentary context. In section two, a quantitative and qualitative textual analysis of ATTRIBUTION in CPDF is presented and instances of ATTRIBUTION and their frequencies in the corpus are described. The following section discusses types of ATTRIBUTION that are observed from the analysis. Supportive and confrontational types of ATTRIBUTION are examined along with examples from the corpus for each. The final section presents a comparative analysis between government and opposition uses of ATTRIBUTION in CPDF and highlights their effect on parliamentary argument.

10.2 ATTRIBUTION As a Dialogistic Expansion

Due to its ubiquity in discourse in general, ATTRIBUTION has received attention from scholars in the fields of linguistics, literary theory, and philosophy of language, as well as in subfields of linguistics such as the ethnography of communication, conversation analysis, and sociolinguistics. It has been studied under various terms such as direct and indirect speech (Davidse & Vandelanotte, 2011; Florian, 1986), referencing, citation (Buckley, 2015; Flowerdew, 2015; Li and Zhang, 2021; Samraj, 2013), projection (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004), intertextuality (Kristeva, 1980), Bakhtin's (1981) heteroglossia, and footing shift (Goffman, 1981). This section aims to view ATTRIBUTION as a dialogistic expansive resource by highlighting its relation to the concept of intertextuality, its use as a recontextualizing tool, its recognized structure and formula in text, and its operation in parliamentary context with regard to its two interactive forms as immediate and non-immediate ATTRIBUTION.

10.2.1 Attribution, Intertextuality and Re-Contextualization

It is widely understood that there is no text that is new in any real sense; rather, a text is always a response to a previous one (Kristeva, 1980). This concept is perhaps most famously associated with Bakhtin, who pointed out that “in real life people talk most of all about what others talk about; they transmit, recall, weigh and pass judgment on other people's words, opinions, assertions, information; people are upset by others' words, or agree with them, contest them, refer to them and so forth” (1981, p. 338). The re-production of discourse via replaying and recycling previous utterances demonstrated in *ATTRIBUTION* is one of the most common prevalent forms of intertextuality.

According to Fairclough (1992), intertextuality can be either constitutive or manifest. While the constitutive intertextuality of a text is the configuration of discourse conventions that go into its production, in manifest intertextuality, there are other texts that are explicitly present in the text being analyzed where they are manifestly marked or cued by features on the surface of the text, such as by quotation marks (Fairclough, 1992, p. 104). The manifest type of intertextuality is represented here under the term *ATTRIBUTION*.

The reproduction of discourse via *ATTRIBUTION* mostly happens by re-contextualizing the previous utterance in a new text. Linell defines recontextualization as the “dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context ... to another” (1998, p. 154 x) The degree of recontextualization involved in intertextuality includes elements of selecting, deselecting, emphasizing, deemphasizing and then framing and re-framing aspects of texts in ways that are different from the source text (Farrelly, 2020), giving it a new meaning. Therefore, a previous speech is often recontextualized to serve internal voice purposes, even though the internal voice may attempt to present itself as minimally accountable for the attributed text. As Hunston (1993, 2000) argues, despite the artificial objectivity demonstrated in using the reporting language, the authorial voice ultimately aims to promote its own point of view. This is evidently manifested in how MPs use *ATTRIBUTION* to serve their political ends, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter.

In a similar vein, Sinclair's (1988) distinction between notions of averral and attribution highlighted this interface between averred (i.e., authorial) and attributed textual voices. The authorial voice is assumed to aver all the propositions in the text and thus take responsibility for their veracity, unless they are attributed. When an attribution is made, a proposition is credited to a source other than the authorial voice and responsibility is assigned to that source.

However, according to Sinclair (1987) all attributions are also averred since the authorial voice is the one that chooses whether to attribute propositions, when, and to which sources.

On this basis, it is critical to note that “intertextuality is a matter of recontextualization” (Fairclough, 2003) and that recontextualization practiced via ATTRIBUTION inevitably has important ideological and political implications. Through these recontextualization practices, speakers align or dis-align themselves with previous speakers and therefore construe their role in the communicative event. Gruber (2015) argues that recontextualization in parliamentary debates frames the parliamentary role of MPs as government or opposition party MPs. Additionally, according to Hodges (2008), the recontextualization values implied in ATTRIBUTION enable politicians to highlight favorable aspects of the attributed text while downplaying damaging aspects. In other cases, it is employed as a defensive strategy by ascribing hostile or damaging views to third party sources (Clayman, 1992; Partington, 2006). This idea will be discussed in further detail in the comparative analysis presented later in this chapter, where we will see how and why opposition MPs use ATTRIBUTION much more than government MPs.

10.2.2 Structure Of Attribution

ATTRIBUTION can be defined as an act of intertextual positioning directly or indirectly quoting words or ideas from another speaker. It includes formulations which disassociate the proposition from the text’s internal authorial voice by attributing it to some external source. ATTRIBUTION is mostly realized through the grammar of direct and indirect reported speech and thought using communicative process verbs (e.g., said, mentioned, discussed, told, talked, spoke, etc.), mental verbs (e.g., believe, suspect, think, imagine, view, etc.), or nominalizations of these processes (e.g., X’s assertion, in X’s belief, etc.), and various adverbial adjuncts (e.g., according to, in X’s view, etc.).

Although ATTRIBUTE or reported speech can be realized linguistically in various ways, its representation in text usually follows the recognized formula:

(matrix clause + projected clause)

The matrix clause is the clause representing the source and the reporting marker, whereas the projected clause includes the reported message. Thompson (1996) expanded this structure to comprise four essential dimensions in reporting language: the source, or the

representation of who or what is the voice of the language; the reporting signal, which represents how the message is reported; the message, which is how the function or content of the source is presented; and the reporter's attitude, which signifies the evaluation by the present reporter of the message or the source. These four dimensions are all essential aspects for presenting reported speech in text.

Although Thompson (1996) has adopted a functional approach to reporting language, there are other scholars who purely focused on the structural approach of language reports (e.g., Quirk et al., 1985). Others such as Halliday (1994) in his study on projection and Murphy's (2005) analysis on attribution markers adopted a more lexico-grammatical approach to reporting language. For instance, Halliday (1994) made a useful distinction between the reporting of propositions (statements and questions), typically realized by *that*-clauses and *wh*-clauses, and the reporting of proposals (commands and offers) realized by *to*-infinitive clauses; he also included the type of embedded projections. Murphy (2005), on the other hand, classified reporting verbs, nouns, and adjectives into six attitude reporting groups: public statement of position; subjective interpreting and communicating impressions; recognizing evidence of the status quo; creating or reporting argument; knowing and reflecting on beliefs; and attitudes, feelings, and reactions.

The Appraisal Framework, on the other hand, expands the view on reporting language beyond both the structural and lexical-grammatical approaches. While it shares many of the above theoretical assumptions, the appraisal framework departs from scholars such as Halliday and Murphy in that it is suspicious of general categorizations and insists on determining the meaning and function of each feature by examining how it is being used in its own unique context. The framework's orientation towards viewing *ATTRIBUTE* meanings in context offers a comprehensive approach to analysis. However, apart from classifying the dialogistic functionality of *ATTRIBUTE* as either acknowledging or distancing, the Appraisal Framework has not yet offered any paradigm to assist in understanding how the co-textual and contextual factors operate in the interpretation of *ATTRIBUTE* with respect to the backdrop of alternative points of view, opinions, and value judgements.

It is significant to view intertextuality in its wider context as a network of inter-texts or groups of texts that are connected to each other (Farrelly, 2020). Farrelly's argument is on a broader level where various related types of texts need to be considered when analyzing any current text. Similarly, I recommend viewing *ATTRIBUTE* in a wider context and co-text to understand its role in text. To this end, I propose a paradigm/model to help situate *ATTRIBUTE* within its unique context and assist in understanding the attributed material

against its surrounding text. The reason for this paradigm is to enable analysts to examine the interplay between, in Sinclair’s terms, the averred text and the attributed text as well as understanding the stance and attitude of the authorial voice against the stance/attitude of the attributed material. Using Thompson’s (1996) four-dimensional model of reporting language, I expand this framework to incorporate other elements such as the preceding and subsequent text as shown in the following illustration:



Figure 10. 1 A model for situating ATTRIBUTION in its context

The above model (Figure 10.1) provides a more holistic approach to ATTRIBUTION in text. It offers a discursal overview, which then looks further beyond the existing structural and lexical-grammatical approaches to reporting language. Understanding the interplay between all these co-textual and contextual elements delivers a more comprehensive view of how ATTRIBUTION operates in any text. The following is an example of these elements of ATTRIBUTION in one parliamentary entry uttered by a Green Party MP.

MP	Preceding Text	Source	Framer	Attributed Text	Subsequent Text
Caroline Lucas (Brighton, Pavilion) (Green):	Does the hon. Lady recognise that there is incoherence at the heart of the Government’s policy on climate change and flooding?	The Prime Minister	said	that money was no object when it came to the relief effort to clear up after floods,	but less than two weeks later he was handing huge new subsidies to the fossil fuel industry; when those fossil fuels are burned, extreme weather events, including flooding, are made more likely. Does she agree with the commentator who said today that that is like promising to rebuild Dresden while ordering more bombers to flatten it again?

The model of situating ATTRIBUTION in its context, as displayed in Figure 10.1, is significant as it helps reveals the interplay between the authorial voice and the attributed voice. In the example above, the MP Caroline Lucas questions the government’s incoherent policy on

climate change and flooding as given in the preceding text. The MP attributes the government own statement as presented in the attributed text, then uses that ATTRIBUTION to confront the government with its incoherence and conflicting policies in the subsequent text. Using this model to depict how the stance of the internal voice (in this case, the MP's) interlays with the stance of the attributed voice (in this case, the Prime Minister's). Clearly, there is a negative relevance between the two stances, hence the confrontational use of ATTRIBUTION. Considering all elements in the model (Figure 10.1) helps to understand what ATTRIBUTION brings to the text and how its meaning is affected. It also helps disclose the position of the internal voice against that of the attributed.

