AN EXPLORATION OF STRATEGIES
TO CONVEY EVALUATION
IN THE "NOTEBOOK" TEXTS

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an analytical study of the expression of evaluation in a highly opinionated type of discourse. This exploration, chiefly motivated by a concern with pedagogical issues, sought to identify and describe some of the strategies used by writers to convey explicit and implicit interpersonal meanings in order to help non-native learners read more critically. In particular, the study attempted to account for some resources of indirect evaluation which have been little described so far. The analysis is on the one hand based on some aspects of the Appraisal Theory, especially on White's (2004, 2005/6) notions of naturalisation and unarguability, and on the other on evaluation conveyed through attributed material. It is argued that such resources indirectly position readers in a stance similar to the writer's own, which places him/her in control of the material and thus, ultimately, of the readers' views. The study concluded that none of the individual strategies was significantly powerful by itself, but that they all interact and reinforce each other's meanings, adding to the cumulative attitudinal effect of the text. It is suggested that the strategies identified in this particular type of text are likely to occur in other text types as well.

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Table of Contents

REFERENCES

APPENDIX TABLE

APPENDIX

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1   Rationale

This thesis explores the presence of implicit evaluation in the NOTEBOOK texts – a highly opinionated type of discourse from the journalistic domain (see detailed description in section 2.6) in order to identify the strategies used to encode interpersonal meanings –both explicitly and implicitly– in this genre. The original drive of this study was my personal experience as an EFL teacher of advanced learners –chiefly motivated for pedagogical purposes– to help non-native learners identify the writer's position in the text and so read more critically. These learners –university students majoring in English language and literature– have a very good command of the English language and considerable reading skills. However, when reading certain types of authentic texts, they may easily fail to see implied interpersonal meanings, thus missing a very important part of the message. Some readers certainly manage to perceive this attitudinal content, basically relying on intuition, but they still find it difficult to discern where and how such meanings are conveyed. This failure to infer implicit attitude in an L2 is in keeping with a well documented educational handicap of Chilean readers in their own native language. The OECD International Report on Adult Literacy (2000) revealed that over 80% of Chilean literates (16 to 65 years-old) have only developed basic reading skills, which prove inadequate for the demands of literacy skills in the information age. This 80% are regarded as 'functionally illiterate', which means that although they can decode the text, they do not understand fully what they read or miss important aspects of the message (Eyzaguirre, *et al.* 2000). Naturally, university students do not fall into this 80%, but since this is a widespread problem, it is understandable that some learners may have trouble with getting at evaluative meanings in a text in a foreign language. My interest in this aspect of literacy coincided with my appreciation of the heavy interpersonal load of the NOTEBOOK articles,

which I often use as teaching material due to their many interesting linguistic and attitudinal features. It is my belief that if EFL readers fail to see these meanings underlying the text, they will hardly succeed in reading in English, let alone enjoy the experience.

The focus of this thesis is placed on the strategies used by the writer, either consciously or unconsciously, to encode and convey attitude. I look for lexico-grammatical and discourse features that contribute especially to the implicit expression of interpersonal meanings, with a view to helping EFL readers develop awareness of these underlying meanings. This is not an entirely new field of research; a substantial amount of work has already been done in this area. In recent years, linguists have become increasingly interested in the expression of interpersonal meanings, especially in media language (see chapter 2) in which values of this type are not supposed to be expressed covertly. Diverse investigations have explored the expression of these values and have shown how this implicit expression might mislead readers. Despite all these efforts, in a discussion of media language, Aitchison & Lewis (2003: 1) claim that "relatively few have investigated the language of the media in any depth – perhaps since the language is at the core of media communication".

Numerous studies on the resources of evaluation have set up sound foundations in this field, but despite the amount and richness of the models and descriptions available on this issue, the full complexity of the phenomenon is still quite unaccounted for. These studies have supplied some partial answers to the presence and conveyance of interpersonal meanings, but there are still many unexplained features of the way they are encoded and put forward in the text. For this reason, one of the purposes of the thesis is to account for some further aspects and resources which play a role in this process. The NOTEBOOK texts have been chosen for this study because they represent an ideal text type to explore the expression of attitude in the

journalistic discourse. Together with this, they do not correspond to an established journalistic genre, but embody a rather atypical one which has not been studied before.

I believe that by understanding better how evaluation is encoded we, as readers, may become better aware of the techniques used to convey interpersonal meanings at deeper semantic level and so, grow more critical of the materials we read. This may help us teachers develop a more judicious attitude when analysing discourse and adopt a more analytical perspective towards the teaching materials we use in the EFL context. I expect the outcome of this thesis may help raise awareness of these issues in our teaching practice, since by alerting learners we may help them judge the material they read more critically and ultimately develop better reading skills (cf. Cots 2006).

1.2   Theoretical Background

I am starting from the now well-accepted premise that no text is free from an ideology. The writer's evaluation impregnates, in one way or another, every text; even those meant to be 'factual', 'neutral' or 'impartial'. My work is not focused on the imprint of ideology as such, but rather more generically on the imprint of attitude, without attempting to discern the type of aspects 'involved' in this attitude – albeit ideology is one of them. The fact that the focus is on attitude or evaluation does not mean that ideology will be ignored. Given the nature of the texts and the publication, this dissection would not be possible. Hence ideological considerations will be made, but only in so far as they relate to evaluation[1].

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[1] Simpson (1993) discusses the language and ideology connection. He views ideology as a value system and sets of beliefs which are external to the text but reside in the text (p.5) and bases his analysis mostly on critical linguistics and stylistics. He argues that "no language manifestation can be truly neutral, objective and value-free" (p.7). For him "Language is inextricably tied up to socio political contexts... and because it operates in this social dimension it must, of necessity reflect, and some would argue, construct ideology" (p.6).

There are different positions concerning the degree to which writers intentionally project their opinions in the text. This theme has been a matter of much debate and has generated disparate insights. At one end are those who claim this is a conscious and deliberate attempt to distort the truth and pass on ideology. Writers such as Bolinger (1980) and Maclean (1982) have challenged, and plainly denounced, this practice in the press as an intentionally deceptive way of presenting the truth. Similarly, scholars in the school of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) emphasise the way in which extensive social practices and ideologies permeate public discourse and 'disclose' the possible forms of manipulation of information in the media for ideological purposes. Certainly, many rhetorical strategies do serve these controlling purposes but, in contrast to the holders of these extreme positions who see an intentional manipulation in their use, others believe that this is done unconsciously. For example, Bell (1991), to whose ideas I subscribe, argues that some analyses "impute to newsworkers a far more deliberate ideological intervention in news than is supported by the research on news production" (1991: 214). As a journalist himself, Bell criticizes these extreme positions which see many more ideological meanings in the text than is intended by the writers[2]. He objects to the conclusions of CDA studies, which in his view, provide interpretations that go beyond the purely linguistic evidence.

My work draws some ideas from these approaches, but does not follow the lines of any of the descriptions above. My thesis takes a different approach; it is based on some aspects of the Appraisal Theory (e.g. Martin 2003, Martin & White 2005) especially, the JUDGEMENT category of the ATTITUDE system. In particular, I am following White (2004, 2005/6[3]) who

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[2] This view contests the point made by CDA, that just because ideologies are not intended by the writers it does not mean they are not there.

[3] I dated this article as (2005/6) even though the online version (which can still be found in the internet) has no date. The website announces this chapter is to be published in Lassen (2005) *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image*. Eventually, the published version was not exactly the same as the document found in the web but largely edited and leaving out precisely the issues I was interested in; i.e. naturalisation and the elements of arguability and unarguability.

applies the model to news reports. Together with adopting some elements of his analytical model as guidelines, I also incorporate a number of evaluative resources absent from the Appraisal framework –extending it to spheres he does not explore– which in my view contribute indirectly to the sense of the writer's presence in the text. My interest is not so much in the value of the resources themselves, but on how the writer uses them, even plays with them, to put his/her own views across. With these strategies, apart from invoking interpersonal values, the writer also exerts control over the text, and ultimately over the reader. The text is a site of interaction between writer and reader, but one where the writer is in control over the reported material; writers are empowered by their right to present whatever material they wish and to position readers as taking a stance similar to their own. This dimension is fundamental to the notion of naturalisation proposed by the Appraisal model.

In this thesis, I refer to such interpersonal meanings as Evaluation, adopted from Hunston & Thompson (2000), but for stylistic reasons and to avoid over repetition, the term 'attitude' will be used as well. I adopt a very broad notion of evaluation, which comprises all the subjective interpersonal elements of a person's view of the world, constituted by the system of beliefs, values (religious, cultural, political), emotions and related aspects (see definition in section 3.2). Another terminological specification refers to the term 'writer', which denotes the author of the text. I am attributing to him/her the responsibility for the content of the text, regardless of whether any of the information may have come from reporters or other sources.

1.3   Field of the Thesis

It is difficult to establish the exact field where the thesis fits most comfortably. Although the original motivation was connected with EFL teaching, it is not an ELT thesis. Broadly

speaking, it may be said to fall in the social domain of discourse analysis and more specifically in the analysis of evaluation. However, the study is none of these on their own, nor it is purely analytic for its own sake. It involves elements of study of evaluation, discourse analysis and genre analysis. In fact, the niche for this piece of research should be regarded as the combination of these elements, without losing sight of its pedagogical implications and applications.

Despite its exploration of a particular genre, this thesis cannot be seen as a study of genre in the first place (it makes only passing reference, for example, to Hasan 1985 and Swales 1990). The motivation was not the description of the corpus *per se*. Indeed, there were numerous aspects of interest in these texts that could have been investigated but were left aside to concentrate purely on the strategies related to the conveyance of stance. Hence, it may be said that to a certain extent they were chosen for pedagogical reasons, with a view to identifying the writer's implicit delivery of attitude in the text for ELT purposes.

1.4   Objectives and Research Question

I set out to investigate this topic with the hypothesis that there are crucial interpersonal values underlying the text, which are communicated so subtly, that they can be easily missed by readers, especially those for who English is an L2. I started working on the assumption that some strategies encode such meanings implicitly– i.e. not signalled by linguistic markers on the surface of the text – so that they are hardly detected in a first reading.

The overall objective of this thesis was to advance in the understanding of the written expression of interpersonal meanings and the NOTEBOOK texts proved the ideal material for

this purpose, since they represent sites where such meanings are conveyed both explicitly and implicitly. The general objective was formulated thus:

- To identify some of the strategies used by the writer to convey evaluation implicitly in the NOTEBOOK texts, which are not necessarily obvious at the surface level of the text.

This broad objective was geared at a descriptive and analytical examination of the data, so in order to achieve it, the following specific objectives were set:

- identify in my data those explicit markers of attitude already well documented in the literature;
- seek indications of implicit evaluation adopting the models already available;
- identify other strategies not accounted for yet in the literature;
- give account of, analyse and systematize these new forms of evaluation; and
- establish how these strategies relate to each other and contribute to the whole evaluative tone of the text.

The research question then was formulated thus:

- Apart from surface indicators – already well described in the literature – what other resources and strategies does the writer employ to encode attitude in these texts so implicitly that it is hardly perceived by skilled ESL readers?

As the investigation progressed, I noticed that the encoding of interpersonal meaning did not rely on factors controlled by the writer only, but in addition to these, there were influential

variables not addressed in the original question that played a key part in the communication of such values. I saw the need then to extend the research question to address these factors which interact with the features attended to in the initial question; such as active role played by the reader through the activation of his/her world knowledge and associations. Consequently, the following extension was added to the original research question:

What other factors play a part in the implicit conveyance of interpersonal meanings, which contribute to naturalise such perspectives?

1.5 Methodology

The methodology adopted consisted of the analysis of each text individually, where each text was considered as a full semantic unit. I manually analysed a corpus of 148 NOTEBOOK texts (comprising 35,000 words approx.) using a *text-driven* approach. The term, coined by Bednarek (2006a) in analogy to Tognini-Bonelli's (2005) distinction between *corpus-driven* and *corpus-based* linguistics, denotes a methodology "based on *manual* analysis of small-scale text corpora rather than on automated large-scale corpus analyses... that supposes going through the corpus 'hunting' for certain expressions... without categorising them a priori and making as few theoretical assumptions as possible before analysing the data" (p. 369).

The thesis does not have a chapter on methodology since the whole of it is in a sense methodological, given that it consists of the application of a particular type of analysis in search for new strategies. There is no other way in which these kinds of meanings can be detected; neither corpus linguistics, nor traditional grammatical analyses would have arrived at the results this methodology yielded. The method consists 'of hunting for' (Bednarek 2006)

a semantic phenomenon in all its explicit and implicit realisations, regardless of its linguistic expression. These occurrences could only be identified after attentive observation; much like traditional text analyses, semantics and even geology (see Cruse 1986: chapter 1). The methodology then, is entirely qualitative, since it analyses instances that serve the same purpose and have similar implications, but given their formal variety cannot be quantified.

The study explores the indication of evaluation from three perspectives; the signals that mark inscribed/evoked attitude; the naturalisation of certain values via unarguability and the interpersonal role of attributions – analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7 respectively. White's categories of 'inscribed', 'invoked' and 'evoked' appraisal (2004, 2005/6) were adopted as a common frame of analysis in the three chapters. The resources of this triad stand on a cline that ranges from the overt expression of attitude to the uttermost elusive one. Although White's model was developed for the analysis of judgement only, it proved a useful tool to analyse strategies to convey personal views via naturalisation and attributions.

1.6   Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is then structured as follows. Chapter 2 goes over the main descriptions of the news discourse (e.g. van Dijk 1988; Bell 1991; White 1997, 1998) and provides an account of the genre of the NOTEBOOK texts. It is argued that they constitute a genre of their own bringing together aspects of other types of journalistic texts. The literature review in Chapter 3 offers some theoretical background about the attitudinal dimension of discourse with an overview of the proposals that different traditions have made in this area (Biber et al, 1999; Hunston & Thompson 2000; the Appraisal Theory e.g. Martin & White 2005). Chapter 4 offers a second literature review, in this case concerning the role of external voices and textual attribution

(e.g. Sinclair 1986; Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Scollon 1998), thus setting the scene for its corresponding analysis in chapter 7. Chapter 5, 6, and 7 constitute the analytical core of the thesis with the analysis of the three different manners of conveying evaluation. The chapters present a parallel organisation, starting with an outline of the model of analysis, based on previous research, and then the application of the triad aforementioned to my corpus with the necessary changes and extensions. Chapter 5 first looks at the explicit marking of evaluation and then moves on to implicit or subtler expressions of attitude, identifying and describing some mechanisms not accounted for in previous models. Chapter 6 concentrates on strategies of naturalisation by placing explicit and implicit attitudinal values in position of unarguability. The analysis of chapter 7 looks into the writer's use of attribution for evaluative purposes; it focuses on the interaction between the attributed voices and the authorial voice, proposing an alternative facet of the evaluative role of attribution from those previously suggested. Finally, the conclusion discusses the implications in three main areas; studies in genre and evaluation, and the potential pedagogical implications my research may have in second language teaching and learning.

2. CORPUS DESCRIPTION: THE GENRE OF THE NOTEBOOK TEXTS

2.1 The Corpus

This chapter explores the texts that comprise the corpus and presents some theoretical considerations on journalistic discourse –the social domain from which they were drawn. The corpus consisted of 148 articles extracted from the international edition of TIME magazine; an American publication that looks into current affairs. All the texts, but for the first four I used as trial, were obtained from the first issue of each month in the period May 2004 to August 2005; i.e. 17 issues in all (See table 1). They are referred to as 'NOTEBOOK texts', which is the name of the section in the magazine where they appear. The text were ordered chronologically, given consecutive numbers and subdivided into a), b), c) when there were more than one per page (see table below). Thus text (10a) was the first text on page 10. See sample page in section 2.6.4, which shows texts (65a), (65b) and (65c).

The NOTEBOOK texts present a number of discursive features and linguistic peculiarities that make them an attractive object of study (see section 2.6). Given the source from which they were drawn, their subject matter and their social function, they may be classed as journalistic discourse[4], but linguistically they do not fit into any of the conventional subgenres of this discourse type. They relate to news reports and editorials since they exhibit some properties of these genres but they bear certain traits that mark them out from such typologies (see below section 2.4).

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[4] Journalistic discourse is a generic term which embraces varied discourse types sharply different from one another. For this reason it can hardly be identified with a single genre. What brings these various sub-discourses together is simply their social function of informing via mass media. At least in the written Media, it covers genres such as: the language of Newspapers (Reah 1998), of Magazines (McLoughlin 2000), News Reports (van Dijk 1985, 1988; Bell 1991, 1998; White 1997, 1998), Editorials (Bolivar 1994; Vestergaard 2000; van Dijk 1998), Sports (Ghadessy 1988; Wenner 1998) etc. each of these represents a genre of its own, with its own style and unique features.

Number of issues	Internal numbering	Issue	N. of texts per issue	Pages in Appendix
1	1-4	May 3, 2004	8	1-4
2	5-8	June 7, 2004	8	5-8
3	9-11	July 5, 2004	6	9-11
4	12-15	August 2, 2004	9	12-15
5	16-19	September 6, 2004	10	16-19
6	20-23	October 4, 2004	10	20-23
7	24-27	November 8, 2004	10	24-27
8	28-30	December 6, 2004	8	28-30
9	32-35	January 10, 2005	8	32-35
10	36-39	February 7, 2005	10	36-39
11	40-43	March 7, 2005	8	40-43
12	44-47	April 4, 2005	10	44-47
13	48-51	May 2, 2005	10	48-51
14	52-55	June 6, 2005	10	52-55
15	56-59	July 4, 2005	10	56-59
16	60-63	August 8, 2005	9	60-63
17	64-66	Other	4	64-66
		Total	148	

Table 2.1 Sources of the texts that comprise the corpus.

2.2   Reasons for the Choice of the Corpus

Here I explain my reasons for the choice of these texts as my object of study. TIME is a prestigious international publication, very popular in Chile despite the complexity of its style for EFL readers. I use texts of this nature in advanced ELT classes for reading and language development purposes. They are fitting because they are considerably 'self-contained' and have an appropriate extension to be dealt with in a single session. Due to their style, they are attractive samples of authentic material and, since they are quite rich lexically and grammatically speaking, they serve as good sources for grammatical and discourse analysis and vocabulary extension. They resemble the kind of texts found in advanced ELT course

books, but pose a much higher challenge because they deal with more contingent issues which require a rich background and time-sensitive knowledge. These students are used to reading demanding material in their university courses and expect high standards of quality in their English course as well. The texts have proven a good source for discussion, as they make learners think and contribute to widening their horizons and world culture. As noted in the introduction, despite their considerably good reading skills, these learners often fail to perceive many aspects lying below the surface layer of the discourse, especially grasp the writer's attitude and react to his/her indirect mocks, criticisms, implied evaluations, etc. Typically, this is due to their lack of background knowledge to make associations, but also due to their lack of tools to 'read' implied meanings.

It needs to be noted that the corpus I collected in the UK would not be fitting for my teaching needs at home, since I discovered the publication adapts its themes to the region where it is published. So while the edition we receive at home contains many themes in connection to the Americas, the stories of the European edition revolve largely around European centred matters. This makes them somewhat inadequate for my teaching context, since the lack of contextual knowledge of the regional situation would only attach an additional difficulty to the readers I had in mind when starteing this investigation.

2.3 Genre

In order to provide an accurate account of the style and genre of the NOTEBOOKS texts, some general concepts of the notion of Genre are now reviewed, together with insights put forward by different linguistic approaches and traditions.

Genres are established textual categories characterised by some common characteristics. They can be broadly defined as "groupings of texts which display some kind of similarity, be it linguistic, functional or other. This similarity may be more or less pronounced but is a prerequisite for the recognition of the 'grouping' as a genre"[5] (Ljung 2000: 132). However, what exactly is meant by 'that something that brings them together' is still a matter of much debate.[6] Most classifications consider their internal structure (also called 'schematic' and 'generic' structure in the literature) as the overriding criteria for their classification into a particular genre. Nevertheless, texts may also be classed as part of major categories by their purpose/function, intended audience, rhetorical organization, subject matter or style.

2.3.1 Different Genre Traditions

Genre analysis attempts to identify the conventions governing different text types and correlate them with particular linguistic (e.g. tense, mood) and/or textual features. Different schools of thought have adopted different criteria for their classifications. Some have paid more attention to the internal structure of the texts (e.g. Halliday & Hasan 1985); others have favoured external aspects such as purpose, audience (Swales 1990; Bahtia 1993) while others have focused on the location in the publication where they appear (Biber 1988, 1989). Most classifications, however, are based now on the combination of several aspects; for this reason Hoey (2001) argues that these traditions differ in their theoretical formulations but do not

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[5] Ljung (2000), in a gender oriented study, addresses the vagueness of the definition of genre. He challenges previous definitions as lacking in definitory substance, and tries to define exactly what constitutes a genre; in particular in news categories. For him the notion of 'purpose' is a convincing criterion for hard news, which can be defined as 'timeliness + reportage' and is supported by further criteria: discourse structure, style, content, and intended audience. Generally, his framework can be used to define other news paper genres as well, though with varying degrees of precision.

[6] My choice of Ljung definition was its simplicity, but the matter is more complex than that. Dudley-Evans (2003), for example, provides a much more complex definition embracing aspects that Ljung's definition does not mention. He defines genre as "a text or discourse type which is recognised as such by its users by its characteristic features of style or form, which will be specifiable through stylistic and text linguistic/discourse analysis, and/or by the particular function of texts belonging to the genre" (p.206).

appear to be in fundamental opposition, since they derive from analyses of texts of very diverse nature. For this reason, some influential traditions of genre analysis are outlined below, especially those developed for written texts, although the approaches to genre cover a wider scope not dealt with here.[7]

2.3.1.1 Academic Discourse Tradition

Genre Analysis is mainly associated with Swales (1981, 1990, 2004), whose views of genre developed from his study of academic writing. For him, the defining mark for genre status is the 'purpose' of the communicative event as recognised by the 'discourse community', which has some sense ownership of a genre[8]. In his view, these aspects shape the schematic structure, consisting of 'steps' and 'moves' the writer makes in constructing his text (1990: 45-58)[9]. In his recent publications (e.g. 2004) he explains he still upholds this view but has 'softened' it in some respects[10]. His ideas have been used to analyse genres belonging to other discourse communities; for example Bhatia (1993) has applied his model to legal documents and business correspondence, bringing in additional elements into Swale's notion and stressing the need to "combine socio-cultural and psychological (cognitive) aspects of text construction and interpretation with the linguistic insight" (Bhatia, 1993: 16). This school has

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[7] Genre studies have explored and described a range of discourses types, chiefly written, although lately many studies have focused on spoken discourse. For example: The social constructionist approach to genre (e.g. Hyon 1996, 2002; Johns 1997); the professional discourse of business and the workplace (e.g. Hewings & Nickerson (eds.) 1999; Koester 2004 and 2006); the spoken genre of service encounters (e.g. Ventola 1983; Hasan 1985); Conversational Genres such as narrative gossip, observation, comment (e.g. Eggins & Slade 1997).

[8] This notion has been criticised as a complex term, even by Bhatia (1993) and Bex (1996:42) who follow Swales' tradition and by and large they accept his definition of genre. However, they find the concept of 'discourse community' and its 'expert members' problematic and difficult to define.

[9] Swales (1990) defines genre thus: "A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some sets of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert member of the community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choices of content and style" (1990:58).

[10] In this book, he admits he has softened his view of genre he presented in *Genre Analysis* (1990) arguing that now, he rather believes that genre should be characterised as being essentially a metaphorical endeavour, "so that the various metaphors that can be invoked shed their own light on our understandings" (2004: 61).

had great influence in ESP/EAP, where their views have been brought into the teaching and analysis of academic writing in ESL (Dudley-Evans 1994, 1995; Hewings 2001; Flowerdew 2002; Swales 2004).

2.3.1.2   The Australian Tradition

The Australian school, associated with Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL), has also developed its own genre tradition (e.g. Hasan 1985; Martin 1984, 1989) placing emphasis on the 'structure' of texts as the key element for genre status. Despite the difference in approach, their views do not differ radically from Swales'. For example, both traditions share the views of 'moves' –which occur in a fixed order – and of 'purpose' for the members of a particular culture. Martin's work (e.g. 1992) has been particularly influential in education with the Australian genre-based approach to teaching writing. The theoretical foundations of this pedagogical perspective have been applied to the analysis of written subgenres often ignored in other descriptions (e.g. Christie & Martin 1997; Eggins & Martin 1997) and adapted for spoken genres as well (Ventola 1987; Eggins & Slade 1997).

2.3.1.3   The Corpus-based Description

The corpus-based description, mostly represented by Biber (1988, 1989, and with Finnegan 1989), developed from the attempt to demonstrate how the insights of corpus linguistics may help to relate variations in speech and writing to genre. Biber's notion of genre is less theory-informed than Martin's and Swales' who, in fact, regard Biber's notion as a very naive conception of genre. Biber draws a distinction between text type and genre. While text types

"are grouped together on the basis of similarities in linguistic form, irrespective of their genre" (1988: 206), genres – referred to as registers in the 1999 grammar – are classed on the basis of 'external criteria', i.e. purpose, topic – and for newspaper articles – location in the paper. Thus, the same genres may differ greatly linguistically, while different text types may be quite similar in their linguistic characteristics. Bibers' point is that linguistic features tend to co-occur systematically rather than randomly, so for example in texts where first person pronouns are frequent, the second person ones tend to be frequent as well.

2.3.1.4   Other

Other linguists, driven by different motivations, have looked into other genres without following any particular school of thought, like Cook (1992) who explored advertisements, or some who have examined news reports (e.g. Van Dijk 1988; Fowler 1991; Bell 1991, 1996, 1998; Ljung 2000, Delin 2000). Other scholars have associated genre study with discourse analysis (e.g. McCarthy & Carter 1994; Hoey 2001); have explored their pedagogical applications (e.g. McCarthy 1991; Paltridge 1996, Johns 2002); have considered cognitive aspects in the distinction between genres (e.g. Ljung 2000; Paltridge, 1994)[11]; and have explored the layout of newspapers front pages (Kress & van Leeuwen 1998).

2.3.2 The Flexibility of the Notion of Genre

Despite these discrepancies, all linguists acknowledge some rhetorical variation in related texts and agree that the view of genre as "fixed, unchanging, discrete or singular may obscure

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[11] Ljung (2000: 140) advocates the 'cognitive structuring' of texts which derives from the discourse structure as the distinguisher between related genres. He believes the cognitive structure marks the difference between different genres. Paltridge (1994) discusses non-linguistic divisions as textual boundaries between genres. Rather than structurally defined boundaries, he searches for "cognitive boundaries in terms of convention, appropriacy and content" (1994: 288).

the reality of the textual world" (McCarthy & Carter, 1994: 35). They concur that it is normal to find variations within genres which occur "to reflect both the particular subset of readers addressed and the particular role(s) adopted by the writers" (Bex, 1996: 169). Also major categories can be classified even further based on secondary criteria. For these reasons, most linguists agree that the boundaries between genres can be ambiguous and support the idea of a textual continuum, with textual 'prototypes', which correspond to 'the exemplars of a genre' (Ljung 2000) of different registers. In principle, texts within a given genre share similar features, but in fact, they may also differ considerably in their language and structure from others within the same genre. Therefore the boundary between genres is not rigidly established.

The connection and distinction between genre and text type is still debated – and confusingly the term 'genre' is often used to refer to both notions. This imprecision is due to the lack of a clearly defining line between genre and text type. Generally speaking, the criterion for the category of genre is external (e.g. purpose, intended audience), whereas the category of text type is based on the internal criteria, which are much more linguistic-like features, such as structure or grammatical occurrences. There seems to be agreement on that text types may be associated with more than one genre and that a genre may share various text types. Interestingly, Hoey (1983, 1993) discussing textual patterning, shows that the two concepts represent different, but complementary, perspectives and introduces several rhetorical structures associated with different text types; e.g. Problem-solution texts described within the context of advertisements, scientific discourse, short stories, and novels; general-particular texts within the context of poems, novels, and scientific texts; matching-contrast texts within the context of poems and letters to the editor. Since my corpus is comprised of a single text type from the same source and with the same purpose I will adopt the term 'genre'.

2.4   Journalistic Genres

Numerous publications have described aspects of language of the media, especially that of the press. Accordingly, many facets of this discourse type have already been described in detail[12]. Much of the work has been targeted to the exploration of the underlying aims, attitudes and ideology behind the reporting, by looking at the ways in which the news coverage might be biased or misleading.

The notion of 'journalistic discourse' is an umbrella term that encompasses text types that share the features of their social function, but differ greatly from each other internally. In its broadest classification, this domain includes 'texts' as varied as audio, visual and written: For radio see (Scannell (ed.) 1991, 1996; Hutchby 1996); television (Allan 1998; Marshall & Werndly 2002); newspapers (Bell 1991 and 1998; Reah 1998); magazines (McLoughlin 2000); internet and other new formats (Crystal 2001; Aitchison and Lewis (ed.) 2003). Given this variety of discourse sub-types, it would be most inaccurate to talk about journalistic discourse as a single genre. The textual category most closely associated with discourse type is that of the press, but not even this class can be reduced to a unique genre, since it subsumes varied sub-categories generically different from each other, such as editorials, hard and soft news, features, sports reports, obituaries, film reviews, etc. Some of these formats have been explored, such as: editorials (Bolivar 1994; van Dijk 1998); leading articles (Vestergaard 1995, 2000); interviews (Greatbatch 1998); sports news (Ghadessy 1988). The description of news reports has been accounted for better than any other genre in this domain (e.g. Crystal & Davy (1969); van Dijk (1985, 1988); Carter (1988); Bell (1991, 1996, 1998); Iedema, *et al.* (1994); Delin (2000); White (1997, 1998) just to mention a few. This category has also

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[12] Surprisingly despite all these advances, Aitchison & Lewis (2003:1) argue that relatively little of the language of the media has been investigated in any depth. In their view, this may be because the language is at the core of media communication, with the consequent complexity of the separation of the content and the means. This issue is very superficially explored in their edited book on the language of the new media.

attracted the attention of scholars within the critical linguistics and CDA schools (e.g. Fowler *et al.* 1979; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1985, 1995a, 1995b; van Dijk 1988, 2006) and studies looking into particular aspects of the news discourse (Bell & Garrett 1999; Ungerer 2000) which have contributed to draw the full picture of this genre. Given the significance of the news report in this domain– and its relevance for the description of the genre of the NOTEBOOK texts– sections 2.4.2 and 2.5 outline some of its features.

2.4.1   Opinion Columns

I use the term 'Opinion columns' as a wide-covering term that embraces argumentative and persuasive sub-genres, which present arguments and offer opinion with an overt personal stance. Here, we can find 'soft news' (Bell 1991), comment and opinion articles (Iedema, et al., 1994), leading articles (Vestergaard 2000) and editorials[13] – the opinion columns and argumentative genre *par excellence* (see Bolivar 1994; Iedema, *et al.* 1994; van Dijk 1998; Lemke 1998; Vestergaard 2000 and White 2005). Despite their variety, these discourse types are often classified and treated as a single genre because of their persuasive function, whose purpose is "to argue a case in such a way that the audience is convinced of the truth of the viewpoint or the merits of the proposal" (Iedema, et al. 1994:1). It is hard to establish exactly where to set the inclusion limit, since some are clearly more argumentative than others. Such is the case of the 'Opinion articles' proposed by Murphy (2004) as a newly-established subcategory which, without being fully argumentative, expresses an opinion of people, things or ideas but assimilated to soft news or editorials[14].

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[13] Van Dijk (1998) distinguishes editorials from Op-ed articles. Op-ed articles are opinion pieces published on the page opposite the editorials.

[14] Murphy introduces this midway genre, when exploring the expression of writer stance in a corpus study of news papers opinion in English and Italian.

The most distinctive feature of Opinion columns is that they openly state opinions– and editorials even speak out the publication's position, so they are "avowedly subjective and opinion based. Their core, acknowledged purpose is to evaluate, to argue and to pass judgement on public figures and the events of the day" (White, 2006: 20). The interpretation of events is at their very heart with salient presence of the author's subjective presence conveyed through rhetorically-charged formulations and value laden attitudinal lexis.

This genre differs from news reports in many respects; most noticeably in the external aspect of location in the publication, but also in terms of communicative function, style, content, structure and concrete linguistic choices (see comparisons in Iedema *et al*., 1994; Vestergaard 2000; White 2005). While opinion columns are openly opinionated, news reports are less explicit, where the overt attitudinal inscription is confined to material attributed to external sources (White, 2006: 42). Another central difference is that news reports assume that the information is new for the reader, while the writer of the opinion column assumes the reader already knows the issue in question and seeks to persuade him/her to share the authorial position. So a feature that tells these two sub-genres apart is the 'novelty' of the information their present.

2.4.2   The News Report

The news report – in particular the so called 'hard news report' – stands as the epitome of journalistic discourse. Bell & Garrett (1998: 4) view it as "the most prestigious of daily media genres", a status they attribute to its central role of exercise of power in contemporary society. In addition to its overall structure and style, various features have been investigated; such as the structure and functions of headlines (Morley 1998); the images and visual representations

(Kress & van Leeuwen 1996 and 1998); quotations and attribution (Waugh 1995); the expression of evaluation (Bednarek 2006a); distinctions between the various authorial voices (Iedema *et al.* 1994). These, and many other detailed descriptions, have given news reports a much stronger categorial status than any other news paper category (Ljung, 2000: 132). Two aspects which have concentrated much of the attention, and are relevant in connection with my work, are reviewed here: their structure and the expression of the ideology.

News Stories are primarily informative, concerned with the precise details of 'when', 'where' and 'who' of specific events, so they abound in time, place and people references. Their structure has been widely explored as one of the key indicators of genre status. Three main models of systematic analysis of the organisation of news items have had great impact in all subsequent developments in the field, including this thesis, namely: van Dijk (1985, 1988), Bell (1991) and White (1997, 1998). Despite their different approaches, they do share some aspects, such as the non-linear account of the events – as discussed below.

Van Dijk's (1985, 1988) analytical framework is based on macro-propositions or themes that constitute what he calls 'news schema'[15]. His model of the global structure consists of eight categories (Main event, Consequences, Circumstances, Previous events, History, Verbal reaction and Evaluation)[16] which occur in a rather fixed order but which is flexible enough to allow for the journalist's choice. Bell (1991), unlike the others, comes from a journalistic background rather than a linguistic one and his analysis focuses primarily on 'the making' of

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[15] Van Dijk 's model (1985: 86-ff) consists of the following basic categories: Headlines and Lead: always first expressing the major topic of the text. That is they function as an initial summary. Then the body of the news text which often opens with the 'Main Event' comprising: time, location, instrument, circumstances. From this point on the order is optional, but he singles out various regular features which occur almost unexceptionally. These categories may appear or not or may even merge in the background. Verbal reactions come towards the end of the article and may trigger the final comments, which is an optional category so it may be absent.

[16] Ungerer (2000) disputes van Dijk's categories of thematic structure, which in his view do not apply to all news stories "in an equally consistent and convincing way" (p.177), instead he proposes a structure for the 'event story', which suits a broader range of thematic reports.

the news report[17], thus offering a considerably different perspective. Bell's proposal is partly designed after van Dijk's (1985) news schema, but he brings in the notion that news reports are 'stories', an original approach which has had great influence in later descriptions. Since he views them as narrative texts, he analyses them following Labov's (1972) schema on personal narrative, admitting though, that Labov's model is not perfectly suitable for the news genre. While some of its elements are present and occur in the same order, they differ in that there is no Coda and that Evaluation is present in a different way[18]. The third scholar is White (1997, 1998), who coming from the systemic tradition, offers a noticeably different perspective. His notion of genre comes closer to Hasan's (1985). Although his main focus is on the analysis of the evaluative aspect of news reports, he also looks into their generic structure.

All the analyses agree on the narratorial nature of news stories despite not observing the traditional chronological convention of narrations. Unlike other forms of narrative, the linear sequence of events is not the main priority but is subordinated to the informative function. Instead of the sequential order, news reports revolve around a nucleus or main event – contained in the headline/lead – which dominates the story and serves as temporal centre subordinating any other information (setting, background, reactions, comments, implications, etc.). White calls this organisation 'orbital structure', which consists of a 'focal point'– the crisis point – and 'satellites' – dependent phases connected to the nucleus, taking readers back and forward in time as the text unfolds. The news values governing this genre (cf. Bell 1991; Bednarek 2006a) play a key role in this respect since they control the text's structure and style "overturning the temporal sequence and imposing an order completely at odds with the linear

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[17] Bell also introduces the 'soft news' articles, such as 'feature articles', as opposed to the hard news, but he does not pay much attention to these genre. There is no description or follow up of this notion which he introduces in his book.

[18] Bell's model goes very much on the lines of Van Dijk's but much simpler, consisting of: (1) Abstract = Headline and Lead; (2) Source Attribution = acknowledgement of the News agency or source where the story came from although this is not always explicit and finally (3) the Story itself with one or more 'episodes', which in turn consist of one or more 'events' containing actors, action and setting (place and time); the 'follow-up' which is the action subsequent to the main action, including 'verbal reactions'. The 'Background'= any events prior to the current action and an optional 'commentary', observations by the journalist or news actors on the action.

narrative point" (Bell, 1991: 153). This feature is well documented in the literature, relating to the accounts of van Dijk (1985, 1988[19]); Bell (1991[20], 1998) and White (1997[21], 1998) although there are also dissenting opinions (e.g. Schokkenbroek 1999[22]).

2.5   Ideology in the News

It is commonplace knowledge now that any discourse is impregnated with ideology; whatever is said or written is always articulated from a particular ideological position or 'angle of telling' (Simpson, 1993: 140). Ideologies act unconsciously at a level beneath critical awareness (Kress & Hodge 1979) and as Gramsci (1971) aptly demonstrated, they are especially effective when they are shared and considered to be common sense by a majority of people. News ideology relates to the "differential treatment in presentation according to political, economical and social factors" (Fowler, 1991: 12). Since the news is an ideal channel for their conveyance, a long tradition of linguistic analyses has looked into the encoding of ideology in this discourse, seeking to identify the mechanisms that imprint such perspectives in the text.

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[19] The news reports, in van Dijk's model (1985), open with a summary of the main event in the headline and lead, while the comments appear last. The body usually opens with the main event, in which the time, location, instrument, circumstances are established. From this point on the order is optional, with various categories such as context, background and previous events. Towards the end of the article the verbal reactions often appear.

[20] Bell's model– after Labov's framework of the personal experience narrative- consists of an abstract (comprising headline and lead), attribution (where the story came from) and the story itself made up of *episodes* which consist of one or more *events*. These contain the actors, action, and setting (place and time) and are followed by three optional elements which may take diverse order: the *Follow-up* (action subsequent to the main action); the *Commentary* (journalist or news actors observations on the action) and the *Background* (any events prior to the current action).

[21] White (1997, 1998) characterises newspaper stories as non sequential, favouring an 'orbital' structure with satellites that may occur in any order. His model comprises basically three big segments: Headline/lead, Body and Wrap- up (optional). By orbital structure is meant that the story is always going back to the headline, which is the nucleus, or crisis point, of the story. The constituents of the body, namely: reported action, orientation, comments from story-participants, etc. are not so much linked to each other, but tend to go back to the lead.

[22] Schokkenbroek (1999) challenges the view of the non-chronological time structure, arguing that if this was so, it would raise fundamental questions with respect to comprehension. She reanalyses the time and narrative structure of news stories and considers how the evaluation appears to affect the temporal organization of the events in narrative. She concludes that "the events of narrative can be presented in a different order, as long as these temporal deviations are signalled at the level of the discourse structure." (1999: 91-92).

Linguistic studies have demonstrated that the reporting of the same event in different publications may differ widely depending on the writer's political orientation (e.g. Fowler *et al*. 1979). This issue ties in with the topic of this thesis, concerned with the strategies to present evaluation in the NOTEBOOK texts, thus two related aspects are outlined below: the issue of selection and claim of objectivity.

2.5.1 The Issue of Selection

The matter of 'selection' in the process of news making –i.e. what material is included or left out– lies at the very heart of the question of ideology and stands at the deepest level of authorial 'presence'; it involves an act of stance by itself despite not being marked linguistically. Due to space limitations, not everything can be included, but even without such constraint, the reality the writer wants to describe is much larger than what may be recorded verbally. It simply cannot be conveyed nor be encapsulated in a text [23]; the communicator needs to make a fine selection of what to say and how to say it. Naturally, the vast majority of the events are not mentioned, immediately conferring partial view of the event [24], since any choice of inclusion presupposes exclusion. So the very first instance of the narrator's subjectivity is what s/he finds 'tellable or reportable' (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999: 32) and chooses to narrate. This selection is based on the news values which make a story newsworthy and is guided, consciously or not, by ideas, beliefs and ideological views. Thus for van Leeuwen (1996), no exclusion of social actors is accidental, but has an ideological basis.

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[23] One of the basic principles of Journalistic Communication Theory is that the fullness of the reality of an event cannot be captured linguistically. The communicator has to select what to pass on to the receptor to ensure s/he pictures the event or state of affairs the same, or as close as possible to how, he appreciated it (Martínez Albertos, 1983).

[24] Cognitively, we perceive the characteristics of a reality integrated in a single whole; they occur simultaneously in the entity, affair or experience denoted. Language, on the contrary, is linear. No matter how detailed a description or account may be, it will always fall short to denote its referent and will leave huge information gaps (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996: chapter 6).

However, judging the aspects included in/excluded from a text is a tricky task, since these need to be contrasted with other choices the writer could have made and 'compare' "what is in the text with what could have been 'there' instead" (Fairclough, 2001: 92).

Delin (2000) adds that "news is necessarily selective and partial, both in what is selected as worth reporting, and in how it is presented" (p. 11). The question of what is selected as worth reporting is only the first step; the selection is accompanied by a later 'transformation'. These transformations do not necessarily imply an intentional 'distortion of the content' but may be linguistic transformations which add a personal slant to the message.

2.5.2 Claim of Objectivity

The news report presumes a 'factual' text (Bell & Garret 1998) which pursues objective and impartial accounts[25]. However, this assumption is overtly challenged by linguists. Fowler (1991) denounces that "news is not 'found' or even 'gathered' so much as 'made'; it is creation of a journalistic process, an artefact, a commodity even" (p. 13). He describes the news making process thus: "The journalist collects facts, reports them objectively, and then the newspaper presents them fairly and without bias, in language which is designed to be unambiguous undistorting and agreeable to others. This professional ethos is common to all news media press, radio and TV" (*ibid*: 1). Given the influence news reports have on the recipients, their assumed neutrality has been object of thorough investigation, and at times of

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[25] This is a commonplace premise that all discourse studies of the press start from. It is now a well accepted postulation, which seems to need no demonstration. However, they all fail to make reference to the original source(s) of this claim.

strong criticism of linguists, especially by the CDA tradition and lately by some representatives of the Sydney school of linguistics[26], as shown in the quotes below:

"… if our readers or hearers share our beliefs, they may not even notice a certain slanting of the meaning. Newspaper language is a classic example; it is almost a truism that the way a news item is presented conveys a point of view, an ideology" (Fowler, 1996: 34).

"news story is controlled by news values. It is not a neutral vehicle, nor is news production a neutral process, despite the journalist's century-old creed of objectivity" (Bell, 1991: 212).