10.2.3 Contractive Vs. Expansive ATTRIBUTION

ATTRIBUTION represents a proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice. In doing so, the textual voice implies that the proposition is but one of a range of possible positions. It thereby expands the dialogic span by recognizing alternative viewpoints. The appraisal framework views ATTRIBUTION as an expansive ENGAGEMENT resource which is made up of two categories: ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE (Figure 10.2).

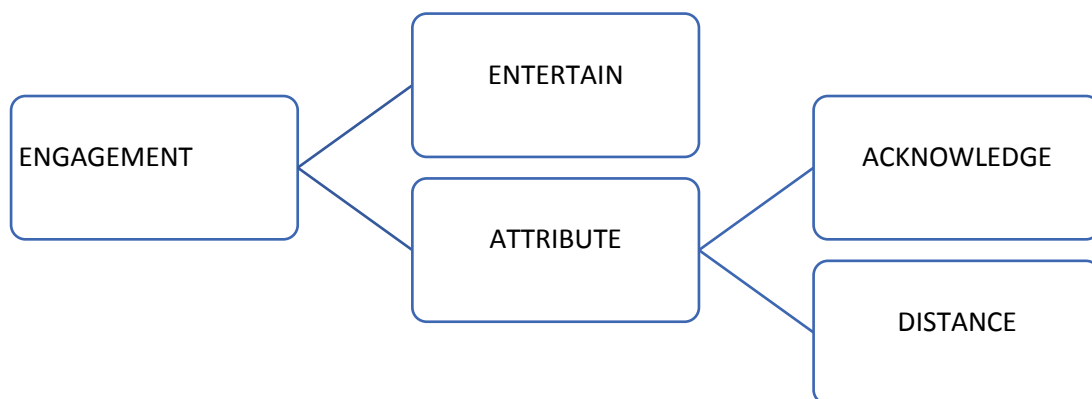


Figure 10. 2 Two sub-systems of ATTRIBUTE

As mentioned previously, ATTRIBUTE includes the reporting clause and the reported message. The relationship between the two has been the interest of linguists and sociolinguists in areas where different reporting styles have been identified. In Martin and White's (2005) classification, reporting is, generally, either endorsed, acknowledged, or distanced. The distinction between these categories is based on the contractiveness and expansiveness of the proposition along the dialogic spectrum as portrayed in Figure 10.3:

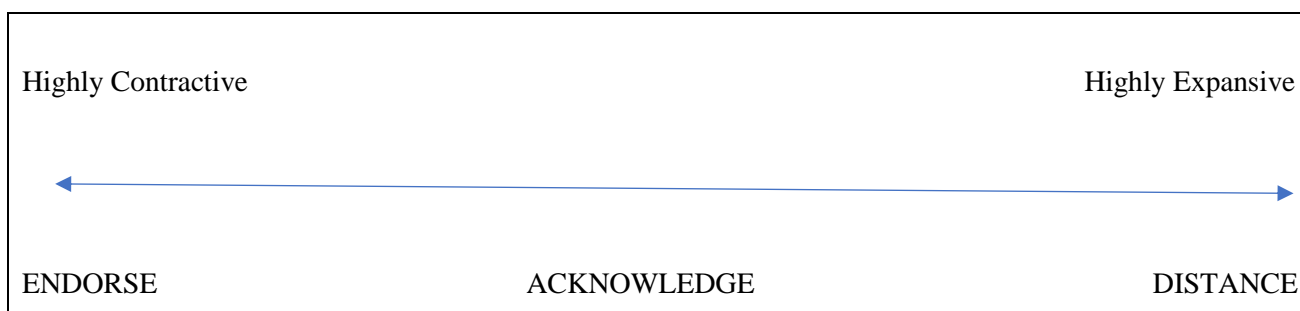


Figure 10.3 The Dialogic Spectrum of ATTRIBUTION

As ENDORSE represents a full assimilation and alignment of the external source into the text, Martin and White (2005) viewed it as a contractive sub-system of PROCLAIM. Less contractive is ACKNOWLEDGE, which adopts a neutral stance towards the attributed text. DISTANCE, on the other hand, is considered highly expansive as the authorial voice explicitly disassociates and dis-aligns itself from the proposition advanced. This distinction can be exemplified by the following instances of ENDORSE, ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE extracted from CPDF:

ENDORSE	ACKNOWLEDGE	DISTANCE
Mr Dominic Raab (Esher and Walton) (Con): The risks of flooding, which is effectively what we are debating, prompt a simple question: have we got our environmental priorities right? <i>Met Office data show that</i> four of the five wettest years on record have occurred since 2000..... <i>[Hansard, HC, 26 Mar 2013-BB]</i>	Maria Eagle (Garston and Halewood) (Lab): ... Will the Secretary of State make a clear commitment to publishing a further progress report on each of the recommendations in the Pitt review by the end of this month? <i>Yesterday the Prime Minister tweeted that</i> there would be “no restrictions on help” for those affected by the flooding..... <i>[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]</i>	Hugh Bayley (York Central) (Lab): Back on 9 January at DEFRA questions <i>the Secretary of State claimed falsely that</i> the coalition Government were spending more on flood protection than the Labour Government had spent. I challenged him, quoting figures that his Department had given to me in answer to a parliamentary question in July last year, <i>[Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]</i>

However, due to blurred boundaries between ATTRIBUTION subsystems in terms of contraction and expansion, there is an inconsistency in its classification. For instance, although

there are some scholars who believe that ENDORSE is part of the expansive ATTRIBUTE sub-system (e.g., see; Abbamonte & Cavaliere, 2010; Nakamura, 2009; Ryshina-Pankova, 2014), others (e.g., Smith & Adendorff, 2014) agree with Martin and White (2005) that ENDORSE is a contractive sub-type of PROCLAIM. Even ACKNOWLEDGE, which is expansive, can be used to contract the dialogic span by fully supporting the authorial voice’s argument. Hunston (2000) argues that an authorial voice may reclaim an attributed proposition by making evaluative comments on the quote given (“x *rightly* states” or “y *alleges* that”), which overrides its expansiveness or, as in Bolden’s (2004) terms, “unquote.”

Thus, this distinction between CONTRIBUTION categories in terms of their contractiveness/expansiveness is generally complicated. Using attitudinal assessment in ACKNOWLEDGE overrides its neutrality and its expansiveness characteristics, shifting it more towards the contractive area of the spectrum. As a result, we see that instances of ACKNOWLEDGE fluctuates between strong, or weak acknowledgments as illustrated in Figure 10.4 below:



Figure 10. 4 Weak vs. Strong ACKNOWLEDGE

Examples of strong and weak acknowledgments are presented in these two instances extracted from CPDF:

Weak ACKNOWLEDGE	Strong ACKNOWLEDGE
<p>Chris Williamson (Derby North) (Lab): <u>The Prime Minister said that</u> money was no object and that the Government would invest in securing a sustainable country for the future, so I hope that the funds necessary for flood defences in my constituency will be made available..... [Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]</p>	<p>The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Mr Eric Pickles): <u>The Prime Minister has made it absolutely clear that</u> we will spend and do whatever it takes to ensure that our communities feel safe from flooding. [Hansard, HC, 10 Feb 2014-UQ]</p>

By using attitudinal assessment of either the framer or the external source, the authorial voice is explicitly stating its alignment/dis-alignment to the proposition, in which case neutrality of ACKNOWLEDGE is eliminated/overridden. As can be seen in the strong ACKNOWLEDGE example, Mr Eric Pickles uses the intensified attitudinal language (*absolutely clear*) to describe the framer (*made it*) which shifts this instance of ATTRIBUTION towards the strong ACKNOWLEDGE, overriding its neutrality.

To understand how attitudinal and epistemic collocates used around ATTRIBUTION instances determines its contractiveness and expansiveness, consider the framer “said” and observe some of its uses in CPDF as shown in:

#	ACKNOWLEDGE/[said]
1	As the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government <u>rightly said</u> , the situation facing communities in the Somerset levels remains
2	Hon. Friend does not need to rely on me; the Prime Minister <u>said so loud and clear</u> yesterday
3	ABI and the government on flood risk insurance as utter nonsense. He <u>said categorically</u> that the government face a conundrum. Perhaps he can
4	<u>I acknowledge the truth of what my right Hon. Friend said</u> . Of course, it is the job of Her Majesty’s Opposition to
5	I welcome what the Secretary of State has said today about the government response to the floods
6	I accept that the Secretary of State said last week that “the risk is there to our nation”.— [Official
7	<u>I agree with other Members who have said that</u> we need a coherent strategy. We cannot view
8	<u>I think Pitt was right when he said that</u> the whole system had been too centralised and needed to
9	as Hon. Members from across the House have said. We must use the evidence to ensure that
10	<u>No doubt note will have been taken about what has been said</u> ; we can feed the points back to colleagues. Partnership funding

As noticed from these examples, the use of intensifying attitudinal co-text (e.g., *rightly, so loud and clear, categorically*) and using expressions before /said/ such as (*I acknowledge, I welcome, I accept, I agree, no doubt*) reduces the expansiveness of ACKNOWLEDGE. In these instances, the authorial voice is explicitly stating its strong alignment, overriding its neutrality and expansiveness.