"... even the most ostensibly 'factual' report will be the product of numerous value judgements" (Iedema *et al.*, 1994: 3).

"...the apparently contradictory position typically taken by journalists themselves – the claim that the news report is an 'objective', 'neutral' and 'impersonal' mode of meaning making. While not supporting this position..." (White, 1997: 102).

One indicator that suggests the journalists' attempts to remain impartial is evidenced by Biber *et al.* (1999: 959), who show that the news register bears the lowest frequency of stance adverbials of the four registers in their corpus. Despite the journalists' claims of 'neutrality', linguistic research has provided evidence that disputes these allegations, showing that the editorial stance and ideology permeate the whole text. The bottom of the problem is that there is a fine line between fact and opinion and the distinction between them is not sharply defined (Vestergaard, 2000: 154) since the categories of 'news' and 'opinion' in newspapers –which Bell calls 'report' and 'comment' (p. 13)– are not discrete categories but points in a

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[26] Full accounts of hard news register in the Australian school: Iedema *et al.* (1994); White (1998); and Martin and White (2005: chapter 4).

continuum, as argued by van Dijk (1988), Fowler (1991), Iedema, *et al* (1994) and White (1997). Two main views of this issue are briefly outlined below.

2.5.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The implicit ideology in discourse is the main concern of critical linguists (Fowler *et al*. 1979; Fowler 1991; Kress 1991; Hodge & Kress 1993) and of critical analysts (van Dijk 1985, 1988, 1998 and Fairclough 1989, 1992a, 1995) whose main aim is to uncover the ideological assumptions of language use. These linguists view discourse as a form of social practice, rather than as an individual activity, that shapes conventions, values and norms. They debate overtly the perception of the unbiased recording of 'objective facts' in the news, emphasising the ideological manipulation of this discourse type. For them any reporting of events is a social construct, product of the social and political world in which it reports.

In principle, their analysis is purely linguistic using primarily grammatical analytic tools: e.g. transitivity, syntactic transformations of the clause, lexical structure, interpersonal elements like modality and speech acts (cf. Fowler 1996: Chapter 5). However, their analysis goes beyond the strictly linguistic, considering the role language plays in the representations of gender, power, authority, law and order, etc. which has revealed underlying institutional positions of power and avoidance of responsibility in some discourse types (e.g. Trew 1979; Hodge 1979; Hodge and Kress 1993)[27]. Lately the analysis has been applied to narrative texts especially newspaper stories, regarded as a form of political action (Toolan 2001: chapter 8).

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[27] Trew's article demonstrated this point of ideologies imprinted in news reports, only on linguistic bases. He showed how divergent views on riots in Zimbabwe were reported radically differently by newspapers with differing ideologies.

2.5.4   Appraisal Theory

The Appraisal model is set within the systemic-functional tradition (e.g. Halliday 1994); thus modelled in terms of systems which constitute sets of choices to impress attitude, emotion and evaluation in discourse. This approach places the interpersonal metafunction of the language at the centre of the communicative interaction. Most of the work describing this interpersonal dimension so far had focused on grammatical aspects, especially on Mood and Modality. Without disregarding these, this framework offers a complementary perspective of the interpersonal meanings of the discourse. The model accounts for "the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgments and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations" (Martin 2000: 145). The framework is designed to capture resources the writer uses to position him/herself interpersonally– and indirectly position the readers. The model describes and categorises a range of resources divided into three systems: ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION (see section 3.3.1 for a more detailed description). The most relevant system for this thesis is the one of ATTITUDE, more specifically the JUDGEMENT subsystem: i.e. the resources for judging and evaluating morally, a common practice in the media discourse.

The Appraisal model has been attested in various discourse types (cf. Christie and Martin (eds.) 1997; Macken-Horarik & Martin (ed.) 2003), but I will concentrate on White's application to news reports (1998, 2003, 2004, and 2005/6), where it has proved a valuable tool for identifying attitudinal manifestations, conveyed both explicitly and implicitly. White has taken the Appraisal model beyond its initial scope, adopting it to explore ideology in the text and to elucidate some linguistic mechanisms by which press discourse comes "to express, negotiate and naturalise particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions" (www. grammatics.com/appraisal). His work seeks to demonstrate that:

"contrary to any claims of 'objectivity' on the part of the media industry news reporting is a mode of rhetoric in the broadest sense of the word - a value laden, ideologically determined discourse with a clear potential to influence the media audience's assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and ought to be." (White, 2006: 37)

Some aspects of White's proposal (described in chapter 3) are adopted in chapters 4 and 5 in search for strategies to convey interpersonal meanings, especially implicit ones, which can easily go unnoticed by readers, especially when reading in English as a second language.

2.6   The NOTEBOOK Texts

Now, I set out to describe the style and features of the NOTEBOOK texts. It was noted that in terms of internal and external features they stand somewhere in between opinions columns and news reports, but do not fit comfortably any of the canonical descriptions of these genres. Therefore I will work on the assumption that they represent a genre of their own within the journalistic domain; with a unique structure, style and purpose and combining elements of various genres.

2.6.1   A Genre of their own

The NOTEBOOK texts blend in themselves some rather atypical discursive features for journalistic texts. They bring together traits of 'factual' reporting; opinions and explicit expressions of attitude; dialogical strategies of reader appeal; touches of humour and sarcasm and copious attributed material. This mixture of features represents a case of 'hybridity'; a

trend now commonly found in the media, defined as the "absence of fixed boundaries between styles and genres of language... fusing multiple styles and registers"[28] (Jaworski & Coupland 1999: 139). White (1997) for example, discusses 'hybrids' in the domain of news reports, showing that most reports combine a description of material ('Issue') and communicative events ('Event') in roughly equal measure, and argues that these 'Event/ Issues' hybrids are found especially in the domain of political reporting.

The texts correspond to a type of 'opinionated' news report, with a function, structure, style and features which equally resemble and differ from news reports and opinion columns. The reference to these two genres derives from the lack of a more appropriate niche where to class them. Their referential content is identified as 'factual' information, but the treatment of these 'factual' matters is highly interpersonal. Internally speaking, they are highly recognisable and consistent within themselves: functionally and content-wise they relate to news reports better than any other journalistic subgenre, however, without sticking to their descriptions. Similarly, they share stylistic and rhetorical features of opinion articles – despite not being argumentative *per se* – yet they do not abide by the patterns of this genre either. So for operational purposes, they will be treated as a sub-genre, somewhere between news reports and opinion columns.

Biber's external criterion of 'location in the publication' is another point of diversion with conventional descriptions, since most typologies derive from newspapers analyses, and the little work available on the style of magazine articles is based mainly on articles from women's publications (e.g. Eggins & Iedema 1997; McLoughlin 2000). The section where the NOTEBOOK texts appear in the publication has an influence on their purpose, because they

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[28] They explain that this phenomenon is becoming increasingly important in critical discourse studies. Fairclough provides excellent instances of hybrid texts in his paper in the same volume showing how military and religious discourses are intertwined.

are set out for quick reading, fulfilling very much a *filling* purpose before going into the main feature articles. Texts of this nature do not normally appear in discourse typologies, since they do not play a major role in the journalistic activity. So, in order to mark their difference with related texts from the printed media, their most relevant features are now accounted for, in an attempt to pin down their uniqueness according to the context of situation model.

2.6.2 External and Internal Features of the NOTEBOOK texts

The discourse is much more than the text itself; all that goes around the communicative event needs to be taken into account for a full understanding of the text. Hence, discourse analysis considers not only the language, but also the context of communication: "who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation, through what medium; how different types of communication evolve, and their relationships to each other" (Cook, 1992: 1). Halliday & Hasan (1985) developed their framework of 'context of situation' for a better understanding of the overall situation of the interaction[29]. Their model consists of three descriptive categories[30] that "serve to interpret the social context of the text, the environment where the meanings are exchanged" (p. 12). For a better insight of the data, table 2 summarises the linguistic and environmental features of the texts.

In the remainder of the chapter, the internal and external features that characterise this genre are discussed. Given that the texts originate from the same source, their external features are shared; but as they are written by different authors and deal with dissimilar topics, they also

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[29] They talk about construing the situation, since the situation does not exist apart from the text or anywhere except in the text; i.e. it does not exist until the text construes it. So it can be said that the text makes its own field, tenor and mode.
[30] Halliday (2004: 246) briefly summarises the 'contextual configuration' thus: **Field** refers to the nature of the social actions: What its interactants are about; **Tenor** refers to the statuses and role relationships: who is taking part in the interaction; and **Mode** refers to the rhetorical channel and function of the discourse: what part is the text playing.

differ considerably from one another. Among the external aspects, the location, purpose and audience are mentioned, while the internal features include aspects such as content, structure and style.

Field	Tenor	Mode.
Experiential Meanings	Interpersonal Meanings	Textual Meanings
• Piece of news account of non-main events of the week. • Brief passages with factual information and writer's comments. • More meaningful at the time the issue is out. • Highly condensed information • With the purpose of informing quickly on side matters of the week.	• Writer = Journalist in control of the situation. Takes for granted the readers bring a great deal of background knowledge on the topics under discussion. • Readership = Middle class, well educated readers, fairly informed and interested in what's going on in the world. • Opinionated texts, with many voices incorporated in the text.	• Written communication • Journalistic discourse, corresponding to a subtype. • Formal Standard English sprinkled with informal comments, ironies and touches of humour. • Well planned and deliberately provocative. • Expository style but mixed with considerably dialogical resources, so sounding quite oral.

Table 2.2 Summary of the internal features of the NOTEBOOK texts.

2.6.3   External Features

The texts appear in TIME magazine; a US weekly publication of international circulation that examines the main political, social and economic issues of the week providing a deep insight of current affairs. The periodical is basically addressed to professionals and well educated readers worldwide, who are interested in and fairly up-to-date with international issues. These passages appear in the NOTEBOOOK section; a three or four pages long regular introductory column at the front of the magazine, somewhere within the 10 first pages, before the main feature articles. This section presents two or three short texts of miscellaneous topics per page (see sample page below). The passages are short texts, i.e. with lengths ranging from 50 to

300 words, which summarise some lesser events of the week worldwide. They are preceded and followed by other sections containing brief texts as well such as: Letters to the editor; Verbatim (quotations of memorable remarks uttered by public figures during the week); World watch (summary of extraordinary world events); Milestones (updates of famous figures, including obituary); Numbers (summary of events of the week in figures) and other less regular columns. All these subsections on the first pages offer a snapshot of the events of the week in social trends, economic indicators, latest developments of ongoing events, etc. Their brevity, and that of the surrounding sections, sets the reader into a 'quick-reading mood' serving an introductory purpose for reading longer and more substantial articles. The NOTEBOOK section aims at informing quickly on 'anecdotic' or side matters of ongoing issues. Each text is supplemented by a photograph, drawing or cartoon and a catchy headline, mostly formulated in interrogative or imperative forms. The headlines tend to be humorous and/ or figurative, looking quite opaque or ambiguous before reading, but making full sense later in the light of the information of the passage. Regarding the page layout, the texts differ from each other in their formats, designs, background colour, and sometimes even in font. These attributes make the NOTEBOOK section very appealing to the reader.

2.6.4   Internal Features

The style and tone of the texts differs from the other articles in the publication which discuss seriously and in full major international issues and events. The NOTEBOOK texts, on the

contrary, summarise incidents and events, often with a mocking tone, occurred at the time of the release of the issue, and for this reason they are tightly time-bound[31].

The subject matter covers contingent topics such as politics, business, entertainment, health, economy, science, culture, accidents, minor natural disasters, technology, social trends (youth culture, family trend, migration), education, etc. The topics somehow influence the tone and style of the passages, which to some extent generate sub-genres within the NOTEBOOK texts. There are two types of themes that deserve special attention; human dramas and other issues, since both modalities differ radically in their tone. A frequent pattern is that dramatic recounts, involving suffering and deaths, are reported in a very respectful and sober manner – contrary to the majority of the texts. So for example, in recounts of natural disasters, wars, accidents etc. writers are less invasive and adopt a sympathetic tone towards those affected by the tragedy. These texts lack the features of informal speech that others abound in. On the other hand, writers often show contempt for those relating to political and business matters or entertainment. These ones in particular, tend to be quite humorous and light-hearted, written in a somewhat sarcastic tone which reveals the writer's disregard for these domains.

Their brevity raises some important cognitive points. Due to their compact nature, the information is tightly condensed and more often than not, the stories start in *media res*, i.e. the larger setting is not explicated, but left to the reader's knowledge. This condensation makes them somewhat difficult to understand since they are written on the grounds of a considerable amount of implicit background information, which the writer assumes is shared by the reader. This implicit reliance on a common background and their lack of contextualisation pose a heavy cognitive burden on the reader, who needs to turn to a great deal of exophoric

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[31] This makes this corpus (2004 - 2005) somewhat dated now. Some texts make little sense now since we have seen outcomes of the events going on at the time different from what was foreseen. These recent developments make the passages lose much of the interest they had at the moment they were released.

information for their decoding. Given the status of the targeted readership, a large amount of general information is taken for granted. This unstated assumed knowledge is essential to understanding the passages fully and seeing what is being implied. This alleged common ground between writer and readers – which Leech and Short (1981) call 'secret communion' – sets the bases on which the whole discourse is built. A further consequence that necessarily derives from their succinctness is that the topics are inevitably dealt with very superficially.

Despite their written mode, the texts' style bears clear resemblance with speech. In general, the passages sound as if they were being told, characterised by an informal and even chatty tone. This conversational style shows in their lexical choices, abundant in colloquial terms and idiomatic expressions, and also in their modest use of formal connectors and subordinating linking devices (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999; Carter & McCarthy 1997). This dialogical mode is also noticeable in the techniques used by the writer to address and involve the reader, such as imperative forms, rhetorical questions, and deliberately provocative remarks, much like comments to the interlocutor in search of meaning negotiation. These resources are typically used as prefaces, although they do appear along the texts as well. Despite this apparent interaction, the authorial voice is much 'louder' than in traditional news reports, placing itself noticeably in control by imprinting views not only implicitly, as in much of the news report discourse, but spelling them out overtly. The writer's blatant involvement is manifest in explicitly evaluative and critical comments, sceptical observations, ironies and touches of humour. On different lines, their style is also characterised by the richness of attributed material from external sources. These quotations tend to come by the end of the text and very often are used as closing.

Dinosaurs for Creationists

THE NEW MUSEUM OF EARTH History that opened last week in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, isn't nearly as big as more famous natural history museums in Chicago, Washington and New York City; in fact, the whole thing would probably fit neatly inside one of their exhibition halls. And its nine replicas of dinosaur skeletons and skulls don't quite measure up to the rich fossil collections on display elsewhere.

But it's got something the others don't: an account of Earth's history that hews to the most literal version of biblical creationism. Nestled close to the 20-m-tall Christ of the Ozarks statue, the museum is the latest addition to a theological theme park established almost four decades ago by the late Gerald L. K. Smith, a rightwing zealot and notorious anti-Semite. So if you come here,
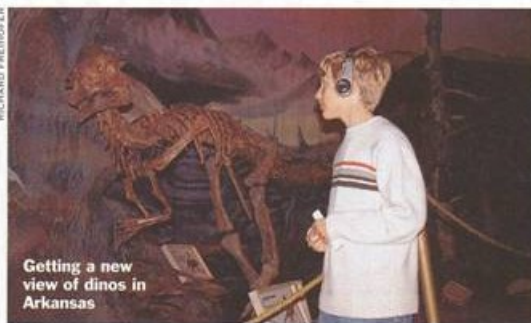
Getting a new view of dinos in Arkansas

you will walk through exhibits depicting Eden and the Tower of Babel and learn that all life on Earth was created at one stroke about 6,000 years ago (no mention of evolution), that dinosaurs and humans walked the earth at the same time, and that the terrible lizards perished under human pressure and habitat loss.

Scientists, naturally, won't be rushing for a visit. William Etges, an evolutionary biologist at the nearby University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, dismisses the museum's version of history as "utterly irrelevant

to what we actually know and understand about our world." But the museum's president, G. Thomas Sharp, whose doctorate in the philosophy of religion and science was awarded by a Florida seminary, says the exhibit is intended to counter a lamentable shift in public education to what he calls "a very secular, pagan base," arguing that "the biblical explanation to earth science is very feasible and very satisfying." At least for some people: the museum expects from 35,000 to 50,000 visitors a year. —By Steve Barnes

STICKY SITUATION

Gum control is popping up high on the priority list of a growing number of cities around the world fed up with the gunk on their sidewalks. Last week in England, Liverpool City Council called for a citywide tax on every pack sold to help cover the huge costs of cleanup. "We are not prepared to stand by and let [Liverpool] be disfigured by the inconsiderate actions of a minority," said council leader Mike Storey. In London, representatives from Belfast, Cardiff and other British cities gathered in February for a summit on

gum pollution. London's Oxford Street alone is smeared with 300,000 bits of used gum; cleanup costs Britain an estimated $290 million a year. A new bill in Parliament would fine gum droppers $145.

In Toronto, public complaints led

the city to measure gum goop last year for the first time. In the 2004 litter audit, 2,000 pieces of gum dotted one typical stretch of sidewalk, compared with just 200 pieces of other litter. In response, the city is trying out trash cans that let users toss in gum without having to touch the dirty bin.

U.S. researchers are working on scientific solutions. Graciela Padua, a food scientist at the University of Illinois, has developed a biodegradable gum made of zein, a corn derivative. It's costly to make but doesn't stick to surfaces. And its flavor? "It tastes plain," Padua admits, "but you can blow big bubbles." —By Jeremy Caplan
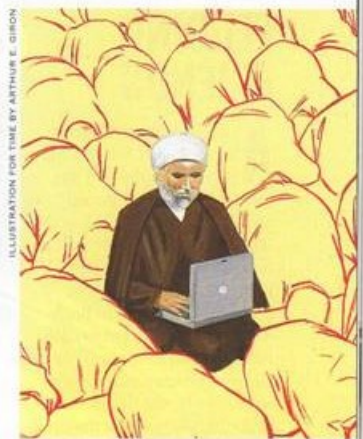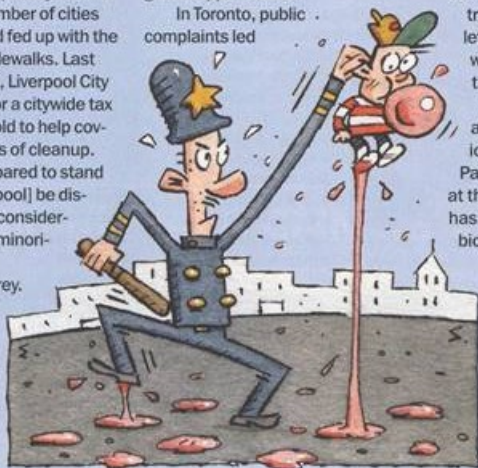
BLOGWATCH

There's at least one place in Iran where citizens dare to speak their minds. It is referred to as Weblogistan, and in this rapidly expanding virtual terrain—with an estimated 100,000 active Iranian weblogs, Persian ties with French as the second most used language in the blogosphere—Iranians generally use pseudonyms to discuss taboo topics and criticize the government in a way no other news outlet allows. Even some high-profile politicians have joined in, such as President Mohammed Khatami's former Vice President, Mohammed Ali Abtahi, who offers candid insights into the Iranian government on his blog, accompanied by photos taken with his cell phone.

But crackdowns are always looming. More than 20 online activists were detained last year for several weeks and beaten for antigovernment criticism. In response, dozens of blogs have sprung up offering instructions on how to remain anonymous and circumvent government filters. With the June presidential elections approaching, some bloggers are campaigning for a boycott, while others support reformist candidates and argue for participation. "Weblogs are one weapon," says a blogger known as Saena, "that even the Islamic republic cannot beat." —By Nahid Siamdoust

Picture 2.1 NOTEBOOK texts sample page corresponding to texts 65a, 65b, 65c

2.7   Specific Features of the "NOTEBOOK" Texts

Needless to say, the NOTEBOOK texts present numerous internal variations. Firstly, they differ depending on the author, but above all they vary stylistically by the subject matter they deal with, which, as noted earlier, is one of the features that most influences their singular tone and style. Nonetheless, they also share some generic formal features –some aforementioned– and are extended and illustrated below with a good number of examples drawn from the corpus. These properties are closely entwined and often overlap, so they can hardly be treated separately. For this reason the categorisation may seem somewhat arbitrary. Accordingly, the list is not prioritised, hence not numbered, as all traits share equal weight in the configuration of the style. These exemplars may not be the best instances of the phenomena, but have been selected because their meanings can be identified easily with no need of a co-text longer than the one supplied here. In most cases though, the communication of these meanings requires longer stretches of text to become obvious for the reader.

a) *Overt authorial voice.*

The author's personal views pervade the whole text with varying degrees of 'intrusiveness'. Although at times s/he is very subtle and even hardly detectable, his/her voice mostly surfaces explicitly. This expression of interpersonal meaning is achieved by giving personal opinions, expressing personal attitudes, providing his/her own interpretation, making remarks, etc. right through the text, often intertwined with the reporting of factual information. In the examples, the instances of overt authorial voice are in ***bold italics***:

(2.1)   ***There's nothing like topping off a national celebration with some vindictive settling of scores*** (33a)

(2.2)   *When it comes to interpreting the E.U.'s stability and growth pact,* ***there are no limits to French and German creativity***. (27c)

(2.3)   *... says Mina Gouran ...* ***Translation: nobody wants these gigs anymore, so directors might soon be in short supply***. (31b)

(2.4)   ***Maybe it's time to feel sorry for Europe's top executives***. (31b)

(2.5)   *...the Web can bring the world to your door.* ***But if you only want a tap fixed or a pizza delivered, you can end up wishing the world would just go away.*** (51b)

(2.6)   ***Now that's a real shock.*** (42b)

(2.7)   ***How sweet it is!*** (59b)

These stretches resemble thinking aloud and clearly reveal the writer's standpoint in front of the matters at stake. These personal comments are strongly evaluative and often go along with touches of criticism and irony. So in examples (2.1) the writer gives a personal opinion of the best way of celebrating a national event while in (2.3) s/he provides his/her personal interpretation of someone else's words, while examples (2.4-7) convey emotions quite explicitly. These expressions of attitude tend to be quite explicit, so in most cases they would be easily recognised by the reader.

b) Informal Conversational tone.

Unlike other forms of news reports, when the writer's voice surfaces, it often does so in a fairly informal tone. The texts expose a variety of colloquialisms, conversational idiomatic expressions, side comments, etc. which bear unambiguous traces of spoken language,

especially of informal conversation. The cases of speech-like stretches are presented in ***bold
italics***: (This feature can also be appreciated in examples (2.1-7) cited above).

(2.8)   *Scientists **are scratching their heads** over its surprisingly smooth surface...* (25c)

(2.9)   *The buy-and-hold billionaire **is up to his ears** in exotic investments…* (59a)

(2.10)   *The party in late May on the tiny, remote Shetland island of Unst, Britain's
northernmost inhabited chunk of rock, **was a real gas** - literally.* (55c)

(2.11)   *Gum control is popping up high on the priority list of a growing number of cities
around the world **fed up with** the **gunk** of their sidewalks.* (65b)

(2.12)   ***And it doesn't take a Ph.D. to figure out that** unless the government can stop the
bombings, those investors will keep heading for the exits.* (22b)

(2.13)   ***Talk about** win-win.* (39b)

(2.14)   *Could an invasion of **flashy** logos be far behind?* (57b)

One of the characteristic features of the grammar of speech (see Baker 1992; Carter &
McCarthy 1997; Biber *et al.*, 1999: chapter 14) are the grammatical ellipses of elements like
articles, subject and operators (i.e. auxiliary or be) – or both – as shown below.

(2.15)   *Ø Problem is, the dollar is rallying.* (59a) [zero article]

(2.16)   *Ø Seems they've found the market's number.* (11b) [subject]

(2.17)   *Ø Seems everybody likes the smell of a new car president* (63c) [subject]

(2.18) *Ø Need to narrow the choices?* (62a) [both]

(2.19) *Ø The reason?* (31b) [both]

(2.20) *Ø Just another catch-22.* (04a) [both]

(2.21) *Ø Just a matter of time until Weight Lifters for Truth gets into the game.* (30a) [both]

(2.22) *Why Ø the flurry?* (53b) [be]

These ellipses (with exception of 2.22) correspond to initial or situational ones of the kind that occur in speech. The final and medial ellipses result from the natural interaction of a conversation to avoid over-repetition. A further characteristic of (transcribed) speech is the recurrent contracted forms: *don't/doesn't, it's/isn't, can't, hasn't, he'd, they've, there's, what's, who's, wasn't,* etc.

c) *Explicit reader appeal.*

The writer of the texts establishes an overt interaction with the reader. The notion of the interactivity of the text has a long tradition and has been addressed from various perspectives (e.g. Bakhtin 1935, 1953; Goodman 1967, 1968; Smith 1978; Goffman 1981). It has been argued that any text is dialogical and generates some kind of interaction between author and reader[32]. If this applies to any text, the NOTEBOOK texts – in which there is a recurring explicit appeal to the reader – are even more so. In general, their tone is provocatively dialogic, with direct allusions to the reader and search for involvement and meaning

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[32]Discourse analysts agree that all texts, are dialogic, no matter the mode and genre, there is always a way of interaction between writer and reader. Written discourse is no different, although the communication in writing is displaced and there is no immediate feedback; the interactional aspect lies in that a reaction from the reader is sought, and even expected. See Hoey (2001) *Textual interaction,* who advocates that in any texts there is an interaction between the reader and the text, and he even gives examples of such an interaction with supermarket receipts.

negotiation. The writer engages the reader in the passage by means of dialogical strategies such as imperative forms, rhetorical questions and direct addresses fulfilling an appellative function. The more informal and chatty the texts are in style, the more blunt these dialogical practices become. They occur in especially, in the prefaces and closings:

(2.23) *How affordable is Prague housing? Ask Czech Prime Minister Stanislav Gross* (39c)

(2.24) *Ah, summertime, when the living is easy and Europe's airlines enjoy a holiday boom - right? Not exactly.* (19c)

(2.25) *If you figure that out send us a message*. (35b)

(2.26) *If you're wondering whether Goliath279 is really the 1.8-m-tall Gap model he claims to be,* sites like Lemondate.com and Truedater.com offer consumer protection*.* (62c)

(2.27) *Get ready for a fifth round.* (62a)

(2.28) *Don't hold your breath.* (47b)

(2.29) *Directors, loosen those seat belts.* (31b)

Here the writer acknowledges the presence of the reader and interacts with him/her by these invitations. A property that makes the texts interactive from the start are their conversational headlines (a high proportion of them) consisting of catchy questions which hint at the topic that the article deals with, such as:

(2.30) *Who will get Yukos?* (07a)

(2.31) *Will Chavez oil still flow?* (37a)

d) Wide array of speech Acts

Unlike other news discourse types, the NOTEBOOK texts display an array of speech acts, rather atypical for the mere reporting of events. This feature derives partly from their conversational tone, since beside the expected representative assertions[33] about the state of affairs in the world, there are cases of expressive and directive locutions, such as complaints, suggestions and expressions of emotions. Examples labelled after Searle (1976).

(2.32) *Osama bin Laden has a flair for dramatic timing.* (24a) [Representative]

(2.33) *It sold for $10,000.* (33b) [Representative]

(2.34) *Don't hold your breath* (47b). [Directive]

(2.35) *Get ready for a fifth round.* (62a) [Directive]

(2.36) *Ask Czech Prime Minister Stanislav Gross* (39c) [Directive]

(2.37) *So the fire really hurts.* (08b) [Expressive]

(2.38) *It was fun while it lasted,* but the clock's being turned back (11a) [Expressive]

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[33] Also called Assertive, for examples by Leech (1983); Verschueren (1999) and Cruse (2000).

e) Touches of humour.

Most texts, except from those that deal with tragedies, have got some kind of humorous allusions. These interventions of the writer range from mere funny comments to straight ironies, some bordering on sarcasm[34]. The latter work by stating exactly the opposite of what is meant, which often appear in the form of rhetorical questions:

(2.39) *Next stop Children's Court for a Melbourne teen* who allegedly stole two of the city's electric trams in less than 48 hours. (49c)

(2.40) *Who is behind this compassionate crusade*? [helping Schwarzenegger amend the US constitution to allow foreigners to be President] (30a)

(2.41) *Even CEO Rod Eddington lent a hand at Heathrow late last week* **- a great way to spend a summer holiday.** (19c)

(2.42) *When hundreds of modern art works were destroyed last week in a London warehouse fire; the tabloids were quick to call it the end of Britart* **- and most tried to dance on its grave**. (08b)

(2.43) *Will ring tones soon regularly out sell rock stars?* **Do the French like frogs' legs?** (53c)

(2.44) *The average working life of a car, statistics say, is 16 years. Jurgen Schrempp, head of DaimlerChrysler since 1995,* **didn't last quite that long.** (63c)

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[34] Ironic comments entail a double significance which arises from conveying meanings that go beyond the literal significance of the words. Most ironies carry implicatures and they are often metaphorical. I am adopting the definition of irony and sarcasm given by "The Oxford Companion to the English Language" (1992). An irony is a statement with an implication opposite to its usual meaning. It may be humorous or mildly/slightly sarcastic. The incongruity is between what is expected and what happens. Sarcasm is a sneeringly ironic remark. It serves to taunt and deflate which often stems from resentful and embittered insecurity and is used by people in authority as a way of marking and maintaining that authority. Leech and Short (1981: 278-9) argue that irony is a wide-ranging phenomenon which can be manifested in a single sentence or may extend over much longer stretches, even to a whole novel. See a pragmatic view of irony associated to implicatures in Verschueren (1999: 33-5), and irony and sarcasm related to appraisal (Martin, 2000:163-4).

(2.45) *Punch and Judy have nothing on Jean-Pierre and Dominique, France's pugilistic conservative politicians*. (49a)

A recurring strategy to provoke humoristic effect is the use of figurative allusions, when the writer uses terms figuratively, evoking notions associated with the topic of the text, as in:

(2.46) *Still, it could be worse; Mitsubishi Motors **is facing an empty tank**. (04b) [text about the automobile market]*

(2.47) *What's the **remedy for growing pains in the global pharmaceutical sector?**… **so is Novartis risking an overdose?** (42c) [text about pharmaceutical market]*

(2.48) *When Electricité de France, the world's largest power provider, snapped up a stake in Italy's energy firm Edison in 2001, **it got a nasty shock.** (42b)*

(2.49) *In much of Southern Europe, desiccated by one of the worst droughts of the last 60 years, wildfires are raging - **and tempers are rising.** (61a)*

Some of these metaphors and allusions make reference to exophoric information which requires knowledge beyond the text to be deciphered, for example.

(2.50) *For all the **yeoman's work** Hubble has done - … - its prospects looked bleak a few months ago. (06a)*

(2.51) *experts believe the movement is equally likely to **rise phoenix-like from the ashes** - with higher price tags attached. (08b)*

(2.52)   *But - to mix animal metaphors **- is Ford crying wolf?*** (07c)

(2.53)   *the leftist **firebrand** has **mastered the Cuban's art of pushing the U.S.'s buttons** -*

including the ones on American gas pumps. (37a)

All these features occur simultaneously and often overlap in the same formulations but at different levels of the system. In contrast, the features illustrated below –evaluation and presence of external voices– work somewhat more independently, hence full chapters are devoted to their exploration.

f)   Highly evaluative.

Another characteristic that derives from the personal tone of the NOTEBOOK texts is the writer's explicit evaluative judgements. This is shown especially in the kind of adjectives and nouns chosen to refer to and characterise the entities at stake. The use of verbs and adverbials is less frequent.

(2.54)   *the late Gerald L. K. Smith, **a right-wing zealot and notorious anti-Semite.*** (65a)

(2.55)   *a long day **full of just the kind of killing**, **hypocrisy and indifference** that has*

defined the conflict since it began… (29a)

(2.56)   *the old one-size-fits-all approach seems **hopelessly outmoded.*** (62a)

(2.57)   ***The erstwhile champion of consumer rights** turned **festering thorn** in the*

Democrats' side (21a)

(2.58)   *experts see no potential impact on the value of her other works, **nor on her already***

***fiery rep**.* (08b)

(2.59)   *it looks set to top the British singles chart this week, **a first for a ring tone.*** (53c)

The evaluation is not inscribed in the lexical choices only, but also in evaluative comments, such as similes and analogies used to make a point.

(2.60)   ***It was like a rerun from the bad old days of Italian politics**, when governments came and went at the rate of more than one a year.* (48b)

(2.61)   *a vacant lot in Sierra Vista, Arizona, **looks like a trash dump.*** (45c)

(2.62)   *the streets of Tehran's better-off northern districts were **like a ghost town full of zombies**.* (56a)

The expression of evaluation is the central theme of this thesis; therefore evaluative resources will be discussed in more detail in the coming chapters.

g) *Variety of voices.*

Despite their succinctness and the strong authorial voice, there is also a significant presence of external voices, with whom the writer often establishes a pseudo-dialogue. The texts are heavily built on attributed material, which makes up an important part of the body of the text, with at least three occurrences of ST&WP[35] (Semino & Short 2004) per text. This reliance on external views concurs with Bell's claim that news reports are the reconstruction of the versions authoritative sources give to journalists (1991:191). The authorial voice often

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[35] ST&WP = speech, thought and writing presentation. Term coined by Semino and Short (2004) in their approach to discourse presentation, which is discussed in chapter 7. The calculation was made just by counting the full number of stretches of external materials –either attributed explicitly or more subtly to someone other than the author – and then dividing these instances by 148, the number of texts in the corpus.

engages in a dialogical interaction with the external voices as shown below. The attributed material appears in **bold italics**, and the writer's reaction in <u>*underlined italics*</u>.

(2.63) *A State Department official said that **the Security Council would likely only require Iran to suspend its enrichment activities**… <u>but with a little more clout</u>.* (22a)

(2.64) *a corporate finance partner…, notes that **"private equity will make the difficult decisions that established [public] companies may be reluctant to do."** <u>Such cold bloodedness is what evokes the 'locust' comparison</u>.* (53b)

(2.65) *Although Toholj claims that **he obtained the manuscript through an intermediary and doesn't know where Karadzic is,** one thing is certain: <u>with a $5 million bounty on his head, the "Butcher" won't be toting his laptop to the local café to write the sequel.</u>* (26a)

(2.66) *… Japanese lawmaker Shinzo Abe saying: **"I think we should consider the possibility that regime change could occur."** <u>The reports of the Dear Leader's demise are probably exaggerated</u>.* (28a)

The writer's reactions differ in nature, setting various modes of interactional engagement with the sources. This peculiarity seldom found in news reports is recurrent in these texts, so will be discussed at length in chapter seven.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW OF ATTITUDINAL MEANING

3.1   The Attitudinal Aspect of Language

This chapter surveys previous work on the expression of attitudinal meanings and sets the bases for chapters 5, 6 and 7 which explore some specific manifestations of this feature in the NOTEBOOK texts. Linguists agree that when we speak, apart from the referential content we communicate, we also "give a more affective contour to what is said" (Carter, 2004: 11). This two-sided nature of the message has been a concern of linguistics since long ago. Back in 1935[1981] Bakhtin referred to it in his *Speech Genres and other Late Essays* discussing the pervasiveness of what he called the *expressive aspect* alongside the referential one, defining this attitudinal dimension as "the speaker's subjective emotional evaluation of the referentially semantic content" (Bakhtin, 1986: 84). Since then, varied models have tried to account for this functional dichotomy capturing these meanings under different categories –confusingly with a variety of names and varying shades of likeness and dissimilarities– which can be roughly labelled *informational* and *affective* (Sarangi 2003). Despite some debate on their inter-relationships, the pairs below show some attempts to complement both aspects:

- 'representative / expressive' (Buhler 1934);

- 'referential / emotive' (Jakobson 1960)[36];

- 'descriptive / expressive' (Lyons 1977);

- 'objective / subjective' (Iedema *et al.* 1994);

- 'propositional / stance' (Biber *et al.* 1999);

- 'experiential-expressive / relational' (Fairclough 2001).

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[36] Jakobson put forward what he saw as the 6 basic functions of communication, *referential, emotive, conative, phatic, metalingual,* and *poetic* which have influenced heavily subsequent descriptions of the language.

Although there is agreement that any message conveys a mixture of both types of content, the actual distinction between them is difficult to capture. The presence of attitudinal meanings is so ingrained in the message that it can hardly be detached from the referential content, let alone detected. Thus Bakhtin (1953[1986]) argued that "there is no such thing as absolutely neutral utterance... the speaker's evaluative attitude towards the subject determines the lexical, grammatical and compositional choices", and so every utterance "is characterised by the speaker's subjective emotional evaluation of the referentially semantic content" (p. 84-5). More recently Lemke (1998: 33) added that "whatever we say about the world, in the same utterance, we tell others to what extent we believe what we say is likely, desirable, important, permissible, surprising, serious or comprehensible."

If everything we communicate is somehow 'tinted' by our own views, where should we draw the line between the 'purely propositional' and the 'expressive or attitudinal' contents of an utterance? There is a fine line between both meanings, but above all, as Hyland & Tse (2004: 159) claim, there is not a satisfying definition of "what is understood by proposition, which is often left vague". Halliday (1994: 70) describes propositional material as something that can be argued about, affirmed, denied, doubted, insisted upon, qualified, tempered, regretted and so on, but this definition does not really solve the problem, since such propositions will still bear the speaker's view. That is as far as the discussion may get, and Hyland and Tse suggest that pushing this distinction too far would be unwise, since both types of meanings occur together in most stretches of discourse (p. 160-1). Accordingly, these divisions do not occur in reality. The meanings of texts hinge on the integration of their components, which cannot be separated into independent meaning. Hence Yule & Brown argue that these divisions "are artificial ones developed by linguists just for analytical convenience" (1983: 1). Here I am

adopting this division for operational purposes, and these two complementary dimensions will be referred to as 'referential or propositional' and 'attitudinal'.

A dichotomy related to that listed above distinguishes between the functions involved in the transmission of the referential content and those related to the social interaction involved in the expression of attitudes, establishing social relations, showing solidarity and maintaining social cohesion (Yule & Brown 1983). Some exemplary classifications are:

- 'transactional / interactional' (Yule & Brown 1983);
- 'ideational / interpersonal' (Halliday 1985, 1994);
- 'presentational / orientational' (Lemke 1998)[37].

These pairs are not fully comparable to their analogous above, since they derive from a different level of semantic-grammatical description. They present discrepancies among themselves[38], since the interactional, interpersonal and orientational functions circumscribe an object related to that of the attitudinal meanings, but serving a different function.

3.2 Defining Attitude

Bakhtin's view is shared by most contemporaneous linguists, and today the concern with the semantics of attitude has a place in grammatical descriptions (e.g. Quirk *et al*. 1972, 1985[39]; Biber *et al*. 1999; Huddleston & Pullum 2002). The consideration of this attitudinal dimension,

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[37] Halliday's and Lemke's categories correspond only to parts of larger models. Halliday adds a 'textual' function to this dual functional division, while Lemke adds an 'organizational' category of functions equivalent to Halliday's 'textual'.
[38] Brown & Yule's distinction, for example, is not comparable with Halliday's highly elaborated model of metafunctions, in which the three functions are realised simultaneously. However, Lemke's draws on Halliday's.
[39] Quirk et al (1972) associate the explicit expression of attitude primarily with adverbials and prepositional phrases and offer an exhaustive semantic classification of attitudinal adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts which convey point of view.

along with the propositional one, has become commonplace in most linguistic studies, as suggested in these quotations (*italics* mine).

"It is very difficult to make a wholly objective utterance, and almost everything we say or write conveys the impress of our *attitude*" (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 613).

"Utterances express two things: propositional information and also the speaker or writer's *attitude* towards this information" (Stubbs, 1996: 197).

"In addition to communicating propositional content, speakers and writers commonly express personal feelings, *attitudes*, value judgements or assessments, that is express a stance"[40] (Biber *et al*., 1999: 966).

These statements mention *attitude* as what gets 'impressed', 'expressed' or 'communicated' in the utterance, but – in these quotes as in any other where this term is used – no definition is provided. Carter (2004: 117) makes an attempt telling apart its expression of 1) intimacy; 2) intensity and 3) evaluation; but the term 'attitude' remains a highly generic notion for which there is no real agreement as to what exactly it encompasses.

In this thesis, attitude is treated as a hypernym which embraces a complex network of mental and emotional states as varied as affects, beliefs, certainty, commitment, dispositions, emotions, ideology, standpoint, state of mind, or any other inner condition[41] – passing or permanent – of the kind. This array of aspects constitutes the complex mesh of the psychological, intellectual and emotional states and conditions that comprise our very inner

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[40] They argue that in addition to the lexical and grammatical devices used to express attitudinal meanings they can also be expressed by means of paralinguistic devices such as loudness, pitch and durations as well as non linguistic devices such as body position, and gestures. Because such expression of stance is not linguistically explicit it can be unclear, as to what attitudes or feelings a speaker is intending to convey. The communication of stance can be harder in writing, since in print there are fewer paralinguistic and non linguistic devices available for expressing stance (p. 966).

[41] Here I deliberately refrained from using the terms appraisal, evaluation and stance, which have already been used and defined in the discussion of attitude and are now strongly associated with some particular linguistic traditions.

self. However, these are not discrete 'values' which occur separately from one another, but facets of mental and emotional conditions so closely connected that they can hardly be singled out (cf. discussion in Ochs (ed.) 1989; Dirven & Niemeier (eds.) 1997). These aspects necessarily play a part in the way we view and judge the world; they thereby get impressed in our verbal interaction. These subjective states are different from and prior to their verbalisation, i.e. their imprint in our verbal communication; which is the concern of linguists for attitude. They have attempted to identify the linguistic means used by speakers to encode such attitudes and by listeners to interpret them, defined here as "lexicogrammatical resources that enable us to construct attitudinal stances towards interlocutors and audiences" (Lemke, 1998: 33). Researchers have also sought to link particular devices to certain attitudinal states, but this is quite complex since the articulation of each state can be done through a wide range of distinct strategies and rhetorical resources (see below).

Given the multifaceted interpersonal nature of attitude and the immensity of meanings it embraces, most searches have focused on particular manifestations of it, from specific perspectives, in different text types and/or prioritising disparate features. Some of these attempts have associated attitudinal meanings with 'evaluation'[42] (Labov 1972); 'opinions' (Lyons 1977; Palmer 1986, 1990); 'judgement and evaluation' (Thomson & Yi 1991); 'commitment with or detachment from what is said' (Stubbs 1986/96 – who confusingly opts for the term modality to refer to what others would call evaluation[43]); 'point of view' (Simpson 1993); 'subjectivity' (Iedema *et al*. 1994); 'ideology' (Fowler 19986/96; Fairclough 1995, 2003); 'affective meanings' (Cheshire 2005); 'Metadiscourse' (Hyland 2000, 2004, 2005), just to name a few.

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[42] the purpose of the narrative answers the 'so what', defined by Labov as "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative. Its *raison d'etre*, why it was told and what the narrator was getting at" (Labov, 1972: 366).
[43] Stubbs' (1996) 'modal grammar of English' offers a category that goes well beyond all the conventional accounts of modality. His marking of attitude is signalled by various aspects not often regarded as such occurring at different levels of language: individual lexical items, illocutionary forces and propositions.