Generally speaking, ACKNOWLEDGE's neutrality can be elusive and is used as a strategy to persuade others of impersonal stance, where, in fact, it is used primarily to promote one's own stance and position. Its elusiveness characteristic has resulted in its frequent use in the CPDF corpus when compared with ENDORSE and DISTANCE as MPs use the strategy to sound more neutral and objective in their arguments. Another reason for the high frequency of ACKNOWLEDGE in Parliamentary discourse is the sequential nature of parliamentary interaction, where MPs usually begin their parliamentary entry by acknowledging a previous speaking MP before they make their own statement. Such instances of ACKNOWLEDGE are realized by using the pattern:

(as + source + framer)

Examples are expressions such as *as has been said*, *as others have said*, *as my right Hon. Friend set out*, *as my Hon. Friend pointed out*, and *as my right Hon. Friend says*. This type of ACKNOWLEDGE represents a strong alignment with the external source, emphasizing and asserting what has been said and mentioned previously in the parliamentary debate. It indicates a common ground and shared values between MPs which shows approval and in-group membership during parliamentary discussions. This type of ACKNOWLEDGE also helps build a coherence between various arguments presented on the floor of Parliament.

The following concordances extracted from the CPDF present some examples of this common parliamentary practice.

when it is going to be taken forward. ***As has been said***, if people want to continue to mortgage their people would lose flood insurance altogether, and, ***as has been said***, mortgage agreements could be at risk as a than it has been in the current floods, but, ***as others have said***, flooding is devastating for every home and business I believe that the answer lies in farming techniques. ***As has been said***, dredging is not a panacea. In 1928 there was flooding from the River Medway and its tributaries, ***as my right hon. Friend set out***. There have been nine flood potential benefits, and have indicated their support, ***as my right hon. Friend set out*** in his letter to the connected channels which drain into the Thames, ***as my hon. Friend set out***. All these rivers, at some point, it can be used to divert river water, and ***as my hon. Friend said***, pumping enables that to happen, keeping water that as a last resort. However, before that, ***as my hon. Friend pointed out***, it is far preferable to ensure cope with much higher volumes of water, but ***as my hon. Friend pointed out***, a large cost would be attached has to be funded through the privatised water industry, ***as my hon. Friend set out***, where bill-payers foot the cost. Bill in this place. Whatever the reasons, however, ***as my hon. Friend said***, residents simply want action now. I agree

take part in this debate, which, ***as my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton South (Mr Binley) said***, examine this wider point of urgency and, ***as my hon. Friend the Member for Folkestone and Hythe said***, the we should adapt to such change, ***as my noble Friend Lord Lawson has advocated***. “Just as science and and it is used for animal feed and—***as my hon. Friend the Member for Newport West pointed out***—for has delivered in protecting 1.1 million properties. However, ***as my right hon. Friend says***, we can always do better.

One

Other MPs can also be acknowledged by using forms such as *I am grateful for that reply*, *I am grateful for those words*, etc. Such expressions are most often used as prefaces for each parliamentary entry. Employing attitudinal language to form this type of ACKNOWLEDGE (e.g., *grateful*) clearly shifts the authorial voice towards aligning with other external voices. Here are some examples of such types of parliamentary acknowledgments:

<u>I am grateful for that reply</u> . A ministerial visit to North Yorkshire would be most
<u>I am grateful for those words</u> from the Minister, but is he aware that Leeds
I am grateful for the Hon. Gentleman’s question, but there are no massive cuts
<u>I am grateful for the swift response</u> —Downing street took about 20 minutes to respond

10.2.4 Immediate Vs. Non-Immediate ATTRIBUTION

Due to the nature of interaction in the Parliament, which involves consecutive turn-taking between MPs, distinguishing between what I refer to as immediate and non-immediate ATTRIBUTION is essential. In immediate ATTRIBUTION, the MP is attributing what a previous MP has said in that current communicative situation during the parliamentary debate. In non-immediate ATTRIBUTION, the MP is reporting an utterance from any source that occurred during a different communicative situation. These two parliamentary entries exemplify the difference between immediate and non-immediate ATTRIBUTE:

Immediate ATTRIBUTE	Non-immediate ATTRIBUTE
<p>Sir Richard Ottaway (Croydon South) (Con): <i>The hon. Lady said that</i> the Government, or the country, was not properly prepared for the incidents that we faced. If she had come to my constituency, she would have seen that only prompt action by the fire brigade, the Army, the emergency services and the Environment Agency stopped a disaster. It is unfair and unfounded to say that the plans that were put in place and implemented amounted to a lack of preparation. <i>[Hansard, HC, 26 Feb 2014-OD]</i></p>	<p>Maria Eagle (Garston and Halewood) (Lab): <i>Yesterday the Prime Minister tweeted that</i> there would be “no restrictions on help” for those affected by the flooding. Will the Secretary of State explain precisely what that means? Will he tell the House whether people are still being charged at a premium rate when they call the floods helpline? <i>[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]</i></p>

In the first example, the MP is reporting another MP’s statement made during the same parliamentary debate. In the second example, the Labour MP attributes a tweet posted by the Prime Minister on a different day. Both immediate and non-immediate ATTRIBUTION are used to either strengthen the parliamentary argument or to confront opponents. A further discussion on SUPPORTIVE ATTRIBUTION vs. CONFRONTATIONAL types will be laid out later in this chapter.

10.2.5 Self-ATTRIBUTION

Another common type of ATTRIBUTION found in CPDF is what I refer to as self-ATTRIBUTION. In this type, the MPs re-emphasize what they have previously said using the pattern:

(as + I + framer)

Using expressions such as *(as I said, as I have said, as I have mentioned, as I have pointed out, etc.)*, the MP stresses an argument that they had made previously in the debate. Self-ATTRIBUTION has been called self-citation and self-mention in academic discourse (Hyland, 2001; Mur Dueñas, 2007) and self-reference or self-representation in political

discourse (Albalat-Mascarell and Carrió-Pastor, 2019; Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2008). Hyland (2001) states that self-mentions are realized in first person pronouns together with possessive adjectives. These statements reflect the authors’ confidence and authority and represent a powerful rhetorical strategy to emphasize a writer’s contribution.

Although self-attribution has been studied in political discourse, its use in parliamentary debates has not been examined. Analysis of CPDF shows that instances of self-attribution are frequent in the corpus. Concordances of such instances are presented in Table 10.1 and Table 10.2:

Table 10. 1 Concordances of “as I have said” in CPDF

On making better use of local knowledge, ***as I have said***, the Environment Agency is out there, meeting parish allowing water companies to invest through the price review, ***as I have said***. I am a big fan of SUDS, and know that in Northampton we had serious floods in 1947, ***as I have said***, and flood defences were put in place that the resilience of the rail line at Dawlish. ***As I have said***, we are open for business; I would not Friend for trying to tempt me into negotiating in public but, ***as I have said*** many times today, we are involved in a past few weeks called for the deal to be made universal. ***As I have said***, Hull, 90% of which is a flood risk, is which flooded 350 homes in my constituency. ***As I have said*** on numerous occasions, that incident coincided with the before or after the planning reforms were made. ***As I have said***, putting sustainable development at the heart of the discussing with the UKSA what it is best to do, and ***as I have said***, we will write to the hon. Gentleman when able to announce that a deal had been reached. ***As I have said*** before, I am afraid that we cannot negotiate people do not have wet rooms? Mr Paterson: ***As I have said***, I have great confidence in what the Environment and the maintenance of existing defences. ***As I have said*** previously, no schemes will have been cancelled. All the Environment Agency on the ground. ***As I have said***, there are lessons to be learned, including about it is uplifting to the spirit to look at them. ***As I have said***, my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary has agreed local knowledge has often made the difference. ***As I have said*** from the Dispatch Box, my right hon. Friend then let us know? Mr McLoughlin: ***As I have said***, any Barnett consequentials that are necessary will tak

Table 10. 2 Concordances of “as I said” in CPDF

Members who have participated in the debate for their contributions. ***As I said***, this is a timely debate, and a number of rainage capacity will be made a priority for investment? Mr Paterson: ***As I said***, we are having daily meetings with other point as he was probably getting ready for the intervention, but ***as I said*** in response to the hon. Member for

insurance in a way that the statement of principles did not. *As I said*, we are very close to reaching agreement that will continue after the end of the statement of principles. *As I said* to the hon. Member for Nottingham South the hon. Gentleman's constituents and the area he represents. *As I said*, at the meeting with Network Rail, we will be understandably has to concentrate on? Mr Pickles: I certainly will. *As I said* to my hon. Friend the last time I spoke resilience against this type of weather on that line? Mr McLoughlin: *As I said*, north of Rugby, a huge amount of money for them? Mr McLoughlin: I understand what the hon. Lady says. *As I said* just before this statement, I have had a Network Rail and all the other services involved, on water levels. *As I said* earlier in my statement, the levels are cons can give the hon. Lady that assurance; details will follow shortly. *As I said*, however, having inherited a situation in which

There are also other locutions used to represent self-attribution in CPDF such as *my argument*, *my remarks*, and *my view*, as in:

y hon. Friend also raises the very interesting question—this supports *my argument*—of where the funding will come from. I of my speech. If the hon. Gentleman is not happy with *my remarks*, I will give way to him again. Mr Jeremy Browne: , when more than 300 homes were flooded. Does she share *my view* that in addition to the flood insurance issue, we need may do so in future. Does my hon. Friend share *my view* that the Government should consider introducing a scheme where

The above concordances present some patterns of self-attribution that are found in CPDF. As clearly noted, such expressions are not only used to organize discussion during parliamentary debates, but also as markers of self-projection and self-positioning. MPs use locutions of self-attribution to explicitly express their stance, showcase their personal prominence, emphasize their voice, and maximize their visibility in parliamentary debates. Because self-attribution is usually used to refer to another part of the same debate, it can be considered an intra-textual device which helps the MPs to guide the audience towards a particular interpretation of the debate. MPs also use self-attribution to increase intensity, strengthen their claim, and promote their individual contributions.