In opposition to these rather partial analyses of the expression of attitude, other authors have opted for more holistic descriptions, tackling a much broader spectrum of its expression. For example 'Modality and modulation' (Halliday 1994); 'Evaluative orientations' (Lemke 1998)[44]; 'Stance' (Biber & Finegan 1988; 1989; Biber *et al*. 1999; Conrad & Biber 2000); 'Evaluation' (Thompson & Hunston 2000; Bednarek 2006a); 'Appraisal' (Martin & White in their various publications e.g. 2005).

The search for markers of attitudinal meanings has resulted in the emergence of numerous mismatching models that describe virtually the same phenomenon assigning different labels to comparable phenomena, thus generating great lack of consistency in the terminology. The models deriving from these explorations are difficult to harmonize because they have developed separately without making reference to each other, and because they have been shaped within different traditions. So, it is not just terminology that is different but the sense of what evaluation, appraisal etc. is, so their various terms simply cannot be lined up. Analogically, the work on attitudinal language may be compared to the Olympic rings, in which each ring shares part of its area with the neighbouring rings, but the ones at both ends have little in common. In what follows, the linguistic expression of attitudinal meanings will be referred to as 'Evaluation', after Hunston's (1994) and Thompson and Hunston (2000), who distinguish explicitly between the attitudes themselves and the act of evaluating.

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[44] Lemke (1998) looks at resources used to construct attitudinal stances towards the content of the ideational propositions and proposals. He identifies seven semantic dimensions of evaluative orientations in a sample of newspaper editorials. The propositions can be either positive or negative, so their evaluative attributes are bi-polar, with a positive and complementary negative attribute. the categories are: Desirability/Inclination; Comprehensibility/Mystery; Importance/Significance; Usuality/Expectedness; Warrantability/Probability; Normativity/Obligation; Seriousness / Humour.

3.3   Different Approaches to Attitude

I now focus on a few broad descriptions of attitudinal language that have provided detailed accounts of its numerous linguistic manifestations. The definitions of four approaches are presented in which the compatibility and disparities of their concepts can be easily noted.

- Stance refers to "the lexical and grammatical expression of an author's or speaker's attitudes, feelings, judgements and commitment concerning the propositional content of the message" (Biber & Finnegan, 1989: 93).

- Evaluation is defined as "a broad cover term for the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that s/he is talking about" (Hunston & Thomson, 2000: 5).

- The notion of metadiscourse "focuses the attention on the way the writers project themselves into their discourse to signal their attitude towards both the content and the audience of the text" (Hyland & Tse, 2004: 156).

- The concept of Appraisal denotes "the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements and valuations, alongside amplifying and engaging with these evaluations" (Martin, 2000: 145).

These four characterizations (compared and contrasted in table 3.1.) concur in the essence; the interpersonal function they serve. The breaking down into their constituents also shows that, despite the formal discrepancies in their foci, they coincide in many more aspects than they conflict on.

The work of these scholars has managed to give shape to an area of discourse that until the mid 1990's had been considerably eluded, providing systematic and detailed frameworks of

evaluative language. Below, I briefly outline the most significant concepts of the models which will be referred to throughout this thesis: Appraisal, Evaluation and Stance[45].

Model	What?	What for?	Of what?	Towards / about /concerning	Other
Appraisal (Martin)	semantic resources	to negotiate	emotions, judgements and valuations,	Ø	amplifying and engaging with these evaluations
Evaluat. (H. & T.)	Ø	expression	attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on or feelings	the entities or propositions s/he is talking about	Ø
Stance (B. & F.)	lexical and grammatical (Ø means)	expression	attitudes, feelings, judgements and commitment	the propositional content of the message	Ø
Metadisc. (Hyland)	ways	to signal	attitude	both the content and the audience of the text	writer projects himself into his discourse

Table 3.1 Comparison of the constituents of the definitions according to different schools of thought.

3.3.1 Appraisal

The Appraisal model "explores, describes and explains the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships" (http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal). Because this theory is framed within the Systemic Functional Linguistic tradition, it is modelled in terms of systems which, analogous to the grammar ones, constitute sets of choices available to the speaker, including the meanings to convey and the linguistic means to communicate them.

The Appraisal framework may be situated "at the level of discourse semantics" (Martin & White 2005: 33); it derived from research on evaluative semantics and has developed into a theory of language that places the interpersonal dimension at the centre, not only of the communicative situation, but of the system itself (Martin & White 2005, chapter 1). Its

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[45] Metadiscourse is not considered since it has developed from and been applied only to academic articles only, as opposed to the other models which have analysed a much wider range of texts.

followers are concerned with the linguistic communication of appraisal in the broadest sense of its meaning. For them, the expression of attitude is not simply a personal matter - the speaker 'commenting' on the world- but a truly interpersonal social matter, in that "the basic reason for advancing an opinion is to elicit a response of solidarity from the addressee" Thompson and Hunston's (2000: 143). The communicative act occurs in search of negotiation of meaning, in which the speaker/writer positions him/herself interpersonally and – explicitly or implicitly – positions the recipient to respond to these meanings as well (see Macken-Horarik & Martin 2003; Martin & White, 2005).

The model provides a grammar of evaluation and interpersonal meanings with a rich typology of systems and resources that 'construe' the speaker evaluation. The authors offer detailed descriptions of the linguistic mechanisms available for the speaker/writer to encode evaluation and a thorough systematization of a complex network of resources used to communicate stance (e.g. White 2000; Martin 2000). The model comprises three major semantic domains: ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION– also called Amplification (Martin 1997) – which provide 'evaluative resources' that allow the researcher to capture subtle, yet significant, shades of attitudinal meanings. In turn, each category is subdivided further; ATTITUDE into the subsystems of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation; ENGAGEMENT into Mono and Heteroglossic resources for marking the speaker's commitment and GRADUATION into the categories of Force and Focus, for providing shades in the evaluation.

ATTITUDE is the most pertinent system for this study, since it deals with the resources that convey "negative or positive assessment or which can be interpreted as inviting readers to supply their own assessments" (www.grammatics.com/appraisal). Its three subsystems

provide resources for: AFFECT dealing with the emotions and affectual meanings of the participants for construing emotional responses, e.g. *like, hate, fear*; JUDGEMENT for the expression of evaluations of behaviour concerning ethics, truths, capacity, etc.[46] e.g. *skilfully, corruptly;* and APPRECIATION with regards to aesthetic values of texts, performances and natural phenomena, with devices like: *striking, beautiful* (all examples from White 1998). The model offers the option of passing the same value judgement in various ways, stressing different aspects of our attitude. So an act of evaluation may be expressed along the three systems, for example: *'I liked the film'* (Affect); *'it is well made'* (Appreciation); *'the director really knows what he is doing'* (Judgement). (Examples supplied by Susan Hunston. Personal communication). However, Martin (2000: 147) notes that "the three systems encode feelings, so AFFECT can be taken as the basic system".

Unlike other models, Appraisal sets the resources to "adjust and negotiate the heteroglossic diversity" (Appraisal website) under the system of ENGAGEMENT (e.g. *perhaps, it seems, he says, I declare, obviously*), a category that roughly combines resources of modality and attribution of other models[47]. The category of GRADUATION, conversely congregates the resources involved in amplifying and mitigating meanings and evaluations through intensifiers (*very, really, sort of, somewhat*); quantifiers and repetitions (roughly analogous to hedges, approximators and boosters, in equivalent models); connotative values and also via analogies (e.g. comparisons, similes and metaphors).

One of the greatest strengths of the Appraisal Theory is its treatment of the problem of implied evaluation and the highly convincing solution it offers. It distinguishes between

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[46] It is characteristic of the semantics of evaluative attributes that they are bi-polar: for every positive attribute there is a complementary negative one. Judgements can be positive or negative, manifested in social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) and in social sanction (veracity, propriety). (Martin & White, 2005: 54)

[47] The monoglossic and heteroglossic options roughly correspond to the choice between the 'bare' declarative and all the other modalised choices.

'inscribed' (explicit) and 'evoked' (implicit) appraisal, a distinction that can be explained in terms of the use of the explicit textual markers of assessment such as lexical choices, as opposed to contextual resources that 'trigger' evaluative responses in the receiver (see chapter 5). A schematic summary of the model can be seen in table 3.2

Semantic Domains	Subsystems	Values and resources
Attitude	• Affect • Judgement • Appreciation	• Inscribed meanings • Evoked meanings
Engagement		• Monogloss • Heterogloss
Graduation		• Focus • Force

Table 3.2 Summary of the Systems and subsystems of the Appraisal Model.

3.3.2 Evaluation

Thompson and Hunston's (2000) term 'Evaluation' is used with a technical significance, much more holistic than the narrow 'good/bad' denotation commonly meant in ordinary speech[48]. Their term is a highly inclusive superordinate that seizes every possible form of expressing attitudinal meanings. The many ways to do so are grouped into two vast semantic domains, namely Affect and Modality; two spheres of the interpersonal function which, as they point out, have often been treated as separate phenomena in grammatical descriptions, but which are brought together in their model.[49]

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[48] Even in some academic sectors it is seen so. Fairclough (2003), for example, in Chapter 10 'Modality and Evaluation', describes evaluation very much on these terms only, defining it in terms of what authors *commit* themselves to with respect to what is desirable, undesirable, good or bad (p. 164).
[49] The authors draw a distinction between those models that treat these two semantic domains together or separately in their approaches. E.g. the 'separating' approach is illustrated with Halliday (1994), while the 'combining' one is exemplified with Stubb's (1986/96) and Biber et al's (1999) proposals.

For the authors, these two aspects correspond to two main subtypes of evaluation: desirability and certainty. (a) Desirability relates to the speaker's opinion of the entities s/he talks about in affective terms, which is often communicated via adjectives that tell us what the entity is like. (b) Certainty, on the other hand, relates to epistemic modality concerning opinions; i.e. the probability or likelihood of the proposition in the clause. This type of evaluation is clearly more grammatical than the former, since it is entrenched in the structure of the clause through modals and modalisers. Both parameters are described separately as targeting different constituents of the clause, but given the fuzziness in the frontiers in this field, both categories also present some grammatical and semantic overlap.

Their description draws to a certain extent on Hunston's parameters (1994) of 'value' (*good/bad*); 'status' (*certain/uncertain*); and 'relevance' (*important/ unimportant*) and this shows, because two further categories are also included in the model: expectedness and importance. Consequently, the act of evaluating can be done along four different parameters: (a) affect (good-bad); (b) certainty; (c) expectedness and (d) importance. These parameters target different evaluative dimensions, but the authors regard the good-bad category, i.e. 'evaluation of value' (Hunston 1994, 2000) as the most basic one, and to which, ultimately, the other three relate (likewise Martin above).

Hunston & Thompson's conception of evaluation is widely embracing; accordingly, the model for its identification in discourse is 'wide open' too. In their framework, attitudinal values can be identified along two lines: linguistic markers and conceptual signals. Linguistically, these values may be communicated via heterogeneous linguistic means and choices at all the levels of the language –lexical, grammatical, propositional and textual along with pragmatic inferences and conventional and figurative meanings. These linguistic features

relate to the 'explicit' marking of evaluation, although the authors never refer to it as 'explicit' or the like. Conversely, the conceptual evaluation includes signals such as comparison, subjectivity and social value. This mode corresponds to a very broad way of looking at evaluation, which considers even the subtlest forms of its expression, coming close to the notion of 'implicit evaluation' which is never referred as such. Some elements of this proposal resemble the Appraisal framework, but Thompson and Hunston do not propose systems and an exhaustive model of categories and subcategories as the Appraisal model does. The authors group these signals into three categories (two primarily grammatical, and a lexical one) comprising the following resources:

1. Comparative forms, which include comparative adjectives and adverbs; adverbs of degree, comparator adverbs; expressions of negativity[50], and the like.
2. Markers of subjectivity, including modality and markers of (un)certainty; reporting and attribution and some clause structures.
3. Value-laden vocabulary.

Besides these resources, their account also identifies three functions served by evaluation in the communicative event: expressing opinion; maintaining relations and organising the discourse. That is, evaluation not only performs the conventional function of conveying the speaker/writer's attitude, but also serves the interpersonal function of constructing relations between the participants and the text organisational one of contributing to the discourse structure; two purposes that have not been explored enough in other models. This broad conception of evaluation provides a model flexible enough to permit researchers to 'spot' hints of attitude in resources other models fail to include.

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[50] Within comparisons are "the use of negative, which compares what is not with what it may be" o*nly, no longer* (p.13).

3.3.3 Stance

Biber and colleagues (Biber & Finegan 1988, 1989; Biber *et al*. 1999; Conrad & Biber 2000[51]) adopted the term 'Stance' to denote the conveyance of assessment of the proposition in the clause. Although the description has broadened and undergone some modifications in its 20 years, the definition has remained quite unchanged, still retaining the same core elements. However, the outline presented here corresponds to the (1999) version, which is their most detailed account of the model.

Unlike the other two models, there is hardly a 'Theory of Stance'; there is a sound model developed from robust quantitative evidence cast by corpus studies, but with little theoretical elaboration. Their approach is built on a wholly different academic tradition from the two prior descriptions, thus offering a radically different perspective of the issue. It is notable that in their work there is no reference to Halliday, to SFG or to the Hallidayan notion of 'interpersonal function'. If any relation to another grammar needed to be made, this would be to Quirk, *et al*. (1985) from which they took inspiration for their project (cf. p. viii). However, they do adopt their own 'functional perspective', whereby the linguistic features perform those discourse 'tasks' or 'functions' they are particularly suitable for (pp. 41-2). They distinguish six major types of tasks: ideational, textual, personal, interpersonal, contextual and aesthetic. Despite the resemblance with the Hallidayan frame[52] of metafunctions, there is no match. For the authors, the tasks are 'performed' by the linguistic features in different communicative events, rather than occurring simultaneously in any interaction. The features expressing Stance fall under the category of 'Personal tasks', which bring together the communications of attitudes, thoughts, and feelings of the speaker.

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[51] Conrad & Biber (2000) quantify and compare a closed set of stance adverbials in three different registers.
[52] Note that some of the categories match the SFG framework, e.g. the ideational and textual tasks.

In spite of the exhaustive account of the model (cf. 1999: chapter 12), their description is narrower than the models described above since they only deal with the overt lexico-grammatical expression of stance "by means of grammatical devices, word choice and paralinguistic devices" (p. 966) without making reference of mechanisms to communicate attitude implicitly, as the other models do. Their approach is heavily grammatical and they regard the encoding of Stance as very much embedded in the structure, mostly realised by two common stance markers: Adverbials (chapter 10) and Complement clauses (chapter 9). They identify a functional distinction between these two devices; while stance adverbials express the assessment of the speaker towards the proposition in the main clause, *that*-clauses do so with respect to the proposition in the complement clause, for example they view *that*-clauses as explicit indicators of stance[53]. They identify different types of *that*-clauses, which indicate the source of knowledge or the perspective where the information comes from. These are controlled by certain verbs or adjectives used to report people's speech, evidence, thought, attitudes, emotions, etc. and occur in different proportion in the different registers they investigate. Although the authors do regard 'value-laden' words as strong markers of stance, lexical items are not particularly stressed in their frame. The emphasis of the model is primarily on adverbials which fall into three major semantic categories: 'Epistemic', 'Attitude' and 'Style'. Epistemic adverbials mark the speaker's "certainty (or doubt), actuality, precision, or limitation on the status of information in a proposition; or they can indicate the source of knowledge or perspective from which the information is given" (Biber *et al*. 1999: 972). That is, resources that mark both modality and evidentiality (in the ENGAGEMENT System of the Appraisal model). The category of Attitudinal stance relates closely to the AFFECT system, reporting personal attitudes, feelings, emotions and value judgements; all affective aspects not clearly differentiated from one another. Finally the

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[53] They view *that*-clauses as markers of epistemic stance, but also in some cases attitudinal and style stance. For them, certain verbs that control *that*-complement clauses, such as *think,* mark degree of certainty as well as source of knowledge. This point had also been made before by Johns (1990) and Hunston (1989).

category of Style considers the manner of speaking. The authors assume that each category may be realised by a number of grammatical structures, i.e. a one-to-one relationship between stance categories and particular types of clauses, structures, phrases and words– assumption that Martin & White or Thompson & Hunston do not make. However, given the lack of clear boundaries of the stance meanings themselves, the markers can be ambiguous. Some interesting points of their proposal are: (a) The inclusion of Style adverbs –"speaker/writer's comments on the communication itself" (Biber *et al*. 1999: 974)– as markers of Stance, since style is not normally considered as an indicator of attitude; (b) Their corpus-based analysis has provided sound numeric data for their findings; their qualitative and quantitative evidence of grammatical features has contributed greatly to a better understanding of the expression of attitudinal meanings; (c) Their approach offers an exploration of stance indicators across 'registers'[54] proving the variations in use and frequency in diverse genres. These three main models described above are summarised in table 3.3.

	Realised by	Comprising	Based on
Evaluation	Lexico-gram. and text resources	Four Parameters	Hunston (1994)
Stance	Grammar, mostly Adverbials	Three Types of Stance	Corpus evidence
Appraisal	Variety of resources	Three Systems	Halliday's SFL

Table 3.3. Summary sketch comparing the three models described above.

3.3.4 Other

The semantics of evaluation has turned out a productive subject, generating much research on this area. However, scholars have looked at it in different genres, e.g. Hyland (1999, 2000) and Hunston (1993, 2000) in academic discourse, and Lemke (1998), Schokkenbroek (1999; Bednarek 2006a) in the press discourse. Others have researched particular words or structures

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[54] As noted in chapter 2, the LGWSE (1999) denotes 'registers' what would be called genres or discourse types by other authors. The grammar describes four registers: three written: news, academic writing and fiction and conversation.

involved in the conveyance of attitude (e.g. Conrad & Biber 2000; Hunston & Sinclair 2000; Silver 2003) or a combination of both approaches (Lombardo 2004; Murphy 2004). Each attempt to systematise the expression of attitudinal values stresses particular traits, since aspects which seem attitudinal for some authors may not be so for others. Some descriptions worth mentioning for this thesis, such as Lemke (1998), Hyland (2000) and Benarek (2006).

Lemke (1998) developed a seven-parameter model of 'Evaluative Orientations' (see footnote 43) –an expanded version of his 1992 account– consisting of "semantic classes of evaluative attributes for propositions and proposals, which appear to be the only ones allowed in English" (p. 33). He shows his model at work in a corpus of newspaper editorials. Hyland's (2000, 2005 and with Tse 2004) notion of metadiscourse in academic writing –also called *stance* (1999) – took shape in EAP (after Crismore 1989). 'Metadiscoursal comments' help to "facilitate communication, support a writer's position and build a relationship with an audience" (2004: 159). Besides the linguistic features involved in the conveyance of stance, Hyland & Tse's model (2004) comprises cohesive resources to organise the discourse –a feature noted by Thompson and Hunston too– serving interpersonal and textual functions.

These two apparently unrelated features allow authors "to intrude into the evolving text to direct readers' reception of it" (p. 158). Finally, Bedanrek (2006) using Thompson and Hunston's notion of Evaluation, and adopting some of Lemke's (1998) categories, makes a much more complex proposal, based on nine evaluative parameters.

3.4   The Expression of Attitude in Discourse

It was noted above that attitudes correspond primarily to internal unobservable conditions and states, which do not necessarily require explicit operations. They may materialise in verbal acts, but may also be conveyed in more unperceivable ways. The prior inaccessible mental

activity is assumed as the source of the attitudes encoded in the utterance but in rigour this cannot be proved. Research to pin down evaluation in discourse suggests that its incidence is more pervasive than it appears superficially. Ever since Labov's proposal, it's been granted that evaluation is not confined to particular points but spreads throughout the text; Halliday calls 'prosody' this realization of interpersonal meanings throughout discourse (1981: 37).

The linguistic expression of evaluation represents such an essential component of discourse that Martin and White (2005: 62) think that the analysis of the content of the message, without consideration of this personal and social dimension, would provide quite a poor description of the discourse. The relevance of this dimension for the full comprehension of communication appears commonplace today, but its study presents a number of difficulties. One of these problems is the heterogeneity of its expression, as it can be conveyed via choices at all levels, along with pragmatic means e.g. implicatures, conventional and figurative meanings, prosodic choices, etc. What seems to be the greatest obstacle linguists face in this respect is the partition of the attitudinal meanings from the referential ones, since both merge in every utterance making their identification quite unmanageable. In the sections below, I discuss some aspects concerning the explicit and implicit conveyance of attitudinal meanings.

3.4.1 The Explicit Marking of Attitude

By explicit evaluation is meant the articulation of attitudinal meanings on the surface of the discourse, so that they can be easily identified as such by any speaker of the language. Some conventional resources for signalling them are listed below:

a) Lexis

The most discernible resource of explicit evaluation is a term bearing a 'connotation' or attitudinal load[55] (Cruse 1986; Lowe *et al.* 1997). Lexis is a key resource in the expression of evaluation, since the choices the speaker/writer makes construe (i.e. express and create) reactions in the recipient (Martin, 2000: 142). Every account of evaluation makes reference to this resource, but despite its pre-eminent role as an explicit attitudinal marker, it is hard to handle, since, as Hunston suggests, the evaluative terms do not belong to closed sets and the list of "lexical items playing an evaluative role may be endless" (2004: 157). The greatest problem of lexis in this sense is that it is not easy to determine whether linguistic items are evaluative *per se* or not. Often lexical items which are not evaluative in themselves may acquire positive or negative attitudinal meanings in context, by means of attitudinal associations –related to 'semantic' or 'discourse prosodies'[56] (see Sinclair 1991; Louw 1993; Stubbs 2001a). Hence Hunston (2004) suggests that when interpreting evaluative meaning of lexical units, readers respond both to particular details of phraseology (as in *to the point of*) and to issues of social value (as in the combinations *pace of life*)[57]. This ties up again with Lemke's evaluative prosodies; lexical terms need to be seen in the light of the semantics of the passage, since much of the attitudinal meaning of a text results not from single words or statements, but arises to large extent, from the semantic prosody of such terms in connected text. It is now well documented in the literature that many words and expressions carry veiled meanings hidden to 'the naked eye' (Channell 2000) (e.g. Sinclair 1996, 1998; Stubbs 1996, 2001a; Channell 2000; Hunston 2004).

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[55] Stubbs (1986/96, 2001a) presents an empirical method for studying evaluative connotations of words and phrases by studying their most frequent collocates in large corpora. He argues that connotation is just as important as referential meaning, and in studies of language and ideology, it is even more so (1996: p.195)

[56] This is not directly observable, but recurrent collocates often provide replicable evidence of evaluative connotations. (Stubbs, 2001: 449).

[57] Hunston (2004:158) comments that corpus studies help reveal the 'hidden meaning' of words and phrases, when their evaluative meanings are not apparent to intuition.

b) Modality

It is not via lexical terms only that evaluation is conveyed, traditionally modality has been closely related to attitude in discourse (e.g. Stubbs 1986/96; Halliday 1994; Martin 2000), since it comprises essential grammatical and lexical resources for the explicit conveyance of attitudinal meanings. It is basically expressed by modal auxiliaries and semi-modals, e.g. *should, must, need to* (Coates 1983; Palmer 1986, 1990) and by adverbials and modal expressions, e.g. *probably, likely, certainly* (Quirk *et al.* 1972; Perkins 1983). But modality is also difficult to handle since the semantic space it covers embraces equally two contrasting expressions of attitude; i.e. 'being explicit' (*of course, obviously*) and 'being vague' (*perhaps, probably*). Not surprisingly then, most work on modality has been carried out from specific perspectives, dealing with particular and limited aspects of the overall phenomenon (see Bybee & Fleishman (eds.) 1995). Modality is linked to a heterogeneous array of attitudes, expressed by varied rhetorical forms, such as the use of: hedges (Brown & Levinson 1987; Hyland 1996; Markkanen & Schröder 1997; Holmes 2000); politeness boosters (Myers 1989; Hyland 2000); vague language (Channell 1994) some forms of evidentiality (cf. Chafe & Nichols 1986; Aikhenvald 2004; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2003); and the like. Although this thesis does not deal with modality as such, it cannot be ignored as one of the pillars in the expression of interpersonal meanings.

c) Other

Scholars have also resorted to other lexico-grammatical and rhetorical devices as explicit markers of attitude. Among them the '*that*– clause' is well accepted as an attitudinal marker (Hunston 1993, 2000; Biber *et al.* 1999; Lombardo 2004; Charles 2006, 2007). Thus, Hunston & Sinclair (2000: 100) state that this pattern's "primary purpose is to evaluate or attribute evaluation to another speaker". Other forms viewed as explicitly attitudinal are: comparative

forms (Labov 1972; Hunston 2000; Thompson and Hunston 2000); the anticipatory 'it' to mark stance (Hewings & Hewings 2004); mechanisms for organising text (Hoey 2000[58]; Thompson & Hunston 2000); lexical-grammatical sequences which always have an evaluative function (e.g. *there is sth x about y*) (Hunston & Sinclair 2000); diminutive endings to convey endearment (Stubbs 1986/96), just to mention a few.

Regardless of the efforts to pin down the attitudinal resources and indicators involved in the explicit verbalization of evaluation, there is no manner such descriptions may elucidate the complexity of the issue and account for all the units that may express evaluation. Among other problems is that the level of explicitness is not always the same; there are some signals clearly more evaluative than others, and more importantly, in this cline of explicitness, some meanings easily trespass into the scope of implicitness. As Hunston (2004) suggests, "much evaluative meaning is not obviously identifiable, as it appears to depend on immediate context and on reader assumption about value" therefore the list is "large and open and does not lend itself to quantification" (Hunston, 2004: 157). In fact, not even the most exhaustive inventory of lexical and grammatical attitudinal means would manage "to cover all that is meant by evaluation" (*ibid*), since its enunciation is not necessarily encoded in the message. There is a world of implicit evaluation which cannot be tackled directly because it is not patent in the surface of text, but is implied by the transmission of apparently non-evaluative information. Oakhill & Garnham (1988: chapter 2) present evidence that much of the information conveyed in texts is implicit and needs to be extracted using our world knowledge stored in the long-term memory to make inferences[59] (p. 34). In this respect, the encoding and decoding of evaluation is not different from the handling of other types of implicit information.

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[58] He discusses and illustrates the importance of the role that information structure plays in expressing one's viewpoint.
[59] For Oakhill and Garnham (1988) these inferences establish both the global structure of the text and the local links between sentences. Other inferences simply elaborate on the information in a text without helping to tie it together. They argue these elaborative inferences are not made automatically but only if they are needed, as when we answer a question.

3.4.2 Implicit Indication of Evaluation

The real picture of evaluation comes out, when the explicit features are considered along with implied ones in the discourse. The conveyance of attitude stems from the combination of the explicit devices listed above, plus numerous strategies working at an implicit level. Implied attitudinal meanings are largely present in any communicative event, but they have not received as much attention as the explicit ones. The reason for this neglect is that this manner of evaluation is essentially elusive and therefore quite awkward. This is because what count as signals of implicit evaluation are far more abundant and problematic to detect and systematise than their overt counterpart. Consequently, there are considerably fewer proposals for this nature of evaluation.

One of the main difficulties in the study of implicit evaluation is that, as opposed to the explicit one, it is not localised, i.e. it cannot be seen 'as being there', but can only be explained by taking the whole text into account. In addition to this setback, is the customary dilemma of where to set the dividing line between both categories. There is a gentle transition between explicit and implicit evaluation with no obvious boundaries between both ends. The Appraisal Theory model partly solves this problem by establishing categories of 'levels of implicitness'[60]. In this respect, the model has made a great contribution to the semantics of evaluation with a much inclusive proposal. Martin (2000) and White (e.g. 1998, 2004, 2005) distinguish two kinds of appraisal 'inscribed' and 'evoked', which roughly correspond to explicit and implicit, but are never referred to as such. They talk about appraisal as being 'inscribed' in the text and about 'tokens' of appraisal, which 'evoke' or 'invoke' (in Martin & White 2005, 'invite') certain attitudes in the reader/listener. That is, while inscribed appraisal is explicitly encoded in the text via attitudinal lexis, the evoked one is not indicated as such,

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[60] See Hunston's (1989) approximation to this proposal with her suggestion of evaluation through *grounds.*

but the text is viewed to contain signals that evoke certain evaluative values in the recipient, but not the appraisal itself. For those instances where the evoked evaluation is quite strong and unambiguous e.g. *thrill-killing genocide* (White 1998), White has coined the term 'provoked appraisal'. This makes the hypothetical 'inventory' even more unrealistic.

Hunston (1993), Lemke (1998) and Bednarek (2006a) have also made comparable proposals, in which the explicit/implicit distinction of evaluative meanings is not based on binary parameters, but on degrees represented along a continuum or scales of "force or intensity" (Bednarek, 2006a: 44). They agree that the predicament of implicit evaluation is not easily solved. In this respect Lemke propounds that textual evaluation is realised prosodically, i.e. "distributed through the clause, clause-complex, or even longer stretches of text" (1998: 38). This 'Evaluative Propagation' as he calls it, serves a cohesive function, since its components spread across the sentence boundaries, creating links between separated elements of a text and thus ramifying the assessment throughout it. In other words, evaluation can only be correctly analysed when looking at it in context (also see Bednarek 2006a: chapter 1; Lemke 1998). Hunston (1989) goes even further, considering that implicit meanings lie not only in the immediate discourse context but also in the reader's assumptions about value, so they "are revealed intertextually" (2004: 185). Their interpretation needs to be done in the light of linguistic factors as well as non linguistic ones such as the reader's world knowledge, the value-system underlying the community and the readership of the text, and even other texts; all factors that contribute to the difficulty of their identification.

3.4.3 Summary

Summarising the discussion so far, it looks as if the accounts outlined above only presented discrepancies and pointed into different directions, but despite their formal differences, the models share many more points than they differ on. Some of the points of convergence are:

(a) The explicit statement that evaluation is a complex phenomenon, comprising many different areas, levels of meaning and linguistic resources to be communicated.

(b) Given this complexity, the need for some internal fragmentation to be able to account for the different domains of meaning involved (e.g. categories, systems, etc.) which, in turn, may need further subdivisions before getting down to the resources to communicate those meanings.

(c) The awareness of the pervasiveness of the attitudinal meanings we communicate along with the propositional meanings.

(d) The concurrence that evaluation is not a straightforward matter, but the fullness of the attitudinal values communicated can only be apprehended when examined in the full description of their context.

(e) The interpersonal significance that they all attribute to attitudinal values.

(f) The heterogeneous realisations of evaluation confirm that it is an open category, i.e. there is no definite linguistic criterion for identifying it and it would be impossible to record all the linguistic means involved in it.

(g) Finally, all these models seem to fit within a somewhat sociological description of the language.

3.5   Evaluation in Different Discourse Types

In addition to divergences in definitions of evaluation, differences also draw on the genres in which evaluation is studied. Evaluation does not 'occur' the same in fiction, academic texts or news reports, so efforts to outline features and perspectives of evaluation in particular text types have also been carried out. Labov's work (1972) stands out as one of the first formal investigations in this respect. His work has been highly influential and much subsequent analysis has been based on his account. Although his model was developed for a very precise kind of narration, it has proved suitable for other narrative texts as well, such as fictional narrative (Toolan 1998, 2001), and –with the necessary adaptations– for other narrative genres, such as Anecdotes, Recounts and Exempla (Rothery & Stenglin 1997), news stories which go well beyond the conventional narration (Bell 1991; White 1998; Schokkenbroek 1999[61]), and even scientific discourse (Hunston 1989). Similarly, related explorations have been carried out in discourse types such as: the writer's political and ideological stance in media texts through the eye of Critical Linguistics (Fowler *et al.* 1979; Fowler 1991; 1986/96); the conveyance of the ideological stance of dominant social groups, within the CDA framework (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995a; van Dijk 1991, 1992, 1993, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2006); the emotions and emotional language in news stories (Ungerer 1997); objectivity and subjectivity in news reports (Iedema *et al.* 1994); evaluation in newspaper editorials (Lemke 1998); evaluation academic discourse (Hunston 1993, 1994, 2003; Hyland 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004); implied ideology underlying the text while writers naturalise their views (e.g. Hunston 1993 in scientific texts; White 1997, 1998, 2004 in news reports). Interestingly, all the descriptions acknowledge somehow that different genres and text types tend to prioritize different parameters of evaluation depending on the purpose they serve and the function they fulfil. These genres are briefly outlined below.

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[61] She explores evaluation in news reports adopting Labov's model, looking at his categories of internal and external evaluation.

3.5.1 Narrative

The attitudinal aspect in narrative has long been studied from a literary perspective in works of fiction (e.g. Chatman 1978; Rimmon-Kenan 1983; Genette 1980/88). Lately, the same formal object has been circumscribed in narrative from a more linguistic and stylistic approach by Leech & Short (1981); Short (1996); Toolan (2001) and also by Carter & Nash (1990) who combine CDA and stylistics. The scholars working in this area do not refer to this aspect as attitude or evaluation, because contrary to other discourse types where the purpose is to persuade or identify ideology behind the text, the literary study of attitude serves a more stylistic end. These scholars assume that, through the use of a range of techniques, the writer may exert control over the point of view the reader adopts towards the characters and events in the narration. That is, by the manner of presentation of the events, the reader is positioned in a particular perspective and consequently may be 'controlled' to adopt the position the writer expects the reader to take (cf. Leech & Short 1981; Short 1994).

Outside the field of literary fiction, 'factual' narrative is also regarded as intimately tied to the narrator's point of view, since "the events recounted are his/her (re)construction rather than some kind of objective mirror image of reality" (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999: 32). Labov (1972) devised a sociolinguistic model of analysis for narrations of real events; consisting of stories about personal experience told by street-gang youngsters in New York (also in Labov & Waletzki, 1967). He adopted a six category narrative pattern, drawn from classical Greek analyses, consisting of: Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda, which answer potential questions of the listeners[62]. Labov's notion of evaluation is quite different from what is understood by it in other contexts, unrelated to the ordinary

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[62] These potential questions are: Abstract: What in a nutshell is the story about? Orientation: Who, when, where and when? Complicating action; Then what happened? Result or resolution: What happened finally? Coda: That's it. I've finished and I am 'bridging' back to the present? Evaluation: 'And so what?'

parameters of positive/negative, like/dislike etc. but defined as "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative. Its *raison d'etre*, why it was told and what the narrator was getting at" (Labov 1972: 366), i.e. the evaluative element explains the significance of the story. He showed that narrations are typically strongly evaluative; where the evaluative element together with the complicating story are the pre-eminent constituents. Through these resources, the narrator tells us what the significance of the story is and denotes his/her personal involvement in it. Within this frame, the narrative not only serves its referential purpose, but also an evaluative function, in which the narrator raises interest, intrigue or suspense in order to demonstrate its 'reportability or tellability' (Toolan, 1998: 156). Labov explains that, through the evaluative component, the speaker not only recounts his experience but 'refashions' it, making clear its purpose and trying to answer the 'so what' of a story. Paradoxically, according to Toolan (1998: 139), one reads narrative for the evaluation, not the complicating action or the events in themselves. In other words, we read in search for the interpersonal meanings rather than the ideational ones.

Another notable aspect raised by Labov, and widely adopted in subsequent analyses, is that evaluation is scattered throughout the text[63]; it may take many forms and appear at any point, pervading the presentation of the propositional content. He systematized it in grammatical indicators that carry interpersonal meanings, identifying five modes of evaluation divided into internal and external to the story. The External one consists of side comments or remarks addressed to the listener to reveal how the speaker felt. These are not part of the narrative, but interruptions whereby the speaker suspends the sequence of events temporarily, in order to make an evaluative comment on the situation. The Internal evaluation is considerably more complex, since it appears entrenched in the structure of the narrative, comprising:

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[63] Although according to Toolan (2001) it's often clustered around the hinge or climatic point of the action, just before the resolving action or event.

1. Intensifiers (Paralinguistic resources which make the story more colourful, such as repetitions, dramatic sounds, gestures, but also linguistic resources such as exaggerations or figurative terms that enliven the narration);

2. Comparators (Contrast between what actually happened and what could have happened, realised via devices like negative forms, modal auxiliaries or future conditional sentences);

3. Correlatives (Different events presented as simultaneous or parallel in complex sentences);

4. Explicatives (The reasons for the actions, realised by means of subordinated clauses introduce by reason subordinators).

Labov struggled with the idea of aspects which were evaluative but did not have evaluative language in them, and in this way he ended up with the notion of comparatives as a type of evaluation. He introduced the hypothetical clause of comparison taking us away from the narrative itself. These notions were adapted later when trying to recognise implicit evaluations in the text (e.g. Hunston 1994, 2000), which somehow relate to the Appraisal invoked evaluation. Labov's scheme has been adapted and used as a springboard for the study of evaluation in news reports (Bell 1991; White 1998), although for these authors evaluation involves a wider range of meanings used to insert an interpersonal element in the story through personal comments.

3.5.2 Academic Discourse

Undoubtedly some text types foreground interpersonal meanings more than others; (e.g. stories, much of the press discourse, in particular op-eds), but one discourse type that does not seem to nurture meanings of this nature is the academic one (Tognini-Bonelli & Del Lungo 2005). This genre has been thoroughly researched in the context of EAP, and surprisingly, it

also has received considerable attention regarding evaluation, because although academic writing is normally considered to be descriptive and objective, Hunston (1994: 191) argues that it is a persuasive type of discourse "to persuade the academic community to accept their claims". The study of the interpersonal resources in academic texts has sought to work out the strategies used by researchers to present their findings, express conviction, mark solidarity with the readership, etc. so they are well received by the academic community; e.g. Myers (1989); Thompson & Ye (1991); Hunston (1993, 1994, 2000); Hyland (1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004); Thompson (2001); Mauranen & Bondi (2003) just to mention a few.

Hunston (1993) explored how evaluation in science texts ties in with ideology. She considered the indirect and implicit evaluative mechanisms by which objective science writing naturalises ideological view points, arguing that this is an essential feature of the academic research articles. For her, evaluation is "anything that indicates the writer's attitude to the value of an entity" (1993: 58) conveyed along the three parameters mentioned in 3.3.2: 'value', 'relevance' and 'status'. Drawing some aspects from the Labovian model, she shows the pervasiveness of evaluation in academic articles despite the absence of explicit attitudinal language, but through the use of subtler devices (2000, 2004). On the other hand, Hyland's work on 'metadiscourse' has focused on the expression of other interpersonal devices, looking at hedges and boosters as markers of negotiation of knowledge (1996, 1998, 2000), at the role of attribution to the construction of disciplinary knowledge (1999) and at other features as resources of evaluation which explicitly orient readers (2004).

The research of attitude in the area shows that academic discourse makes use of interpersonal devices as much as any other genre, though not plainly, but via more restrained strategies that make the writer's stance pass unnoticed. Although this discourse type is not related to the data

in this thesis, the point relates, to large extent, to what will be reviewed in chapters 5, 6 and 7, which look at modes of understated evaluation in the NOTEBOOK texts.

3.5.3 News Reports

The work on evaluation is relatively new and has largely concentrated "on mass audience texts, such as journalism and broadcast texts, which are likely to yield the richest crop of evaluative examples" (Hyland, 2004: 13). Much of the work in this field has been carried out in 'hard news reports', probably because the writers of these genres often have more freedom to position themselves interpersonally than in other contexts. In fact, writers always take stance toward their stories, but "even more so when reporting an event we are unrelated with" (Lemke, 1998: 33). Numerous scholars have explored news reports with a view to challenge their claims of neutrality, objectivity and impartiality (van Dijk 1985, 1988; Biber & Finegan 1989; Fowler 1991; Bell 1991; Iedema *et al*. 1994, White 1997, 1998, 2004, 2005/6). Research in this area has explored underlying aims and attitudes, especially concerning possible ways in which the media might mislead its readers (Fowler *et al.* 1979; Fowler, 1991). CDA has developed a whole current of thought on the ways in which language reflects explicit or implicit ideologies (e.g. van Dijk 1998; Fairclough 1995, 2001; Wodak *et al*. 2000; Blommaert & Bulcaen 1997). These scholars have associated a range of linguistic resources with attitudinal patterns that reveal this personal-ideological component of language. The argument of critical discourse analysts goes well beyond the purely linguistic phenomenon, including crucial social aspects, very much on the lines of ideology behind the text. Although its representatives claim their work is purely descriptive, their studies have an ideological agenda: to demonstrate the control exerted by the institutional and well-established elite, and show the under- and mis-representation of the voices of the minorities and the powerless.

Their argument for the prominence of certain groups relies heavily on their rate of inclusion and characterisation in texts. They view language as an instrument of power and seek to prove their point. Their studies "have a clear ideological starting-point and purpose" (Simon-Vandenbergen *et al.,* 2007: 32), which has raised strong criticism against CDA on the grounds that they set out to find something which they have already preconceived, rather than discovering it along the way (e.g. Widdowson 1996, 1998, 2004; Stubbs 1997; Garrett & Bell 1998; Hoey 2001; Simon-Vandenbergen, White & Aijmer 2007). Despite not adopting either the principles or aspects of the CDA tradition, its influence in the study of ideology in the media cannot be ignored.

The representatives of the Appraisal Theory (Iedema *et al*. 1994; White 1998, 2004, 2005; and with Martin, 2005: chapter 4) have also investigated indirect and implicit mechanisms by which the writers naturalise ideological view points and position their readers attitudinally in 'hard news' reports. The model provides a framework that demonstrates that news reports are not as 'neutral' and 'value free' as they claim, showing how reports "influence or position readers to take a negative or positive view of the people, events and states of affairs being depicted in the text" (White, 2004: chapter 3).

3.6   The Approach in this Thesis

The discussion shows that the essential principles underlying the models outlined above are common to all models; therefore in this thesis there is an 'evocation' of all of them in the analysis of evaluation in the NOTEBOOK texts. For these purposes, some elements of the Appraisal framework were adopted, especially the subsystem of ATTITUDE to address the subjectivity of the writer's judgements, and in particular, White's (1998) approach towards

the inscription and invocation of evaluation and ideology in the press. Although in this thesis the word 'evaluation' is predominantly used to refer to the verbal communication of attitude, some notions and terminology of the Appraisal Theory framework are also adopted, especially 'inscribed', 'evoked' and 'invoked' evaluation, which seem fitting for the approach taken in this piece of research.

The NOTEBOOK texts are unconventional news reports, characterised by overt signs of writer involvement and a clearly dialogical and provocative tone, therefore the claim of neutrality and impartiality of most news reports does not apply. In the following chapters I explore a number of linguistic resources to pass indirect judgement of the events or speakers recorded in the news story. Following White, I look at ways to naturalise certain views so that the reader is ideologically and attitudinally positioned towards the text. The main objective is not the description of blatant expressions of evaluation, since these are noticeable to any reader, but to detect more indirect strategies that enable writers pack their personal views in the text. At times, these expressions add to the overt expression of evaluation in a barely visible way, while in others, they just contribute to reinforce and spread the point underpinning the passage, which the writer does not make too obvious. The explicit expression of evaluation, nevertheless, is also taken into account; not only because it does deserve some attention, but simply because it cannot be ignored. The evaluative condition of many items is largely given by the context, especially when non evaluative items *per se* acquire attitudinal significance in the light of unequivocal signals of evaluation of the whole text.

A fundamental principle which informs this thesis regarding evaluation is that the apparently simple distinctions fact/opinion and subjectivity/objectivity are not particularly useful (see

Hunston 1989). As noted earlier, the writer's imprint of evaluation is not straightforward; the attitudinal value of a text does not result from a limited number of discrete resources at play, but is realised by a combination of means, of a very diverse nature, working at different linguistic levels. This introduces some difficulties in this basic principle:

a) The 'attitudinal' or 'subjective' element of the narration unfolds along the recount of 'factual' events. Therefore, these meanings cannot be seen as two separate constituents but as "intricately intertwined along a communication continuum, very much like a double helix" (Sarangi 2003: 166).

b) The amplitude of the semantic meaning covered by the notion of evaluation makes it very difficult to determine where to set the limits of evaluation and establish whether certain meanings are evaluative or not. (cf. Widdowson, 2004: chapter 1)

c) Many linguistic resources, which do not have interpersonal features, may 'gain' such condition in context. So, where should the limit of their evaluative value be established since it is 'that' particular context that assigns them an attitudinal role?

These less conspicuous expressions of evaluation may easily pass unnoticed; especially to readers whose native language is not English, which is my personal case and that of the students who were the motivation for this investigation. Despite the essential role they have in communicating evaluation, these subtler ways of conveying evaluation have received less attention than other forms, perhaps due to their unmanageability. They are difficult to detect, handle and systematise since they need the whole of the discourse context to be perceived as evaluative and be fully appreciated as such. The fact that I chose to work with short texts

facilitated this task, and in a way made this endeavour possible. The analysis in the next few chapters tackles these aspects of evaluation, which are neither clearly outlined nor documented in the literature, so I expect to make a modest contribution to the discussion.

Chapter 4 turns to a completely different area of research; the writer's inclusion of external voices in the text, on the grounds that this practice works as another manner of indirect discoursal evaluation.

4. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO ATTRIBUTION

4.1 Introduction

It was asserted earlier, that despite the brevity of the NOTEBOOK texts, a distinguishing trait was the profuse presence of external voices. They abound in quotes and paraphrases of newsmakers and sources which play an important part in the evaluative tone the author imprints in the passage; these quotes typically carry attitudinal values much stronger than those the writer can express in this discourse type. Chapter 7 explores the extent to which the inclusion of these stretches contributes to the writer's conveyance of his/her personal attitudinal position. The discussion relates the attributed material towards the writer's stance, surveying how it is used in context and how s/he engages in an evaluative activity. As a preface for the analysis of the evaluative attributions in chapter 7, this chapter reviews prior work on: attribution; its presentation in discourse; its structure; its function and relevance in different genres. By attribution, here is meant "any linguistic means used to indicate who is responsible for saying something" (Scollon, 1997: 377). In what follows is a brief description of the grammatical structure of speech presentation and a discussion of some of the rhetorical and textual functions it serves. I also present a selected array of models and proposals regarding the inclusion of external voices in the text.

4.1.1 Averral and Attribution

A good background framework for the discussion of speech presentation is Sinclair's (1986) 'averral' – 'attribution' distinction, which establishes the most basic division regarding the origin of the assertions included in a text. He sets the essential division between the authorial

and non authorial voices; while averral denotes a statement originating in the writer, an attribution signals someone else as the agent of the statement. To aver, for Sinclair, is "to assert that something is the case" (p. 44) and the averrer bears the responsibility for the truth of what is averred[64]. His (1986) paper deals with this dichotomy, but unfortunately he does not go into a detailed description of each type of statement, but mostly exposes the contrast they stand on.

Sinclair argues that through attribution the writer voices someone else's views, theories or beliefs placing the responsibility for these propositions on the averrer. This choice has enormous rhetorical implications, since when the writer chooses to present a proposition as attributed s/he detaches him/herself from the content and signals explicitly that it derives from a source. The skilled exploitation of the interplay between averral and attribution allows the writer to construct stance by transferring the role of the averrer. So, if a stretch is heavily evaluative, s/he can make convenient use of it "by quoting another writer or speaker" (Coulthard, 1994: 6) and delegating its accountability to someone else. In this way, although the writer plays a part in the act of evaluation, the responsibility for the proposition is shifted (Hunston, 2000: 178) to the source. However, this practice varies from genre to genre; an obvious exception of this model occurs in fiction as opposed to non-fiction where the writer is responsible for all the statements unless they are explicitly attributed to someone else.

Sinclair makes a more basic distinction between 'fact' and 'averral'; where the 'fact is a state of affairs in the real world' which does not require verbalization, while the averral is the verbal assertion of that fact. He notes the complex connection between them arguing that: "every averral is also a fact, namely the fact of averral, and that is different from the fact that

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[64] He illustrates the averral/fact correspondence with the much quoted example: "It is a fact that my left foot is slightly larger than my right foot. It is an averral when I say in a shoe shop 'My left foot is slightly larger than my right foot'" (1986:44).

is averred" (p. 44). Although Sinclair presents these categories as a yes/no paradigm, the problem is more complex than that, and the model has been developed further to show that this sharp division is not always the case. Hunston (2000) deals with this complexity and develops the point slightly beyond Sinclair. Echoing him, she argues that averrals and attributions may occur in the same utterances, since all attributions are embedded within averrals (Hunston, 2000: 179). However, both ways of crediting or assigning provenance of the locutions enter in conflict because she claims that every 'act of attribution is also an act of evaluation' (p. 178). She identifies subtle forms of attribution, such as those embedded within averrals and discriminates between sourced and non-sourced averrals[65]. The nuances of this distinction are seen as options available to the writer to mark his/her attitude towards the attribution and as signals of commitment to such propositions (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Stubbs 1996; Hunston 2000).

This model has allowed for interesting applications, such as Charles (2006, 2007), who has connected averral and attribution to stance in academic discourse, and Bednarek (2006a, 2006b), who has looked at this interplay in evaluation in the news. Bednarek introduces an intermediate point between these two positions: the 'based averral' which gives some sort of indication about the evidential basis of the writer's averral without attributing proposition; *the tests found that Mr Duncan Smith was wrong*. (p. 647). Despite some cases of indeterminacy, it may be said that the notions of averral and attribution still prove useful for the purposes of my work on speech presentation, which is very much focused on the interplay between voices.

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[65]While the non-sourced averrals give no indications about the sources, they provide some information about a source on which the writer's averral is based –for example via the use of evidentials (2000:181). She distinguishes three types of sourced averrals: emphasised, hidden averrals and averral without attribution. However, she points out that even in some cases 'there can be indeterminacy between the sourced and non-sourced averrals' (2000:192).

4.1.2   The Relevance of other Voices in the Text

When the writer includes an attributed proposition, it is because it is evaluated as somehow relevant to the communicative event, and this is already a first signal of stance. This implied relevance carries ideological implications, since the first instance of the narrator's subjectivity is "what s/he chooses to narrate, what s/he finds 'tellable or reportable'… as Goffman (1981) explains the meaning of the narrative is jointly constructed by the selective filtering actions of both speaker and listener" (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999: 32). Many authors (e.g. van Dijk 1988; Bell 1991; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995; White 1998; Scollon 1998; Teo 2000; Manning 2001) have noted that the selection and inclusion –and conversely exclusion– of certain voices or 'social actors' (van Leeuwen 1996) in the text is not accidental but indicates a particular ideological slant. The very act of selecting a source or a particular sub-section of his/her words carries evaluative and ultimately ideological consequences, so in the end, the journalist is responsible for what is said in the publication, even if uttered by someone else.

Attribution are seen as having important ideological and evaluative dimensions, since the writer will somehow, directly or indirectly, support or disregard the propositions as worth of consideration. This explains why so many studies have dealt with its selection and inclusion in the journalistic text. Another reason to study the role of external voices in the text is because, as addressees, we should always be aware of who is 'speaking' to us, "especially in those situations where one speaker, a reporter, is merely a channel of someone else's words" (Toolan, 1998: 117). Readers should be clear "to whom can this be attributed to" (Bednarek, 2006b: 638), which corresponds to the crucial concept of 'sourcing' in news discourse.

4.1.3   A Note on Terminology

The phenomenon of external voices in the text has received different names within different traditions. Thus, the studies of Attribution and Discourse Presentation (DP) relate to the same phenomenon but from different perspectives and with diverse foci. While 'Attribution' attends to the propositions and the voice from which they come, 'Discourse presentation' focuses on the discourse itself and how it is integrated into the surrounding context. I here adopt Semino & Short's (2004) 'Discourse Presentation' –also used by Toolan (1998: chapter 5) – which comprises speech, thought, and writing even though the latter is not included in his description.

Semino & Short use the form 'presentation' because they "are interested to see how the discourse of others is *presented*" (2004: 2) and they think it is 'helpfully neutral' for the discussion of speech, writing and thought presentation. In their view, the term 'report', used by many grammarians (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 1020-33; Huddleston & Pullum 2002) "suggests an unproblematic relationship between the DP and the anterior discourse" (2004: 2) to which we may never have access so as to contrast it with the printed record. They also discard the term '*re*presentation' because it has been adopted by Critical Discourse analysis with a particular outlook on the distortion and misrepresentations of the discourse of certain social groups. Fairclough (1992, 1995a, 1995b) coined the 'Representation of Discourse', a notion with a more sociological slant than other related terms, more concerned with modes of social control of certain voices, especially when quoting minorities represented discursively in journalistic narratives. This label is also used by his followers, who adopt a similar approach to the reproduction of anterior speech (e.g. Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Teo 2000). For stylistic reasons, and to avoid over repetition, at times I may use the term 'report' in its most generic sense, instead of 'present' to denote the same phenomenon – even when the issue of faithful

reproduction is at stake. In other models, the practice is also referred to as 'attribution' and when making reference to these models I also call it so.

Another terminological specification refers to the external voices quoted or paraphrased in the text. For stylistic reasons, to avoid over repetition, the informant or source of the attributed formulation will be generically called 'source', 'speaker', 'utterer' or 'agent'. No distinction is made between newsmakers or other authoritative sources[66] because, as Scollon explains (1997, 1998), the newsmakers are not necessarily sources and vice versa, but in the printed version of the text they share the feature of their agency of the attributed material. Direct 'sources' are those the reporter may have met, while the 'newsmakers' are those at the centre of the news story, e.g. politicians or prominent figures, whom the reporter is unlikely to have talked to. The material of these newsmakers is probably quoted after something said in press conferences or 'in the presence of' reporters.

4.2   The Structure of Discourse Presentation

4.2.1   Grammatical Descriptions

Several grammatical accounts of discourse presentation have been put forward, with emphasis on different aspects. Structurally, the inclusion of any mode of attributed material –speech, thought or writing– may be realized via numerous mechanisms, which have different semantic implications and result in different rhetorical effects (cf. Semino & Short, 2004). Factors such as the presentation of the antecedent discourse; the overall formulation; the verbs used; the

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[66] This distinction was introduced by Bell for whom news consists mostly of what someone says, either as witness to the facts or as news actor. "News is what an authoritative source tells a journalist" (1991: 191) But he distinguishes between things said *to* the journalist, and what has been said *in the presence* of journalists.

nature of the reporting or paraphrasing; etc. are all elements which add intricacy to the phenomenon.

Different grammatical approaches have described certain structural aspects, which have passed unnoticed or have been disregarded by others, so not every account deals with all the options equally. This has given rise to numerous grammatical models, which have contributed to the general picture of the phenomenon. The result is a variety of mismatching terms to refer to the phenomenon itself; to its constituents; the internal relations of the constituents; etc. These variations depend greatly on the perspective adopted and the formal and functional aspects stressed. Although the internal structure of discourse presentation is not the main concern for my work, below is a brief overview of some grammatical descriptions, namely: Quirk, *et al*. (1985); the COBUILD Grammar (1990); Biber, *et al*. (1999), Huddleston & Pullum (2002) and Halliday (1994).

The grammatical descriptions of language presentation have traditionally called this phenomenon 'Reported Speech' e.g. Quirk, *et al*. (1972 and 1985); the COBUILD English Grammar (1990); Huddleston & Pullum (2002) and especially in the fields of ELT (ESL/EFL) to establish the distinction between direct and indirect speech for pedagogical reasons. Any form of discourse presentation consists of the embedding of one stretch of text within another, which can be in direct and indirect forms, i.e. reproduced literally or paraphrased. Thus, almost all forms of discourse presentation consist of complex sentences made up of two clauses; traditionally called the 'reporting clause' – the frame containing a reporting verb – and the 'reported clause' –the propositional content of the original statement.

Quirk, *et al.* (1985: 1020-1033) pay almost exclusive attention to clauses of indirect speech. Much of their account goes to the grammatical changes that the original utterance undergoes when reported in a *that*- clause. e.g. (i) tense form of the verb; (ii) time references; (iii) place references; (iv) personal pronouns; (v) demonstratives, for declarative sentences, but also all the grammatical changes that other type of utterances undergo (pp. 1028-ff). Like many other grammars they provide a list of the reporting verbs most commonly used.

The Cobuild Grammar (1990), a corpus based account, offers a detailed explanation that marks the difference between 'reporting' and 'quoting' whose structures are summarised in the table below.

Report Structure	
Reporting clause. (Main clause, Containing the reporting verb)	**Reported Clause** (usually introduced by 'that', 'to', 'if')

Quote Structure	
Reporting clause. (Main clause, Containing the reporting verb)	**Quote Clause.**

Table 4.1 The COBUILD English Grammar model of reported speech.

These tables show an over-simplification of the structure, since they ignore a number of variations, unaccounted for in the diagrams. Yet, the model does account for deviating cases, such as forms of Free Direct speech, the reporting of intentions, questions, commands, requests, advice, etc. Although the description is chiefly grammatical, the authors also attend to considerations regarding their usage, noting for example, that quote structures are mainly used in writing, while the reported ones are more frequent in conversation (p. 315-17). In addition, the authors offer thorough lists of reporting verbs separated by semantic domains

(verbs reporting speech, of thinking and knowing, of learning and perceiving), performative verbs, verbs indicating the manners of saying or speaking, etc.

The LGSWE grammar (1999) is a corpus based study as well, but Biber *et al.* adopt a rather different perspective and provide quantitative information across registers. The authors hardly deal with speech presentation as such, but look at the different clauses of the complex sentence separately. So much so, that they look at the 'reporting' clauses and the 'reported clause' (but never called so) separately, in different chapters. The reporting clause is discussed in chapter 3, as one among the Finite Dependent Clauses, despite regarding it "in the borderline between dependent and independent clauses" (p. 921). This clause has a 'controlling' verb that introduces the direct report often specifying the speaker or thinker, sometimes the addressee, the type of act, and frequently also the mode of the act (p. 196). In contrast, the clauses introducing indirect speech, referred to as *that- complement* clauses –or complementizers– are dealt with in chapter 9. They examine the reporting clauses among other uses of the *that–* clause, which they regard as an mark of epistemic stance, (and in some cases attitudinal and style stance). These are commonly used to report people's speech, thought, attitudes and emotions, and are controlled by verbs or by adjectival predicates, *she was worried that* (p. 222). Their approach brings together the grammatical structure with the functions of reporting, offering a contrastive view of the verbs most frequently used in the four registers they compare. They note that reporting is most common in fiction and news, although it also occurs frequently in conversation, but with important structural and functional differences in its use.

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1023-ff) use 'Reported Speech' to refer not only to the reporting of spoken and written texts but also of unspoken thoughts. As opposed to other grammars,

they discuss the grammatical relation between clauses, which they call 'Reporting Frame' and 'Reported Speech' clause. Their analysis focuses, not so much on the structure of each of the clauses, but on the embeddedness factor of one clause within another, more specifically on the embeddedness (or non embeddedness) of the reporting frame in the whole sentence[67] –an aspect overlooked in other grammars. The embedded clauses are part of the reporting complex, as in *She said that she lived alone,* while the non embedded ones –which they call 'parenthetical'[68] – are not part of the clause, e.g. *She lived alone, she said.* In the former "the reported speech is syntactically subordinated in the form of a content clause functioning as complement of the reporting verb *say*"... whereas in the latter, the reported clause does not function syntactically as complement of *say*, and is not embedded. The reporting frames (*she said*, *did she say?*) "do not belong in the matrix clause, but have the status of a parenthetical, a kind of supplement" (2002: 1024). Like other descriptions, they also offer some framing verbs typically used in reporting.

Halliday (1994) offers a considerably different approach within the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) tradition. He discusses instances of reported speech when discussing the logico-semantic relations between clauses in a clause nexus (p. 219). For him, clauses may hold many types of relations, but all classifications are based on two fundamental relationships: Expansion and Projection[69]. In his view, the connection between clauses in reported speech – the same as in all other cases of complement clauses introduced with *that* – are a form of 'projection', in which the secondary clause is projected through the primary one

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[67] Caldas-Coulthard (1994:303) also talks about different levels of embeddedness, which she refers to as multilayering. She argues that several levels of embeddeddness are possible due to the property of recursivenesss of the language which allows numerous levels of subordination.

[68] By parentheticals they mean "expressions which can be appended parenthetically to an anchor clause but which also have a non–parenthetical use in which they take a declarative content clause as complement – expressions like: *I think, don't you think?*" e.g. the parenthetical use would be *It is quite safe, I think;* while the non parenthetical use would be *I think it is quite safe.* (2002: 895).

[69] He defines these two chief relationships between clauses as follows. In the Expansion clauses the secondary clause expands the primary one by a) elaborating, b) extending or c) enhancing it. While in the Projecting clauses the secondary clause is projected through the primary which instates it as a) a locution, or b) an idea (1994:219).

as a locution or an idea. The 'projection' and 'projected' clauses belong to two different classes of utterance; while the *projection* (e.g. *she said*) is the process by which a clause represents what is being said in the utterance, the reported clause is *projected* (*that is ridiculous*) being an uttered text, rather than as an utterance in itself. He identifies the direct quote as the simplest form of projection and also distinguishes between the reporting of propositions (statements and questions) and the reporting of proposals (commands and offers), typically realized by *to*-infinitive clauses.

Despite the authority of the approaches described above and the strength of their frameworks, I am not adopting any of their grammatical perspectives in my analysis, since my main concern here is not in the internal structure of this resource, but in the discursive functions attributions serve in the text.

4.2.2   Reporting Verbs

One's words may be presented in different ways depending on the writer's intentions, desired emphasis, ideology, etc; this will necessarily place the source in different standings (cf. van Leeuwen 1996; Scollon 1997, 1998) and position readers in a particular attitude towards the attributed material. Therefore, an important part of the work on discourse presentation has attended to the reporting verbs the writer chooses as indicators of his/her stance towards the sources and/or their discourse. It has been argued in the literature (Leech[70] 1983; Bell 1991; Thompson & Ye 1991; Caldas-Coulthard 1993, 1994, Iedema et al. 1994; Hyland 1999; Hunston 1993, 2000; White 1998, 2003b, 2004, 2005/6; Lombardo 2004) that the reporting verb used in the reproduction of the interaction is an important rhetorical feature through

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[70] Leech distinguishes between 'factive' verbs such as *show, prove, point out* which imply reader /writer agreement and 'non-factive' like *argue* and *claim* which make no presupposition about truth value.

which the writer reclaims responsibility of the attributed statement, or discloses his/her commitment with or detachment from the content conveyed in the original formulations. So, while *say* is apparently neutral across genres, other reporting verbs may subtly signal positive, negative or neutral attitude, agreement or criticism, certainty or doubt etc. towards the value position presented. In academic discourse "writers may reclaim responsibility with verbs that signal agreement: *prove, point out, show*" (Hunston, 2000: 191) and other mechanisms of the kind. Likewise, for White, *reveal, demonstrate, show, indicate* convey 'authorial endorsement', while *claim* and *allege* mark 'authorial distancing' (1998, 2006) and "*point out* indicates the reporter accepts what the other person said as true, *claim* suggests scepticism" (Thompson, 2004: 215). Despite the dissimilar aspects highlighted by the different descriptions, by and large, they all agree on the same basic points.

Other descriptions have noted reporting verbs which go considerably beyond those of 'saying', identifying the speech acts uttered e.g. *request, swear*; the manner the utterance was performed, e.g. *grumble, whisper* (Fairclough 1992, 1995a 1995b, Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Thompson 1996; Scollon 1998) and even verbs indicating the phases of speaking e.g. *she started, continued, concluded* (Biber *et al.* 1999). These lists also include mental and perception verbs for the presentation of thought, which is always treated together with speech despite its logical difference. Detailed taxonomies of verbs of saying have been supplied by the grammars mentioned above, plus other lists provided by more functional descriptions, such as Semino & Short (2004) for verbs in different genres, while Bell (1991); Caldas-Coulthard (1993, 1994) and Waugh (1995) of verbs regularly used in news reports. Yet, the choice of reporting verb differs greatly from discourse to discourse.

However, it is not through verbs only that the reported clause is introduced but also nouns – especially nominalised verbs– prepositional phrases and adjuncts, may do so too. Thompson (1996) approaches language reports from a functional angle rather than a grammatical one. From this discoursal perspective, he considers a much wider array of devices, other than reporting verbs. He introduces the notion of 'reporting signal' for "the way in which the present reporter indicates that this is a language report" (p. 507), which can be indicated by the logical relationship between the signal and the message or the nature and position of the signal itself. The former is realized through structural dependencies, while the latter by fitting the attribution within the surrounding text without really subordinating the reported clause to the reporting one.

The analysis in chapter 7 takes little notice of the kind of verb used to introduce the attribution, but rather focuses on the dialogue that emerges between the writer and the reported quotes. However, the choice of a reporting verb does not go ignored, since it is a key indicator of the writer's attitude towards the attributed material. The attention now turns to the semantics of discourse presentation and its function in the text.

4.3   The Function of Discourse Presentation in the Text

The concern with the presentation of the different voices in the text came to the attention of linguists via the channel of literature. The description of discourse presentation originated in literary studies exploring the way the 'words' of the characters were presented in fiction (Page 1973; Genette 1980). Nowadays, this is a well established sub-area of discourse analysis, adopted for the analysis of any text type in which external voices come into the discourse.

Many functions have been attributed to the inclusion of attributed material. Stubbs (1986/96) for example, explored the writer's commitment with or detachment from the attributed propositions[71] in various social contexts/genres, such as the court room; school textbooks; scientific and news discourses. The novelty of his claim was that he regarded attribution as a form of modality.

Any manner of attribution, in any discourse type, always entails a form of discourse presentation, which plays basically two major roles in the text; a) to provide new information, often complementing or adding to the picture described by the writer, and b) to comment on the events, participants, circumstances, etc. of the story. Both functions are not mutually exclusive, but on the contrary, tend to overlap even though they may primarily serve one of these functions. However, the function in the text depends on the end the discourse pursues. For example, the purpose of paraphrasing or quoting words literally in news reports differs greatly from the purpose it has in academic texts. In fiction the writer need not mark commitment, disagreement or the like with the characters, while in academic discourse there is no need for FIS or thought presentation. What matters in one genre does not matter in another; consequently different analytical models have developed frames fitting for the particular needs of each genre. Thompson (1996: 503-4) identifies three areas of discourse which have drawn especial attention from linguists regarding discourse presentation: (a) fiction, (b) academic writing, and (c) the discourse of the press. The motivation for these explorations has been diverse, since the presence of external voices has disparate significations and implications in each genre. Some perspectives of these fields of discourse are briefly presented below.

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[71] He puts forward several ways of expressing attitude and that it is possible to indicate degrees of such attitude. He proposes a model which comprises ways of expressing this commitment or detachment at three different linguistic levels: (1) to propositions, (2) to illocutionary forces, and (3) to individual lexical items. (1986: 4).

4.3.1 Discourse Presentation in Narrative

➢ **Leech & Short (1981)**

Leech & Short's study of (1981: chapter 10) was the first systematic attempt to differentiate between modes of 'Speech and Thought Presentation'. Their model was developed for stylistic purposes, in order to distinguish the way the characters' speech was presented in the novel. Their work has been deeply influential, and the model has been applied –wholly or partially– to almost every subsequent study in the field. This influence is attributable to the fact that the framework sets out sound categories based "on explicit linguistic criteria" (Simpson, 1993: 21) what has enabled its application not only to literary texts but to other forms of language use as well, such as broadcast and print media. The model with all its basic categories is still in use, although it has evolved into the Semino & Short (2004) 'Presentation of ST&W' [speech, thought and writing] – at times summarised as 'Discourse presentation' when referring to the three modes altogether[72]. One of their greatest contributions was the feature of 'narratorial intervention' concerning the level of narrator's control over the character's 'original' utterance. Their framework consists of ten parallel categories, which represent the writer's range of options for presenting the character's speech. The authors view them as stylistic values that vary in degrees of point of view, tone and distance (1981: 286):

Speech	Thought
Narrative Report of Speech Act (NRSA)	Narrative Report of Through Act (NRTA)
Indirect Speech (IS)	Indirect Thought (IT)
Free Indirect Speech (FIS)	Free Indirect Thought (FIT)
Direct Speech (DS)	Direct Thought (DT)
Free Direct Speech (FDS)	Free Direct Thought (FDT)

Table 4.2 Leech & Short (1981) categories.

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[72] They try to avoid the use this term since 'although there are commonalities between speech, writing and thought pres, there are also important differences, which are unhelpfully hidden in the general term discourse presentation" (2004:2)

For Leech & Short these categories stand along a cline which ranges from the greatest to the least narratorial interference in the character's words or thoughts. They suggest that while DS is the norm in the presentation of speech, the norm for the presentation of thought, which is only internal, is the indirect form.

Speech presentation	NRSA	IS	FIS	DS (norm)	FDS
Thought presentation	NRTA	IT (norm)	FIT	DT	FDT

Table 4.3 Leech & Short (1981: 344) cline of narratorial intervention

Another interesting contribution was the category of NRSA/TA, which represents the most minimal propositional form and the most mediated reproduction of the original words, in which the narrator takes absolute control of the reported message. It is the point where speech presentation and narration overlap[73]. The interference or the 'narrator's control' is presented in the diagram below, which illustrates how the categories of speech presentation stand along a scale of presentation choices.
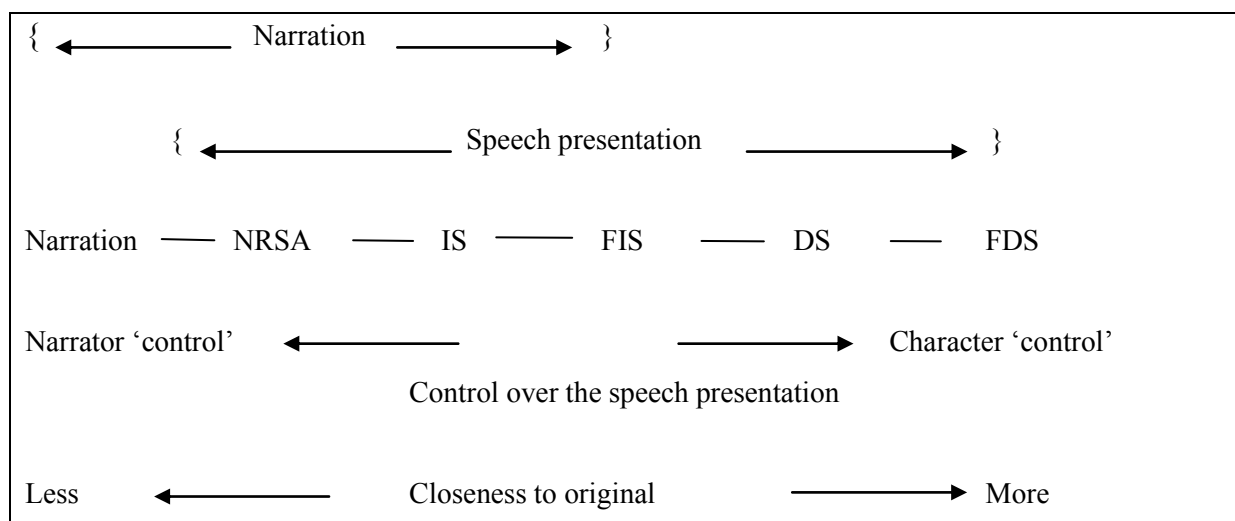
Diagram 4.1 Short (1994: 185) Based on Leech & Short (1981).

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[73] Short (1994: 184) argues that strictly speaking NRSA is not a DP category since it is narrative and often makes no reference to the topic. *He promised to return*. It occurs in a single clause, "with the 'speech report' verb followed by a noun phrase indicating the topic of the speech presented" (Semino & Short 2004: 11)

Short (1994: 185-6) explains that the narrator's choices in the table slide from the NRSA end, where the narrator is in full control over the character's speech to the FDS end, where apparently there is no authorial intervention, but the character seems to be speaking by him/herself. So while the left-hand side corresponds to the presentation of discourse with minimal faithfulness to the claims (no propositional content, words and structures used), the right-hand extreme represents the character's complete control of his/her words, with no apparent narrator involvement at all.

Leech & Short's paradigm has eventually undergone some modifications to make it suitable for different types of texts and has proved flexible enough to be applied to texts other than fiction. Its application has been varied: Caldas-Coulthard (1987) looks at the way narrators pass the turn to different characters in narrative and (1994) compares representation of speech in 'factual' and fictional narration; Fludernik (1993) looks only at FID in the novel[74]; Short explores DP in the press (1988) in plays and poems (1996), and relates it to 'point of view' (1994)[75]; Waugh (1995) analyses and compares the presence and function of DS and IS in a corpus of news papers[76]. The model has also been discussed theoretically by Simpson (1993: 21-30) regarding ideological and psychological point of view in the novel, and by Toolan (2001: 136-40) concerning the stylistics of the narrative text.

Naturally, literary and news narrative differ ontologically, although some scholars view news reports as a type of narrative; in fact Bell (1991) even refers to them as 'stories'. The crucial difference between both discourse types lies in the difference of status concerning reality; that

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[74] Fludernik defines Free Indirect Discourse according to her own definition; as that which "preserves the same expressive elements of the direct discourse as well as its syntactic independence, but shares with the indirect one the temporal and referential consonance with quotation instance" (1993:74).

[75] The (1988, 1994) version of the model was slightly modified from the original. It included 'transitional' tags absent from the (1981) version and which have not survived in the current (2004) framework. (e.g. Speech Summary).

[76] She proposes lists of verbs for the reporting clause used in news reports. Even though her work is interesting and informative, it is not free of criticism (cf. Semino & Short 2004:16).

is the existence or non-existence of a previous speech event which gets reported and recorded. In fiction there is no room for the writer's interference in the words 'uttered' by the characters. In non fictional texts, on the other hand, the writer holds the control to handle other people's words, granting him/her power over the fidelity of the reproduction of the content and the manner of the words actually uttered. This makes the function of the reproduction of speech essentially different in fiction, where there is no 'anterior speech event' at stake. Accordingly, the speech presented cannot be treated the same in both cases.

➤ Semino & Short (2004)

Theirs is the latest stage of evolution of the (1981) model. In a corpus-based study, they apply the model to three different types of narrative texts: fiction, press, and autobiographies. The model has been upgraded to the point that no instance of discourse presentation is not accounted for. This meant an important number of additions and modifications[77] to the previous versions; in particular the inclusion of a separate writing presentation scale (W) with the same categories for speech and thought. The authors also added new subcategories of variants to the existing three scales, which resulted in a more detailed presentational cline. Some other major contributions were the inclusion of subcategories for specific phenomena which had not been accounted for before; i.e. the tags 'p' for topic; 'q' for quotations; 'h' for hypothetical; 'i' for inferred (in the case of thought) and 'e' for instances embedded within another stretch of speech, writing or thought presentation. They also added a 'portmanteau category' for ambiguous instances in which the researcher is not sure of the manner the utterance was performed. These additions and other modifications, plus new categories, have made the model considerably more complex than the initial one, but also more accurate and fitting for the analysis of any type of DP in discourse.

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[77] Following Short (1988) they remove the DS and FDS distinction, and simply adopt (F)DS to refer to the overall phenomena tagged either as DS or FDS (p.88-9) (see Discussion in section 7.4.2.).

4.3.2 Discourse Presentation in Academic Writing

The concern with quoting in the academic discourse responds to the needs and purposes of this discourse type, in which one of the most important roles of the academic writer is to report prior research and relate it to his/her work (Hyland, 1999: 341-2). The investigation of this practice in this genre has identified a good number of structures in the citation of other researchers' works (e.g. Swales 1990, Thompson & Ye 1991, Shaw 1992, Tadros 1993, Hunston 1993; Hyland 1999). Formally, the quotes almost always come from well documented written sources and their citation is highly specialized in each area and regulated by strict conventions which differ from one discipline to another. The original utterance may be reproduced literally or paraphrased, depending on their purpose in the text, but according to such conventions.

Functionally, the reference to previous research relates to the writer's commitment with the authorized sources which are used to reinforce the point the writer wants to make. Citation is central to the persuasive function of an academic publication, "as it can both provide justification for arguments and demonstrate the novelty of one's position" (Hyland, 1999: 342). Such material is included to show awareness of related work, to evaluate it and to a large extent to justify one's own work. These references either criticise or support other researchers' work, always with a view to show the merits or usefulness of what is being put forward. Tadros (1993) and Hunston (1993, 2000) discuss the role of attribution in academic papers and argue that writers are not impartial in front of the attributed material, but via subtle strategies they may show degrees of commitment with/ detachment from the material presented.

Citation is a key constituent of EAP (English for Academic Purposes) and academic writing courses – especially for non native speakers of English. Thus some scholars have explored the subject for pedagogical reasons. Thompson & Ye (1991) and Thompson & Tribble (2001) have identified the kind of reporting verbs used in academic papers and other conventions concerning the reference and acknowledging related works, with a view to teaching this skill to writers unfamiliar with the citation conventions.

4.3.3   Discourse Presentation in News Reports

The inclusion of external voices is of crucial interest in the analysis of journalistic discourse, and especially for the study of news reports, since these rely heavily on information provided by sources. Much of the content of news stories is recounts of what others have said, which merge with the writer's discourse, sometimes into mixed statements; so much so that at times it is difficult to tell apart what comes from the sources and what is the writer's view. The role of 'reporting' has been at the centre of the linguistic analysis of journalistic discourse (e.g. Slembrouck 1986, Short 1988, van Dijk 1988, Fairclough 1992; Iedema *et al*. 1994; Waugh 1995; Scollon 1998; Delin 2000; White 1998, 2004, 2005/6), since, as White puts it, quotations in news reports "introduce into the text all manners of accusations, criticisms, demands and contentious claims on the part of the experts, politicians, community leaders, interested parties, eye-witnesses, victims and so on" (2006: 57).

Bell (1991) deals with the external voices in the news report at length. As a journalist himself, he approaches the news discourse very much from the angle of the press; therefore his account is not as detailed linguistically as other descriptions. He assigns a central role to the 'reporting', noting that "most of the information journalists use is second-hand" (p. 52). For

him, news consists almost entirely of what someone has said, either as witness to the facts or as news actor; thus he defines news as "what an authoritative source tells a journalist" (1991: 191); the more elite the source, the more newsworthy the story. This point is shared by van Dijk, for whom not all sources are equally credible; "Elite sources are not only considered more newsworthy (as news actors) but also as more reliable as observers and opinion formulators" (1988, 87). This social hierarchy of sources is based on degrees of credibility and reliability. Bell views news as 'embedded talk', thereby the notion of embedding is key to understanding the language of news discourse. He observes that within the context of the journalistic discourse, a large proportion of what journalists report is not action but what he calls "talk about talk" (1991:60) such as announcements, opinions, reactions, appeals, promises, criticisms, etc. However, he does not provide a detailed description of the nature of these texts, making it difficult to know exactly when the label 'talk about talk' is applicable to a text.

4.4   DS and IS in News Reports

The Leech & Short and Semino & Short models have proved a fitting tool to analyse the incidence of the writer's intervention in speech presentation in the news, where s/he plays "a key role in the manipulation of point of view" (Short, 1994: 185). The model has shown that DS and IS are the most common choices, and although both constitute acts of attribution, they involve different degrees of author's interference. The motivation for the choice of 'quoting' or 'reporting' may be partly stylistic, rhetorical and, as discussed below, largely ideological.

4.4.1   Direct Speech

Direct quotes are often marked by inverted commas, especially when the utterances have clearly evaluative and ideological implications. The function of direct "quotes (not 'quotations', in news terminology" (Bell, 1991: 209)) has been analysed chiefly from a rhetorical perspective. One of the rhetorical functions ascribed to DS attributions in the media discourse is that they assign greater 'objectivity' and 'credibility' to the report; "to legitimize what is reported... therefore to implicate reliability" (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 303).

van Dijk's (1988) and Bell's (1991) descriptions of their functions of the quotes in DS are surprisingly matching: (a) Impartiality: for Bell, quotes are regarded as 'agents of credibility' which are valued as "particularly incontrovertible facts because they come from the original agent" (p. 207); while for van Dijk "quotations are closer to the truth and more reliable than event descriptions by the reporter" (p. 87). (b) Detachment: the newsmakers 'literal words' work to "distance, disown and absolve the journalist and/or news outlet from endorsement of the source words" (Bell, p. 208) and "establish a distance between the newspaper and the person or opinions quoted... and are the reporter's protection against slander or libel" (van Dijk, p. 87). Finally (c) Style: they "make the news report livelier... conveying both the human and the dramatic dimension of the news event" (van Dijk, p. 87) and "add the flavour of the newsmaker's own words... so they are supposed to be brief, pithy, colourful to add something which a version in reported speech would not" (Bell, p. 209), or as Caldas-Coulthard puts it, to "dramatize the narrative, legitimise or evaluate the story" (1994: 304). As for the presence of direct quotation in the structure of the text, most scholars (Van Dijk 1988; Bell 1991; Scollon 1998) have proved that it often comes from the middle towards the end of the story where it can be seen to be less crucial to the structure of the news narrative.

4.4.2   Indirect Speech

Despite the crucial role of literal quotes in news stories, Bell argues they are not the rule, but the exception. The journalists' most common practice is to turn what their agents say into indirect speech. This strategy "puts the journalist in control of focusing the story...combining information and wordings from scattered parts of an interview" (1991: 209). IS marks "the explicit interference of the reporter in the report" (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 304) where the narrator absorbs the secondary discourse, which she interprets as the writer being in complete control of the character's supposed talk. From Scollon's (1998) perspective "the indirect quotations keep the authorship in the hands of the reporter and only principalship is handed out carefully crafted and evaluated to the newsmaker" (1998: 233). Although direct quotes are not free from misuse and manipulation, the indirect mode is certainly more mediated, since here the reporter/writer controls the selection and ordering of the attributed material.

The division between DS, IS –and even NRSA– is not always sharp in practice. At times it is explicitly stated, but there are numerous ambiguous instances where the transition between the voices is indistinct, and it is uncertain who is speaking and exactly what is attributed and what is averred since both voices merge without indication of where the quoting begins and finishes.[78] For example:

(4.1)   *They are outraged that President George W. Bush endorsed Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's plan to keep parts of the occupied West Bank forever and told Palestinian refugees from what is now Israel that they should expect never to return there.*   (02a)

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[78] Scollon (1998), in his studies of discourse presentation in the press, deals with the issue of ambiguous instances and creates special categories for these indefinite cases, which he claims are more than often thought. He identifies four kinds of voicing: (a) the direct voice of the reporter; (b) the direct quotation of the sources; (c) the indirect quotations of the sources and (d) ambiguously voiced sections (p. 228-ff). Semino & Short (2004) also tackle ambiguity, by providing categories and additional marking to deal with cases of this nature.

These combined forms often occur in cases where the journalists round up the main idea of the anterior speech in NRSA but quoting parts in DS. As in:

(4.2) *President Pervez Musharraf responded with a call to oppose "anyone trying to incite hatred".* (55a)

This ambiguity ties up with the problem of fidelity of the reporting below.

4.5   The Ideological Dimension of Attribution in the News

4.5.1   Critical Discourse Analysis

The greatest bulk of work on external voices in the news has been carried out by representatives of Critical Linguistics (e.g. Fowler 1991, 1986/96) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (e.g. van Dijk 1985, 1988, 1993, 1998; Fairclough 1992a, 1995a, 1995b). They have looked at the issue of reporting in the media attending to a different dimension, and generating a whole new line of thought, which offers a more socio-cultural analysis of the phenomenon. Their interest lies on the way the discourse of different social groups gets represented. From this ideological approach, critical discourse analysts attempt to discern to what extent linguistic features reveal the author's attitude towards the content of the news, and how s/he manages to convey his/her personal view indirectly throughout the text.

These linguists have a fairly different standpoint towards attribution from the mere linguistic or journalistic one. Their motivation is chiefly ideological; they aim at linking concrete textual features to certain types of discursive practices in order to show how the voices of

specific groups of society are manipulated by the media. They attend to aspects such as the way the first hand information is presented; how faithfully it is reported; the use to which it is put; to whom it is attributed; the agents who are given a voice; etc. Thompson (1996: 505) explains that this involves "an investigation of the way the reported message is expressed – how and why reports may differ from the original, of the source – whether or not the report is attributed to a specific source (and why), and of the reporter's attitude (often conveyed indirectly rather than explicitly stated) towards what is reported".

Work in this area may be traced back to van Dijk's (1985, 1988, 1991) 'news schema' for analysing news reports, which comprises a category of 'Verbal Reaction'[79]. He addresses the presence of different voices of society in the media, stressing that through the manipulation of the information, the voices of the minorities get underrepresented. Along the same lines, van Dijk (1991, 1992, 1996) and Teo (2000) have investigated power and racism in the press; to what extent the voices of the 'powerless' get underrepresented as opposed to the 'powerful' and 'influential'. They see both direct and indirect quotation patterns as powerful ideological tools to manipulate the readers' perception and interpretation of people and events in news reports. Teo explains they betray a distinctly ideological purpose, since they are used to maintain social control of the powerful over those who are marginalised:

> "By giving voice to certain selected people, quotations patterns serve to enhance the status and importance of those who are quoted. In contrast, those marginalised out of power are typically 'devoiced' and denied access to this news-making process, becoming the subjects of what others talk about, but seldom having the opportunity or power to refute or confirm what others say of them" (2000: 395).

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[79] Verbal reaction is a special News Schema Category, which allows journalists to formulate opinions based on what agents have stated. However, the selection of speakers and quotes is not objective. (1988: 55-6).

This theory has influenced –and been enriched by– more recent followers of the school of CDA. Fairclough (1992a, 1995a, 1995b) relates language representation in discourse to social structures with particular attention to the media. His notion of 'Discourse Representation' refers to the practice of '*re*-presenting' the discourse of other voices in the text[80], which is never mere reproduction –not even in the case of DS– since the writer chooses what to include (or exclude), in what order and within what context; thus positioning the participants in the writer's desired way. Similarly, looking at the degrees of author's interference in 'quoting' and 'reporting', Caldas-Coulthard (1994) judges such choices as ideological tools, with which writers can reproduce what is ideologically most convenient for them. For her, no speech representation is objective, as the quoted material is mediated and reinterpreted along the editorial process.

I now turn to two alternative approaches, which provide some insights and set the guidelines for the analysis in chapter seven "Evaluation through the sources".

4.5.2   The Appraisal Theory

The Appraisal model addresses the inclusion of attributed material within the system of ENGAGEMENT. Martin (1997, 2000), White (1998, 2004, 2005) view it as a resource of heteroglossy, that is to say a sign of intertextual positioning –more specifically as a signal of extra-vocalisation– to expand the writer's voice and acknowledge heteroglossic diversity (White 1998, 2003b).