10.3 Analysis of ATTRIBUTION

The subsequent discussion compares frequencies and uses of ATTRIBUTE's two categories, ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE, in CPDF.

The wide-ranging uses of ACKNOWLEDGE encompass the vast majority of ATTRIBUTE cases in the CPDF corpus when compared to DISTANCE (Table 10.3).

Table 10. 3 Frequency of ACKNOWLEDGE vs. DISTANCE in CPDF

Feature	Number	Per 1000 tokens
ACKNOWLEDGE	460	2.34
DISTANCE	167	0.85

The strategy of DISTANCE is to detach the authorial voice from the proposition advanced which represents a dis-alignment with the external voice. It is less frequently used than ACKNOWLEDGE, as can be seen in Figure 10.5.

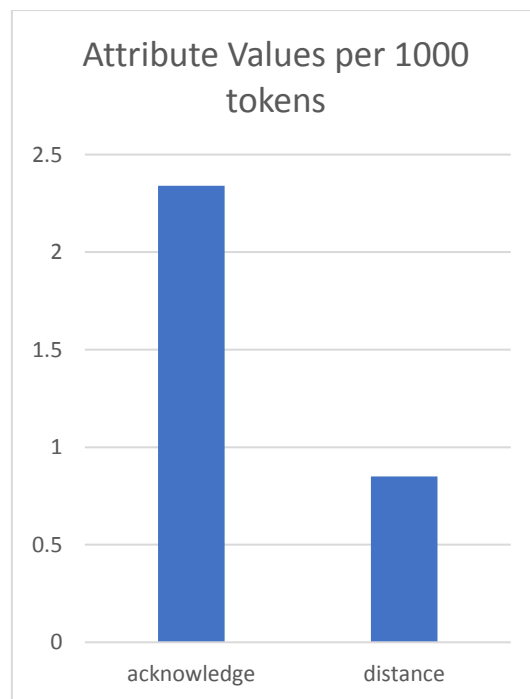


Figure 10. 5 Distribution of ACKNOWLEDGE vs. DISTANCE in CPDF

Table 10.4 presents the various ways ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE have been realized linguistically in CPDF:

Table 10. 4 Most frequent instances of ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE in CPDF

ACKNOWLEDGE	DISTANCE
the Prime Minister said that	the Secretary of State claimed falsely that
the Prime Minister announced that	all the claims that
the Prime Minister tweeted that	the Prime Minister's claim
the Environment Agency has said	the Prime Minister's "money is no object" claim
the Chancellor outlined	as he claimed
She says that	it was claimed that
She is right to point out that	the claim by the chairman of the UK Statistics Authority that
as he said	Ministers, including the Prime Minister, continue to claim that
its chief executive has said that	the government's claims
according to the Prime Minister	he repeated his bogus claim that
According to its assessment	his bogus and misleading claims
according to Environment Agency information	exaggerated claims have been made in Parliament about
The agency's chief executive has admitted that	the Hon. Member for Brent North suggested
Sir Michael Pitt himself, however, admitted that	He went further to suggest that
In his letter, the chair of the UKSA said that	the Business Secretary has suggested that
The Secretary of State said that	the ABI told me that
in the words of	they were told that
The Hon. Gentleman is absolutely right	I was told on the Floor of the House that
the Chancellor announced that	We have been told time and again that
The Association of British Insurers has described discussions on flood insurance as	we are being told that
Simon Douglas, the director of AA Insurance, was quoted in the Evening Standard as saying that	We have been told by the Prime Minister that
The Building Societies Association has said that	They were told by the insurance company that
As she rightly says	the Prime Minister promised that
My Hon. Friend is absolutely right about	the government promised that
He is absolutely right	We were promised a deal
As my right Hon. Friend rightly points out	The Prime Minister promised the Leader of the Opposition that
The Prime Minister has made it absolutely clear that	The Minister talks about

Yesterday the government announced	The Secretary of State talked about
The Secretary of State mentioned	the government have talked
The right Hon. Lady mentioned	We have heard from the Minister today
as the Prime Minister has made absolutely clear	We heard from journalists that
pointed out by my right Hon. Friend the Member for Chelmsford (Mr Burns) a moment ago	I hear what the right Hon. Gentleman says about
My right Hon. Friend is absolutely right to mention	For so long, we have heard Conservative Members saying that
my colleague who said that	It is the view of a former Prime Minister, Tony Blair,
As he rightly says	in view of the Prime Minister's statement at the press conference
as my right Hon. Friend says	Lord Smith, who implied that
the Prime Minister had committed in this House on Wednesday to	he speaks from personal experience
Initial reviews indicate that	She wrote a very rude comment about
A triennial review concluded last year that	These organisations, which are not in any way environmentalist, are all warning that
she has rightly drawn attention to that	The Committee insisted, during the passage of the Water Bill, that
The 2003 protocol says clearly that	All Hon. Members disagree with that and believe that
It states clearly	the ABI thought that
The Hon. Lady talked about	from their constituents' point of view
My Hon. Friend touches on a point that	the Hon. Gentleman's party indicated that
The Deputy Prime Minister replied	The Hon. Member for Blackpool South (Mr Marsden), like a parrot, keeps saying
The Hon. Lady makes a very important point	He was unable to answer my questions and instead commented that
As has been said	Those are the words that he used
As has been discussed	his comments this weekend accusing the Environment Agency of
as all Members have said	The Hon. Gentleman gives the impression that
The Times this morning said	As regards the figure that opposition Members keep quoting
The BBC acknowledged that	the confusion mentioned by the Secretary of State
a Naburn resident who informed me that	Simon Douglas, the director of AA Insurance, believes that
A Looe town councillor, Councillor Brian Galipeau, formally proposed that	his party announced
My Hon. Friend the Member for Wansbeck (Ian Lavery) made a powerful speech about	a report, published this week, which suggests that
The Environment Agency has told me that	We have been told time and again that
comments made by the Hon. Member for South East Cornwall (Sheryll Murray) about	we are being told that
As Ministers have repeatedly made clear	

The Minister said earlier that	
The statement of principles says that	
My right Hon. Friend makes a powerful point	
My Hon. Friend also raises the very interesting question—this supports my argument—of	
In his extremely good speech, my Hon. Friend the Member for Waveney (Peter Aldous) elucidated	
To quote one senior councillor	
His example highlighted	
a concern that is mentioned in my constituency	
In her speech she spoke about	
He is quite right to mention	
He said categorically that	
He is absolutely right to raise the issue	
The answer to question 186940 stated	
the regiment's commanding officer saying	
The Hon. Member for Winchester (Steve Brine) highlighted	

For the purposes of further analyzing the differences between ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE, types of sources and framers of ATTRIBUTION have been extracted from CPDF. As for the types of sources used with ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE, there are no significant differences. However, the difference is mainly present in the attitudinal language used to characterize and describe the sources used. While negative attitudinal language is used most often to describe the sources with DISTANCE instances, more neutral and/or conforming language is used with sources of ACKNOWLEDGE. Examples of the attitudinal language that collocates the most with DISTANCE cases include *his bogus claim that, his bogus and misleading claims, exaggerated claims have been made in Parliament about, claimed falsely that, like a parrot, keeps saying, and the confusion mentioned by*, or using negative comments such as *She wrote a very rude comment about* or *These organizations, which are not in any way environmentalist, are all warning that*. On the other hand, the representation of sources of ACKNOWLEDGE is neutral in most cases, with no attitudinal language attached to it. In some cases, it uses conforming language such as *According to*, *As my right Hon. Friend says, As he rightly says, As all Members have said, The Hon. Gentleman is absolutely right, It states clearly, she has rightly drawn attention to that, He said categorically that, and He is absolutely right to raise the issue*. Table 10.5 presents the types of sources used with ACKNOWLEDGE as compared with DISTANCE:

Table 10. 5 Types of sources used with *ACKNOWLEDGE* and *DISTANCE* in CPDF

Sources	
ACKNOWLEDGE	DISTANCE
the Prime Minister	the Secretary of State
The Deputy Prime Minister	the Prime Minister's claim
the Chancellor	the claim by the chairman of the UK Statistics Authority
chief executive	Ministers, including the Prime Minister, continue to claim that
The Environment Agency	the government's claims
The agency's chief executive	he repeated his bogus claim that
Sir Michael Pitt	his bogus and misleading claims
the chair of the UKSA	exaggerated claims have been made in Parliament about
The Secretary of State	the Hon. Member for Brent North suggested
The Hon. Gentleman	the Business Secretary
The Association of British Insurers	the ABI
the director of AA Insurance	the insurance company
The Building Societies Association	the government
My Hon. Friend	journalists
the government	the right Hon. Gentleman
The right Hon. Lady	Conservative Members
my colleague	It is the view of a former Prime Minister, Tony Blair,
Initial reviews	Lord Smith
A triennial review	These organisations, which are not in any way environmentalist,
The 2003 protocol	The Committee insisted, during the passage of the Water Bill, that
as all Members	All Hon. Members
The Times	from their constituents' point of view
The BBC	the Hon. Gentleman's party
a Naburn resident	The Hon. Member for Blackpool South (Mr Marsden)
A Looe town councillor	the figure that opposition Members keep quoting
The Minister	Simon Douglas, the director of AA Insurance
The statement of principles	his party
my constituency	a report, published this week,
The answer to question 186940 stated	
the regiment's commanding officer	
The Hon. Member for Winchester	

The same is applicable for the types of framers used with ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE. A more distancing and negative attitudinal co-text is used with framers of DISTANCE, while a more neutral and conforming language characterizes the framers of ACKNOWLEDGE. Examples of such framers are presented in Table 10.6.

Table 10. 6 Types of framers used with ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE in CPDF

Framers	
ACKNOWLEDGE	DISTANCE
said/rightly said/categorically said	claimed/claimed falsely
announced	the claims that
tweeted	it was claimed that
outlined	bogus claim/misleading claims/exaggerated claims
point out/rightly points out	told
mentioned	suggested
admitted	we have been told/we are being told
described	promised/ we were promised that
according to	talks about
in the words of	we have heard
made clear that	in the view of
indicate	wrote a very rude comment about
draw attention to	commented that/his comments
stated clearly	insisted that
talked about	believe that
discussed	like a parrot, keeps saying
acknowledge	those the words that he used
informed	the confusion mentioned by
formally proposed	his party announced that
made a powerful speech about	
repeatedly made clear that	
as has been said	
elucidated	
highlighted	
quoted	

10.4 Supportive Vs. Confrontational ATTRIBUTION

The interplay between the attributed and non-attributed voices in text is complex and subtle. In their theory of relevance, also referred to as the principle of relevance, Sperber and

Wilson (1986; 1995) have stressed the role of context in the interpretation and understanding of any act of communication. They emphasize that, before any utterance can be understood, the speaker's intended implication and attitude must be identified. Although Sperber and Wilson mainly view relevance theory (RT) from a cognitive perspective, we can relate here it to ATTRIBUTE as RT focuses very strongly on the role of context in the creation of meaning. Although Sperber and Wilson's work is not usually discussed in relation to appraisal theory, this aspect of the relevance theoretic perspective is arguably in line with Martin and White's view of context as an important aspect that must be considered when analyzing how speakers use ATTRIBUTE in their arguments. Therefore, taking implied relevance as a point of departure, the current study proposes a mechanism that allows ATTRIBUTE to be viewed in text. To understand how this criterion of relevance plays a role in understanding ATTRIBUTE in any text, we need to consider the framer type, and the source type as well as the wider context. Therefore, cases of ATTRIBUTE in CPDF are classified into two types based on the nature of relevance between the authorial stance and the stance of the attributed material. If there is a positive relevance between the authorial and external stance, then ATTRIBUTE is supportive and the MP can use it to reinforce their position and stance. The following is an example of supportive ATTRIBUTE:

The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Elizabeth Truss): In the autumn statement, the Chancellor outlined his plans to give tax relief on private contributions to flood defence schemes, thereby making it likely that even more private sector companies will want to invest in flood defences. We are making it happen. [Hansard, HC, 11 Dec 2014-OAQ]

In cases where there is a negative relevance between the authorial stance and the external stance, then attribute is used in a confrontational way; it is used to challenge opponents and question their veracity. The confrontational ATTRIBUTE usually operates in the pattern (ATTRIBUTE + COUNTER) as presented in the following occurrences:

Table 10. 7 Examples representing pattern (ATTRIBUTE + COUNTER) in CPDF

Debate	ATTRIBUTE	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 26 Nov 2012-MS]	Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): <i>The Secretary of State's predecessor, the right hon. Member for Meriden (Mrs</i>	<i>yet</i> today the Secretary of State has announced that just 85% of

	<i>Spelman</i>), <i>told the House</i> in a written statement in June that central Government would cover 100% of local authority costs under the Bellwin scheme,	their costs will be met in the case of the latest floods. Why is that?
[Hansard, HC, 30 Oct 2014-OAQ]	Diana Johnson: After Eton flooded in February, <i>the Prime Minister promised that</i> money would be no object.	<i>However</i> , for many Hull homes and businesses hit by the December tidal surge, that soon changed to “Out of sight, out of mind,” and they are still awaiting help. Can the Minister tell me what percentage of the promised assistance to flood-hit communities has actually gone to those affected?
[Hansard, HC, 26 Nov 2012-MS]	Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): <i>The Secretary of State’s predecessor told the House in June that</i> “we are at an advanced stage in intensive and constructive negotiations with the insurance industry”.—[<i>Official Report</i> , 25 June 2012; Vol. 547, c. 26.]	<i>Yet</i> the Association of British Insurers has stated today that a deal on the future of flood insurance has “stalled”. We were promised a deal in the spring, and then by July. It is now November. What has happened?

10.5 Comparative Analysis between Government and Opposition

The analysis of these ATTRIBUTION cases shows that the opposition MPs attribute more than the government MPs (Figure 10.6).

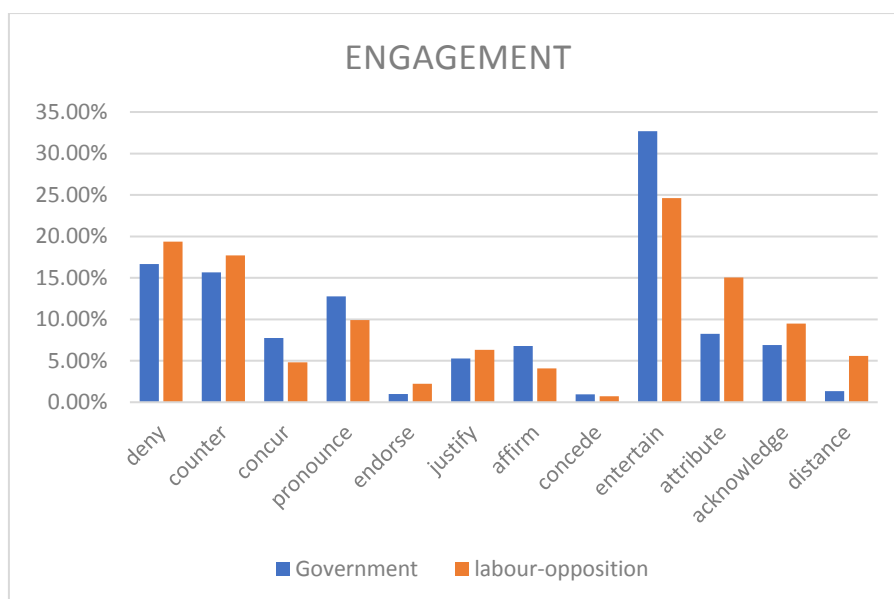


Figure 10. 6 Comparison between Government & Opposition in using of ATTRIBUTE

The opposition use of ATTRIBUTE is mostly confrontational; typically, a previous utterance is brought into a debate to hold the government accountable for its promises and pledges. The analysis of CPDF also shows that when ATTRIBUTE is used in a confrontational way, it is frequently followed by COUNTER and is used to confront and challenge opponents. The following are examples of this confrontational pattern (ATTRIBUTE + COUNTER) used by Opposition MPs in CPDF:

Debate	ATTRIBUTE	COUNTER
[Hansard, HC, 4 July 2013-OAQ]	Gavin Shuker (Luton South) (Lab/Co-op): We have a proposal from this Government, not a deal. <i>The Secretary of State said that</i> “this announcement means that people no longer need to live in fear of being uninsurable”.	<i>However</i> , all band H properties are excluded, as are so-called “genuinely uninsurable” properties and all properties built after 2009. Given that it has taken the Minister three years to get to this point, will he now admit that his proposals do not provide universal access to cover?
	Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): <i>The Secretary of State’s</i>	<i>yet</i> today the Secretary of State has announced that just 85% of

<p>[Hansard, HC, 26 Nov 2012-MS]</p>	<p><i>predecessor, the right hon. Member for Meriden (Mrs Spelman), told the House in a written statement in June that central Government would cover 100% of local authority costs under the Bellwin scheme,</i></p>	<p>their costs will be met in the case of the latest floods. Why is that?</p>
<p>[Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]</p>	<p>Alison Seabeck (Plymouth, Moor View) (Lab): <i>In response to a question asked yesterday by my right hon. Friend the Member for Exeter (Mr Bradshaw), the Prime Minister said:</i> “Where extra investment and protections are needed, they must be put in place.”—[<i>Official Report</i>, 5 February 2014; Vol. 575, c. 269.] Those good words were followed today by a £30 million pledge from the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government,</p>	<p><i>yet</i> the local enterprise partnerships, local authorities, local transport boards and people in the south-west simply do not believe them.</p>
<p>[Hansard, HC, 13 Feb 2014-UQ]</p>	<p>The Secretary of State for Transport (Mr Patrick McLoughlin): <i>The hon. Member for Blackpool South (Mr Marsden), like a parrot, keeps saying, “It’s not new money.”</i></p>	<p><i>The simple point is that it is new money.</i> It is the £38 billion that we are going to invest in Network Rail over the next five years.</p>

10.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored the uses of ATTRIBUTION in parliamentary debates. It began with a brief introduction on intertextuality in general and ATTRIBUTION’s role as a

recontextualization tool in text. The chapter also discussed various aspects of contractiveness and expansiveness of ATTRIBUTION as well as the recognized structure of ATTRIBUTION.

For the purposes of examining the positioning effects of ATTRIBUTION in parliamentary debates, an analysis of its distributional uses in the CPDF corpus is presented. Based on the quantitative analysis, ACKNOWLEDGE is used more frequently than DISTANCE in CPDF. Additionally, when comparing the uses of ATTRIBUTION between government MPs and opposition MPs, our results show that opposition MPs use ATTRIBUTION in their arguments more often than government MPs do in general. However, the results also show that the opposition MPs present a dis-alignment with the external voice via the frequent use of DISTANCE values when compared to government MPs. The analysis has also shown that the opposition generally uses ATTRIBUTION to challenge the government and question its veracity. This is mostly accomplished by the excessive use of the confrontational pattern of ATTRIBUTION (ATTRIBUTE + COUNTER) in their arguments. Examples of this pattern from the corpus have been presented in the chapter to further support this argument.

CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSION

This concluding Chapter revisits the main research questions posed at the beginning of the Thesis and provides a summary of answers to these questions that emerge from the detailed empirical analysis presented in the preceding six chapters. It also outlines the broader implications and contributions of the current Thesis to both the Appraisal Framework and the discipline of parliamentary debates and highlights the limitations of the study. Finally, the Chapter ends by providing suggestions of avenues for further and future research.