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[80] He chooses to use the expression discourse representation rather than 'speech presentation or reporting', because according to him rather than a transparent 'report' of what was said or written, there is always a decision to interpret and represent in one way or another. (1995: p.54)

An important part of their model pertains to the 'attributional framing devices' of the sourced formulations. These include not only reporting verbs but also other devices used to express commitment or detachment and/or to indicate explicitly positive or negative assessments towards the reported material. The authors classify the signals of attitude into three main strategies that mark attitude towards the speaker's position: Endorse, Acknowledge and Distance. White (1998, 2003b, 2004, 2005/6, 2007) attends to the treatment of 'attribution and evaluative positioning', looking at the means of attribution typically used by journalists in news reports to dissociate themselves from evaluative meanings. He argues that "there is a range of mechanisms by which the authors can indirectly indicate alignment with or disalignment from the 'externalised' value position, and by which the readers may be positioned to regard that position as more or less warrantable" (White, 2006: 41). His work is inspired on the assumption that "journalists should not be seen as implicated in, or as seeking to advance any such 'attributed' value judgements" (2004b:1); a principle which does not seem to govern the media discourse. Concerning the writer's attitudes toward attributed materials, White argues that when paraphrasing the original utterances, the writer filters and reinterprets them according to his/her own views, which somehow reflects his/her alignment or lack of it with the positions presented.

In the Appraisal representatives' view, the framing of the attributions reveal the writer's interpersonal standing towards the speaker's utterances, and this indirectly positions the reader on the writer's side. The analysis of instances such as (4.3) then, would attend to the framing of the reported clause with the verb 'grumble' with which the writer judges the speaker and signals disalignment with his utterance:

(4.3) ***"Long term, it will cause turmoil in the car market,"*** <u>*grumbles*</u> *Poznan-based car*

salesman Jacek Pietrzyk. (23b)

My study follows the appraisal model in its concern for the writer's evaluation of the attributed material, but relates to the framing of quotes or paraphrases only tangentially. The appraisal analysis of attributions is mostly circumscribed to the sentence, looking at the verbal choices, while the attention of my work is on the interplay of the authorial and the external voices. The unit observed occurs across sentences, or may stretch along longer stretches of discourse, aspects Martin and White do not mention in their work.

4.5.3   Scollon's Mediated Discourse

Scollon (1997, 1998) also deals with the writer's evaluation through the attributed material, but offers an entirely different perspective, addressing the subject from Mediated Discourse perspective[81], more concerned with the communications in the media, than with grammatical or linguistic factors. His tackling of attribution relates to, but goes well beyond, the CDA interpretation of reported voices. The essence of his approach and methodology relates quite closely to my investigation, hence his work has offered me great insight.

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[81] "Mediated discourse (MD) analysis is a framework for looking at social actions with 2 questions in mind. What is the action going on here? and how does discourse figure into these actions? ... MD seeks to develop a theoretical remedy for discourse analysis which operates without reference to social actions on the one hand, and social analysis that operates without reference to discourse on the other... MD analysis takes the position that social action and discourse are inextricably linked on the one hand (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) but on the other hand these links are not always direct and obvious" (Scollon, 2001:1). The term is understood in three ways: 'discourse of the Media', 'computer-based discourse' and "any other form of mediation involved in common, everyday discourses' (letters, notes, memos, technical media - microphones, telephones) and modes of communication such as speaking/writing and sign language". (Scollon, 1998: 5-6)

He compares the practice and function of attribution[82] in English and Chinese newspapers and Television in Hong Kong, showing that even though newsmakers are given a voice in the news story, the way their voices are represented in the text is not neutral. The 'prominence' or 'marginalization' they are given depends largely on who they are, and by means of linguistic and editorial mechanisms they are highly manipulated and subjected to social control. His proposal focuses on the control reporters hold over the attributed material and the handing over of the responsibility for the comments to the agents. He argues that the reporter retains the 'authorship' (the right to find the wording for the ideas) but delegates the 'principalship' (the responsibility for what is said by the agents) –terms adopted from Goffman (1981)[83] – and by this delegation, the reporter stands aside from the argument. A crucial point he highlights is the significant difference in the way the voices of the reporters and newsmakers enter discourse, wherein reporters are delegated the right to speak/ write, while "the newsmakers are evaluated and characterised in the process of giving them a voice" (1998: 217). He explains that even though the newsmaker is given a right to speak in the story, "their turn at the floor is restricted to the merest statements" (1998: 224) and that voice is not given neutrally, the journalist keeps the power to characterise the evaluative stance of those ideas. They are delegated the principalship, i.e. the responsibility for what is said, but never the authorship: He summarises his views thus:

"Newsmakers are constructed with only a limited voice as delegated by the reporter and no authorship rights. On the other hand they are usually handed full responsibility or principalship for the words crafted by the journalists as their own". (1998: ix)

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[82]The notion of attribution in Scollon's view is much wider than Sinclair's and works at different levels. He applies this notion to instances that range from the attribution of the whole article to agencies and particular journalists, as well as the attribution of quotes or partial quotes to newsmakers.
[83] Goffman's (1981) approach is highly relevant to the issue of attribution. He distinguishes three main roles of the participants in the communicative event: author, animator and principal.

Scollon's work stands very close to a denunciation of this practice in journalism, arguing that a significant part of the story the journalist tells is evaluation, in which s/he judges not only what the sources say but also assesses the sources themselves. So while reporters 'structure the voices into a narrative of their own', the agents "do not take the floor, nor are given the rights to the structure of the story nor to make claims for its evaluation" (1998: 231). He argues that although the journalists tell the stories, a significant part of their evaluation is provided by the newsmakers (1998: 223), who take part in the overall construction of the reporter's point of view. By means of this delegation, the communicator evaluates through the external voices without taking the responsibility for their claims. His interpretation of this practice is that the journalist positions him/herself with respect to the newsmaker and the reader, suggesting that the reporter tells us "not only *that* someone has said something but *how* we are expected to respond… the journalist is positioning herself in respect to both the newsmaker and the reader" (1998: 223). Scollon's work is clearly focused on the 'evaluation' or 'appraisal' of the practice of attribution, but never gives it these names nor labels it in any particular way of his own. Unfortunately, he does not develop this point any further, which is precisely the point I make in chapter 7; that is how the writer turns the attributed material into an indirect resource of evaluation.

4.6   Some Aspects Related to Discourse Presentation

The practice of attribution is a fairly simple phenomenon; one person quoting another one, yet, the accounts outlined above show that it is a multi-faceted phenomenon. The different angles from which it has been approached have stressed varied facets which are complementary with, rather than contradictory from, one another. Some features associated with attribution cut across genres and styles, but others differ greatly from genre to genre.

Such is the case of aspects like the fidelity of the reported quotation to the original utterance; the authorship and responsibility assigned to the source of the quote; its evaluative function in the text; its agreement or disagreement with the content of the overall text, etc. On these grounds, attribution can be regarded as a: mode of evidentiality; signal of intertextuality; expression of the writer's control over the material; marker of detachment from the content of the utterance; sign of objectivity and credibility; indicator of heteroglossia or plurality; resource that signals attitude and evaluation, just to mention a few. These facets, which have been developed within different schemes, intersect the individual models and do not disagree with each other, but correspond to particular dimensions when looked at from specific perspectives. They are tightly interconnected and even run into each other; hence the division between them is highly arbitrary, basically depending on the tradition where they come from.

These dimensions fulfil rhetorical and discursive functions which go well beyond the mere reporting of the propositional content of someone's words and which have great implications both for the writer and the text. For the writer, they serve as strategies to gain credibility; detach himself from the responsibility; mark attitude; signal evaluation. Conversely, in the text these inclusions serve as forms of intertextuality and signals of evidentiality. In this section, I turn to some of these features, especially those relevant to the news genre.

➢ Intertextuality

Any form of discourse representation performs a referential act in which the writer refers back to something that has been said or written. In some discursive traditions (Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Fairclough 1995; Appraisal Theory) the inclusion of external voices in the text is regarded as a form of intertextuality. The term, coined by Kristeva (1969), has become widely

used in post modern textual and cultural analysis to signify that all utterances necessarily make reference to other utterances, since few or no utterance are ever uttered without any reference to some previous knowledge. This reference may vary from an overt quotation to a mere allusion. Her original concept involved two major features: the borrowing of contents from other texts and the belief that texts do not exist in isolation but they all contain traces of others. In the context of the news, the notion of intertextuality designates the incorporation of excerpts or references to other discourses in the report and the quoting and paraphrasing of the words of sources and newsmakers[84] (what Scollon (1998) calls polyvocality). These citations work as intertextual markers in that they acknowledge the existence of an antecedent discourse and bring elements of it into the text, which are seen as relevant for the communicative purpose of the current discourse.

The work of Fairclough, especially (1992b) and (1995a, which offers an extensive analysis of intertextual dimension of discourse *re*presentation in media texts) has strengthened the concept. He distinguishes two modes: the manifest one, according to which other texts are included in the text with explicit indications on the surface of the text, such as quotation marks; and the constitutive mode, which is subtler since it blends in the discourse with no signal of its external condition (1992b: 104).

Conversely, intertextuality is complemented by the notion of embeddedment[85]. It was noted that much of the content that features in the news is actually reported speech, to the point that

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[84] Marsen (2006: 61) explains that intertextuality underlines the fact that texts do not exist in isolation, but are produced in a complex social context and enter into dialogue with one another. Yet the broader notion of intertextuality goes beyond other texts only, since much more of our experience of the world is coloured by our knowledge, which comes from information agents, such as books, news papers, the Mass media etc. Our knowledge of reality may be seen as intertextual constructed through multiple links and cross-references, between our individual preferences, and dispositions, and the other texts which we come in contact with. Halliday and Hasan (1985) in their description of context of situation adopt this pervasive notion of intertextuality, which they assign to the whole environment surrounding our communication.

[85] The notion of embedding has been addressed from different perspectives, e.g. Goffman (1981) *Forms of Talk*, where he discusses the embedding of one kind of utterance within another and another.

Bednarek sees 'embeddedness' (2006a: 15) as one of the characteristic features of newspaper language. The inclusion of any speech event uttered by other speakers involves the integration of a new discourse into another. Caldas-Coulthard (1994) points out that the report and embedding of any interaction is always a reduction of the initial communicative event, because the reported talk is embedded in a text which has a different purpose from the original communicative event. The new environment where it is reinserted is of a different nature from the context where the formulations were uttered (1994: 297).

➢ Evidentiality

In a different tradition, attribution has also been described functionally as a mode of evidentiality, i.e. the linguistic marking of the "the kinds of evidence a person has for making a factual claim" (Anderson, 1986: 273). Although the term denotes the basis of speaker/writer knowledge, it has come to cover "much more than the marking of evidence per se" (Chafe & Nichols, 1986: viii). The notion of evidentiality embraces the expression of numerous types of evidence for what is communicated; in many languages, other than English, this feature of message is marked syntactically. This indication of the source of information of the message is regarded as a mode of evidence, where the agents work as the indicators of such evidence (e.g. Chafe 1986; Aikhenvald 2004; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2003; Bednarek 2006b). In fact, Aikhenvald views the different modes of reporting as 'extensions of evidential', where the mere fact of reporting what has been said by someone else is a strategy of evidentiality (2004: 132-42). Bednarek (2006b) shares this stand concerning attribution in the press. She explores epistemological positioning, i.e. the expression of assessment concerning knowledge, and relates two types of attribution to the parameters of evidentiality: 'hearsay' based on what someone has said, and 'mindsay' based on what someone has felt, thought, etc. arguing that

both forms involve (a) a source who is either a 'sayer' (Halliday, 1994: 114), or a 'senser' (*ibid*: 117) and (b) an attributing expression, and (c) an attributed proposition (p. 61).

➢ Writer's control

Any form of reported speech is a form of attribution, but as noted earlier, different forms of discourse presentation position the writer differently towards the attributed propositions and have unlike effects in the text in the reader. The mode chosen to reproduce the original stretch of speech is viewed as a mechanism to take control over the speaker's literal words, and therefore indirectly over the reader. Direct quotations are supposed to record the original statements literally; they indicate 'they are someone else's comments' and signal overtly the detachment from the responsibility of the propositional content of the utterances, especially in "extreme evaluative statements" (cf. Semino & Short, 2004: 94). On the other hand, the indirect report paraphrases the message, because the exact words are not the main concern in the account, but what the person meant. It has been argued that the writer tends to paraphrase those propositions s/he subscribes to, so they are often more in tune with the whole article, and contrarily, s/he tends to quote 'literally' those s/he disagrees with (Stubbs 1986/96; Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Semino & Short; 2004).

Short (1994) deals with the writer's power to control the 'point of view' in narrations, and argues that this is achieved "in an amazing variety of ways" (p. 172)[86], but an especially powerful one is the choice and manipulation of the options available to writers for the presentation of speech. This practice of the writer's power over the attributed material has

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[86] Short does not mention any of other of the 'variety of ways' but other linguistic means through which point of view can be controlled is by means of choices of grammatical patterns. One of the most notable works dealing with writer's manipulation of point of view is discussed in the works of Trew (1979) and Hodge (1979), who show how the shift of attention in the reporting of the same event in different news papers differs through the passivization and agency deletion.

been explored in news reports where scholars have identified that attribution "can be used to grant or to deny the voices of others" (Scollon, 1997: 377). Critical Discourse analysts, on their part, have addressed it concerning the representation of the voices of 'different social and political groups' – especially minorities (van Dijk 1989, 1991, 1992, 2006; Fairclough 1992a, 1995b; Teo 2000).

➤ Faithfulness

A separate aspect, not mentioned so far, but which has received considerable attention is that of the correspondence between the printed version and the actual antecedent speech (Bell 1991; Scollon 1998; Leech & Short 1981; Short 1988 and 1994; Semino & Short 2004). This correspondence has been addressed as 'veracity', 'accuracy', 'fidelity', and only applies to non fictional texts, since evidently the principal difference between discourse presentation in this genre and fiction is the dimension of faithful reproduction. The convention in printed material is to indicate literal words on the surface of the text by the use of inverted commas, but this marking does not necessarily guarantee that these words were uttered the same as they get printed, or even that they were uttered at all.

Obviously, the most straightforward way to test the fidelity of a quote is to compare it with the original one, but this is not always possible. In an attempt to assess faithfulness, Short *et al.* (1999) developed an indirect 'triangulation' method, wherein he compares different versions of the same reported passage by looking for repetitions of words and phrases, on the grounds that such similarities may provide traces of the original statement. Semino & Short (2004) discuss the issue based on a case study of several news reports about a new 'PC Bible'. Their evidence suggests that readers should not assume automatically the faithfulness of DS

and DW in news stories, and that tabloids often sacrifice the accuracy of the report for the sake of making their stories more appealing (p. 219-21).

Certainly the distortions may have an ideological motivation, but this does not necessarily have to be the case; it seems that the problem of misquoting does not occur in the press only but in any form of speech reproduction. This was shown by Tannen (1989), who compared the faithfulness of the reported quotes with their original statements in conversation, discovered that this phenomenon also occurs in speech; concluding that this problem is inherent to communication, and not necessarily intentional. In the case of the press, there are more practical reasons for such distortions, especially the many layers of editorial procedures. The reported version in the final draft may easily be different from the original statement, because, as Bell explains, "on a standard medium-sized daily newspaper, a journalist's story may pass through the hands of up to eight news workers, each making alterations and producing a new version" (1996: 18). Also due to authoring and text editing reasons, some statements may end up being attributed not to the actual speaker, but to a whole group of people even if they wouldn't agree with them (see example in Bell, 1991:82).

4.7   External Discourse as Evaluation

There is little work on the function and attitudinal value of the attributed material. As noted above, the discussion has revolved around the reporting verbs and framing devices to introduce the sources' claims (Stubbs 1986, Thompson 1996; Hunston 2000; and especially the Appraisal theory advocates) on the grounds these choices largely disclose the writer's mind-set towards the sources and their formulations. This framing of the attributed stretches may indicate agreement or factuality (Hunston, 2000: 178), or conversely, scepticism; thus

communicating whether the speaker is held in higher or lower consideration without stating it explicitly.

Although White relates attribution to evaluation, he does not detail the formal aspects of the different modes of quoting and the range of possibilities – as, for example, Thompson (1996) does. He explores the sources' attitudes in news reports (1998) in depth, but in his model, attribution counts as one of the many resources that mark heteroglossic diversity under the system of ENGAGEMENT, where the reporter does nothing but record external voices "leaving it up to the reader either to accept or reject these views and observations" (White, 2004b: - 119 -).

Hunston (2000) relates attribution and evaluation from a novel angle arguing that "by manipulating attribution and averral, the writer evaluates the story highly" (p. 178). She points out that every proposition in a text carries a particular 'status' –and optionally has value – assigned by the statement type and source, that is "a particular orientation with respect to the world outside the text" (p. 185). For her, the evaluation of status is influenced by the choice of averral or attribution and the kind of attribution[87]. Her model gives priority to the source over the framing as indicators of evaluation, and identifies a range of forms of attribution, including 'Self', 'Other' and even some concessions.

Apart from these perspectives, few other facets of discourse presentation have been associated with evaluation. Even though attributions are often loaded with subjectivity, little has been said about the evaluative function of this resource *per se*, or the role it serves to pass evaluative judgements.

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[87] However, following Sinclair (86) she explains (2000: 179) that the averral/ attribution distinction is not as clear cut as it looks, since every attribution is also averred.

Despite the bulk of research on the value of attribution, there are aspects still little explored. Chapter 7 proposes a new one; the interplay of the authorial and external voices and their textual and evaluative implications. I am working on the theoretical assumption that attributions are not evaluation outlets for the sources only, but means of indirect evaluation for the writer too, who reinforces the point s/he wants to make and ultimately his/her ideology through these voices. The exploration of the attributed material from this perspective shows that the reported formulations are typically highly evaluative and, as shown in chapter 7, the three levels of in/explicitness discussed in chapter 3 – inscription, provocation and invocation – also apply to the evaluative function these resources are assigned in the text, which allows the news professionals to convey certain values that do not match their allegedly 'impartial and neutral reporting of facts'.

5. WRITER'S INSCRIBED / EVOKED EVALUATION

5.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the concepts of explicit and implicit evaluation, including the problems involved in this categorisation. For these purposes I introduce White's model of evaluative semantics (2004, 2005, 2006) setting out the distinction between inscribed and invoked evaluation and exemplifying the occurrence of these categories in the NOTEBOOK texts. Likewise, I draw attention onto some significant modes of evaluation not accounted for in White's model. The focus is on implicit mechanisms which "do not employ overtly and fixedly attitudinal locutions but rather rely on indirect evaluative mechanisms such as attitudinal association and inference" (White, 2006: 42). The style of the NOTEBOOK texts was defined as opinionated, in which the writer's attitude is overtly articulated. However, together with these explicit evaluations, the writer passes indirect judgements which supplement and reinforce the attitudinal formulations and add to the evaluative tone of the text. In this chapter I look at the resources to encode this covert evaluation underpinning the discourse and set out to discern some strategies the writer uses to pass it on, and the reader requires for their identification and local and general interpretation.

I explore the question, other than via explicit markers of evaluation, how else does the writer pass judgement? What strategies are used to convey attitudinal meanings? To this end, I adopt as parameters some categories of the model of Appraisal Theory, and then attempt to identify other mechanisms not accounted for in this scheme. The most relevant description of these aspects is offered by White (2004, 2005/6) whose categories seem particularly relevant for my work, since they have been developed from and attested in his work on news reports.

5.2   The Writer's Evaluation

Judgment can be expressed implicitly and explicitly; explicitly – notoriously via lexical items and grammatical features that convey attitudinal meaning. In this sense, any departure from neutral word choice or basic narrative syntax has a marked evaluative force (Hunston & Thompson, 2000: 18). In addition to these overt linguistic evaluative markers, the writer typically conveys judgemental views when reporting 'objective facts', which, even if involuntarily, are presented from his/her subjective perspective. Such cases of evaluation may be worded in such an indistinct manner and be so entrenched in the message that they can hardly be separated from the propositional content itself. This raises the problem of the differentiation between what is, or is not, 'purely factual' information. Although this intricacy applies to all genres, I focus here is on news reports. Fowler (1991) counters this distinction arguing that the boundary between the ideational function –representation of content – and the interpersonal one – mediation of personal roles and social relationships – is not impermeable:

> "the essence of representation that it is always representation from some ideological point of view… on the other hand, interpersonal practices always have some statement to make, and often work by implied propositions or presuppositions" (Fowler, 1991: 85).

The same perspective applies to the distinction between explicitly evaluative comments and those indirectly conveyed along with the reporting of 'factual' information. Iedema, *et al*. (1994) question the notions of objectivity and subjectivity in journalistic discourse and establish a simple differentiation between what may be called a 'subjective' and 'objective' text, identifying clear language differences associated with each category[88].

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[88] In their discussion of 'objectivity', 'factuality' and 'impartiality', Iedema, et al (1994) bring to the attention the complexity of these terms. In their view a complex system of value judgements underlie even the reporting of 'facts' and in their study of news reports they attempt to show the way events are observed, interpreted and reported are always conditioned by the social background and ideological perspective of those involved in the production of the text. They do

"In the subjective text, at least some of the author's value judgements are explicitly revealed in the language, and in contrast, the strictly 'objective' text is constructed in such a way that there is no explicit linguistic evidence of the author's value judgements. All value judgements are backgrounded or 'naturalised' in the sense that the way the event is construed as the only way of talking about it" (Iedema *et al.* 1994: 3)

The problem of the differentiation between both types of information is far more complicated than this, because, as discussed in chapter 3, the propositional and the interpersonal dimensions of the language are interconnected, and may co-occur and even overlap in the same utterance. So any text is a product of the writer's value judgements, in which evaluation unfolds cumulatively, as ongoing processes that go in crescendo within the same discourse.

5.3   The Inscription / Invocation Model

The ways of expressing evaluation range from straight openly articulated assessment to vague and understated allusions that pass one's indirect judgement. The former is obviously easier to pinpoint than the latter, but both are equally successful and interact to achieve a goal. In fact, the concealed attitude may even have a stronger effect on the reader because, given its elusiveness, it is harder to react to and contest.

In my work, I follow White's framework of evaluative semantics[89] (2004, 2005/2006) adopting the Inscribed/Invoked distinction which roughly corresponds to the explicit/ implicit

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not argue that the "distinction between 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity' is meaningless. There are clear language differences associated with the two categories. Rather, we need to redefine the 'objectivity-subjectivity' opposition, at least as it applies to media texts." (p.3)

[89] White's model has developed along the years, so certain labels he uses do not match from one article to another. I stick to those he uses in his 2005/6 paper. E.g. in Martin & White (2005) they eliminate the category 'evoke' but include 'invite' which covers the notions of 'flag' and 'afford'. In addition the term provoking (attitudes) is restricted to matters of

dichotomy. Within his frame, the explicit articulation of attitude – i.e. inscribed – is encoded in the text by means of value laden lexical items which carry an explicit assessment. The implicit – i.e. invoked – evaluation, on the other hand, is not encoded in the text as such, but 'triggered' in the reader via tokens of meaning that invoke certain attitudes and values, i.e. "by superficially neutral, ideational meanings which nevertheless have the capacity in the culture to evoke judgemental responses" (http://www.grammatics .com/appraisal/Appraisal). For White, the writer's choices of inscribed and invoked resources of evaluation establish this 'interpersonal positioning' in search for responses similar to his/her own.

White searches for signals of evaluation in news reports to find out "whether evaluation is explicitly asserted or implied, whether it makes the author's subjective presence salient or obscures it, whether it is construed as arguable or 'given' and whether it is represented as grounded in human emotion or is institutionalised as a matter of 'ethics' or 'taste', and so on" (White, 2006: 66). He acknowledges the complexity of dealing with evaluative language in this context, since its linguistic resources "often serve writers' rhetorical purposes to be elusive, indirect and difficult to pin down when they are being evaluative" (White, 2004: 8). White argues that the writer always seeks to pass onto the reader his/her negative or positive views of the people, events and states of affairs denoted in the text. Thus the strategies chosen serve him/her "to endorse, perpetuate and make natural a particular system of value" (2006: 38) and consequently position the reader to take a favourable or unfavourable view of the reported value position. For White then, evaluation is ultimately ideological; therefore, when identifying and analysing the expression of appraisal, the social function of communication, which is at the centre very of the Appraisal Theory, is at stake. Unfortunately White does not explain what is meant by 'construal' but here, following Taylor's definition (2002), which

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lexical metaphor. According to Don, in their book, they do not deal specifically with intertextual references as part of the resources for *invoking* (in her typology evoking) attitude. In my work, the same as Don (2007) I will retain the categories *evoking* and *provoking*.

resembles White's notion, is understood as the process whereby a given state of affairs is constructed by a language user for the purposes of its linguistic expression. Typically, a state of affairs can be construed in alternate ways. (Taylor, 2002: 588)

I focus primarily on the categories of JUDGEMENT within the ATTITUDE system[90]. The restriction to this category does not do justice to the overall model, since it means that some important parts of the framework are left out[91]. Nevertheless, other features of the model are dealt with in chapters 6 (naturalisation and unarguability) and in chapter 7 (attitudinal positioning via attribution). The attention in chapters5 and 6 (as opposed to chapter 7) is exclusively on the evaluative material the journalist takes direct responsibility for. So in the next section, some basic notions and resources of these categories are outlined.

5.3.1 Attitudinal Inscription

The easiest and most direct way of expressing evaluation is through lexical items. White refers to this resource as 'Attitudinal Inscription', which corresponds to authorial evaluation explicitly articulated in the text. This strategy is most obviously realised via what he calls 'attitudinal lexis'– especially adjectives and adverbs – i.e. value laden terms which are explicitly evaluative, having "largely stable attitudinal meanings across a wide range of contexts" (White, 2006: 42). They have positive or negative values that convey judgement and inscribe assessment on the surface of the text. One of the important points White makes is

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[90] I say primarily, because given the close connection between the systems of affect and judgement, at times some forms of evaluation may fit both. Also because the communication of affective and appreciative appraisal could also be articulated by means of invocations, and used to convey judgement, but these cases are less frequent.

[91] It needs to be noted that among the aspects regarding evaluation I am excluding is the treatment of 'attribution and evaluative positioning' to which he devotes great attention (1998, 2004, 2005, 2006). These ones relate to the kind of verbs used for reporting. A related aspect is discussed in chapter 7, which deal with evaluation but not necessarily with the kind of verbs used by the writer to report the sources' words.

that, with the choice of these attitudinal terms, the writer manages to legitimise or delegitimise – i.e. (dis)approve of – explicitly certain values and positions.

The work of Stubbs (2001a) on frequent collocates in large corpora, has proved the objectivity of the evaluative connotations of words and phrases, especially the negative associations of certain words. He shows that the clusters of preferred lexis and syntax of certain terms often have conventional pragmatic connotations. White and Martin (2005: chapter 2) provide extensive lists of attitudinal terms for each of the three subcategories of the Attitude System. The reality of attitudinal lexis is not free from controversy, since many attitudinal terms could be debated as truly conveying a positive/ negative meaning or not, but in general, most of them do convey quite undisputable connotations. The effect of attitudinal inscription – in **boldface** –is illustrated here with examples from my data:

(5.1) *But he is also **Machiavellian** and **polarizing***. (13a)

(5.2) *It served as a **grisly** reminder of the threat militants still pose*. (22b)

(5.3) *The government of Uzbekistan **violently** quelled an uprising ...* (55b)

The highlighted terms reveal quite unequivocally the writer's stance towards the entities they denote, and the writer's intended meaning could hardly be disputed as not being explicit. Nevertheless, not all inscribed terms impress evaluative value with the same intensity, So Martin and White (2005) deal with this under a separate system, namely GRADUATION.

Despite some difficulties that attitudinal lexis may present, inscribed appraisal is a fairly straightforward mode of assessment. The overall identification of textual evaluation is far more complex than the simple recognition of inscription. In fact, the analysis of the lexis only

would not do justice to the attitudinal study of the text. Attitude is not merely conveyed by words, but by the interaction of multiple elements, therefore this strategy is complemented by others which, without inscribing meaning explicitly, have the power of invoking certain values in the reader. In what follows, White's notions of invoked assessment (2004, 2005/ 2006) are described using his terms to stick as faithfully as possible to his concepts. The relation between these two modes of appraisal is represented in the diagram below.

Inscribed Assessment   → Invoked Assessment
    (+ explicit)   (+ implicit)
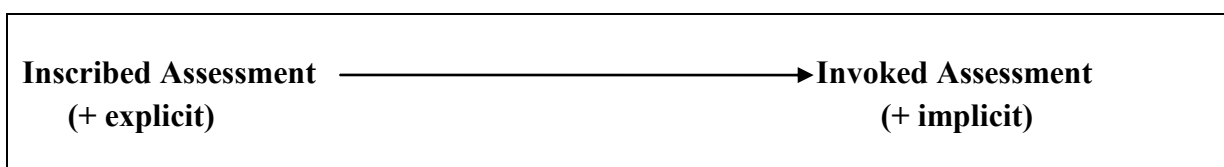
Diagram 4.1 Relation between the Inscribed / Invoked Categories

5.3.2 Invocation

Invocation makes reference to the writer's indirect articulation of assessment in the text. This mode of evaluation is conveyed via formulations which rely on implications and inferences drawn by the reader; that is to say, these meanings are more 'read into' than 'encoded in' the text. As opposed to inscription, which is entirely realised via lexis, invoked appraisal is triggered via 'tokens' which consist of formulations that carry no explicit assessment, but 'some indication that evaluative meanings are at stake' (2004: 11). These meanings are hinted across long stretches of language, alongside 'factual' material which has the capacity in the culture to trigger judgemental reactions (White 2004, 2005, 2006). Because they have the power of eliciting particular values, they are 'designed' to cause such evaluative responses in the reader. The rationale behind this category is that the mere inclusion of certain ideational meanings may be enough to elicit positive or negative responses that will make the reader take a position, even in the absence of attitudinal lexis. That is, the writer invokes certain

values without passing judgement him/herself, but leaves the task to the reader. The mechanisms for invoking evaluation rely on background information, world knowledge and personal experience brought into the interpretation of text. Invoked evaluation is activated by ideational content, conveyed through 'factual' material, plus a 'subjective' interpersonal element. This type of evaluation is not confined to the text but needs to be interpreted based on shared social norms that depend largely upon the reader's social, cultural and ideological position (White, 1998: 36). This is achieved by means of inferences and connections made between the action described and the evaluation of those actions.

The category of Invocation is a broad class, embracing a range of ways of expressing judgement with different levels of implicitness[92]: at one extreme is Provoked evaluation – which relies partly on lexical resources and other authorial signals – and at the most implicit end Evoked assessment – which consists of tokens that elicit values from merely informational content with no explicit evaluative allusion whatsoever. Even though in both cases the text triggers the act of evaluation in the reader, both modes of appraisal differ in their reliance on the information in the text. These subtypes are illustrated in the diagram below.
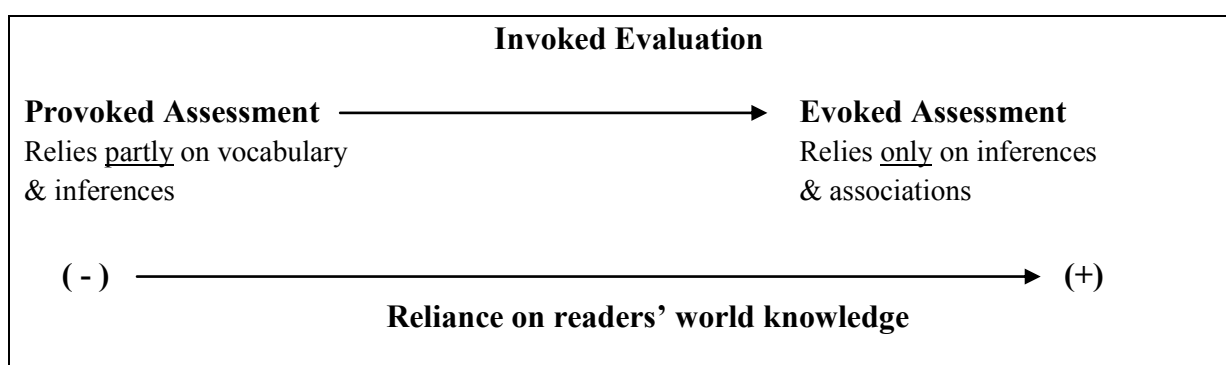
Diagram 4.2 Distinction between the Provoked / Evoked Evaluation categories

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[92] The model here described does not fully match the one presented with Martin (2005). In this book they introduce the category of invite which had not been mentioned in earlier version of the model. Here they also talk about 'ideational' meanings as opposed to the 'informational' content he uses in 2006.

White (2005) differentiates them thus [93]: in Provoked evaluation "no explicit assessment is made... but some indication that evaluative meanings are at stake is provided by the subjective intervention of the textual voice"... Evoked evaluation on the contrary "relies entirely on the reader drawing evaluative inferences from the experiential content – there is no explicit subjective intervention by the textual voice" (p. 11). These categories are discussed further and exemplified below, but it needs to be noted that the terms used here do not match their equivalent in Martin & White (2005), who use 'invite', 'afford' and 'flag' for White's terms 'invoke', 'provoke' and' evoke'.

5.3.2.1 Provoked Evaluation

Provoked evaluation lies somewhere between inscribed and evoked judgement. Without being explicitly judgemental, it is more overtly expressed than the merely informational token of evocation. Provocation does involve some subjective intervention of the writer, who describes an 'affectual' state with lexical hints that almost necessarily trigger the reader's reaction. E.g. ***Even though*** *Fred's father is very old, Fred **only** visits him once a year* (White, 2004: 7). This token 'provokes' an attitudinal response to judge Fred as a bad son. The reader draws conclusions based on the clues (highlighted terms), his/her own personal world knowledge and shared social values. Martin & Rose (2003) explain that there are instances in the text that can act as signs of positive and negative attitude. "For example when we say someone is: 'drinking too much', 'eating too much', 'sitting there alone', 'sweating a lot', there is a clear sign that something is not right with that person (p. 27), also metaphors may act as judgement appraisals, such as 'to act like vultures' or 'wash one's hand' (p. 29). An illustrative example from my data is:

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[93] White (2004) also calls these categories 'Asserted' and 'Assumed'.

(5.4) *Rumsfeld doubled the number of **harsh** strategies that U.S. forces could employ in Guantánamo Bay and Afghanistan **allowing measures like stripping prisoners and using dogs to terrify them.*** (17a)

In (5.5), there is no explicit judgemental wording in the highlighted clause; nothing overtly evaluative, but the assessment is communicated via information that triggers an attitudinal reaction – especially the verbs **strip** and **terrify with dogs**. These measures would have been distasteful in any context, but even more when applied to prisoners who are in a more vulnerable condition. Besides, earlier on in the passage there is a clear intervention of the writer in the use of **harsh** in the neighbouring clause, which signals distaste for the measures subsequently described. In this example, Rumsfeld and the U.S. forces are not judged as inhumane, but the wording manages to 'provoke' such judgement in the reader, who comes to these interpretations via terms with attitudinal association (less fixed than inscribed meanings) which convey the author's dis/approval.

Another manner of provoked evaluation can be seen in example (5.5) which partly illustrates this. The writer's remark appears in a context where the U.S. government is the target of accusations from the Italian government and the writer simply states:

(5.5) *The C.I.A. and the U.S. embassy in Rome **declined to comment**.* (58a)

Here, no evaluative language is used and no explicit judgement is made. It is a purely objective fact of something that the U.S. government has done (or not done); however, it is not a neutral formulation. In the context of accusations, 'declining to comment' reveals an stance from the American government and raises an attitudinal reaction in the reader, feeding distrust on the veracity of such accusations. The manner of presentation of the 'informational

content', leads the reader to take the same position as the writer's. However, it also needs to be noted that the verb 'decline to' is a 'lexical negative', which – as all negatives – contrast with an expected positive, i.e. the writer has chosen to say what did not happen, thereby implying that something else could/should have happened.

5.3.2.2   Evoked Evaluation

Evoked assessment[94], stands at the very end of the implicit scale, which means that it is completely free from evaluative resources. This form of attitudinal assessment operates indirectly through associations, lexical metaphors, implications or inferences, accordingly it is more difficult to deal with analytically (White, 2004). Evocation is not encoded as such in the text; the text contains evidence for appraisal, but not the appraisal itself[95]. It is activated in the reader through 'factual' formulations, which despite being entirely 'factual' would normally elicit particular judgement values. The reader is expected to make associations in order to react to these tokens "via processes of attitudinal inference" (White, 2006: 40) and respond positively or negatively. Such formulations are hard to decode because the associations require considerable familiarity with some shared cultural referents, which work on the basis of specific intertextual information which the writer assumes the reader shares; if s/he does not, they will hardly be recognised and interpreted as evaluative tokens, and if they do not trigger responses similar to the writer's, they miss their evaluative power. White explains these tokens should lead the reader to judge the contents in terms of "good/bad, praise/ blameworthy, in/appropriate" (Appraisal website).

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[94] Martin (2000) and White (1998, 2004, 2005) use the expression 'evoked' appraisal, but in Martin & White (2005) it is referred to it as 'invite'. I here stick to the term 'evoked'.
[95] cf. Hunston's 1989 notion of evaluation through 'grounds'

This mode of evaluation cannot be said to be conveyed by the writer, since the authorial voice does not impress any judgemental value nor intervenes in the text; the writer simply informs on facts and events, and the reader brings the assessment into the text. So, the reader does all the evaluative work; it is up to him/her to draw or not the expected evaluative inferences hinted in the tokens of judgement. As such, evocation depends heavily on the reader's position, since different readers may read different meanings in a text. White (2005: 12) does not suggest that evaluative meaning is an entirely open ended phenomenon; on the contrary, the interpretation of the tokens is often subject to other elements in the text which work as clues to indicate the most likely interpretation. According to the model, the reader does not have complete freedom to respond, since s/he is positioned to respond to the token in a specific way. Cases of this nature are difficult to illustrate with formulations taken out of their context, precisely because the tokens acquire their full evaluative significance through the contribution of neighbouring clues. An example that may illustrate the point is:

(5.6) *On his **infrequent** trips to friendly capitals - **basically Moscow and Beijing**- North Korean leader Kim Jong Il rides in a **luxurious private** train.* (03a)

In this example there are several tokens of evoked appraisal designed to trigger a negative assessment of Kim Jong Il. The adjectives ***infrequent, luxurious*** and ***private***, are formulated in predicative position, hence as assumed (see chapter 6). But the judgement is passed above all by means of purely informational content. The adverb ***infrequent*** does not necessarily entail a negative meaning but depends on the activity that is carried out infrequently, thus it could acquire different values in different context. However, in this case, it is used as a token of negative evaluation, guiding the reader in the evaluation of what follows. In these times of globalisation, of G8 meetings, of international political summits and conventions, this term

hints at the North Korean leader's absence from these events, most likely because he is not invited, therefore not part of the 'leading political community'. This allusion is reinforced by what follows, which is even more powerfully evaluative, despite the absence of evaluative markers. His trips happen to be to ***Moscow*** and ***Beijing***, cities, which despite the superficial friendly relations with the US, represent the paradigms of political and economic rivalry of the capitalistic American society and are well known for the frictions and hostilities they have had with US. The fact that the writer notes Kim Jong Il counts ***basically*** only these two countries among its friends invites readers to make this negative association. The fact that he rides in a ***luxurious private train*** is not neutral either. In this hermetic communist country where, as stated elsewhere in the passage, millions have died from starvation, the population suffers from lack of freedom and poor living conditions, the leader's ***luxurious private*** train, contrasts with the quality of life of his people. The writer is indirectly accusing Kim Jong Il's of incoherence with his own principles or at least of contradicting the system's principles.

Despite the subtle and subjective nature of these judgemental triggers, there is something objective about them that leads readers to depict the events and people denoted in positive or negative terms. In his discussion of the 'problem-solution' text patterns, Hoey (2001) shows how besides explicit lexical marking, the 'problems' may be signalled by strategies of this kind, whereby the problem is not stated explicitly, but marked through 'signals' that help identify the 'problem'[96].

From this perspective, nothing is completely unevaluative and no 'factual' record of events may be regarded as neutral. Even if the evaluation comes from the reader, there is always a clue in the text that guides him/her to take sides. This is because "one of the major problems

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[96] Hoey (2001) argues that 'evoked' meanings may also work as problem markers. He exemplifies evoked appraisal with the term *illiteracy*, which even though strictly a factual description, evokes a negative evaluation and therefore a problem. (p. 126).

in studying language in use is to disentangle linguistic knowledge from background cultural assumptions" (Stubbs, 2001: 9). Also, corpus studies have shown that apparently neutral tokens often carry an evaluative semantic prosody (e.g. Stubbs 1995; Hunston *et al.* 1997). For example in table below, the corpus would tell us that *at point blank range* is an unfair shooting and that *cheap* and *plastic* are often associated with negative values in that context. A summary of the main traits of the evoked and provoked categories is shown in table 4.1, with ideas and fragments taken from White's articles in the Appraisal website.

'*Provoked' Attitude*	'*Evoked' Attitude.*
Some subjective intervention of the textual voice.	No subjective intervention of the textual voice.
No explicit judgemental wording, but hints of evaluative meaning, via resources of authorial intervention	No hints of evaluation. Purely 'factual' tokens.
Some evaluating elements are likely to direct the reader to a judgement.	Informational description is likely to lead to some inference.
Attitude is drawn from evaluative inferences.	Attitude is drawn from informational content.
Evaluation partly relies on text clues that work as hints to interpret the tokens	Evaluation relies on the reader evaluative inferences from the experiential content.
e.g. Some Provoked evaluative language • *The **thrill-killing** of the pizza delivery man* • *He **hates the weak and the vulnerable*** • *He **adores** his children* • ***Although he asked for quiet**, the children kept on talking*	e.g. Evoked 'factual' tokens • *They shot him in the head, at point-blank* • *They filled the mansion with computers and cheap plastic furniture* • *The children talked while he was presenting the lesson.*

Table 4.1 Summary contrasting the traits of Provoked and Evoked Evaluation.

5.3.3   Further Comments on the Model

The description above sets the basic pillars of the model, but there is more to it than the three categories outlined. The conveyance of judgement is noticeably more complex than it looks, with many variables taking part in the evaluative process, hence the model, as presented

above, is not enough to account for the phenomenon. Below I discuss three aspects which contribute to this complexity; (a) the problem of the boundaries between categories; (b) the role of the context; and (c) the factors involved in the correct interpretation of tokens. These variables are closely intertwined, so the discussion that follows is quite cross-referenced.

a) The problem of the boundaries between categories

It was noted that the different types of attitudinal inscription and attitudinal token, rather than representing separate compartments, stand on an explicit/implicitness scale. White explains that they "operate as a cline rather than an absolute dichotomy" (2004: 12). The categorisation is highly arbitrary with fairly fuzzy boundaries, especially when categories share some features. For example, both Inscribed and Provoked evaluation rely on the meanings of key evaluative terms in the clause, but while Inscription relies heavily on them, provocation counts on this resource to a lesser extent. There seems to be a gentle transition between classes, whereby most evaluative formulations stand somewhere along a cline. Naturally, there are some 'pure' emblematic cases at each end of the scale where evaluation is unequivocally inscribed or evoked, but most occurrences stand somewhere along the cline, as shown in the diagram below.

		Most evaluative meanings is inscribed in the text	
(+) ↕ **(−)**		**Inscribed:** Text does most of the evaluative work via attitudinal terms. Least dependent on reading position. *He's an <u>uncaring</u> and <u>ungrateful</u> son, he <u>selfishly</u> only visits his aged father once a year.*	
	Invoked Appraisal.	**Provoked:** Text provokes evaluation via subjective attitudinal triggers. The reader does much of the evaluative work. *<u>Even though</u> his father is <u>very</u> old ,he <u>only</u> visits him once a year*	
		Evoked: 'factual' information triggers attitudinal reaction. Most dependent on reading position; The reader does all the evaluative work *He visits his 90-year-old father once a year.*	
		Most evaluative meanings is drawn by the work of the reader	

Diagram 4.2 The scale of implicitness and explicitness of the evaluative categories, adapted from White (2004)

This diagram illustrates the cline of evaluative strategies according to the reader's dependency on the textual information. It follows from this, that a system of categories cannot be an appropriate model for this kind of analysis. In fact, a proper categorial system needs to have categories separate from each other, but language and communication do not work so. The expression of evaluation is mostly conveyed by occurrences that combine elements from different categories. In this sense, Martin and White's (2005) proposal of non clear-cut categories along a cline seems the most adequate paradigm for the complexity of the language and the study of evaluation. However, this model also presents some difficulties, since inevitably a system of this nature makes the classification and annotation of the occurrences a complicated and precarious enterprise. Perhaps the ideal paradigm for the analysis of evaluation would be a proper scale with clear archetypes that stand out at the centre of each 'category'; yet, it is not easy to bring the principles of categories and clines together. This is very much what White proposes, although he never spells it out. Nevertheless, the problem of categorisation is an issue of the language itself, and this is an area of the language where many variables come into play that can hardly be categorised into rigid slots.

b) The role of the context

The context is another key factor in the analysis of evaluation, principally of invoked tokens, since the context sets a particular 'reading attitude'. This is so, because tokens do not occur in isolation, but as part of a whole. Often, it is not possible to single out individual words as carrying the attitudinal load. Rather, "the inscription of the positive/ negative assessment is done by multiple word constructs such as clauses" (White, 2005: 5). It is difficult to establish when a token of evaluation is purely evoked, since these are 'realised' by formulations, and the reader is likely to find attitudinal lexis or inscribed clues somewhere along the stretch, merging different levels of evaluation in single clauses. Even, if there are no attitudinal terms in the utterance itself, often there are inscriptions in the vicinity 'acting as sign-posts' telling us how to read the ideational material. They guide the reader in the interpretation of the evoked meanings, where judgement is not necessarily expressed lexically. As such, rather neutral or slightly charged tokens may get 'potentialised' by the context (see Pearson 1998) which implicitly attaches them judgemental meanings. The contextual empowerment of these lexical items results from the semantic interaction of these tokens with the rest of the text. So, the same representation of an event, in a different textual context, may trigger a different Judgemental response.

The token-and-reader relation works both ways, since the reader's reaction to certain tokens may be subject to inscriptions in the vicinity, and the other way round, the neighbouring tokens may influence us greatly to 'read' certain values. This overlap of the categories necessarily brings up a number of questions. The first problem, which lies outside the model, is that of how much meaning is encoded in the text versus how much is read into or inferred from it by the reader (see Stubbs, 2001a). This reciprocal influence is illustrated in (5.7):

(5.7) *Chavez… wants to cut Venezuela's dependence on the U.S. market and start exporting to his **oil-thirsty ideological ally China**.* (37a)

The phrase *oil-thirsty ideological ally* is not evaluative in itself, but in the context, the writer turns it into a strong judgemental statement. With this token, the writer is trying to say something else than providing just sheer information; within the political context of the publication, Chavez is viewed as an adversary of the U.S. system and China is cautiously seen as an emerging competing economic super-power ideologically contrary to the U.S. In this scenario, the information of the alliance between these two countries, intended for economic interest, is not neutral. As it is, it is expressed via a metaphor 'oil-thirsty' hinting at its continuous growth. This background information is essential to understand the full load of the expression. However, the evaluation of this token is also affected by its wider context, where lexical inscriptions reinforce the point communicated. Earlier in the text, the writer talks about ***Chavez's anti-Bush fervor*** and he is referred to as ***leftist firebrand*** and ***sharp critic of U.S. foreign policy,*** showing thus the interrelation between inscribed and invoked meanings. This issue is discussed further and illustrated below. Each case of evoked evaluation is different and would require an analysis of the kind to draw the entire evaluative load they convey.

c) The factors involved in the correct interpretation of tokens

Finally, the Provoked and Evoked tokens differ discoursally. Provoked evaluation –triggered by lexical items– is localised within the sentence, clause or even phrase; whereas evoked evaluation often spreads along and beyond the sentence and even paragraph, or in Halliday's terms (1981) is realised 'prosodically'. The information necessary to interpret the meaning the writer is getting at may lie within or outside the text (or make endophoric or exophoric reference respectively). Such information is needed for the interpretation of the informational

content, and accordingly of the evaluative tokens. This interpretation is subject to the reader's associations, which should be the same as the author's in order to interpret the text as intended. These require many elements at work such as similar cognitive strategies of interpretation, based on cultural connections. This brings in the difficulty of establishing (a) when the purely informational formulation is intentionally evaluative and (b) whether these instances will be read as evoking particular meanings by different people. Because their interpretation relies on cultural conventions, these signals may not be interpreted judgementally by some readers, and so fail to convey the intended evaluative dimension. This stands to reason, since not the whole of one's attitudinal meanings can be encoded in the discourse; the largest bulk is simply infused and needs to be inferred by the reader[97].

5.4   Evaluation in the NOTEBOOK texts

In this section, I apply these categories of White's model (1998; 2004; 2005/2006) in order to identify the resources that make the NOTEBOOK texts so richly evaluative. In addition to the identification and illustration for the resources discussed above, I identify further strategies and signals of evaluation unaccounted for in Whites' model, which may contribute to enrich and complement his framework, and gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon.

The model of analysis of both explicit and implicit strategies of evaluation used by the writer (see diagram on page 166) is discussed in the following section of the chapter.

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[97] Stubbs tackles this issue and argues that our comprehension of discourse depends on both decoding (a linguistic process) and inference (a more general, not exclusively linguistic, process). Little is known about how much each of these processes contributes, but corpus studies show that the contribution of conventional encoded meanings is larger than is claimed by the (recently dominant) inference theories (Stubbs, 2001: 460).

5.4.1 Inscribed Evaluation

Inscription has already been discussed and will be discussed further in chapter 6. Therefore, I limit myself to give examples of unambiguous cases of inscription realised via attitudinal adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs which express the writer's position explicitly.

- **Adjectives**

Evaluative adjectives stand out as the most evident and frequent form of evaluation, which may occur in attributive or predicative position, although the latter are by far less frequent in the corpus. For example:

(5.8) *... helped the **deadly** respiratory illness infect more than 8,000 people worldwide* (02a)

(5.9) *... same room where Clinton held some of his **infamous** trysts with White House intern Monica Lewinsky* (05a)

(5.10) *... by dealing with **shadowy** Middle Eastern contacts* (33a)

- **Nouns**

Contrary to my expectations, nouns rarely occurred on their own as evaluative indicators, as in the examples below.

(5.11) *Arafat has no intention of getting the Palestinians out of their present diplomatic **dead end*** (12a)

(5.12) *It will take more than words to prevent another **atrocity**.* (62b)

(5.13) *That drew **catcalls** even from Vladimir Putin's own economic adviser...* (35a)

(5.14) *Friday's gathering became a **bloodbath** when a terrorist blew himself up…* (55a)

Evaluative nouns do have an important presence, but the analysis showed that they typically appear in phrases modified by attributive adjectives that reinforce their innate judgmental value. Nouns with a positive value or modified by positive-laden adjectives are exceptional. One of the few exceptions is *real gas* in (5.15) where *real* does not add any new feature to the meaning of the *gas* but reinforces it.

(5.15) *The party, … in Britain's northernmost inhabited chunk of rock, was a **real gas*** (55c)

(5.16) *… an unpopular assemblage of **hapless lefties.*** (13a)

(5.17) *Taylor was sent into exile nearly two years ago after eight years of leading a **brutal insurgency** and another six years of bloody rule* (54a)

(5.18) *… conservative legislator Didier Julia and his team of **dilettante sleuths…*** (33a)

(5.19) *… to rebuke the **deadly sectarianism** bedeviling Pakistan.* (55a)

- **Adverbs**

Adverbs typically entail an assessment and convey attitudinal meanings rather than communicating ideational content, thus serving an inherent interpersonal function, e.g.

(5.20) *the U.S. remains **vehemently** opposed.* (41b)

(5.21) *the Brazilian replied **diplomatically**…* (53a)

(5.22) *Nader **angrily** decries the tactic as anti-democratic and illegal* (21a)

(5.23) *The government of Uzbekistan **violently** quelled an uprising in Andijan* (55b)

- **Verbs**

Attitudes are also explicitly stated via attitudinal verbs, which may have an ideational and interpersonal function simultaneously, thus while conveying a propositions, they signal the writer's stance as well.

(5.24) *... the government is **harrying** those who contradict the official version of events.* (55b)

(5.25) *But having **skimped** on the fares, it seems many tourists want to **swank it up** in style.* (59c)

(5.26) *... a scathing audit... is **bashing** Bremer's agency for failing to establish "adequate financial controls".* (37b)

(5.27) *But crackdowns are always **looming**.* (65c)

However, examples like these, of isolated attitudinal terms, are not the rule. The norm is to find inscriptions in rather heavily attitudinal environments, combined with other evaluative terms (and invocations as it will be noted below) in the same or adjacent clauses, forming 'clusters' of inscribed evaluation in the texts. This seems to indicate that they do not work so much on their own but in combination, reinforcing each other's value and ultimately strengthening the evaluative tone of the text. For example:

(5.28) *The **combative** tone suggested that Sarkozy… **is gunning for** the hard-right voters of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front.* (58b)

(5.29) *Rumors … that Kim Jong Il, North Korea's **despotic leader,** had been shot in the head by his nephew during a palace coup. It was quickly **dismissed as pure fantasy** but reports continue to surface that **the ubiquitous propaganda portraits** of Kim have been **mysteriously** disappearing from public places.* (28a)

(5.30) *… a stream of leaflets **accusing** his **henchmen** of **corruption** and **violence**. Most of the **vitriol** was aimed at Arafat's cousin Moussa, whom… The leaflets also **accused** Arafat of **siphoning off** public money to his wife, who lives in Paris - a rare personal attack on the Palestinian leader.* (12a)

These combinations enable rather neutral terms (such as ***combative, mysteriously, accused***) to acquire negative meanings in context. This is because the negativity of the strong terms somehow 'projects itself' into the full formulation, adding up its attitudinal value to terms which in other circumstances would be regarded as neutral. These combinations within or in adjacent sentences turn them into very difficult cases to classify. Yet, they are the most recurrent phenomenon. For example:

(5.31) *… some Iraqis worry that whatever remains of their **fragile détente** may be **shattered** by **pro-Shia's Iranian interventionism*** (57a)

Although (5.31) is deeply evaluative, the wording can hardly be 'accused of' being inscribed. The terms that make the formulation evaluative, are not unequivocally value laden, but acquire a negative value in the text. Accordingly, the term *shattered*, which may evoke

negative values, is modalised, hence softened; the same applies to *fragile détente*, which brings in a paradox, since a *détente* invokes a positive state in a situation while the modifier *fragile* inscribes a negative value. Similarly, *interventionism*, which is not an evaluative term in itself, in the context of the U.S. and Iran political relations acquires a heavily negative connotation, especially given the modification *pro-Shia's Iranian.*

Example (5.32) represents a similar case, where the evaluation spreads throughout rather than being confined to localised clues. Although not evaluative in themselves, these clues play as signals guiding the reader to the evaluative interpretation of the statement.

(5.32) ***Having laid low while*** *President Jacques Chirac* **took the heat** *for* **losing France's referendum** *on the European constitution, Nicolas Sarkozy is back,* **in the guise of a self-styled crimebuster**. (58b)

As these examples show, a property of inscribed evaluation is that it occurs 'locally' within the sentence and often within the clause. This is of little significance by itself, but will serve later on as a point of contrast with invoked evaluation, which stretches out along more extended sections.

5.4.2 Invoked Evaluation

I now present the outcome of the search for tokens of invoked evaluation in the texts. Despite the discussion of the blurred transition between Provoked and Evoked tokens, for operational reasons, I deal with them separately.

5.4.2.1 Provoked Evaluation

The attitude provoked by these evaluative tokens is triggered partly from the indirect allusions in the text (cf. Lennon 2004) and the reader's subjective response to these clues. As noted earlier, one of the linguistic resources that leads the reader to pass the 'sought' judgement is the clustering of attitudinal lexis which guides the reader to make certain associations. The incidence of these signals somewhere in the vicinity, even if dim, elicits a response. Thus, (5.33) is free from explicit judgement, but the mere recount of the facts provokes a negative reaction.

(5.33) *More than 20 online activists were **detained** last year for several weeks and **beaten** for anti government criticism.* (65a)

Certainly, the terms highlighted provoke strong negative associations, but these work in combination with tokens that bring forth a response to the whole event: the evaluation that is evoked here is the disproportion between the punishment –*being detained* and *beaten*– applied in Iran, for a petty offence –*online anti government criticism*– in the view of the democratic and speech-free western society. White (2004, 2005) proposes three main types of resources that trigger provoked evaluation: (a) lexical metaphor (b) intensification and (c) tokens of counter-expectation. Below, some illustrations of occurrences in my data:

(a) Metaphorical language does not necessarily assert negative or positive assessments, but it is a powerful device to induce readers to make allusions and associations that "invite and provoke attitudinal reactions" (Martin & White, 2005: 64). The allusions and associations are triggered by the author through lexical metaphors which provoke a certain interpretation in the audience, e.g.:

(5.34) *Inside the **Brussels labyrinth**, Mandelson should be good at pushing Blair's brand of reform*. (13a)

(5.35) *The moves amount to an **earthquake** for Italian banks*. (47b)

(5.36) *...the cuts announced by E.U. Commissioner... prompted a **sour** reaction from Europe's sugar industry*. (59a)

Calling the EU headquarters a *labyrinth* invites the reader to judge the structure as complicated; nevertheless in the context of the article, this complexity is viewed as an opportunity, therefore positive; the writer uses a term with negative associations to mean something positive, i.e. an opportunity for Mandelson to profit from the complexity of the system to push Blair's agenda. The *earthquake* example is much more straightforward, since the term alludes to something negative and it is used likewise in the context. Again, the writer is passing judgment of the results the *moves* will bring to the banks. The third case differs in that the writer plays a game on words; the term *sour* stands out against the content of the story that deals with the sugar business. By predicting a *sour* reaction*,* the writer gives a flavour to the reaction to relate it to the sugar context. In the three examples, together with the metaphorical tokens, there are clues nearby that help interpret the figurative ones: *labyrinth– good*; *earthquake– moves; sour– sugar.*

(b) Intensifications are tokens that strengthen the writer's assessment by characterising the entities or actions they denote, inducing the reader to pass a judgement. The examples show the writer has already 'passed judgement' when s/he writes:

(5.37) *...when Berlusconi **crowed** that Italy was now Washington's closest ally...* (03b)

(5.38) *There's a **far more reaching conundrum***. (04a)

(5.39) ***The touchiest issue*** *within the coalition is a proposed change to the constitution to give more power...* (48a)

(c) Counter expectation indicators, which Martin (2003) prefers to call 'Concession', account for elements, mostly conjunctions, that counter what the writer judges to be the expectations of the audience in relation to what s/he is telling. The formulations are neither positive nor negative in themselves, but provoke responses via grammatical terms which are frequently associated with negative positioning such as: *not, just, only, already, still, yet, although, despite, at least*. For example:

(5.40) *...on a payroll,* ***only*** *602 of the 8,206 names could be confirmed,* (37b)

(5.41) *Ahmadinejad is* ***just*** *the tip of the iceberg.* (57a)

(5.42) *The ruling is bound to be controversial in a case that has* ***already*** *split society.* (38a)

(5.43) *The endangered Hubble Space Telescope may have life* ***yet***. (06a)

(5.44) *Not* ***even*** *the closest allies, it seems, always work together.* (58a)

(5.45) ***Despite*** *the embargo, China is still the world's biggest weapons importer* (44a)

With these signals, the writer seems to assess a situation or an outcome as different from what was expected; s/he conveys a note of surprise in front of the events denoted. Negative statements in particular, are always evaluations, since they suggest that something expected is not there (see case study). I now introduce two evaluative resources, which although absent from White's model, I think also fall under the category of provocation: Comparisons and Analogies.

5.4.2.1.1 Comparisons

They were included as triggers of provoked assessment on the grounds that any act of comparing two entities implies a judgment, since it involves a process of assessing similarities and differences. No comparison is neutral (as pointed out by Labov 1972; Hunston 1993; Hunston & Thompson 2000); it reveals that the entities in the comparison are not assessed 'by themselves' but with reference to something else which stands as the norm or alternative position. The act of representing a relation between two referents entails a judgement that often seeks to emphasize particular attributes of one against the other. In comparisons, the act of evaluating is not made explicit, but the reference to analogous referents almost necessarily causes the reader to prefer one option over the other, or take sides. Comparisons may convey evaluations with different levels of explicitness. For instance in (5.46) the writer announces explicitly s/he is making a comparison, as opposed to (5.47), where the comparison is much subtler:

(5.46) *In the 2004 litter audit, 2,000 pieces of gum dotted one typical stretch of sidewalk,* ***compared with*** *just 200 pieces of other litter*. (65b)

(5.47) ***Unlike last year****, China's Ministry of Health, promptly shared information on the cases with the World Health Organization (WHO) and the media*. (02a)

The apparently neutral statement of (5.47) makes a judgemental statement. Although the writer is merely informing on what China's Health Minister has done, s/he is also contrasting this behaviour with 'last year's' and indirectly criticising the latter. On its own, this formulation could be read as praise for this action, but in the context of the publication in the western world, this is rather an allusion to China's policy of little openness to the world.

An aspect of particular interest of the semantics of comparison is its versatility that is the range of structures which may encode the act of comparing, likening, contrasting or relating two referents. Given its many realisations, I adopted the classification proposed by Huddleston and Pullum (2002; chapter 13). Comparisons operate by looking at someone or something in the light of an analogous counterpart, so for a comparison to be valid, the two items need to be akin and share equivalent features, or else they will not admit a comparison. Examples (5.48-50) are canonical comparative sentences where the two items subject to comparison are present:

(5.48) *Melville was **more** exultant **than** eloquent.* (10c)

(5.49) *If the men are guilty, their high rank **would be more surprising than** the fact that the rebels had penetrated law-enforcement agencies.* (38a)

(5.50) *A set of layered sheets, which costs $1,100, is **a lot cheaper than** the $15,000 windshields.* (57b)

However, examples of this nature are infrequent in the corpus. The reality of comparisons in context is that only one of the elements is articulated, while the elided one is left to the reader's inference. This implicit element may make endophoric reference but in my data, they are for the most part exophoric. The elided counterpart often refers to a previous state or situation that is only hinted at, i.e. the comparison is 'now' as opposed to 'before'. In these examples the unstated counterpart is presented in [brackets]:

(5.51) *His doctrinaire ways have been tempered by a deft and **more pragmatic approach*** [than he had before] *to issues such as rising Western secularism…*(32a)

(5.52) *The group's chief fund raiser… has become **more assertive*** [than before]. (02b)

(5.53) *It was no doubt inevitable, but that only made it **more depressing*** [than expected]. (29a)

(5.54) *the Council would only require... much as the IAEA has already done, but with **a little more clout*** [than there has been until now] (22a)

(5.55) *...the country is paving the way for economic reforms and possibly for **a more collective form of leadership*** [than they have now] (28a)

This 'temporal comparison' of the same event in different timeframes, also accepts alternative structures, such as a form of parallelism rather than on the conventional comparison, as in:

(5.56) *Where he **earlier** looked tired, he **now** seemed healthy and well groomed, if a bit thinner.* (24a)

(5.57) *Warsaw **now** has eight five-star hotels - twice as many as **in 2002***. (59c)

The temporal comparison may take an even subtler shape by denoting the current condition only and omitting the counter-reference altogether. The hint may simply be the adverb *now,* which presupposes a contrast with a past condition. Thus (5.58) entails the idea that Washington has wanted something different before. Similar readings apply to the other cases.

(5.58) *Washington **now** wants the U.N. Security Council to impose sanctions*. (10a)

(5.59) *Homeless men in Amsterdam **now** have corporate sponsors* (33b)

(5.60) *The high-speed TGV train can **now** do the 660-km trip in just three hours* (51c)

(5.61) *… the government blames them for fueling inflation, **now** at 129%.* (54b)

(5.62) *Sinn Fein is **now** the biggest nationalist party in Northern Ireland…* (61b)

A step further in implicit comparison consists of instances in which the 'before' and 'after' are essentially conveyed by lexical items which entail the notions of process and change, as in *further, worsened, keep*; making indirect acts of assessment, showing that comparisons may be based on syntactic and semantic features. For example:

(5.63) *In **a further sign of Syria's diminishing influence**, Jamil al-Sayyed, Lebanon's feared pro-Syrian intelligence chief … stepped aside.* (50a)

(5.64) *But sectarian violence has **worsened** under his reign.* (55a)

(5.65) *The bad publicity just **kept coming**.* (13b)

A final further comparative form is the analogy and contrast, where both parts establish a type of relationship via prepositions and adverbs: *as if, like, equal, unlike, same as, different from, contrary to, similar*, etc. This liaison corresponds to a subtype of comparison and operates more discursively than the ones exemplified above; the counterpart is often endophoric, i.e. mentioned somewhere else in the text or it may be elided. The fullness of the judgement conveyed through the comparisons is only seen in context. For instance:

(5.66) *The streets of Tehran's better-off northern districts **were like** a ghost town full of zombies… (56a)*

(5.67) *… the trip in just three hours, **about the same as** flying if you include early check-in times and travel to the airport. (51c)*

(5.68) ***A similar** order in 2001 failed to stanch the flow of verbiage. (06a)*

(5.69) *But the messenger was at least superficially **different**. (24a).*

(5.70) *… which was followed by an almost **equally** strong aftershock. (64a)*

(5.71) ***Unlike** incumbent President Megawati, he told voters, he wouldn't shy from... (22b)*

Up to here with strategies of provocation, the attention now shifts to strategies of evoked evaluation.

5.4.2.2   Evoked Evaluation

One of the most significant differences between inscribed and invoked evaluation is that any form of invoked assessment needs to be 'interpreted'. This requirement applies chiefly to the highly elusive category of Evoked evaluation, which displays no surface indicators to guide the interpretation of the intended meanings but relies completely on the reader's inferences. Contrary to the provoked tokens, evoked meanings are not even hinted at, but operate at a deeper semantic layer; below the surface of the text. Due to this absence of signals they require the activation of the reader's inferential processes to draw attitudinal values from

purely informational contents. Consequently, they are much harder to pinpoint than the forms of evaluation outlined so far. This type of evaluation is exemplified in the forthcoming case study. The same as in the previous section, here I focus on two ways of evoking meanings, which may add to White's model: The presentation of: (a) hard evidence and (b) implicit contrast.

5.4.2.2.1 Presentation of Hard Evidence

No datum is more eloquent and convincing in the press than the provision of numerical evidence. Figures seem undisputable and trigger spontaneous value judgement in the reader. Large figures speak by themselves (Bell 1991) so in the following examples the writer needs not spell out the magnitude of an economic disaster (5.72-5), the dimensions of a catastrophe (5.76-9) or the cruelty of a war (5.80-3):

(5.72) *a ruling that froze Yukos' Swiss bank accounts worth **$5 billion**, leaving the company with only **$800 million**,* (07a)

(5.73) *British Airways, which has chopped **13,000 jobs** since 9/11…* (19c)

(5.74) *…who estimates that Buffett's losses this year have **surpassed $1 billion*** (59a)

(5.75) *… corruption costs the ailing economy a whopping **€350 billion** a year…*(63b)

(5.76) *… **more than 140 million** chickens and ducks across Asia have either died or been culled in a vain attempt to eradicate the disease.* (40a)

(5.77) *… after a blaze killed **at least 175** and injured **more than 700**.* (34a)

(5.78)   *… the 2002 Bali bombings that left **202 dead*** (22b)

(5.79)   *… where fires are consuming an **estimated 1,000 hectares** a day, …*(61a)

(5.80)   *… the Sudanese government has promised to disarm Arab militiamen accused of killing **30,000** and forcing **more than 1.4 million** from their homes … (18b)*

(5.81)   *The operation … has netted **more than 15,000** people for hoarding maize (54b)*

(5.82)   *the violence, which has killed an **estimated 70,000 people** and left **more than 2 million homeless**… (29a)*

(5.83)   *… security forces rounded up **some 3,000 locals** and tortured some of them… (62b)*

Conversely, the figures in the examples below lay bare the success of the business and initiatives denoted, thus position the readers in such a way that they will 'read' the success in the text, despite not being mentioned explicitly.

(5.84)   *… in its first six weeks has been downloaded - for free - **more than 800,000 times** at food-force.com. (53a)*

(5.85)   *…has expanded **from six to 51 stations**. It reaches **more than 2 million listeners** a week … (46a)*

(5.86)   *… automotive operations almost tripled in the first quarter to **$1.8 billion** (04b)*

(5.87)   *The three "ancestor" bulbs… were bought for **over $93,000 each**. (45b)*

(5.88)   *… the group said its website alone had raised **$2.5 million** from **37,183 donors** (16a)*

(5.89) *a hardware-software system it claims can predict… with accuracy levels of **more than** **90%.** *(27b)

(5.90) *Online dating has boomed into a **$500 million** industry.* (62c)

In none of these cases does the writer elucidate the extent of the tragedy/accomplishment; that is left to the reader. The writer seems to trust the reader's judgement in that s/he will respond evaluative to this data. Although evoked values are to a large extent subject to social and cultural associations, the evidence provided by large figures seems so eloquent that appears to be irrefutable across cultures and position readers in a similar stance.

As shown in some of the examples above, large figures are generally approximated, since accuracy is virtually impossible (see Channell 1994). However, the occurrences of numeric data in my corpus cast both exact and approximated figures in very similar proportions. These 'figures', though, were not quantifiable, since they comprised any kind of numerical information, therefore categories that differed greatly from each other such as: figures relating to people or other countable instances; currency, percentages, proportions and so on, as shown in the following examples, which could not be counted or quantified together. E.g.

(5.91) *…desiccated by one of the worst droughts of the last **60** years…* (61a)

(5.92) *Shares in Whitbread… jumped by **almost 9%** last Thursday …* (53b)

(5.93) *Italian carrier, which loses **about €1.2 million** a day…* (04a)

(5.94) *but **nearly 90%** of the country has been deforested,* (06b)

(5.95) *... his personal library contains* **13,000 volumes***,* (21b)

(5.96) *... a dictate that new cars have to be* **95% recyclable** (07b)

(5.97) *...* **over 13 billion dollars' worth** *between 1999 and 2004 ...*(44a)

(5.98) *... only* **602** *of the* **8,206** *names could be confirmed, with no paper trail...* (37b)

(5.99) *.... was arrested on allegations of taking* **up to $100,000** *in bribes* (63b)

(5.100) *Bulbs will sell for* **$15 each** *–* **over 10 times** *the norm for hyacinths*. (45b)

(5.101) *Taylor faces* **17 counts** *of war crimes and crimes against humanity* (57a)

Looking at these examples, it stands to reason that they cannot be classified together, because the significance of such figures differs radically depending on the entities being counted and on their value in context; so each case needs to be interpreted against exophoric parameters, which the writer expects the reader to be familiar with. Thus, number '17' in (5.101) is an insignificant number in the context of the finances where figures move in the range of billions, but in the context of war accusations against a single person, this is a surprisingly high digit. Notably, figures are highly informative and much self-contained, so the real impact of the information provided by those numbers needs to be evaluated individually.

By figures, here is meant both pure figures and approximations as well. It could be argued that figures work as signals, thus provoking an attitude rather than evoking it, but I decided to consider them under evocation on the grounds that numbers provide 'factual information' which does not rely on lexical clues but needs to be interpreted against parameters. Admittedly, this is certainly a debatable point. What is more, figures modalised with

approximations 'more than' or 'at least', could be interpreted as provoked tokens, but in this context I prioritise their role as 'hard evidence'; or to be more accurate, I see them as a transitional category between the tokens of provoked and evoked evaluation. However, in science texts, signals of this nature could be viewed as an inscription. For Hunston (1989), for example, they encode evaluation since they indicate that results were greater than expected. This is not surprising, since even in the purest cases of evoked evaluation there are hints guiding the reader's response somewhere in the text. Another reason to disregard the difference between exact and modalised figures, lies on the fact that the authors of these texts do not seem to assign great importance to this distinction given that in the complex sentences we can find occurrences of both types with no clear reason to treat the numbers differently (5.102). On the other hand huge amounts of money or large numbers of people are referred to in either way in my corpus. Examples (5.103-110) show that high figures are treated in either way, indicating that the scale is what really matters rather than the precise number.

(5.102) *… promised **more than $2 million** in disaster aid after its initial pledge on just **$60,000**.* (21c)

(5.103) *A9 has gathered and organized **20 million** photos of **10** U.S. cities,* (37a)

(5.104) *…that the CPA left large portions of **the $8.8 billion** Iraqi treasury…* (37b)

(5.105) *the animation unit lost **more than $350 million** over the past five years,* (15a)

(5.106) *Madrid's March 11 terrorist attacks, in which **191 people** died,* (13b)

(5.107) ***About 50** foreigners have been kidnapped in Iraq in the past month,* (03b)

(5.108) *a terrorist blew himself up in a tent full of Shia celebrants, killing **at least 20**.* (55a)

(5.109) *international arrivals in Warsaw in March were **up 35% to 509,000**.* (59c)

(5.110) ***More than 500,000** illegal aliens were caught last year in southern Arizona alone…* (45c)

An additional point of interest concerning the evocative nature of figures is that they are considerably self-contained; this contradicts my assumption that evoked meanings stretch beyond the sentence and adjacent sentences to the overall the text and outside it. Nonetheless, if we look at them as 'hard evidence' that needs to be interpreted against our world knowledge or paradigms outside the text, such assumption still applies. Yet, their classification as tokens of evaluation is another debatable issue.

5.4.2.2.2   Presentation of Contrast

I also view the presentation of contrast as a way of evoking assessment. Although this category relates to the comparison mentioned earlier in the section of provoked evaluation, the wording here is more uncommitted. The contrast does not necessarily refer to contrasting opinions, but to alternative views in the face of a particular issue. When contrasting views, the writer exposes both sides but does not take part. However, s/he always gives signs of supporting one side; this may not show in the section where the contrasting material is presented – where the writer often remains considerably neutral – but in the treatment of the topic throughout the article. This manner of contrast accepts a wide range of realisations, most of them occurring beyond the clause and sentence limits. The writer does 'nothing but provide alternative views, which can be expressed in unmistakable adjacent parallel forms or through more complex mechanisms. The contrasting parts may well be far apart from each other and

even spread unsystematically throughout the text. Examples of this kind are hard to illustrate out of context or in short stretches of text, but are exemplified in case study in section 5.5.

The expressions of contrast with evaluative purposes may be grouped into two major classes; those where the divergent views are (a) explicitly presented in adjacent clauses linked by grammatical markers and (b) spread throughout longer stretches with no surface signals to indicate such disparity. These two forms are discussed separately below.

The first form of contrast represents straightforward cases that embody some kind of balance between the two positions and, some parallelism in the way they are expressed. They are connected through coordinators such as *but, while, though*, which places cases of this nature somewhere closer to provoked evaluation along the continuum – but still within the domain of evocation.

(5.111) *That might be true, **but** it's unlikely to stop the rumor mill anytime soon.* (28a)

(5.112) *British M.P. and former Cabinet Minister Peter Mandelson has a lot of enemies, **but** he has one very old and dear friend: Prime Minister Tony Blair;* (13a)

(5.113) *Some intelligence officials downplayed this interpretation, **while** others sounded the alarm.* (25b)

(5.114) *...some bloggers are campaigning for a boycott, **while** others support reformist candidates and argue for participation.* (33b)

(5.115) *...many in Lebanon blame the murders on Syria and its allies in the Lebanese intelligence services, **though** Syria denies involvement.* (58c)

Explicit contrast may also be achieved by means of coordinating parallel clauses linked by punctuation. This structure highlights the differences between the conflicting sides in the neighbouring clauses without superficial signals that may trigger an attitude:

(5.116) *Their new Nissan Terranos* [demanded by Supreme Court Judges in Malawi] *will cost about $60,000 apiece; per capita GDP is around $155.* (38c)

(5.117) *Some even suggested he had already died; a later report insisted he was "in good health and running the jihad himself."* (52a)

(5.118) *...religious social-action groups provided Ahmadinejad with 62% of the votes, Rafsanjani could muster only 36%.* (56a)

(5.119) *Pakistan has long insisted on a plebiscite among Kashmiris to determine… For just as long, India has refused to hold such a referendum.* (26b)

Contrast via clause relation is a veiled form of evaluation, since it is up to the reader to 'read' it, to make the connections and interpret what the writer is hinting at. This places these cases further away from provocation and closer to evocation. Such instances of evoked contrast may not position the reader attitudinally very strongly when seen out of context, but within the stories, they tend to be clearly biased, where the popular side is more strongly supported than the institutional one. The popular side is often represented by common people, ordinary citizens (often unnamed), victims, etc. as opposed to the institutional one normally represented by authorities, politicians, governments, companies, or other agents embodying structural power.

The second kind of contrast corresponds to a more indistinct and elusive form, which does not rely on adjacency, but on contrasting positions via 'informational' content scattered throughout the text. This strategy plays a much greater role in the evaluative positioning, since the contrast occurs in clauses quite distant from each other, and the contrasting parts can be expressed in structures quite unlike each other. They are very subtle forms of contrasts which require deep inferences to be seen as 'confronting' each other. For a full perception of the effect, the contrasting clauses need to be seen in the light of the whole argument, where it becomes evident that the writer is not neutral in the presentation of both parts, but one part often counts on his/her support. Given that the evaluative section is not localised in a particular part of the formulation no particular section is highlighted in examples (5.120-21) but underlined.

(5.120) _Uzbek authorities claimed that_ _173 people died,_ _mostly militants. But based on first-hand experience and other eyewitness accounts,_ _Zainabitdinov said the death toll could be as high as 1,000_. (55b)

(5.121) _Police launched a violent crackdown on illegal traders in Zimbabwe's biggest cities - the government blames them for fueling inflation, now at 129%. Operation Restore Order has so far netted more than 15,000 people for hoarding maize and dealing in foreign currency. Many Zimbabweans believe there are darker reasons for the sweeps, which have included incidents of police brutality and destruction of property_ (54a)

These examples show two mismatching interpretations of the same incident, in which the government's version is always softer (in 5.120) than the dissident one. The unofficial version

often comes in the second place reporting a more dramatic position. This side is also usually somehow 'supported' by the writer, shown in its agreement with the overall tone of the passage. This resource holds an apparent contradiction with my initial point of looking at the material for which the writer takes responsibility only. This resource presents at least one external voice, if not both. However, the writer is the one presenting them, and often in such a way that one is always favoured. This issue will be discussed in chapter 7.

In (5.122) the position presented by the authorial voice is debated by quotes in direct speech, with which the writer seems willing to prove the stubbornness of the Nigerian President who discards the evidence provided by three entities (The Sierra Leone court, Western governments and human-rights groups) concerning crimes committed by Taylor. Evaluatively speaking, the writer does not contradict the Nigerian president's version or his spokesman; he simply quotes them. The interpretation, as intended by the writer, requires the activation of the reader's inferences based on the inscribed values about Taylor: ***crimes against humanity for his role in the brutal conflict.***

(5.122) *The Sierra Leone court, Western governments and human-rights groups are cranking* *up pressure on Nigeria to hand Taylor, who faces 17 counts of war crimes and crimes* *against humanity for his role in the brutal conflict in Sierra Leone, over to the court* *for prosecution... But Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo says that, short of* *'irrefutable evidence' that Taylor has committed crimes from Nigeria, he will* *extradite Taylor only to Liberia. 'The President keeps asking to see the evidence,''* *says Obasanjo spokeswoman Remi Oyo, who points out that Nigeria agreed to grant* *Taylor asylum under pressure from Western nations. "All we get is statements and*

soundbites on television. But we need to see evidence, or we will not be seen as

credible and honorable members of the international community" (54a).

Example (5.123) is different within the likeness of the cases in this category. The writer presents two conflicting views in front of the same phenomenon; that of the tabloids against that of the experts. Again, superficially no side is supported by the writer, but the following section of the article supports the experts' side, hinting at the writer's inclinations.

(5.123) *When hundreds of modern art works belonging to Charles Saatchi and others were destroyed last week in a London warehouse fire; the tabloids were quick to call it the end of Britart - and most tried to dance on its grave. Not that the tabs don't know their art, but many experts believe the movement is equally likely to rise phoenix-like from the ashes - with higher price tags attached.* (08b)

Before closing this section it needs to be noted that the process of encoding and decoding these evoked evaluations gets more and more complex as it stretches along the passage. The number of factors taking part in the evaluative process increases and they get increasingly entangled with the context playing a larger role each time. Each text is quite unique, so every possible explanation is only partial.
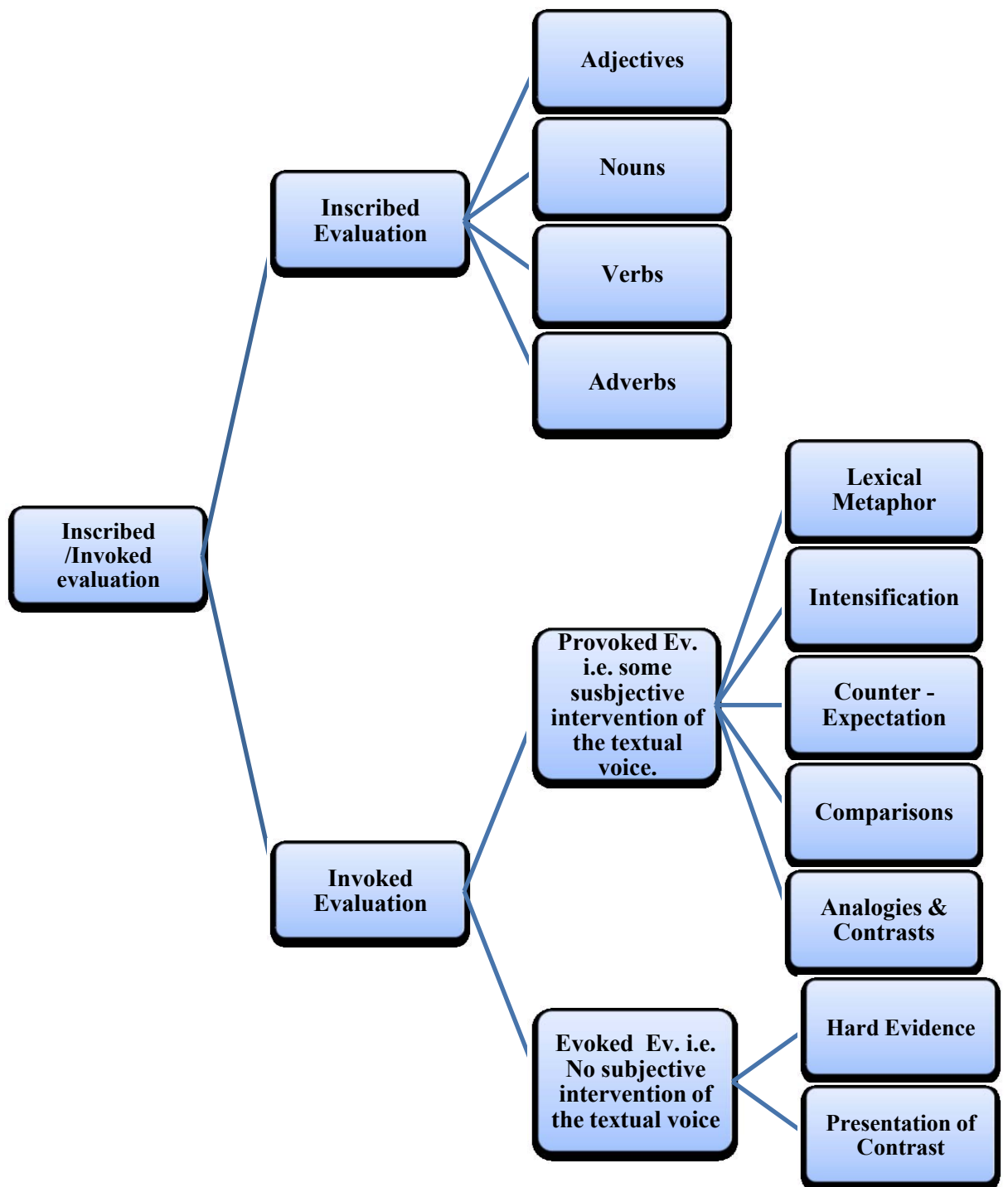
Diagram 4.3. Summary of the strategies of Inscribed and Invoked Evaluation.

5.5   Case Study

In order to illustrate the categories discussed above, I now show their occurrence in context. In the text below, like in any other, some resources occur but naturally not every possible device is present. To facilitate the discussion, the sentences have been numbered and *Inscribed meanings* highlighted.

65a. DINOSAURS FOR CREATIONISTS.

(1) The new museum of Earth history that opened last week in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, isn't nearly as big as more famous natural history museums in Chicago, Washington and New York City; in fact the whole thing would probably fit neatly inside one of their exhibition halls. (2) And its nine replicas of dinosaur skeletons and skulls don't quite measure up to the rich fossil collections on display elsewhere. (3) But it's got something the others don't: an account of Earth's history that hews to the most literal version of biblical creationism. (4) Nestled close to the 20-m-tall Christ of the Ozarks statue, the museum is the latest addition to a theological theme park established almost four decades ago by the late Gerald L. K. Smith, *a right-wing zealot and notorious anti-Semite.* (5) So if you come here, you will walk through exhibits depicting Eden and the Tower of Babel and learn that all life in Earth was created at one stroke about 6,000 years ago (no mention of evolution), that dinosaurs and humans walked the earth at the same time, and that the *terrible* lizards perished under human pressure and habitat loss. (6) Scientists, naturally, won't be rushing for a visit. (7) William Etges, an evolutionary biologist at the nearby university of Arkansas, Fayetteville, dismissed the museum's version of history as "*utterly irrelevant* to what we already know and understand about our world". (8) But the museum's president, G. Thomas Sharp, whose doctorate in the philosophy of religion and science was awarded by a Florida Seminary, says the exhibit is intended to counter a

lamentable drift in public education to what he calls "a very secular, pagan base", arguing

that "the biblical explanation to earth science is very ***feasible*** and very ***satisfying***". (9) At

least for some people: the museum expects from 350,000 to 500,000 visitors a year.