11.1 Revisiting and Answering the Main Research Questions

The first research question posed by this Thesis:

***Question 1:** What attitudinal language is used by MPs in the British House of Commons (HC) and what role(s) does it play in the construction of stance in parliamentary debates?*

This first research question was addressed by analysing attitudinal language using the ATTITUDE system within the Appraisal Framework (Martin and White, 2005). The analysis includes an examination of the three subsystems of ATTITUDE; i.e., AFFECT, JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION both quantitatively and qualitatively and an exploration of their role in positioning and alignment/dis-alignment in parliamentary debates.

The analysis showed that ATTITUDE system to be a significant value in the language of the parliament. Parliamentarians make evaluations of things and processes (APPRECIATION) more than they make JUDGEMENT evaluations or express their feelings (AFFECT). Of the three evaluative types, JUDGEMENT has fewer occurrences per 1000 tokens followed by AFFECT, and APPRECIATION tokens have the highest number of occurrences. MPs tend to use invoked JUDGEMENT more than inscribed JUDGEMENT. They use attitudinal invocations as a strategy to comply with parliamentary code, to soften criticism, or as a strategy of public image management.

As for AFFECT system, the context of parliament is not suitable for emotional evaluations. Affectional language used in parliament is less subjective or personal and most feelings used are institutionalized as propositions concerning aesthetics and value. Therefore, AFFECT

tokens are realized but do not manifest as often as APPRECIATION tokens. This probably indicates the MPs desire to balance emotion and reason in their arguments by reducing the use of personal affectional language. Another interesting finding that supports this observation is that, based on the analysis, most personal affectional language used in the corpus is mainly rhetorical and dialogical. It generally serves empty rhetorical and parliamentary-specific language which usually does not represent authentic and real affection. For example, it is common to initiate each parliamentary entry with affective expressions such as: (I am grateful to the Minister for that reply; I am grateful for those questions; I am grateful to my Hon. Friend for his comments; I am delighted to have the opportunity to discuss, etc.).

Inscribed and invoked evaluations in CPDF are realized across all the three ATTITUDE subsystems. However, there is a prevalence of inscribed evaluations over invoked. Ethical evaluation of human behavior (JUDGEMENT) is more implicit (69.87%) than it is explicit (6.70%). Aesthetic evaluations of items, products, and services (APPRECIATION) are patterned more as inscribed (59.13%) than invoked (23.75%). Although inscribed ATTITUDES outnumber invoked ATTITUDES overall, what is invoked is mostly negative. This is justified if we remember that parliamentary debates must follow a restricted language code and highly regulated language. In such contexts, both positive and negative criticism might be invoked to maintain relationships and image on the House floor. Also, to avoid losing face, parliamentarians attempt to hide harsh criticism with invocation. As JUDGEMENT evaluations tend to be acts that threaten a loss of respect, parliamentarians become more implicit in their JUDGEMENTS than inscribed.

MPs employ both positive and negative evaluations in their discourse. However, there are more positive evaluation tokens (2983) in the corpus than negative evaluative tokens (1819). MPs seem to be more positive in their attitudinal evaluations than negative in this corpus. Positive evaluations boost the appraised person's self-esteem and shows the shared affection of the appraised and appraiser. Negative evaluations, even though they might be constructive, are a distancing technique from affections, morals, and creations in the dialogic space. However, it must also be emphasized that affectional rhetoric makes up the bulk of positive ATTITUDE and this mainly serves dialogical and interactive purposes.

Question 2: *What dialogistic (ENGAGEMENT) resources are used by MPs in the British House of Commons (HC) and what roles do these resources play in the construction of intersubjective stance in parliamentary debates?*

The second research question was investigated by analysing dialogistic resources in the corpus using the ENGAGEMENT system within the Appraisal Framework. The analysis encompassed all contractive and expansive dialogistic resources, i.e., DISCLAIM, PROCLAIM, ENTERTAIN and ATTRIBUTE. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted to explore the frequency and the dialogistic functions of ENGAGEMENT resources in parliamentary debates.

Based on the analysis of CPDF, instances of ENGAGEMENT are higher than are those for ATTITUDE. The pervasiveness of ENGAGEMENT resources in the corpus indicates that aspects of dialogism are distinctive elements of parliamentary discourse. This is no surprise as parliamentary discourse being generated by an institution whose function is to engage different voices and to discuss different ideological viewpoints. However, the contractive categories of ENGAGEMENT are used more often than the expansive ones. This means that although there is a recognition of other voices and alternative viewpoints, they are generally only brought into a text in order to be contracted and fended off. This is evident in the quantitative comparison between CONTRACT and EXPAND cases in the corpus. The frequency of all contractive features (DENY, COUNTER, AFFIRM, CONCEDE, PRONOUNCE, ENDORSE and JUSTIFY) combined is higher than the uses of all expansive features (ENTERTAIN, ACKNOWLEDGE and DISTANCE) combined. However, when analyzing each feature of heteroglossia individually, ENTERTAIN (which is an expansive sub-category) is the most frequently used feature in the corpus. This probably occurs because most locutions of ENTERTAIN are in fact parliamentary-specific. For instance, modal auxiliaries, mental verbs, modal adjuncts, attribute projections, and certain types of rhetorical or expository questions are all types of locutions of ENTERTAIN. Since parliaments are designed to express stances and beliefs rather than hard facts (Vukovic, 2014), such entertaining locutions, no doubt, prevail in parliamentary language. ENTERTAIN allows MPs to position themselves vis-à-vis other alternative voices, which is fundamental to the essence of parliamentary debating.

With regard to the contractive resources, the proportion of DISCLAIM in the corpus is higher than PROCLAIM. The higher proportion of DISCLAIM compared to PROCLAIM in the corpus indicates that values of dis-alignment, disagreement, and dispute are more frequent than

the values of alignment, agreement, and concurrence. Generally, values of DENY and COUNTER are more frequently used than values of PROCLAIM (CONCUR, PRONOUNCE, ENDORSE and JUSTIFY). This is clearly manifested in the dominance of DENY and COUNTER (which convey values of dis-alignment, disagreement, and dispute) compared to, for instance, CONCUR and ENDORSE (which represent values of agreement, alignment, and concurrence). The dominance of dis-alignment, disagreement, and dispute values conveyed through meanings of DISCLAIM reflects the very nature of parliament as a place where adversarial forms of interaction are widely exercised.

***Question 3:** Is there any systematic variation in the use of attitudinal language and ENGAGEMENT resources between Government MPs and Opposition MPs?*

The third research question was examined by means of conducting a comparative analysis of attitudinal language and ENGAGEMENT resources used by Government MPs and Opposition MPs. This comparative study encompassed all attitudinal and dialogistic resources and compared their frequency and uses by both Government and Opposition MPs.

Based on the analysis, it was found that Government MPs use ATTITUDE more frequently than do the Opposition MPs. While the use of implicit attitudinal tokens is generally minimal in the House, it is slightly more frequent in contributions by Opposition speakers than it is among Government MPs. Opposition MPs invoke their attitudinal language more than Government MPs do. Given that Opposition MPs are mostly aiming criticisms towards the Government, their tendency to use invoked ATTITUDE is higher. The corpus analysis also indicates that Government MPs use positive ATTITUDE (73.05%), more frequently than do Opposition MPs (44.35%). In contrast, Opposition MPs use negative ATTITUDE more often (55.65%) as opposed to Government MPs (28.7%). The likely reason for these observations is that it is the primary task of Opposition political parties to be critical of the Government. Correspondingly, the less frequent use of negative ATTITUDE among Government MPs can reasonably be interpreted as exhibiting aggregate level party unity (Carey, 2007) as parties demand loyalty. However, disloyalty can sometimes be exhibited, notably when MPs want to express their own ideology showing some degree of independence.

The analysis also suggests that Opposition MPs seem to use more JUDGEMENT values (297 tokens) than AFFECT values (257 tokens). However, the opposite is the case with Government

MPs, who make more use of AFFECT (492 tokens) than JUDGEMENT (433 tokens). Also, evaluations of processes, artefacts, objects and state of affairs are realised more in the corpus of both Government and Opposition via the use of APPRECIATION. However, while Government MPs invest more in affective language, Opposition MPs are more concerned with JUDGEMENT.

Based on the analysis, Government MPs use ENGAGEMENT in the corpus more than the Opposition MPs. It is also found out that both Government and Opposition MPs use contractive values more than expansive values, with the Opposition MPs are very slightly more dialogically contractive than Government MPs. Conversely, the Government MPs dialogically expand entertaining alternative voices very slightly more frequently than Opposition MPs do. Opposition MPs use more DISCLAIM resources (37.09%) than Government MPs (32.33%) to explicitly reject alternative positions. While Opposition MPs use DENY most frequently as a contractive value, Government MPs tend to invest the most on ENTERTAIN values. Opposition MPs use DENY and negation discourse more frequently as they want the audience to align with them in condemning or criticizing government policies and actions. On the other hand, Government MPs aim to entertain alternative voices to mitigate and manage criticism, thus they rely on ENTERTAIN resources more.

Comparative analysis also found that there is a relationship between the parliamentary role of each party and the type of attitudinal and intersubjective stance uttered in parliamentary debates. It is found that the use of attitudinal language and ENGAGEMENT resources reflects power relations and ideologies of its users. Using these resources reflect shared values, a particular ideology, and lead to the creation of in-groups or out-groups and included or excluded parties.