The text is highly critical of the new museum; this judgement against its creationism outlook

runs implicitly throughout but is never made explicit. The writer inscribes evaluation only in

sentence 4 to qualify a person indirectly involved with the museum. Other sets of inscribed

meanings correspond to the direct quotes (in 7 and 8), hence not attributable to the authorial

voice, and in *terrible* lizard (in 5) which is nothing but the literal translation of the Greek

'dinosaur'. Therefore, in principle, the authorial voice takes a fairly 'neutral' stance, in terms

of explicitness. However, the text is beset with touches of sarcasm expressed mainly by means

of side comments and of comparisons and contrasts. This can be seen (in 1) where the writer

compares the 'creationist' museum with others of the kind and their exhibits, only to highlight

the inferiority of this museum's display (in 2). Despite this inferiority, the writer 'highlights'

what makes it different from those mentioned earlier (in 3); its *account of Earth's history that*

hews to the most literal version of biblical creationism. In itself, this formulation about its

uniqueness is neither positive nor negative, but its evaluative dimension comes in with the

description of the exhibit according to this creationist perspective where the writer describes

what the visitors will *learn* in the museum (in 5). A few indicators guide the reader to see the

writer's sceptical perception of the exhibit, especially expressed in the 'factual', but mocking,

formulation, *...exhibits depicting Eden and the Tower of Babel; all life in Earth was created at*

one stroke about 6,000 years ago (no mention of evolution), noting its main shortcoming. The

writer manages to convey what the museum owners might say – this is a unique museum that

presents a Christian view of creation – as well as his/her own view. This double-voicing is

very effective. The only section where the writer's voice seems to surface to communicate his

judgement is in the adverb *naturally* (in 6) but even this one refers only to the scientist's reaction, rather than his/her own. The writer's final blow is conveyed by means of the contrasting perceptions of the value of the museum (in 7 and 8), showing two conflicting views; the one of an academic, with well regarded credentials, against that of the museum's president, whose credentials the writer subtly discredits with the wording *whose doctorate in the philosophy of religion and science was awarded by a Florida Seminary,* a fairly infrequent way to refer to the sources' credential.

The writer's implicit position against creationism is nowhere, but is everywhere. Because tokens do not work in isolation, a few inscribed terms are enough to tint the text evaluatively and influence the reader to interpret the accompanying discourse in that light. Naturally, seeing through is not easy, since the passage consists of a report of (apparently) 'factual information'. So, the proper interpretation of the writer's intended meanings require a large amount of world knowledge. For example, the writer expects the reader to react negatively to the description of what 'you will find in the museum' in sentence 5. The 'informational' content of this formulation goes against what science tells us about the creation and evolution of the world that is taught from early school years. Another meandering manner of judging, is shown in the contrast of the comments of the external voices, where the whole text (hence the writer) supports the evolutionist biologist side while presents the creationist one is obliquely disgraced by the context (this is dealt with in chapter 7). The writer needs not explicate that s/he sees something wrong in this, but expects the reader to infer what s/he is getting at. If strong supporters of the creationism read the article, they would not be able to accuse the writer of discrediting their museum, since there is nothing explicitly dishonouring about it (but the reference to Mr. Smith). The values are not communicated in the text, but they are hinted

there, so that they may be 'read' via inferences and associations made from the tokens that will trigger negative evaluations; but that responsibility is left to the reader not to the author.

This text was chosen for illustrative purposes, since it is exceptionally rich in terms of indirect appraisal. The norm for texts is to bear only a few tokens of this nature, in fact at times even a single one will be sufficient to trigger a response in the reader, imprinting an evaluative tone to the whole of it.

5.6 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have attested White's categories of evaluative semantics in my corpus. I noted some problems of fuzziness of its categories which run better as a continuum than as discrete categories. Despite the richness of this model and its contribution to the theme of evaluation in media texts, I noted some important aspects not accounted for in prior models. In order to help draw a more accurate picture of the phenomenon, I included some further strategies that contribute to the encoding of evaluation. Admittedly, resources similar to these have been pointed out in other models. My reason for their inclusion was based on my premise of their inherent evaluative condition and their high frequency; the latter adds to their evaluative power, since their recurrence is an 'added value' to mark personal attitudinal more pervasively. The categories of comparisons and contrasts run through texts of every nature, and precisely because we are so familiar with them we may easily miss their evaluative condition and disregard them as resources of evaluation. In fact, because the reader does all the evaluative work when exposed to evoked tokens, s/he may read them or miss them; making the same text more or less evaluative for different readers.

The deeper one looks into the conveyance of evaluation, the more one sees and the more pervasive and intricate it gets. The risk is run of seeing evaluation where there was no intention of conveying such values and one may end up forcing certain formulations to convey the meanings sought. Therefore, I intentionally tried not to stretch the notions to the point of assigning judgemental value to formulations which, in my opinion were doubtful. The judgemental dimension of the resources introduced and discussed above is multifaceted and grows in complexity along the way as new factors and variables are added. Therefore, in this field it is difficult to set general rules, since each text and each instance of evaluation is unique.

An observation that emerges from the discussion is that the writer's evaluation is not mainly encoded via evaluative lexical items as it may be thought at first sight. Certainly this kind of evaluation stands out as the most explicit expression of attitude, but it is not words on their own that assign the evaluative tone to the text. It is the combination of words loaded with certain values plus other subtler strategies that do the job. As shown in the case study, a text may convey strong views without a single inscription of positive or negative values. This suggests the possible inversion of the priority of the impact of other strategies over lexis as resources of evaluation, which is worth going into a bit deeper.

Another point which merits attention is the fact the conveyance of attitude cross cuts the different systems and strategies, but they reinforce each other and work together in putting across certain values. For example, third person Affect is frequently included in a text in order to describe –and inscribe– an emotion but to invoke a judgement as well. In this case even though the person's feeling denotes AFFECT, it often counts a token of indirect appraisal of the

writer, who invokes a judgement in the reader of the cause of that particular feeling. For instance:

(5.124) *But such comity was met with **bafflement** by some;* (61a)

Here the writer uses the affectual state of *bafflement* of *some* to make an indirect value judgement of the source that caused such negative condition, without signalling –or criticising– the *comity* as the origin of this state, but indirectly such instance is the one that gets the blame for the negative feeling.

The evaluative strategies discussed in this chapter do not operate on their own but are complemented with other, some quite elusive, which give full potential to these and other modes of indirect judgement. Chapters 6 and 7 discuss the aspects of naturalisation and interaction with the sources, two resources that add to and supplement those the direct and indirect resources revised in this chapter. This means that some features –and even examples– will necessarily come up again; but treated from a different angle, highlighting aspects which were not mentioned in this chapter.

6. EVALUATION THROUGH NATURALISATION

6.1 Introduction

The NOTEBOOK texts were characterised as overtly evaluative, in which the writer impressed attitudinal views explicitly. This open expression of the authorial position is the object of study of this chapter used by the writer to naturalise personal views in the text. I attest White's resources of inscribed evaluation in position of unarguability in my data and suggest that invoked judgement may also be passed in position of unarguability, making it more difficult for the reader to contend these formulations.

At odds with White, who argues that the naturalisation of certain values is conveyed via inscribed evaluation, in this chapter I argue that they may be naturalised via resources of invoked evaluation as well. The chapter shows how stance may be communicated unarguably at the same three levels discussed on chapter 4 (i.e. inscribed, invoked and evoked). To begin with, a list of unmistakably attitudinal formulations from the corpus through inscribed items – in **boldface** –is shown in the random examples below:

(6.1) *something sparked a **cataclysmic** explosion at Ryongchon's station...* (03a)

(6.2) *...a different videotape, which al-Jazeera declined to air, had **galvanised** Italy.* (03b)

(6.3) *The carrier... **desperately** needs a government bailout to avoid bankruptcy.* (04a)

(6.4) *The pictures had **eerie and disturbing** echoes:* (10a)

(6.5) *Ratzinger, 77, is a **prominent and respected** Cardinal who may fill that bill.* (32a)

(6.6) *...after eight years of leading a **brutal insurgency** and six years **of bloody rule**...* (54a)

(6.7) *...Bennie Man, is also taking heat from gay activists for his **violently** homophobic lyrics.* (17c)

(6.8) *... there are **darker** reasons for the sweeps, which have included incidents of police **brutality** and **destruction** of property...* (54b)

As already noted in chapter 5, attitude is not only conveyed by this kind of items only, but may also be conveyed in more indirect ways, and their force and the attitudinal value of a text results from the interplay of both resources of explicit and implicit evaluation. It was suggested that just a few inscribed lexical items may be enough to permeate a formulation, and even a whole text, with a particular attitude. The evaluation conveyed in these terms plays a key part in the interpretation of non evaluative terms, since they predispose the reader to see signs of evaluation where no attitude is inscribed and guide him/her to interpret tokens of invoked evaluation from a particular perspective. Despite being decontextualised, these examples show the powerful effect of inscribed evaluation. The value of the terms carrying explicit assessments permeate the whole proposition and contribute efficiently to imprint the writer's attitude on the surface of the discourse.

6.2 White's Notion of Naturalisation

White' work (e.g. 1997, 1998, 2003, 2004, 2005/6) is based on his postulation that journalistic discourse is essentially ideological. It follows from this, that much of his work explores 'objectivity' and 'bias' in news reports looking at how the textual voice endorses particular view points. In particular, he searches for the mechanisms that contribute explicitly and implicitly to conveying such ideology. White's concern is not so much with the views expressed explicitly, but rather with the systems of beliefs underlying the text, which the

writer assumes and relies upon in the construction of the text (cf. Fairclough 1989/2001 and discussion in Martin 1995). For White, one of the most common mechanisms to achieve this end is by 'naturalising' or 'backgrounding' certain value positions; that is to say, presenting them in such a way that they seem perfectly natural. This is achieved by articulating them as 'given', i.e. by imparting them in propositions which "are not asserted but assumed" (White, 2005: 7). Such propositions correspond to what would be recognised as 'presuppositions' in pragmatics (Levinson 1983); that is "taken for granted implicit meanings necessary for the utterance to make sense" (Verschueren, 1999: 33).

Despite White's frequent use of the term 'naturalisation', White does not attempt to define it in absolute terms, but a definition can be found in Iedema *et al.* (1994: 3) who refer to it as the mechanisms used to present systems of value and belief "as if that was the only way of talking about them, making them seem natural to the readership". More recently Martin & White have claimed that a text naturalises a reading position, "when it is fairly directive in the kind of attitude it wants readers to share" (2005: 63). By means of naturalisation[98], the author welcomes those readers who share certain values but exclude others, or "the textual voice presents itself as 'aligned' with those who share these views and as 'disaligned' from those who do not" (White, 2005: 21). Within this frame, texts can be seen as negotiating relations of solidarity with its readership.

White has developed a model of Evaluative Semantics[99] which serves various functions regarding the ideological naturalisation of a world view. He explains that through these mechanisms the writer presents certain views and positions – and those who support them –

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[98] White had already referred to the notion of naturalisation in his previous works but had never developed so much as he does in (2005/6) paper. Yet, as a working model, it is still quite undefined and it leaves many issues unanswered.
[99] He also discusses it within the system of Engagement, but in this chapter I will only deal with some of the categories of the system of ATTITUDE.

as (il)legitimate and morally (un)worthy (2005: 22) and in this way s/he "constructs relationships of affiliation with particular communities of shared values and beliefs... construes certain world views as natural and commonsensical...and projects beliefs and understandings on the wider community in general" (2005: 24).

White's notion of naturalisation of ideological positioning has evolved in time (see 1997, 2003, 2004, 2005/6; White *et al*. 2007[100]) and the linguistic mechanisms by which texts naturalise certain value positions have been described further. Martin and White (2005) introduce the notion of 'taken-for-grantedness', which denotes the strategy of formulating and treating "certain propositions as generally known or agreed upon, hence as uncontentious and not at stake argumentatively" (Simon-Vandenbergen, *et al*. 2007: 33).

For White (2004, 2005), the most explicit assessments in news report correspond to forms of naturalisation, achieved chiefly via inscribed attitudinal lexis to guide the reader to adopt a particular view of the world. The projection of these views in the text places the reader in a position in which s/he has little option but to accept them and assume them as the only way to deal with those values. So, these formulations are used with the aim of making propositions unarguable, or at least less accessible to argumentation. This notion is not applicable to journalistic discourse only, but apparently to other genres as well; White *et al*. (2007) prove this point looking at taken-for-grantedness as a persuasive strategy in political TV debates, and Macken-Horarik (2003) shows that narrative texts also naturalise reading positions for the 'ideal' readers.

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[100] This paper appears in the references as: Simon-Vandenbergen, White & Aijmer (2007)

6.3   Arguability and Unarguability in White's Model

White's model was originally developed for news reports, but the framework has also been applied to editorials and commentary columns (White 2004, 2005/6), which are characterised by their open authorial opinions. He has shown that attitudinal positioning operates likewise in apparently 'factual' reports as in opinionated commentaries, yet through different mechanisms which result in different rhetorical effects.

Within the formulations of 'explicit attitudinal assessment', White (2005/6) distinguishes between propositions rendered as 'arguable' and 'unarguable'. The judgement in both modes is articulated explicitly and as monoglossic, hence contributing powerfully to the naturalisation of ideological values. However, the propositions in the arguable formulations are asserted in such a way that they can be contested, whereas in the unarguable ones, the evaluative meanings are not really asserted but assumed, hence are more difficult to contest, and their effect in the reader is different. For White, this 'assumed' condition lies in the fact that the 'rendering of the referents is construed as universally accepted', so the writer legitimises or delegitimizes certain positions and assumes the reader will support them.

This aspect of naturalisation, and specifically the arguability or unarguability of its formulations is not central to White's model – in fact quite peripheral – consequently, it has received little attention. This is lamentable since it is a very powerful tool to put ideology though an position readers on the writer's side, and so it works as a strong mechanism of writer's control of the ideological presentation (hence perception) of the content. White does stress that this distinction "relates to potential rhetorical and, ultimately, ideological effects" (White, 2005: 5) but he does not elaborate the notions in finer detail. Despite being a side aspect of inscribed evaluation, it is very important since through these choices, the reader is

positioned differently. Using unarguable mechanisms, the writer may pass judgement obliquely so that the reader has little chance to resist the writer's position or adopt a different one. However, despite strongly agreeing with White's model, I diverge from it in that I do not see the values in these formulations as downright unarguable as he suggests. I take a more moderate position and simply regard them as 'harder' to dispute or contest, since the reader's attention is not conditioned, but may also diverge from the main clause to focus on side aspects of the proposition.

6.3.1 Arguable Propositions

The focus of this chapter is chiefly on assessments formulated unarguably; yet, the arguable articulations need to be commented on to grasp the difference and contrast both modalities. Arguable assertions embody assessments which are articulated in such a way, that the evaluative meanings are put forward as being at issue. The assessment is realised through maximally explicit attitudinal terms. By the manner they are formulated, the evaluation may be "denied, elaborated, endorsed or qualified" (White, 2005: 5). Structurally, the attitudinal assessments are part of the new information in the sentence, so "conveyed by an element(s) which forms part of the predicate of the clause, such as (i) adverbs, (ii) predicative adjectives (iii) attitudinal verbs and (iv) nouns used predicatively in the complement of the clause to modify the subject" (p. 5). For example:

(i) Adverbials

(6.9) *French firms are watching **enviously**. (11a)*

(6.10) *Palestinian security forces - ... - reacted **energetically**. (43a)*

(6.11) *Corporate marketers seem to be coupling **oddly** these days.* (42a)

(ii)   Adjectives in predicative position (also with premodification)

(6.12) *its prospects looked **bleak** a few months ago.* (06a)

(6.13) *… the old one-size-fits-all approach seems **hopelessly outmoded**.* (62c)

(6.14) *When dealing with… progress can be **maddeningly hard** to achieve.*(62a)

(iii)   Attitudinal Verbs

(6.15) *But crackdowns are always **looming**. More than 20 online activists were **detained** ... and **beaten** for antigovernment criticism.* (65b)

(6.16) *A Europe-based manager of a U.S. airlines **scoffs at** Italy's latest plan.* (04a)

(6.17) *...he **taunted** Bush with the fact, popularised by Michael Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11, that...* (24a)

(iv)   Noun phrases used predicatively in the complement of the clause to modify the subject (with premodification)

(6.18) *Cardinal Ratzinger, the chief architect of Pope John Paul II's..., has long been a **bugaboo** for liberal Catholics* (32a)

(6.19) *The party on the tiny remote Shetland island of Unst was a **real gas**. Literally.* (55c)

(6.20) *The bridge's reconstruction…is a **rare positive step** toward reconciliation.* (14b)

The ***boldfaced*** items correspond to part of the new information in the sentence – they are the point at stake. Their position in the predicate poses them in a place where they are susceptible of being contested. White suggests that the arguability of the assessments of this kind may be tested in dialogic exchanges where this information would be open to discussion (see examples in 2005: 6). I illustrate these dialogic exchanges using (6.12), the shortest of the examples above:

Speaker A: *Its prospects looked **bleak** a few months ago.*

Speaker B: *No, they didn't. They looked better than ever;* or

                       No they didn't. They looked the same as always to me.

The test shows that the condition of the arguable attitudinal assessment makes it vulnerable, therefore little effective to naturalise certain values, unlike the assessment in unarguable formulations which would not be directly available for this type of dialogic interaction.

6.3.2 Unarguable Propositions

In unarguable formulations, the evaluation also sits on the surface of the discourse, but unlike the arguable ones, such assessment is not open to question. The condition of unarguability differs from its counterpart in that the evaluation in this modality is "assumed as if that was necessarily the case" (White, 2005: 7). The writer's value judgements appear as 'backgrounded', that is, not available to argumentation or leaving no room for disagreement. For example:

(6.21) *… said that Kim Jong Il, North Korea's **despotic** leader, had been shot in the head…*

(28a)

The focus of this formulation is on the 'shooting' rather than on the fact that *Kim Jong Il* is *despotic*. This point of the assertion is not at stake but assumed. In the Appraisal frame, the assumption upon which an argument is built is said to be 'construed' as a presupposition. White gives no definition of 'presupposition', but Huddleston & Pullum – with terminology strikingly similar to that used by White – define it as "the information contained in a presupposition is backgrounded, taken for granted and presented as something that is not currently at issue" (2002: 40). This definition reveals the strength of this resource whereby the attitudinal meanings are represented as 'given' or 'taken-for-granted' making them very hard to debate. Articulating attitudes as presuppositions is a very powerful ideological tool. By doing so, the writer assumes the readership shares the values backgrounding the proposition and if they do not, s/he gives them little chance to conceive things differently, especially when approached for the first time. In this way the writer legitimises or delegitimises a position while the alternative ones are left out of the question. The reader is positioned in a stance similar to the writer's own, without making him/her feel these views are being imposed on him/her.

Rhetorically, the choice of unarguable formulations serves several functions to the writer; (a) it facilitates the imprint of value positions; (b) helps spread a particular attitude, and (c) contributes to set the ideological tone of the text: all strategic resources that naturalise certain values and a particular worldview.

The writer achieves the unarguable condition of judgements by placing them in positions in the sentence where they are less vulnerable to being disputed. They appear so deeply entrenched in the structure of the formulations that they can hardly be contested (see Tadros, 1994). This strategy resembles the one used by Chomsky in some of his writings, which is skilfully described by Hoey (2000). Hoey's point is slightly different since his approach is more grammatical; based on clause relations, he identifies strategies that make certain statements very difficult to contend. He explains that Chomsky's attitude (especially towards readers who disagree with his position) is so ingrained in certain clauses that it is hardly debatable. Chomsky makes his point with expressions like 'it's obvious', 'clearly', in such key places in the sentence that they are very difficult to argue against and therefore very effective.

Unarguable formulations are realised by way of (a) lexical and (b) grammatical resources different from those used in the arguable ones, which help construe them as universally accepted. The 'lexical' resources include adjectives in attributive position and evaluative nouns. Despite being called lexical, these resources are also partly grammatical, since their arguability also depends on the grammatical frame. Thus adjectives in attributive position are less arguable than those in predicative position, but both are lexically attitudinal. For example:

(6.22) *Where the **ill-fated** Titanic was built and from which it set off on its **fatal** maiden voyage in 1912.* (41b)

Regardless of the fact that, indeed, the Titanic was ill-fated, grammatically, the attributes *ill-fated* and *fatal* are not open to discussion; they are construed as given and assumed as shared

by the reader. In the case of the Titanic, this is very likely to be the case, but the writer-reader views may not always be in such easy agreement, especially when dealing with more controversial matters. For example, the attribute *corrupt,* in (6.23), could be disapproved of by many, but its occurrence in attributive position presents it as a condition *de facto* and given its position in the noun group it almost constitutes a single label for the referent.

(6.23) *parliamentarians threatened a hunger strike unless he agreed to reform his **corrupt** administration...* (12a)

Within the frame of unarguability, evaluative nouns also may inscribe attitude, when used as labels to characterise a referent. So for example in (6.24) the label *atrocity* for a situation gives the reader little chance to disagree with the writer's judgement of the event:

(6.24) *It will take more than words to prevent another **atrocity**.* (62b)

Besides lexical realisations, unarguable attitude may also be conveyed through the grammatical resources, e.g. "when the evaluative element is located in particular types of embedded or clausally-dependent structures" (White, 2005: 6). These embedded clauses are **_underlined_** in the examples below.

(6.25) **_Faced with these embarrassing assessments_**, *Rumsfeld kept a low profile last week.* (17a)

The *embarrassing assessments* in (6.25) are not the issue, but that *Rumsfeld kept a low profile.* The point the writer is really trying to make is in the second clause, and the

embarrassing assessments in the subordinated clause are backgrounded and construed as shared. Similarly, in (6.26) the writer's appreciation of the situation as a *political turmoil* is subjective and suggests a personal opinion, yet it is taken for granted, leaving no room for discrepancy – even when in this example the writer is representing the concern of external speakers.

(6.26) *To soothe markets and investors worried that the **political turmoil** would derail efforts to rein in Hungary's 5% budget deficit, he has said he will keep the respected Finance Minister in his post.* (19a)

The relevance of these resources is their high frequency. Even though White does not provide figures or any sort of evidence for this claim, he affirms "the majority of explicit attitudinal assessments in the news report extracts are 'assumed' rather than 'asserted'" (2005:7). Unfortunately, despite the high interest of the issue, he just gives a few examples without elaborating it any further.

6.4   Unarguability in the NOTEBOOK texts

In this section, I attempt to identify this kind of judgemental resources in my corpus, adopting this part of White's model. The concern here is not so much on the unarguable inscription of evaluation in itself, but on the writer's use of these resources to position the reader in a stance similar to his/her own. The interest is chiefly on the way the writer manages to put through ideological views in such a way that no dialogic interaction is allowed.

The descriptive-analytical model in this chapter is applied only to those stretches where the evaluation is clearly averred. The model comprises White's resources of inscribed appraisal rendered unarguable, which I develop in finer detail, with the subsequent additions I have made to his frame. I identify three grammatical categories which serve as mechanisms to inscribe unarguable evaluation, at three different levels:

(i)   The position of Attitudinal Lexis:

     a.   Adjectives in attributive position

     b.   Nouns; as nominalisations, labels and relexicalisations.

     c.   Noun groups combining a. & b.

(ii)   Embedded or clausally-dependent structures

(iii)   Embedded Phrases

Each of these categories is illustrated and expanded in what follows.

6.4.1 Attitudinal Lexis

Attitudinal lexis inscribes stance more directly than any other means. Assessment encoded in these terms is often fairly unambiguous making the writer's position easily recognizable. The only lexical resources that qualify for this type of unarguable evaluation are "attributes or nouns that qualify humans or human behaviour" (Iedema, 1994:15), and although both categories inscribe evaluation directly, their evaluation is semantically different. Nouns and adjectives present the difficulty for their analysis that they tend to combine and intertwine their meanings in noun groups.

a. Attributive adjectives

The use of adjectives is the most effective resource to characterise an entity signalling positive or negative evaluation. The attention here is on adjectives in attributive position only. Their function as premodifiers enables the writer to embed the qualification of the referent in a much more entrenched way in the sentence structure, than when assigned via predication. For example, the ***brutality*** assigned to the game is harder to contest in (6.27) than in its paraphrased version (6.28) where it appears predicatively:

(6.27) ***This brutal game*** *lets characters take drugs and watch a comrade chop up a hooker.* (31a)

(6.28) ***This game*** *is* ***brutal*** *because/in that it lets characters take drugs and watch a comrade chop up a hooker.* (31a)

The *brutal* trait in (6.28) is more open to dialogue than the in original utterance, and could be challenged simply by replying "Not, it is not". In contrast, the attribute in (6.27) appears almost as a constituting attribute of the game, thus its challenge would require breaking down the phrase, which functions as a whole, into its constituent. This semantic 'fragmentation' seems even harder when the nouns denote abstract referents qualified by premodifying adjectives, as in:

(6.29) *... resigned last week after a* ***disastrous*** *showing by his center-right coalition* (48a)

(6.30) *It served as a* ***grisly*** *reminder of the threat militants still pose.* (22b)

(6.31) *He's been criticised for expanding at a time of* ***dwindling*** *demand and* ***stiff*** *competition.* (63c)

The writer's perception is largely denoted by those characteristics s/he chooses to highlight of the head noun through attributive adjectives. Even in (6.31) –where the authorial voice paraphrases criticisms of external voices– the assessment counts as the writer's, who rephrases these comments. This finding is in keeping with Biber *et al.*'s (1999: 506), who note that in expository writing, especially in the news[101], there is a much higher frequency of attributive than predicative adjectives – although their count is not limited to the evaluative only.

My corpus shows that evaluative adjectives averred by the writer tend to occur in attributive position, whereas those uttered by external voices tend to occur in predicative position. Unfortunately both sources are not comparable quantitatively, given the imbalance in the amount of 'talk' of both 'voices, and the difference in their presentation. The attributed ones tend to appear in short and incomplete utterances entrenched in the writer's formulations. This again matches Biber *et al's* (1999) finding that adjectives used predicatively occur more often in speech than in writing. For example:

(6.32) *Malbrunot said he was "**scandalized**" by Julia and his sidekicks,* (33a)

(6.33) *"The impact is **modest**" Cotis says.* (23c)

(6.34) *Etges…dismissed the version of history as "**utterly irrelevant**…"* (65a)

(6.35) *… he said "That's **despicable**".* (13b)

(6.36) *"He is **very capable and very serious**," says Marwan Ilamade* (50a)

(6.37) *That "might be a little **embarrassing**" for Coldplay admits HMV spokesman...* (53c)

(6.38) *"We are **doomed**" said Nasser Soroudi, a salesman...* (56a)

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[101] According to Biber et al. Adjectives serve as either classifier or descriptors. Descriptors are found in all four registers, while Classifiers are found primarily in informational written registers (1999, pp. 509-511).

Contrarily, the averred attributes occur in full sentences of the writer's only:

(6.39) *A Pakistani General Waziristan last weekend to meet with a **stubborn** enemy.* (01a)

(6.40) *A **defiant** Tehran announced that it had started the conversion of ...* (22a)

(6.41) *With his **pugnacious** style angering the state's powerful unions,* (50b)

(6.42) *... with an **infuriating** mobile phone ring tone* (53c)

Authorial evaluation through adjectives in predicative position is exceptional, yet a few examples can be found in the corpus.

(6.43) *They are **outraged** that President George W. Bush endorsed...* (02b)

(6.44) *But he is also **Machiavellian** and **polarizing**.* (13a)

(6.45) *...its prospects looked **bleak** a few months ago* (06a)

(6.46) *...Melville was **more exultant than eloquent**.* (10c)

Attributes in the predicate of the statement are easily contestable, since they are presented as separate from the entity; something that is said about it. Such evaluative cases correspond to the arguable category discussed above.

Invoked Evaluation in Attributive Position

It was noted that for White the evaluation rendered as unarguable in attributive position applies only to inscribed adjectives. However, the analysis of my data showed that this is not necessarily the case. A noteworthy aspect concerning attributive modification is that tokens that trigger invoked meanings may also occur in premodifiying position in a phrase, thus

adopting an unarguable condition. The rendering of an understated form of evaluation in an unarguable condition makes it even harder to contest, having so a strong effect on the invocation of specific attitudes and values in the readers. For example:

(6.47) *...wreck the forces the U.S. has spent two years and **$5 billion** training...* (51a)

The *$5 billion* attribution does not have the same evaluative power as inscribed adjectives, but certainly signals an assessment in context. By means of the figure the writer is telling us how important (and expensive) the *wreck of the forces* is and so invoking an attitude. Similarly in (6.48), by qualifying someone as *Microsoft co-founder* the writer is saying more than simply informing of who funded the plane, but triggers a sense of economic stability behind the project.

(6.48) *a private, rocket powered plane funded by **Microsoft co-founder** Paul Allen.* (10c)

Likewise, in the examples below, the premodification makes an indirect act of evaluation especially when read within the context of their stories. Example (6.51) differs in that the attribution turns to figurative language, another feature White mentions as tokens of evaluation.

(6.49) *The **majority state-owned** Italian carrier, which loses about €1.2 million a day,* (04a)

(6.50) *launch an **unsanctioned** missile barrage at Gaza settlements* (02b)

(6.51) *France's **pugilistic** conservative politicians.* (49a)

b. Nouns

Following White, I include the lexical choice of qualifying nouns as a semantic resource that contributes to the unarguability of the propositions. Nouns, as names given to denote entities, fulfil a referential function[102]. There is no better way to naturalise the view of a person, entity or event than giving it a name, since names may bear strong conventional associations that speakers normally agree on. The act of reference of a noun is very much 'taken for granted', but it can be strongly evaluative, because when the referent is conferred a name, it is not presented as an issue to be discussed but as 'given'. Accordingly, nouns are considered as a type of evaluative resource, no matter whether they occur in subject or complement position.

Different choices of nouns may call to mind radically different values in the reader, and if the act of reference is successful, s/he will identify the referent correctly and represent it as intended by the writer. Of course, this incidence occurs within the frame that the meaning of words depends on their combinations into phrases and use in social situations; i.e. linguistic conventions and inferences made from real-world knowledge (cf. Stubbs 2001a; 2001b).

A significant facet of nouns is their high frequency in the written modality, especially in the news reports register which presents the highest distribution of nominal elements – about 80 percent of the text, according to Biber *et al* (1999: 231). Below, I specify three categories of nominal forms serving an interpersonal purpose: (a) nominalisations – which are mentioned by White – plus (b) labels and (c) relexicalisations, which are not.

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[102] Stubbs (2001b) makes the difference between an act of reference and one of denotation. For him Reference is a speech act which picks out a concrete referent in a concrete situation. Denotation is a relation between a term in the language and a range of potential referents in the world. So while Reference concerns the language use, Denotation concerns the language system (p. 34).

- **Nominalisations**

Nominalisation has often been mentioned as a powerful resource to convey ideology in texts. The notion of nominalisation accepts different definitions, depending on whether it is described from grammatical or semantic points of view. Grammatically, it is the process by which a verb or an adjective is turned into a noun, with or without morphological transformations. Such transformations have semantic implications; nominalisations are viewed as strategic to justify actions or events, since these are presented as consummated facts, thus uprooting potential questions about them. Stubbs explains that the process of nominalisation "can turn actions into 'static things' and therefore attribute objective reality to states of affairs" (Stubbs, 1986: 20). This enables the writer to refer to actions, processes and attributes as if they were entities, which is why nominalisations are often regarded as having an ideological function. For Fairclough (1995: 112), they are ideologically motivated since when processes are nominalised, some or all of the participants are omitted or do not figure explicitly. Therefore nominalisation is seen as key to inscribe ideology in discourse and signal the writer's stance and so it is included in most lists of resources with ideological implications (e.g. Fowler 1991; Simpson 1993; Fairclough 1995, 2001; Toolan 2001). Nominalisations are quite formal in tone and more complex than the original root word. Their recurrence in a text makes it very abstract and distant from concrete events and situations (Hodge & Kress 1979). So their choice is viewed as a way of 'distancing' or 'detaching' oneself from the utterance. For these reasons, nominalisation is included here as an important tool to articulate unarguable statements, despite that this resource is not very frequent in my data. According to White's model, the nominalised form needs not go in unarguable clauses, but anywhere in the sentence, although they often occur in theme position; with their choice, the writer evaluates events and actions which have been nominalised.

(6.52) *For a world made uneasy by North Korea's **claim** that it possesses atomic weapons*

      (62a)

(6.53) *North Korea's **refusal** to continue nuclear-disarmament talks (28a)*

(6.54) *...is the latest chapter in the **dismantling** of Dream Works (15a)*

(6.55) *The **activism** seems to be working. (17c)*

(6.56) ***Support** for the party, ..., is at a low of 20%, compared to ... (19a)*

(6.57) *For now, **supply** is outpacing **demand**, (59c)*

(6.58) *The **reports** of the Dear Leader's demise are probably exaggerated (28a)*

(6.59) *The **depiction** has outraged the Greeks. (29b)*

In these examples the actions are presented as static events which seem to lose their verbal condition, and in most of them, except for (6.52-3), the writer's choice for nominalised verbs brings about the exclusion of the participants from those actions.

- **Discourse Labels**

Discourse label denote names given to information previously addressed or hinted at in the text but not named. This term coined by Francis (1994) was partly adapted for my purposes. For her, labels work much like pro-forms, which encapsulate stretches of information in the text in single words. Labels serve to connect and organise discourse and refer to stages of an argument developed in and through the discourse (p. 83), thus bringing about lexical cohesion. Francis distinguishes advanced and retrospective labels, making cataphoric and

anaphoric references respectively, and metalinguistic ones for linguistic acts such as *argument, point*. Francis assigns an evaluative function to labels like *nonsense, squabble*; this is why they have been included here as marks of assessment. In my description, labels are used to designate unnamed situations or state of affairs referred to, or only hinted, in the text. They can be highly evaluative, since they constitute choices guided by the writer's personal views. Like previous categories they are rendered unarguable or hard to argue against. E.g.

(6.60) *To break this **gridlock**, Musharraf proposed that Kashmir be divided up...* (27b)

(6.61) *As this **stalemate** deepens, Lebanese fear that another assassin's bomb…* (58c)

(6.62) *This is the first real **breakthrough** in peace negotiations for four years.* (36a)

(6.63) *Fearing another Nader **nightmare**, Democrats have mounted court challenges.* (21a)

(6.64) *The **spectacle** may be something of a rerun of the overtly inclusionary 2000 convention.* (09a)

(6.65) *The **saga** began in February 2002 when ...* (38a)

(6.66) *The **gaffe** infuriated the state's Hispanic voters.* (49b)

- **Relexicalisation**

Relexicalisations are noun phrases which denote referents previously mentioned in the text – given information– but which to which some additional attitudinal information is attached in the new reference. Examples of this kind, which often carry ironic associations, are not rare in my data. For example, see the relexicalisations of California Governor Schwarzenegger in (6.67-9), previously mentioned in the texts.

(6.67) *former college roommates… who just cannot get enough of the **Governator**.*(30a)

(6.68) *That wasn't a given, since the **former Terminator** does not share Bush's opposition to abortion rights,* (09a)

(6.69) *To keep his distance during the **movie star's** gubernatorial run to avoid offending Bush's conservative base.* (09a)

Similarly, examples (6.70-2) show relexicalisations of Osama Bin Laden and the former Bosnian-Serb leader Karadzic and Presidential candidate Ralph Nader and Chavez, who have been introduced earlier in the passage.

(6.70) *The **media Conscious terrorist leader** seemed to be trying for the image not of a soldier but of a statesman* (24a)

(6.71) *The **"Butcher of Bosnia"** penned a 416-page bodice-ripper, titled Miraculous Chronicles of the Night…* (26a)

(6.72) *The **erstwhile champion of consumer rights** turned festering thorn in the Democrats' side* (21a)

(6.73) *…the **leftist firebrand** has mastered the Cuban's art of pushing the U.S.'s buttons …* (37a)

This resource may convey strong evaluations, since with these lexical choices the writer's judgement of the referents is somehow imposed. Such is the case of (6.74) which reveals the writer's stance towards these groups of people.

(6.74) *leaders are threatening to join with **malcontents** from Arafat's faction... At the top*

*power of Hamas, Meshaal will have to decide how to deal with the **hotheads**.* (02a)

c. 'Nominal Groups'

A third category of lexical devices that contribute to the unarguability of a proposition comprises the combination of the two categories illustrated above –i.e. attributive adjectives and nouns in any of its forms– which come together into nominal groups consisting of a head noun premodified by at least two adjectives (e.g. *brash young millionaire*). Despite their compositionality, these strings work functionally as semantic units which perform a single act of reference, signifying the referent in a highly qualified, and often attitudinal, manner. In these units each lexical constituent is also a semantic constituent whose meaning contributes to the significance of the whole. They resemble a form of Levi's complex nominals (1978, 1982) that denote single referents (see letter (c) in footnote)[103]. Downing (1977) argues that nominal groups of this nature and novel compounds "serve as ad-hoc names, which are meaningful in a particular context" (p. 837-8). In this sense, they have a deictic purpose[104] ideally suited for the intentions of the speaker and for the specific scenario they were created for. Thus, the label the *bike-girl* would be perfectly suitable as a deictic only if she was the only bicycle rider in town, but it would be useless in a bike-riding city (Downing 1977).

Surely, the distinction between complex nominals, compounds and sequences of a noun group is not clear-cut and depends to a large extent on their lexicalization (e.g. Bauer 1998; Jullian

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[103] For Levi, 'complex nominal' encompasses three partially overlapping sets of data: (a) compound nouns or nominal compounds, (b) nominalisations and (c) nouns modified by non predicating adjectives (also called pseudo-adjectives) denominal adjectives and attributive-only adjectives (Levi, 1982: 83). Her work differed significantly from mine, since she sought to identify the meaning relations between constituents.
[104] This function of naming is fulfilled at a very low level of categorisation, as called in cognitive linguistics, i.e. by highlighting certain attributes and relevant properties for the context. See Ungerer & Schmid (1996) and Dirven & Verspoor (1998).

2002). However, semantically, they work as single denotative units, which in this case their double qualification turns them into highly explicit designators. The writer 'picks' a few properties –out of the dozens entities have– to convey an 'image' as close as possible to the one s/he has in mind. Typically, as shown in (6.75), the first adjective is more evaluative (*shadowy*) than the one closer to the head (*Middle Eastern*). In the examples below most evaluative adjectives are ***underlined***:

(6.75) *... dealing with **<u>shadowy</u> Middle Eastern contacts** of their own.* (33a)

(6.76) *Players at kurnawar.com can try to re-enact **Kerry's <u>much-scrutinised</u> swift-boat mission.*** (31a)

(6.77) *... the accession of a **<u>little-known</u> <u>revolutionary</u> Islamic zealot.*** (56a)

(6.78) *... defeated the **<u>wily</u> political veteran** Ayatullah Hashemi Rafsanjani* (56a)

(6.79) *Ask **<u>fallen</u> oil giant Yukos**, the erstwhile flagship of Russia's economy.* (07a)

(6.80) *When negotiating with **<u>enigmatic</u> totalitarian North Korea**, progress can be maddeningly hard to achieve.* (62a)

(6.81) *Mubarak proposed replacing **Egypt's <u>draconian</u> emergency laws**...* (62b)

In these examples the attributes assigned to the heads are construed as given, therefore presupposed, thus placing again the reader in a difficult position to argue against, because although the constituents can easily be told apart, they all add to and reinforce the attitudinal load of the sequence. This has an effect on the mental representation the reader makes of them, since apparently, they are built into a single mental representation and so denote the entity in one referential act, (see Ungerer & Schmid 1996; Dirven & Verspoor 1998). This

strategy enables to pass judgment vey subtly, not only because of the attributes assigned to the entity, but because they are rendered unarguably, hence very much as part of the referent. This resource is particularly effective when used within the subject, since this expresses evaluation which is not the focus of the claim, that comes in the residue as shown in the instances below:

(6.82) ***Bitter*** *Democrats complain that if the far-left Nader hadn't run... (21a)*

(6.83) *the **ubiquitous propaganda** portraits of Kim have been mysteriously disappearing* (28a)

(6.84) *The 15-year-old **obsessive tram fan** took one of the 27-ton vehicles on a 40-minute joyride,* (49a)

(6.85) *His **doctrinaire ways** have been tempered of late by a deft and more pragmatic approach* (32a)

(6.86) *Meanwhile, **bloody** clashes, usually unreported in the media, occur daily in Chechnya.* (38b)

The abundance of these units is a characteristic trait of the news discourse (e.g. Biber et al, 1999), yet they do not seem to have a special name in this genre.

6.4.2 Embedded and Clausally-Dependent Structures

It is not via lexical means only that inscribed evaluation can be rendered unarguable; but White suggests writers can 'protect' their attitudinal remarks by way of grammatical

resources as well. For him, this may be achieved "when the evaluative element is located in particular types of embedded or clausally-dependent structures" (2005: 6). He does not stipulate what specific types of 'dependent structures' he refers to, but illustrates his point with two examples. One of these is shown in (6.87) where the evaluative element, in **boldface,** is contained in the <u>underlined</u> dependent clause, which accuses the government of behaving ***dishonourably***:

(6.87) <u>*Having behaved so **dishonourably***</u>*, the Government ought to keep its head down.*

While this evaluative formulation is construed as given, the main proposition, which is open to arguability, is left for the main clause. In this way the writer naturalises a particular view of the government without really imposing it on the reader, but just assuming it is shared. Unfortunately, apart from the couple of examples he gives, White does not discuss the issue any further, nor does he clarify what kind of clauses count as 'embedded' for him. However, based on the few hints he gives, one may deduce that he is talking about subordinated clauses in complex sentences. Therefore I developed a functional classification of the clauses that behave similarly in terms of protecting the arguable value of the inscribed items they contain. This division comprises two broad categories: (a) adverbial clauses and (b) relative clauses of the non defining type. I focus first on the adverbial clauses, which include cases of the eight types of adverbial clauses (see COBUILD Grammar 1991: 343-ff) and which structurally may be finite; non-finite and verbless clauses – with or without subordinating conjunction (e.g. *if, whether, as, although after, when*). Below is a selection of instances of this category, which happen to occur mostly in initial position:

(6.88) *Faced with these **embarrassing** assessments, Rumsfeld kept a low profile last week, staying away from the capital.* (17a)

(6.89) *Fearing another Nader **nightmare,** Democrats have mounted court challenges* (21a)

(6.90) *To **complicate** matters, a power struggle divides his staff.* (49b)

(6.91) *Whether or not Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez is **the next Fidel Castro**, the leftist firebrand has mastered the Cuban's art of pushing the U.S.'s buttons.* (37a)

(6.92) *Although **lacking in experience**, Cyurcsany is not lacking in confiden*ce. (19a)

(6.93) *After months of **bitter complaining** in conference rooms over thick coffee and cigarettes, Arafat's critics within his own Fatah Party burst into the open last week.* (12a)

(6.94) *Since **corruption** costs the **ailing** economy a **whopping** €350 billion a year, the government… had better keep this development going.* (63a)

(6.95) *As he tries to cope with the **world's fastest-shrinking** economy, he has developed a Look East policy designed to curry favor with Asian powers, especially Beijing.* (54b)

(6.96) *After years of **lambasting** Romania for mistreating its institutionalised children, the European Commission has a new cause: media freedom.* (23a)

(6.97) [between parenthesis] *His Iran, said the erstwhile mayor of Tehran, would be modern and strong **(meaning nuclear powered)** and rich…* (56a)

In these cases, the evaluative formulation in the dependent clause stands as background to that in the main clause, so the reader, who might take issue with the proposition in the main clause, has fewer chances to do so with the formulation in the subordinate clause.