11.2 Major Research Findings

This section aims to present the main research findings:

11.2.1 The Relationship between Language and Political Stance

Language and political stance are undoubtedly inseparable. Yet, the relation between the two is not always straightforward. Although theoretically speaking there should be a correlation between attitudinal language and political stance (as it is discussed in Chapter Three), this correlation needs to be considered cautiously in political discourse.

Political stance can be explored from a multitude of angles in which language is only one of them. This Thesis attempted to explore the relation between language and political stance using Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005) as analytical framework to examine some aspects of this relation. The task of identifying political stance of speakers by analysing the language they use is not an easy one. No doubt, language can reveal a lot about where its speakers stand about topics. However, this study found out that there are numbers of considerations that required to be taken into board when analysing language for stance particularly in political discourse in which parliamentary debates is a subgenre of it.

In his well-known essay; ‘Politics and the English Language,’ Orwell (1946) argued that political language is intended to hide the truth than express it. Politicians might express a public stance that is different, if not opposite, from their real stance. They do so to achieve certain diplomatic and political ends particularly if exposing their real stance would harm their political relations. Thus, when analysing political discourse, it is essential to distinguish between public stance from private stance of these politicians. Language can clearly help to unveil the political public stance to certain extent, but the private stance requires other elements of political analysis and calculation to uncover it. In fact, the private political stance is not meant to be publicly disclosed. Unmasking private stance in politics might bring damaging costs to the involved parties. A renowned example of the potential consequences if private stance is revealed publicly is the case of WikiLeaks²³. The disclosure of sensitive documents by WikiLeaks created serious and deleterious consequences on diplomacy (Page and Spence 2011). Political and diplomatic relations might be at stake as a result of revealing contents of diplomatic cables that not meant to be public. Those cables might contain the type of private stance that if disclosed might harm the political goals of those politicians. This struggle between what politicians can publicly express and what they should hide is probably the reason behind the constant criticisms on politicians of dishonesty and of telling lies.

The relationship between language and political stance is a very complex one. There might be correlation between the two in some occasions but in others this correlation is violated. This violation happens due to the very nature of political language and its primary purpose to achieve political and diplomatic gains. If a language a politician uses might put his relation with another party at stake, such language might be avoided, hedged, eluded, fudged or manoeuvred. A lot in political language remain unsaid and implicit communication. Private

²³ WikiLeaks is a non-profit organization specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official material. (<https://wikileaks.org/What-is-Wikileaks.html>)

political stance remains uncommunicated. Thus, using language as a means to detect this type of stance might not be always reliable. Private political stance is usually buried from view because disclosing it might put certain political relations to risk.

It is also important to stress here that political stance is a dynamic phenomenon. Therefore, temporal context needs to be considered when analysing political stance. It is not what these politicians say but when they say it (Pierson 2000) that reveals more about the political stance. Clearly, political timing can be a significant factor that can inform us a lot about the political stance. In fact, political timing is “non-random and that politicians attempt to influence the timing of events in such a way as to maximize the political benefits or minimize the political costs for themselves” (Gibson 1999: 471). Another aspect of how political timing affects political stance is that stance in politics is not static. Stance of political parties might change over the course of time. A political party might support a policy in certain political timing. Yet, this might change in another political timing. Similarly, a country might be a political ally to another but this alliance might be at risk in another political timing and there are numerous historical cases that reflect this dynamic change in political stance in general. That is why the diagram displaying political stance of political parties in Chapter Three is never static, it changes over the course of time.

11.2.2 Political Proximity and Language of Stance

The comparative analysis conducted between the Government and Opposition MPs revealed that these parties behave in parliamentary context according to their parliamentary role. The comparison also demonstrated that MPs use stance and Appraisal resources based on their ideological proximity or distance with other parties. Stance and Appraisal resources used when addressing members from the same political party are usually different from those used when addressing members of other parties. This is usually evident in all aspects of parliamentary communication on the House floor starting from the forms of address to using confrontational language. For instance, if the MP being addressed is a member of the same political party they are referred to as “my Honourable friend”, and if the MP is from other political parties, they are referred to only as “the Honourable Member for...”, or as either “the Honourable gentleman” or “the Honourable lady”.

The type of attitudinal language and dialogistic resources detected in CPDF is also another indicator of this ideological and political proximity/distance relations. For example, what is

referred to in this Thesis as dialogical attitudinal language, which mainly serves parliamentary interactive and rhetorical purposes, is used to maintain this ideological proximity/distance. Another example is the use of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE language in parliamentary context. Instances of acclamations and denunciations are politically calculated to echo the relational political proximity/distance among the MPs as this Thesis has demonstrated.

Based on this, it is noted that there is a correlation between attitudinal language and political proximity/distance between parties. The propinquity in attitudinal stance can indicate a potential degree of political proximity. The more positive ATTITUDE expressed about another party, the higher political proximity towards that party and vice versa as is envisioned in Figure 11.1.

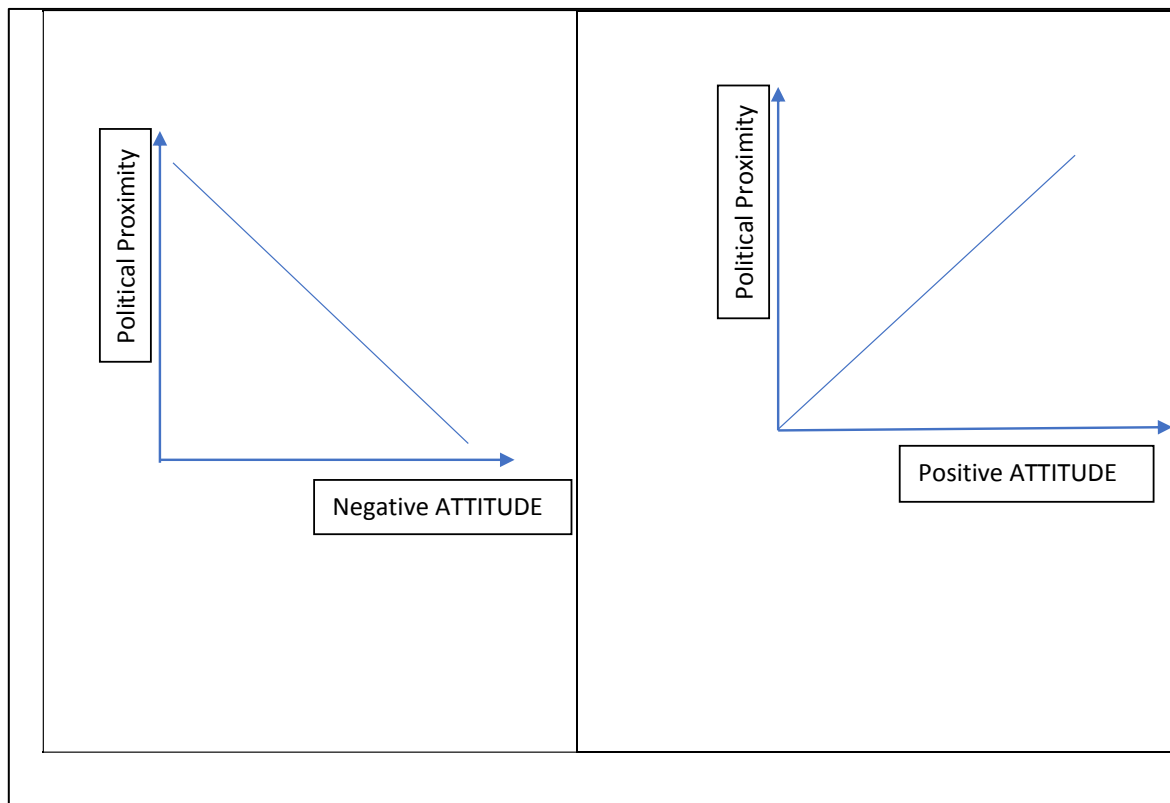


Figure 11. 1 The relationship between ATTITUDE's Polarity & Political Proximity

Thus, this study recommends that when studying the political stance, it is very important to consider whom those politicians are addressing in their discourses. The political and ideological convergence and divergence among interlocutors is a crucial factor in determining the language of stance they produce.

11.2.3 Parliamentary Strategies using Stance and Appraisal Resources

The current study has shown that there are strategic uses for the stance and Appraisal resources that are used in parliamentary debates. MPs use these resources to accomplish a number of communicative and argumentative functions. Table 11.1 presents some of the parliamentary strategies that this Thesis detected to be associated with language of stance:

Table 11. 1 Parliamentary Strategies using Stance and Appraisal Resources

Strategy	How does it operate in Parliamentary Debates?	Example
The Blame Strategy	Using ATTITUDE to blame opponents for own party shortcomings.	The Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Mrs Caroline Spelman): We would all like to spend more money on flood defences—there is a very good return on investment: for every £1 of taxpayers’ money spent, there is an £8 return—but <i>the reality of the situation is that the Labour party left the nation’s finances in a very bad state.</i> [Hansard, HC, 25 Jun 2012-UQ]
Question Invocation	Parliamentary questions play a significant role as attitudinal resources. They are used to invoke stance. They can be provocative and confrontational and aim primarily to appraise or criticize.	Jonathan Edwards (Carmarthen East and Dinefwr) (PC): Following serious flooding in England in 2007, the UK Government accessed €162 million from the European Union solidarity fund. Why have the UK Government not accessed that fund, as a member state, following the storms this year, which have hit west Wales hard? <i>In failing to do so, are they not guilty of absolving themselves of their responsibility to help Welsh communities in times of crisis?</i> [Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]
Oppositional Stance	This is a very pervasive form of stance taking that is detected in CPDF. Instances of oppositional stance are cases where MPs compare own political party to another. This is usually done by using language of comparatives and superlatives as demonstrated in the examples.	The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government (Mr Eric Pickles):The additional funding means that, over this Parliament, <i>this Government will be investing more than £3.1 billion, compared with £2.7 billion in the previous five years under the last Labour Government. This is more than ever before, in both cash and real terms,</i> and we will spend it well and wisely. [Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS] Mary Creagh (Wakefield) (Lab): Last week, there was an announcement of a new £120 million U-turn on flood defence spending. However, even after

		that announcement, <i>the Government will still spend less on flood defences in 2013 than Labour spent in 2008.</i> [Hansard, HC, 6 Dec 2012-OAQ]
The Default Stance	The default stance is the default meaning that another meaning attracts. Positively evaluating someone/something implies by default a negative evaluation to its counterpart and vice versa. Any stance enhancing the standing/position of the Government will automatically convey a default stance undermining their opponents; i.e., the Opposition.	<p>The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Richard Benyon): I agree entirely. I am grateful to my hon. Friend for pointing out that <i>we have addressed an intrinsic, long-term unfairness for people in the south-west. We have proved that we are doing that not just for today, but for the long term.</i> [Hansard, HC, 4 July 2013-OAQ]</p> <p>Sheryll Murray (South East Cornwall) (Con): People in my constituency who have been flooded will welcome the news about flood insurance and the extension of the £50 off their water bills. Does he agree that <i>that shows a commitment to the people of the south-west that was never shown by the previous Government?</i> [Hansard, HC, 4 July 2013-OAQ]</p>
Confrontational ATTRIBUTION	In this strategy, MPs use reported speech to criticize, attack or confront the other party. In most cases, it takes the pattern ATTRIBUTE + COUNTER.	<p>Alison Seabeck (Plymouth, Moor View) (Lab): <i>In response to a question asked yesterday by my right hon. Friend the Member for Exeter (Mr Bradshaw), the Prime Minister said:</i> “Where extra investment and protections are needed, they must be put in place.”, <i>yet the local enterprise partnerships, local authorities, local transport boards and people in the south-west simply do not believe them.</i> [Hansard, HC, 6 Feb 2014-MS]</p>
ENGAGEMENT Sequences	This study found that ENGAGEMENT resources operate in sequences. Some of these sequences are constructed for strategic and maneuvering purposes such as maintaining respect, establishing solidarity and alignment, or confronting and attacking opponents.	<p>Barry Gardiner (Brent North) (Lab): <i>DEFRA’s own figures show that climate change could see the number of homes at risk of flooding more than double to more than 800,000 by the mid-2020s, yet the Committee on Climate Change’s report on adaptation makes it clear that even these figures underestimate the risk and that up to 500,000 homes might be left without protection. Why is the Secretary of State ignoring the science?</i> [Hansard, HC, 21 Nov 2013-OAQ]</p>

11.3 Contributions and Implications of the Study

The present Thesis makes original contributions in the following ways:

1. The main contribution of the Thesis is that it introduces the theoretical concept of stance into the field of UK parliamentary debates.
2. Another contribution of this Thesis is that it proposes a conceptual framework that helps researchers and analysts to situate the phenomenon of stance in parliamentary context. This framework is laid out in Chapter Three.
3. The current Thesis also contributes by providing a case study showing how Appraisal and stance resources can be studied quantitatively and qualitatively in parliamentary debates.
4. The Thesis also presents a comparative analysis between the Government and Opposition in their use of stance resources. This is something that has not been researched previously.
5. The Thesis has also demonstrated how parliamentary questions can be used to invoke stance supporting this with instances from the corpus.
6. The current study finds that while Appraisal Theory is generally very effective in analysing parliamentary discourse, there are some cases of evaluative language that the Appraisal Framework fails to detect. Hence, this Thesis contributes to the development of Appraisal Theory by proposing to incorporate new resources into the Appraisal System. Examples of such are ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE as shown in Chapter Nine.
7. Another aspect that this Thesis helped to explore is how attitudinal language can play a role as dialogistic resources. Results from analysis demonstrated that ATTITUDE resources such as language of ACCLAIM and DENOUNCE clearly manifest dialogistic functions in text. Also, results show that dialogistic contractive and expansive questions can be used to invoke stance. Generally, there is a dialogistic aspect

in attitudinal language that needs to be tested and explored further in other types of texts.

8. The Thesis also proposes to re-classify the ATTRIBUTE sub-system based on the criterion of relevance between the stance of the authorial voice and the stance of the attributed text. Two types have stemmed out of such proposed analysis, i.e., supportive CONTRIBUTION and confrontational CONTRIBUTION as demonstrated in Chapter Ten.
9. This study adds to the ongoing research on how language can be used as an indicator of the political stance of texts (and thus by extension of the producers of these texts). It is hoped that this will assist in generating a linguistically-motivated way of determining speakers' political stance based on the Appraisal and evaluative language they mostly tend to use. The Thesis has demonstrated that language can be used as a factor in determining political affiliation.
10. The Thesis presents an empirical demonstration that any attempt to reforming parliamentary institutions needs to take into consideration language and rhetoric reform. An excessive dominance of oppositional and polarized stance can be damaging and divert the public from seeing the authentic purpose of debating in parliaments. Thus, reforming language and rhetoric of debating can contribute in reforming the parliamentary institution.

11.4 Limitations of the Current Study

The following limitations have become apparent while conducting the present study:

1. Hansard may not always be a literally exact representation of what was said in the House of Parliament. Some researchers have pointed out that Hansard is a somewhat 'cleaned up' version of spoken discourse (Mollin, 2007 and Slembrouck, 1992). Yet, although Hansard may not be perfect as a transcription of spoken parliamentary discourse, it is accurate enough for the purposes of an Appraisal analysis because the cleaned parts do not influence the Appraisal aspects of the texts. If we want to maintain a higher level of data accuracy, and if the researcher noticed any issue with data, they can always return to the audio and video versions of data. Researchers also can return

to the House of Commons library for double checking. In fact, conventionally Hansard is always treated as accurate. There is even a parliamentary convention whereby if a member of Parliament makes an inaccurate statement in Parliament, they must write a correction in the copy of Hansard kept in the House of Commons library.

2. It is also important to highlight that some paralinguistic features of parliamentary debates in Hansard transcripts (e.g., some features of spontaneous speeches including false starts, incomplete sentences, or in-voluntary repetitions) might have gone under some editing or are omitted. Since the main concern of this study is mainly stance elements, and not any other non-verbal features, this kind of editing is good to ensure that unnecessary elements are excluded from the data. However, in any multimodal approach to the study of stance, it is important to consider this limitation and take measures to minimize problems in data accuracy.
3. One of the major tasks in this Thesis is annotating the data for Appraisal resources. Not only because of the size of the corpus, but because of the risk of subjectivity in analysis. In order to achieve a higher level of consistency in analysis, another analyst is hired for double annotation. But, how one can achieve consistency among analysts with a system that is inherently subjective? This is due to the nature of evaluative meaning which as Fuoli and Paradis (2014) and others argued that can be realized by an open-ended range of expressions and its interpretation greatly depends on the analyst's reading of the text. However, there are a number of measures that can be taken to manage this subjectivity and maximize the reliability of text annotation for appraisal language. Fuoli and Paradis (2014) listed a number of these measures. As for the current study, we used the 'guidelines' proposed by Fuoli and Paradis (2014) for annotating language of Appraisal. Also, by implementing the two-annotator strategy, we managed to produce a 'gold standard' sample that was used as a guide for the annotation of the whole corpus. Another technique that was adopted in order to increase the reliability of the annotation task is consulting a list of examples of Appraisal expressions provided by Martin and White (2005) and Bednarek (2008).
4. The representativeness of the corpora chosen is another limitation. Although the size of the corpus is 174837 tokens, it is still considered a relatively small corpus. However, there are things that you can do with small corpora that you can't do with large ones and there are things that you are able to do with large corpora but not able to do in

smaller ones. Each corpus, whether small or large, enjoys some kind of strength. This strength is not inherited from the size but from the kind of methodology used. Combining corpus analysis with discourse analysis has assisted in revealing the strength of the data used for this Thesis. Yet, it is very important to emphasize here that results and findings of this study must be tested against larger corpora of parliamentary debates.

5. It is also important to stress that the compiled corpus of this study represents only the spoken variety of parliamentary discourse. Results and findings of this Thesis needs to be also tested against other sub-genres of parliamentary data to reach comprehensive conclusions about stance and stance taking in parliamentary discourse, in general.

11.5 Areas for Further Research

This final section suggests a number of avenues for further research in the field:

1. A springboard for further research might be a multimodal approach to stance, involving an analysis of non-verbal features of stance in parliamentary debates, or investigating some paralinguistic features along with analyzing verbal data for stance. As Munday (2012: 11) points out, stance is a pervasive phenomenon that can be found “in the choice of word and in the intonation that accompanies it in speech, in the syntax, in the arrangement of an argument, in the choice of genre, and form of language or dialect”. Therefore, conducting a multimodal study on stance in parliamentary context can be interesting and will expand the results and findings of the current study.
2. Another direction for future research is doing research on other genres of political discourse such as political speeches, written parliamentary discourse or election manifestos and test this Thesis’s findings against them.
3. It would benefit further research to have a larger corpus which is comparatively more representative of parliamentary discourse. The results from the current study are restricted to the context of House of Commons’ parliamentary debates and spoken parliamentary questions.

4. An interesting direction for future research will be comparing the results and findings of this Thesis against other studies conducted on other countries' parliaments. Conducting comparative studies between the UK parliamentary discourse, which is the focus of the current study, and other parliaments can reveal if findings of Appraisal and stance studies may differ in other parliamentary contexts and languages.

5. The most frequent Appraisal and stance items found in this Thesis can be starting points for future research. A corpus-based analysis of the attitudinal and dialogistic items detected in this study can help reveal how various patterns of stance operate in concordances within larger corpora of parliamentary debates.

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