The dependent structures of the second category correspond to embedded[105] relative clauses of the non-defining (or non-restrictive) type– which embrace the same three possible structures of the first class and also may or may not be introduced by a relative pronoun. These clauses resemble passing comments that provide additional information about the entity they modify, although not essential for its identification. They may occur in middle or final position in the sentence and are separated from the rest of the clause by commas, dashes, or parenthesis. These clauses behave similarly in terms of unarguability, since although their formulation bears the inscribed evaluation, they are not the point at stake; therefore they do not alter the proposition of the main clause. For example:

(6.98) *The late artist, <u>whose **acclaimed modern** paintings **anticipated Britart**,</u> lost about 50 pieces.* (08b)

(6.99) *...the bulk of the insurgency, <u>made up of **disaffected** Iraqi Sunnis,</u> runs itself.* (52a)

(6.100) *Former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, <u>who was **indicted** by the U.N. **war-crimes** tribunal for **genocide** in 1995,</u> has used his years on the run to focus on writing romance novels.* (26a)

(6.101) *Russian Federal Security Service general, Murat Zyazikov, <u>who toed the Kremlin</u> <u>**hard line.**</u>* (10b)

Even though the condition of the embedded clauses between dashes and brackets do not change their significance, these 'graphological' resources give them a special significance, and somehow mark them as detached from the main clause of the complex, as in:

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[105] The term embedded here is simply defined as one sentence inside another sentence, which despite being a term more used in Transformational Generative Grammar (Richards, *et al.* 1993: 122), I adopted here in order to stick to White's terminology.

(6.102) [final after dash] *Failure to strike a deal could even force national elections –the last*

  thing Schröder wants *right now* (47a)

(6.103) [between dashes] *Palestinian security forces – which in the last four years **have done***

  little or nothing to apprehend those involved in such strikes *– reacted energetically.*

  (43a)

This category also includes phrases which can be seen as reduced relative clauses, like:

(6.104) *It was not exactly the Osama October Surprise that some Democrats had imagined -*

  a perp walk[106] ***in an orange jumpsuit*** *- but it rattled America and roiled the campaign*

  just the same. (24a)

(6.105) *Unionists, led by Ian Paisley, **a fiery Free Presbyterian preacher**, point out that the*

  I.R.A. (61b)

In (6.104) the writer offers an interpretation of a heteroglossic formulation – what some 'democrats had imagined'– with a heavily evaluative term, while in (6.105) s/he provides a personal description of the preacher, which may not be shared by all readers. In both cases, these are not the point at issue, which are carried by the main clause of the utterances, leaving these evaluations 'free from the reader's judgment'. The values in formulations of this kind are not the focus of the attention, and because they are articulated as presuppositions, they work at a deeper semantic level. Their presuppositional status places the writer in a privileged position of control, where s/he can make very strong points without giving the readers the

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[106] Perp walk (American slang). Perp is the short form for "alleged perpetrator". It is used to designate someone who has committed a crime, or a violent or harmful act. The term 'perp walk' refers to the police practice of intentionally parading an arrested suspect through a public place so that the media may observe and record the event. The suspect is typically handcuffed or otherwise restrained, and is often dressed in prison attire.

chance of contesting, especially in a medium in which the reader has barely any chances of challenging what journalists publish.

The clauses bearing inscribed attitudinal lexis used by White to illustrate unarguability proved highly scarce in my corpus, unlike the evaluations in the non restrictive ones which proved considerably more frequent and which I added to the model. Consequently, the attention here is mostly placed on the latter.

White proposes a 'test' to determine when dependent clauses count or not as unarguable; it consists of adding them heteroglossic framings in order to prove their true unarguable condition. He explains that "one of the properties of unarguable formulations is that they are frequently immune from dialogistic positioning effects of metadiscursive framers such as 'in our view', 'probably', 'it seems', 'a recent study found' etc.' (2005: 8). This is shown with the inclusion of 'it is our view' to (6.106) which would not affect the main proposition.

(6.106) [It is our view that,] *having behaved so **dishonourably,** the Government ought to keep its head down.*

For White the assessment *the Government ought to keep its head down* proves vulnerable to the frame, while the acting *dishonourably* remains untouched and remains "monoglossically declared" (p. 8). This test applies to both clause categories likewise. In my corpus, the information conveyed by these kinds of subordinated clauses is mostly monoglossic, apart from a few exceptions[107]. The examples below were put to this test to show that the evaluation

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[107] White (2005) admits that all instances of inscribed attitude in the news reports extracts he examined, both arguable and unarguable, were monoglosically formulated; that is that, the evaluations were declared without recognition of, or engagement with, alternative voices or positions.

conveyed in the subordinated clause remains unaffected by the addition of dialogistic framings of this kind:

(6.107) [in our opinion] *He tried to rationalize al-Qaeda terrorism -* <u>***and court Muslim***</u> <u>***support -***</u> *by airing grievances against the West and Israel.* (24a)

(6.108) [it looks as if] <u>*To **soothe** markets and investors **worried** that the **political turmoil**</u>* <u>*would….he has said he will keep the respected Finance Minister...*</u> (19a)

(6.109) [it seems that] *... requires hundreds of millions of dollars to educate and equip poor farmers <u>- money that developing countries **can ill afford.**</u>* (40a)

(6.110) [it is well known that] <u>*where he earlier **looked tired**,*</u> *he now seemed healthy and well groomed* (24a)

(6.111) [it seems that] <u>*As he tries to cope with the **world's fastest-shrinking economy,***</u> *he has developed a Look East policy designed to curry favor with Asian powers, especially Beijing.* (54a)

(6.112) [in our view] *Dream Works Animation… needs the capital to help finance the movies and tackle archrival Pixar, <u>**which keeps raising the bar** with Finding Nemo</u>.* (15a)

(6.113) [it is my opinion that] <u>***Fearing** another Nader **nightmare** in 2004,*</u> *Democrats have mounted court challenges to his ballot petitions...* (21a)

An interesting feature that emerged from the observation of embedded clauses was their heavily evaluative tone, and more interestingly, the fact that these judgements are not conveyed via inscribed attitudinal lexis only, but contrary to White's claim, they may also be rendered implicit via the same range of resources of invoked appraisal discussed in chapter 5.

The examination of the data showed that much of the evaluation in unarguable clauses triggered invoked judgements; this suggests that the condition of unarguability is not exclusive to attitudinal lexis, but may also be conveyed via tokens of invoked evaluation. In fact, the evaluation articulated unarguably may be conveyed via resources that stretch along the explicit/implicit cline. These modalities stretch down the continuum that ranges from unarguable formulations of inscribed meanings at one end to tokens of evoked evaluation at the other. It is argued then, that the means that contribute to the naturalisation of attitude found in unarguable propositions cut across the inscribed/invoked distinction. So here we find again the triad of explicit/implicit evaluation in the following types of clauses, which are discussed separately below:

1) Explicitly inscribed evaluation,

2) Invoked evaluation through 'factual' information

3) Invoked evaluation, bordering on evocation.

6.4.2.1   Clauses of Inscribed Evaluation

The most straightforward cases of explicitness in embedded clauses correspond to the examples discussed above, i.e. formulations where the writer's attitude is overtly stated through value-laden adjectives, verbs and adverbs. These clauses are judgemental *per se*, regardless of the context; as opposed to formulations closer to invoked appraisal whereby locutions acquire evaluative weight in context. For example:

(6.114) *Investors will want to see reforms, **which won't be easy**, to overhaul the judiciary and stem corruption.* (22b)

The evaluation in predicative position of the embedded clause would be perfectly arguable in the main proposition, but gains unarguable condition when embedded. Conversely, dependant clauses bearing 'arguable' values do not lose their unarguable status. This is because the assessments conveyed in these clauses keep their immunity from arguability; hence their internal constituents accept exceptions to the rules of un/arguability. Thus, a requirement for adjectives to make an evaluation unarguable is to appear in attributive position; yet, this condition does not apply when occurring in this context. Evaluative adjectives 'intra embedded clauses' may occur in predicative position keeping their unarguable status. The argument for this exception is that, the information in the embedded clause is not part of the main proposition, so the rules for the main clause do not apply. Their embedded condition as a whole has priority over the order of the internal constituents of the clause, as in (6.114) where the adjective is in predicative position remains unarguable.

Likewise, both evaluative adverbs and the verb + object structures would count as debatable in the main clause, but acquire unarguable value in dependent clauses, hence do not constitute the point as stake of the proposition, but side comments by the writer:

(6.115) *The jury selection ... included some surprises* **- *most notably how quickly it was completed***. (41a)

(6.116) *... Arnold's wife Maria Shriver,* *who has taken a newly aggressive role in trying to burnish his image.* (50b)

This category of clausal inscribed evaluation also accepts cases which stand a bit beyond strict inscription. In (6.117), the writer does not use a straight evaluative term, but uses 'court' metaphorically, offering a personal interpretation while judging Bin Laden's intentions.

(6.117) *He* (bin Laden) *tried to rationalize al-Qaeda terrorism* **- and court Muslim support -** *by airing grievances against the West and Israel.* (24a)

This example stands in the transition between those terms clearly inscribed and those that follow which become attitudinally loaded in the context.

6.4.2.2 Clauses of Invoked Evaluation via 'Factual' Information and Lexical Signals

Moving away from White's proposal of unarguability via attitudinal lexis, I now turn to formulations that convey judgement unarguably via tokens of invoked meanings. This type of evaluation is found in the same type of clauses described above, but without passing judgement explicitly, but through the conveyance of 'factual information' which is powerful enough to convey the writer's personal views and arouse a similar attitude in the reader. This category holds cases which stand along a transitional 'grey area' between inscribed and evoked evaluation, since there is some explicit lexical inscription, but the reader is also expected to make some inferences from the tokens provided. For example:

(6.118) *The state-owned Italian carrier,* **which loses about €1.2 million a day,** *desperately needs a government bailout to avoid bankruptcy.* (04a)

(6.119) *...that Schwarzenegger,* **whose approval rating has plunged from 65% last year to 49%,** *may have lost his groove.* (49b)

(6.120) *Seanna Walsh -* **who spent 21 years in prison for munitions offenses** *- stood before an Irish flag to read a statement....* (61b)

In the embedded clauses (6.118-20) the writer does nothing but provide facts; yet the selected facts and figures are highly eloquent in terms of assessment, unveiling his/her views concerning: Alitalia's economic situation, Schwarzenegger's performance and the IRA's representative's reliability. Together with the 'facts', s/he also chooses words *lose, munitions offenses* and *plunge* which insinuate a negative assessment. Again, the information in these clauses is not the point at issue and therefore not open to dialogue. Clauses of this nature are considerably more frequent in my data than the examples of explicitly inscribed evaluations.

6.4.2.3 Clauses of Invoked Evaluation bordering on Evocation

The third category corresponds to an even subtler type of intra embedded-clause assessment. These locutions represent a separate category altogether, since they bear no surface signals of evaluation; neither evaluative inscriptions nor tokens of invoked values. Here again, the writer simply reports 'factual data', yet bearing strong associations. These formulations pass no judgement but, when read within the frame of the overall passage and contrasted against the expectations of our world knowledge, they acquire a different value than if read in isolation or even in a different context. The writer cannot be accused of being prejudiced or biased by the information s/he quotes, however, in the context of the story, they may not be regarded as neutral. Evaluation through this mechanism requires great amount of world knowledge to be recognised as such, but given the audience the magazine is targeted to, the writer may assume such background knowledge in his/her readership. For example:

(6.121) *The group's chief fund raiser, <u>who splits his time between Qatar and Syria,</u> has become more assertive.* (02b)

(6.122) *Palestinian observers say Islamic Jihad -* **_which like Hizballah gets backing from_** **_Iran_** *- may have been pressured by the Lebanese group to…* (43a)

(6.123) *it (the fire) started when one of the audience launched a flare* **-** **_widely available over_** **_the holiday season_** **-** *at the ceiling.* (34a)

The reference to Qatar and Syria in (6.121) –some of the richest countries in the Middle East– is not neutral in a passage about the organisation and fund raising of terrorist groups in the Middle East. The publication has an unequivocal stance against the Muslim-Arab world, and this standpoint pervades all reports which make some reference to terrorism, oil crisis, conflicts in the Middle East, etc. so the apparently 'passing' mention of these countries in this text, needs to be read against the broader context of the ideological frame of the magazine. When such world knowledge is brought into the text this observation stops being impartial. If the same clause was attached to the description of a sportsman, an artist, even a banker, it would not have the same connotation it acquires when talking about fundraising for the Palestinian Hamas.

Similarly, the embedded remark in (6.122) is not free from ideological and political implications. When talking about the Islamic Jihad, the evocation of Hizballah is not neutral; such recall of their common source of funding establishes an analogy between both groups in the eyes of the reader. Strictly speaking the reference to Hizballah is not evaluative in itself and may be regarded as mere factual information which adds up to the overall picture. In rigour, this bit of information is not necessary for the essence of the passage, but the writer forces it in to create a connection between these two groups, seen as terrorist by the Western world. S/he does not say anything about this connection explicitly, but with this strategy s/he does not need to, it gets said by itself.

Finally (6.123) makes an evocation of a different nature. The embedded clause indicates nothing but the wide availability of flares –a superficially neutral locution. However, in this case, they were the cause of a fire that killed dozens of teenagers, hence the statement stops being impartial. It rather looks as if the writer is not only informing but denouncing their availability in the market.

A final note concerning all the categories of embedded clauses refers to their dialogistic condition. Apart from a few exceptions, the propositions articulated as unarguable clauses are monoglossic. Heteroglossic propositions hardly occur, but for a few exceptions modified by modal verbs (*think, believe*) or modal adverbs (*apparently*). Not surprisingly, the few cases of this kind emerged in clauses where the writer's voice and external voices mix in the same sentence, such as:

(6.124) *The gunmen -* ***apparently rebels from neighboring Chechnya*** *-* *"appeared from nowhere," Aliyev recalls, and they left the same way, ...* (10b)

(6.125) *...after he was released last July -* <u>*military officials*</u> ***believed*** <u>*there was no cause to hold him -*</u> *Shahzada seized control of Taliban operations in southern Afghanistan.* (08a)

(6.126) *...many hard-line Sunni militants,* <u>*whom authorities*</u> ***suspect*** <u>*are behind the bombing, do not consider Shiʻites, Sufis and moderate Sunnis "real" Muslims....*</u> (55a)

The inclusion of voices other than the writer's necessarily turns the formulations heteroglossic, hence the information in the embedded clauses corresponds to paraphrased speech discourse. This causes the dialogistic test to fail in locutions of this kind, as in:

(6.127) **[in our view] it concludes that a combination of too many prisoners and too few guards **- as well as a confusing chain of command -** generated a climate ripe for trouble* (17a)

Given the blend of voices, it is difficult to know exactly who is speaking and when as shown in (6.127). The heteroglossic embeddedment does not accept paraphrased statements, since the formulation is already heteroglossic, so needs not be put to a dialogistic test. However, as this chapter only looks at evaluation averred by the writer, this kind of clause was not included.

6.4.3 Subordinated Phrases

A feature absent from White's model that was identified in this exploration is the presence of embedded phrases in position of unarguability, such as:

(6.128) *Cadena Ser, **a well-regarded Spanish radio network**, reported that…*(13b)

(6.129) ***Despite these high-profile cases**, corruption watchdogs say Germany is still pretty clean* (63b)

These phrases work very much like their analogous clauses and also occur at the same three levels of explicit/implicitness, thus were also classed into the same categories along the cline:

1) Explicitly inscribed evaluation,

2) Invoked evaluation through 'factual' information

3) Invoked evaluation, bordering on evocation.

6.4.3.1   Phrases of Inscribed Evaluation

Again, the easiest cases to identify as examples of phrases of unarguable values were those in which the writer's assessment was inscribed, as in:

(6.130) *Maloney, <u>not such a **house hold** name</u>, lost works he'd want in any retrospective* (08b)

(6.131) *the couple have agreed to televise the 45-mm. religious blessing - <u>**a far cry from** Charles' last TV-wedding **extravaganza**</u>* (45a)

(6.132) *...interviews took place on Sept. 20, and the completed study went to the Lancet on Oct. 1 and on to peer review <u>- **a fast turnaround** for scientific work.</u>* (25a)

(6.133) *The story has a happy ending for liberals - <u>or at least a **promising** second act</u>.* (46a)

(6.134) *<u>Despite these **high-profile** cases</u>, corruption watchdogs say Germany is still pretty clean.* (63b)

While explicit evaluation in embedded phrases proved rare, tokens of invoked evaluation in this position were more common; these are discussed in the following section.

6.4.3.2   Phrases of Invoked Evaluation via 'Factual' Information and Lexical Signals

In the examples below, the signals of invoked evaluation are underlined.

(6.135) *13,500 prominent Russians, __including 20 __members of parliament, sent a letter to the state prosecutor calling for a ban on all Jewish organizations…* (39a)

(6.136) *… that life in Earth was created at one stroke about 6,000 years ago (__no__ mention of evolution), that dinosaurs…*(65a)

Both embedded phrases make indirect acts of judgment. In (6.135) the writer wishes to emphasise the fact that even parliamentarians are among those desiring *to ban all Jewish organisations*, perhaps in an attempt to bring to light the seriousness of the situation. In (6.136), the phrase alludes to the absence of what the writer assumes should be present in a natural science museum. Both judgements here are partly aroused by the content, and partly by the lexical markers *including* and *no* which signal attitude.

6.4.3.3   Phrases of Invoked Evaluation bordering on Evocation

One step further in terms of implicitness is illustrated in the examples of this category, which bears no signals of evaluation at all. For instance:

(6.137) *On his infrequent trips to friendly capitals **- basically Moscow and Beijing-** North Korean leader Kim Jong II rides in a luxurious private train.* (03a)

Given the consistent attack of the editorial line of the publication on North Korea, the mention of *Moscow* and *Beijing* as *friendly*, is a masked criticism. It associates North Korea with Russia and China, whose political systems are consistently questioned by the US and seen as

potential causes of political turbulence with the West (see discussion in 5.3.2.2). Likewise, the phrase *and profits*, which the writer uses to make an act of negative evaluation:

(6.138) *Italy's banking sector is highly fragmented and not very competitive… meaning that greater efficiencies - **and profits** - can be wrung out of them.* (47a)

The term *profit* should not necessarily evoke a negative assessment, but here it is judged negatively as a side outcome of *greater efficiencies*. Obviously, the term implies something different for the *Credit Suisse First Boston* and for the writer. The writer interprets the bank's intentions regarding the business at hand, by stating an important aspect which s/he thinks should have been mentioned, but is not.

(6.139) *Customers who pay… and submit to fingerprint and iris scanning - **plus a background check by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security** - can be ushered through a dedicated fast lane at airport security checkpoints* (57c)

The writer's passing comment lacks evaluative indications, yet in the context, it supplies more information than it appears superficially. The system to speed up the plane boarding in busy airports is presented as simple and straightforward – *payment* and *fingerprint and iris scanning*– yet the addition *plus as background check by the US Department of Homeland Security* reveals the writer's scepticism. Basically, s/he is pointing out that the procedure is not as simple as the selling company presents it. To really understand fully the subtlety of this remark, much world knowledge is needed to work out what such *check* entails.

To close down the section it needs to be noted that embedded phrases serve the evaluative purpose as effectively as embedded clauses do, but they are rare instances in the corpus. Below is the summary diagram of the categories of the strategies used for the sake of naturalisation via unarguability.
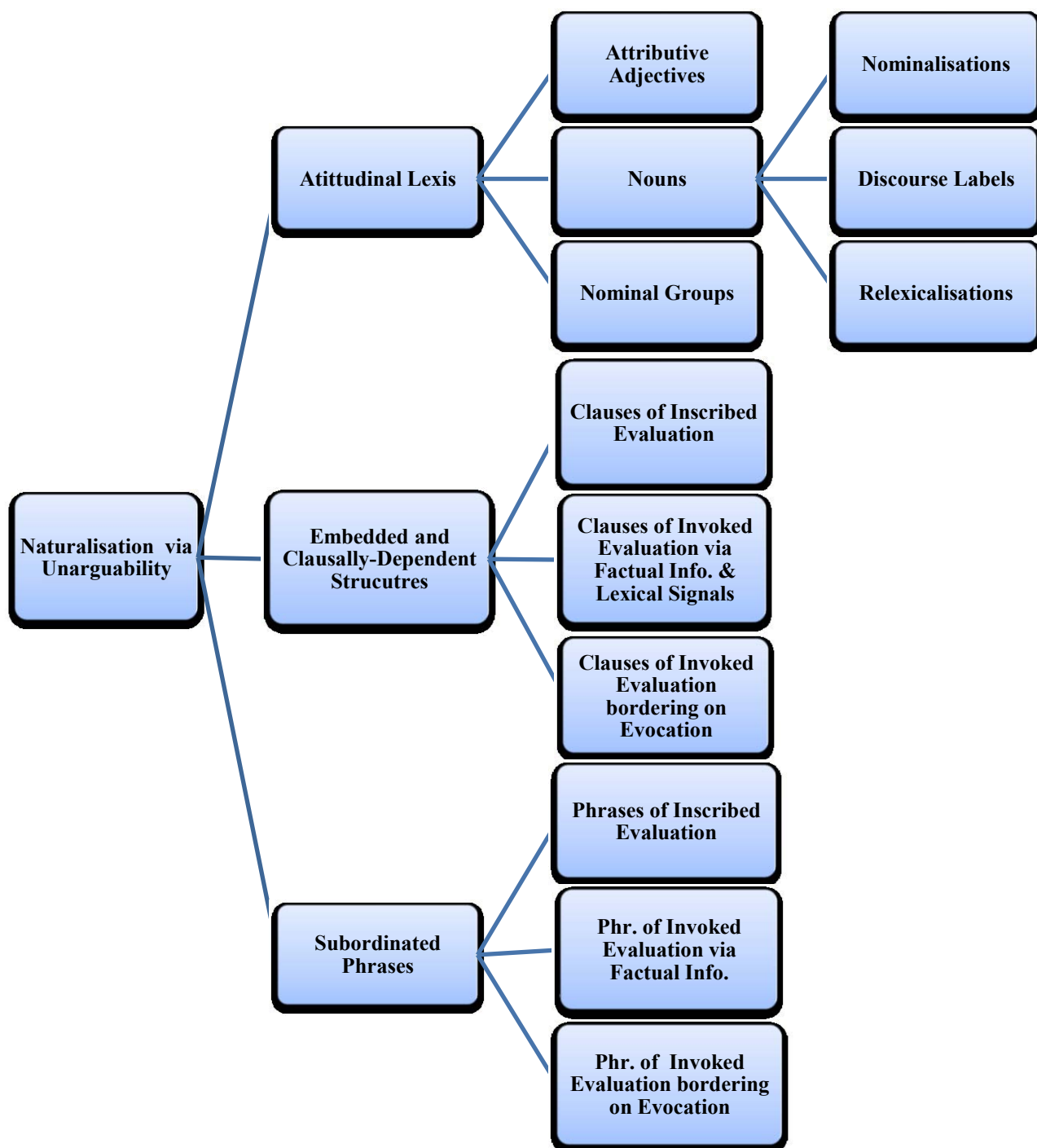
Diagram 5.1. Summary strategies of Naturalisation via resources of unarguability.

6.5   Case Study

As noted earlier, inscribed terms do not occur at a large extent in each text. They are so eloquent attitudinally, that just a few are sufficient to inscribe evaluation unequivocally. They may be said to have a cumulative and magnifying effect, since they spread their evaluation to the rest of the text and position the reader in the 'sought' attitude. This can be seen in the analysis of the following text, which like most texts, presents some lexical (***highlighted***) and grammatical (*<u>underlined</u>*) resources but not every possible evaluative device.

30.a. ARNOLD'S GROUPIES

(1) ***Naturally***, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger supports a constitutional amendment allowing foreigners to be President. (2) But he's not actively campaigning for it; ***he doesn't need to***. (3) On Nov. 15, <u>*a year after he was sworn in*</u>, <u>*a $20,000*</u> television ad ran in five California cities ***cheerfully*** urging residents to "help us amend for Arnold!" (4) Who is behind this <u>***compassionate*** ***crusade***</u>? (5) Not the Republican ***machine*** or the Austrian government, but former college roommates named Lissa Morgenthaler-Jones, <u>*a philanthropist in Woodside*</u>, California and Mimi Chen, <u>***a stay-at-home*** *mom in Los Angeles*</u>, <u>*who just cannot get enough of the* **Governator**</u>[108]. (6) The women graduated from Princeton in 1979 and went on to have careers ***well suited*** to ***championing*** a cause: Morgenthaler-Jones was a ***money manager*** and Chen ***was a DJ***. (7) When Schwarzenegger ran for Governor, both women, <u>*who by then had left their jobs*</u>, volunteered to help. (8) In August they launched *amnendforArnold.com*. (9) The <u>*battle*</u> has been joined. (10) After seeing the ads, Alex Jones, <u>*a Texas-based radio-talk-show host*</u>, launched *ArnoldExposed.com*. (11) His group 'Americans Against Arnold' alleges that the Governor is ***"a megalomaniac with aspirations of being a dictator***". (12) Just a matter of time until ***Weight Lifters for Truth*** gets into the game.

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[108] The term 'Governator', applied to Schwarzenegger, is a blend of Governor and Terminator, one of his film roles.

The passage is overtly attitudinal but, notably, the instances of inscribed judgement are not as abundant as one may feel initially; in addition to these there is an elusive criticism underlying the text which can hardly be debated since 'it is not there', but rather is evoked in the reader largely via tokens of indirect evaluation that pass judgement very subtly. Through a variety of evaluative resources –mostly in unarguable position– the writer manages to naturalise a definite representation of Schwarzenegger and his political performance. Both explicit marks and implicit clues build up the evaluative tone together and assign evaluative values to those formulations which are not evaluative *per se*. The major explicit attitudinal signals are: the adverbs ***naturally*** (in 1) and ***cheerfully*** (in 3), the verb ***championing*** (in 6) and the adjectives ***well suited*** and ***compassionate*** (in 6 and 4) in arguable and unarguable positions respectively. Herewith is the only truly evaluative judgemental locution (in 11), which is attributed (discussion of attribution in chapters 6 & 7), and contributes heavily to reinforce the tenor of the discourse.

The article abounds in tokens of invoked evaluation which reveal the author's attitude against the governor's initiative and position the reader likewise; such is the case of the 'purely factual' premodifiers ***$20,000*** *TV ad* (in 3) and ***Texas-based*** *radio-talk-show host* (in 10) in unarguable position; the cost of the ad is not evaluative in itself but the provision of such datum hints at something else; too much money for an ad? or money coming from public funds? Presumably, these points or other the targeted readership may see through. Similarly, the attribute 'Texas-based' is not neutral in an article about a Californian issue, where the places such as California (x2) and Los Angeles are explicitly mentioned; is the writer implying the Texas-based host has no right to get involved in a local debate? Is s/he alluding at how far Arnold's campaign has reached? Is he suggesting this is becoming a national issue?

These potential 'readings' are partly based on hints and partly on world knowledge classed therefore they could be classed as examples of invocation 'bordering on evocation'.

There are two cases of relexicalisations –***crusade*** and ***battle*** (in 4 and 9 respectively) – used to co-refer circumstances previously mentioned, which again give away –and naturalise– the writer's stance towards the Governor. None of them is openly evaluative, in that they may not be regarded as inscribed evaluative terms, but they clearly convey a negative attitude. Since they are used figuratively, in fact quite sarcastically, they should be regarded as instances of invoked assessment. In addition to this, the item ***crusade*** is further premodified by the ***compassionate***, which adds extra sarcasm to the campaign denoted in unarguable position.

There are also invoked values contained in embedded clauses, therefore not part of the main proposition, according to the model; *a year after he was sworn in* and *who just cannot get enough of the Governator* (in 3 and 5 respectively). The first one indicates indirectly that it is too short a time in office and of a political career for the governor to be already thinking of the US presidency. The second case, although it inscribes the affect of the two women overtly, combines this feature with judgement invoked by the use of *Governator* instead of Governor, a mocking nickname after Schwarzenegger's role as 'Terminator'. However, neither clause is part of the main proposition, hence not under consideration. A similar claim may be made of the embedded phrases *a philanthropist in Woodside* and *a stay-at-home mom in Los Angeles* to describe the women, which in my opinion say something of the writer's perception, since s/he indirectly suggests they hold a (financial?) position in life that allows them the opportunity to work on the campaign, thus evoking a condition most citizens cannot indulge in.

The passage has other indirect but deep touches of sarcasm such as the _Weight Lifters for Truth_ which evokes Schwarzenegger's build and reputation as Terminator. Also, interesting paradoxes like the one in (5) where both women are contrasted to two powerful institutional organisations (Republican machine and Austrian government) in response to the writer's question. Similarly, the implicit contrast of their well suited careers for the campaign (in 6), a **_money manager_** as opposed to a **_DJ_** (the **_stay-at-home mom_**). Even though the writer says nothing explicitly, s/he is making a point here with these contrasts.

The evaluative tone of the text does not result from any of these resources in particular but, as these observations show, it emerges from the interplay of a variety of evaluative devices – each one quite elusive in itself – that add up to the attitudinal weight of the passage and so build up a cumulative effect. The analysis also illustrates that not even inscribed evaluation, the simplest and most superficial form of evaluation can be exhausted; it seems to work beyond itself by the way it 'sways' non evaluative formulations.

6.6   Concluding Remarks

This chapter reviewed White's strategies to naturalise ideological positions through inscribed evaluation, paying special attention to formulations in unarguable position. Alongside the revision of White's categories, some supplementary resources not included in his framework were identified and described. I argue that the condition of unarguability is not exclusive to inscribed attitudinal lexis, but cuts across the inscribed/ invoked assessment. That is, the naturalisation of certain world views is not achieved via attitudinal lexis only, as proposed by White, but may also be attained through tokens of invoked (both provoked and evoked) evaluation, when used in the same clauses and structures in which inscribed terms are

protected against contention. In other words, tokens of provoked and evoked meanings can also be found in unarguable positions and may contribute to the naturalisation of the writer's view equally strongly than overtly evaluative items.

The strategies of unarguability present a 'protective' condition for the material they communicate which enables the writer to take almost full control over the judgemental tone of the text. That is, when construing propositions as given, his/her judgement prevails to the extent that disables the reader to react against it. This action leaves little or no room for discussion and indirectly determines what gets legitimised or delegitimised. Understandably, White relates the encoding of naturalisation of certain values to inscribed evaluation, since the conveyance of these views via these means is most noticeable. However, after a closer observation of the phenomenon, it becomes visible that the establishment of such values as if there was no other position may also be achieved through values presented implicitly. In fact, the examination shows that invoked and evoked evaluations occur abundantly in unarguable position as attributive adjectives and especially in embedded clauses. So White's modest proposal seems to be far more reaching than he suggested, and here has served as a springboard to identify much subtler instances of evaluation which follow the same pattern. This suggests that the triad 'inscribed, invoked, evoked' designed to categorise levels of explicitness and implicitness cuts across analytical models, and so also applies to the analysis of naturalisation. This ties in with chapter 7, the final analytical chapter, where the same claim is made, arguing that the same triad model can also be applied to the levels of directness of indirectness with which the writer evaluates via attributions and external voices.

7. THE EVALUATIVE USE OF ATTRIBUTED MATERIAL

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the function external voices play in conveying the attitude in my corpus. It is suggested that attributions are typically exploited for evaluative purposes, serving an ideological function for the writer to support and reinforce his/her position, and ultimately imprint a personal view in the discourse. This chapter seeks to find out to what extent attributions add up to the evaluative tone of the text and how writers employ them to subtly put their views across. The objective is to identify the strategies used to turn attributions into evaluative resources and to propose a basic typology.

The attention here is not on the content of the attributed text *per se*, but rather on the way this material is inserted in the discourse and the attitudinal value it is assigned in context. The agents, in their condition of external participants, 'are allowed' to pass explicit judgement more freely than the writer, so they may serve a major role as evaluators since they can voice supporting or dissenting positions and even express them vehemently –practices the journalist should avoid. However, the focal point is not on the sources' open and strong evaluations only, but also on the apparently neutral formulations used by the writer to trigger particular associations. The attention falls partly on the speaker's speech act, and partly on the writer attitude towards it, regarding the way the authorial and external voices 'interact' in the text. It is argued that the fullness of the evaluative tenor of the text does not come out from one or another voice separately, but emerges from this dialogical interplay, which may be more or less explicit, and which reveals the writer's attitude towards the content of the attributed formulations; the persons or events denoted; and to the speakers themselves. So by means of

other people's opinions, some of the writer's views may get spelt out strengthening the point s/he seeks to make, while remaining detached from the locutions.

7.1.1 A Note on Terminology

The terminological clarification made in 4.1.3 regarding the use of 'agent', 'speaker' or 'source' to denote the source of information and quoted participants applies here too. Thereby, these terms will be used interchangeably despite the minor technical differences experts in the field draw between them. A further note on terminology is that no distinction will be made between 'quote' or 'quotation' for the stretch of language conveying the agents' words, regardless of whether it is presented directly or indirectly. The flexibility for the use of these two terms derives from the lack of consistency in the literature. There does not seem to be a definite terminology. Bell specifies they are called "'quotes', not 'quotations', in news terminology" (1991:209), and so it is used by Fairclough (1995b), Thompson (1996), Teo (2000), Manning (2001). Conversely, "In print news such tellings are called quotations" (Scollon, 1998:216); term also adopted by Caldas-Coulthard (1993, 1994) Van Dijk (1988), Waugh (1995), White (1998), Semino & Short (2004), just to name a few on either side.

7.2   The Evaluative Role of the External Voices

It was noted in 4.6 that attributions serve different rhetorical and discursive functions in the text (e.g. intertextual, evidential, ideological, pluralistic, evaluative, etc.). The role performed may be varied and depends on the text type (see 4.3) and on the perspective from which they are studied. One of the least described functions of attribution is the evaluative one. This particular function relates closely to the interpersonal dimension and as such, it has been

addressed by different linguistic schools. The attention has mostly been placed on the content of the attributed material and on the mode of insertion within the whole story, but few studies have focused on the evaluative dimension such stretches serve to the author. The first ones to look into it were Labov & Waletzky (1967), who noticed that the core of the narrative was what was done, while what was said, by the teller or others, were evaluative commentaries of those actions. Although Labov's narrations were considerably different from my data and his understanding of evaluation much unlike the approach adopted here, the same premise seems valid for the NOTEBOOK texts, where quotes largely correspond to assessment of aspects denoted in the text.

Representatives of the Appraisal Theory have dealt with the subject within the interpersonal function; although their study mostly pertains to the 'attributional framing devices' as means used by writers to dissociate themselves from the responsibility of the evaluative meanings. White's work (especially 2004, 2005/6) has shown that overt inscription of attitude in news reports is typically confined to material attributed to external sources. This is a safe manner of evaluation, since it "makes propositions less negotiable... it is the speaker that must be debated rather than the locution" (Coffin, 1997: 208).

Another interesting proposal is Scollon's (1997, 1998). He distinguishes between the speaker's authorship and principalship of the utterance, as means used by journalists to judge through external quotes but delegating the responsibility of the content to the sources. He argues that in this way the writer holds the position of power to evaluate without taking any responsibility, while the speaker retains the liability for the propositions (see section 4.5.3). Scollon points out that through this practice, not only the formulations are assessed, but also the sources themselves get characterised by the writer. My work in this respect relates largely

to Scollon's since for both of us, this represents a strong manner of writer's control over the material and the speakers.

The external contributions are not normally included in studies on evaluation. For example, in their analysis of evaluation in media discourse, Iedema *et al.* (1994) focus on the author's judgmental statements and exclude all assessments, quotations or comments from external agents because, in their view, they do not contribute to the reader's sense of the author's own position or voice (1994: 14). White (1998) distinguishes between *authorial* and *non authorial* evaluation, but he focuses on the framing of the attributions, which is entirely controlled by the writer. Bednarek's (2006) account on evaluation in news papers also leaves them out, pointing out that her work is basically concerned with *writer's* evaluation, therefore all evaluations *attributed* to some else are excluded (2006: 59). In my view, by doing so, these studies disregard the evaluative potential attributions add to the discourse since, although the agents voice their personal judgements, the writer includes them for evaluative purposes.

7.3   The Approach to the Study

The model here presented distinguishes a new evaluative dimension of attributions in the news, bringing in variables of a rather implicit nature which have not been described previously and that are hard to portray since they are highly elusive. The point is that the quoted material may be 'manipulated' for the sake of evaluation simply by the way it is presented in the text. This manner of manipulation[109] involves no alteration of the message but the locutions serve an evaluative purpose by the way they are put to work in the discourse.

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[109] This practice is also called 'pseudo-manipulation' since strictly speaking there is no overt or material manipulation of the Content of the utterances, so the writer cannot be accused of manipulating someone's speech.

The strategies here discussed are seen as indirect forms of naturalization of the writer's stance, consequently as manners of control over the text and over the reader.

Attributions figure strongly as intertextual material, by means of which the writer indirectly assesses the agent and his/her allegedly uttered words. The author often engages in a 'pseudo-dialogue' with the external voices in which s/he reacts to their contributions; through this reaction the writer's may dis/endorse the source's position. This speaker-writer 'interaction' is a very powerful strategy since it allows the author to assign new senses or judgemental values to the attributed material without altering the words at all; ascribing to them meanings perhaps quite different from those meant by the source in the original speech event. By means of the strategies described below, the writer may manoeuvre the quotes and express his/her conformity or discrepancy with the speaker's declarations, consequently the reader may end up reading meanings unintended by the speaker originally.

The consideration of the external voices within this frame provides new lights on their function, since they are not analysed by themselves but within the larger context, and against their immediate cotext, i.e. preceding or following sentence(s). Normally, the averred material in the sentence just before or after the attribution reveals the authorial stance. This pseudo-manipulation of the quoted material brings the writer's attitude to the fore, since the point s/he wants to make is always reinforced in this interaction, as shown in (7.1) where the attribution in **bold italics** reinforces the writer's position in _underlined italics_.

(7.1)   _Although lacking in experience, Cyurcsany is not lacking in confidence_. **"He believes in himself and he believes he can win, and maybe that will make others believe"** _a senior party organizer told TIME…_(19a)

7.3.1   Conflicting Exchanges

Naturally, the writer's and agents' judgemental parameters do not always match. Those interactions where both voices diverge have been labelled as 'conflicting'. In these exchanges the writer uses the clashing view precisely to emphasise its divergence with the rest of the text, and indirectly support his/her position. Such discrepancy with the agent's locutions[110] may be expressed with different levels of subtlety or directness, as in (7.2):

(7.2)   *Nastase **was flippant about attacks**. **"If a simple article would be a reason for fighting;"** he joked, **"then I should have beaten a journalist per day."** <u>The EU isn't laughing</u>.*(23a)

The writer's closing remark in (7.2) signals that Nastase's disregard of the accusations is radically different from the importance the writer assigns to them. This 'dialogical interaction' confronts antagonistic positions without stating such discrepancy on the surface of the discourse.

Exchanges of this nature, where an external locution dissents with the overall tenor of the discourse, are normally sarcastic; however this sarcasm always strengthens the writer's viewpoint. Martin (2000) suggests that what makes the reader recognize meanings as humorous or sarcastic is what he calls 'discordant couplings' between ideational meaning and appraisal, arguing that the meanings cannot be taken at face value since they contradict the rest of the text (p. 163-4). The sarcastic effect results from the recognition of this mismatch.

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[110] This strategy is analogous to the 'Deny' resource (part of the Disclaim category) of the Engagement system in the Appraisal model. Denial is a resource by which an utterance with an alternative position is invoked so as to be replaced or dismissed as irrelevant or communicatively irrelevant. It is dialogical in that it invokes and presents itself as responding to prior claims, introducing the alternative positive position.

Analogous strategies are used in humour and cartoons, where the comical lies in the 'incongruity' of a statement with the rest of the context (Winter 1994).

The conflicting nature of the writer's/agent's stances often becomes apparent alongside the cotext, where their counter views are highlighted. The writer's comments attach new senses to the attributed material, thus putting the antagonistic position to work to his/her own advantage without modifying the content of the locutions. These conflicting exchanges could be read differently by different readers, but would normally be detected as acts of indirect evaluation by a skilled reader. Nonetheless, often in the vicinity of the formulations is the writer's help to direct the reader into the correct interpretation of what is really meant. Also, when the writer's attitude throughout the text is considered, the intended interpretation becomes clear. For example in exchanges (7.3-4), the writer expresses his/her discrepancy with the agent's views by means of indirect criticisms:

(7.3) *A Pakistani army spokesman said **operations were halted because they had*** ***succeeded in "smashing" terrorist bases**. <u>But no senior al-Qaeda or Taliban was</u>* <u>*caught*</u>. (01a)

(7.4) *Palestinian officials announced last week that **Israel had agreed the speedy*** ***withdrawal of troops from Ramallah and three other Palestinian towns*** <u>but, as</u>* <u>*residents of those towns know, there aren't any Israeli soldiers to withdraw.*</u> (36a)

From the 'positive' tone of the external formulations –by the positive content of the announcement in (7.4) and the confident tone of the speaker in (7.3) with the terms *succeed* and *smash*– we presume they must have been uttered with some pride and satisfaction.

Nonetheless, the writer's remark immediately after the attributed material spells out his/her diverging view and challenges both propositions explicitly. The effect is achieved simply by contrasting both versions, but ultimately the writer's position, who makes the last move to close the 'dialogue', seems to prevail.

I view these exchanges as a form of pseudo-manipulation, since they are 'designed' precisely to position the reader on the writer's side, which is presented as impartial and credible, against the one-sided version of the external voice. The writer simply presents a view, in such a way that it is difficult to disagree with it, and this allows him/her to direct the reader to take a particular position towards the material without interfering with its content at all. Another form of sarcasm can be seen below:

(7.5)   *"…Who gets Yukos, once it bankrupts?"* <u>*Apparently there is an answer.*</u> **"We know that the successor has been picked - we still don't know exactly who"** *says a senior Russian Cabinet official.* **"The person does not matter, though. It's the type that does: someone close and demonstrably loyal to Putin."** (07a)

In the context of political and economic interests of this American publication, the utterance of the senior Russian Cabinet official should be read with the writer's intended touch of mockery. There is a sense of well intended pride and loyalty to the system in the official's answer about the newly elected member, *no matter who he is*, since it seems to be for the benefit of the system. Yet, without 'uttering a word', the writer manages to assign a sense of negativity to his statement. The same remark, looked at from the liberal, democratic and capitalistic perspective of the USA, entails a negative practice, which carries the reminiscences of an autocratic and controlled regime. Therefore, the full understanding of the

veiled meanings underlying these conflicting formulations, are to a large extent supported by the information of the whole article, plus an important quota of inference, based on one's world knowledge, which the writer assumes the reader brings into the text.

7.4   Evaluation in my Data

The analysis of the evaluative power of attributions says very little by itself; it needs to be complemented with the evaluative strategies described in chapters 5 and 6. However, for operational motives, here quotations are treated separately as fulfilling an evaluative role of their own.

7.4.1 Methodology

The analysis of attributions was done manually. It consisted of going through each instance of attribution in the corpus identifying dialogical quotes with evaluative implications, without categorising them a priori. The procedure for their classification involved checking the attributed formulations against their co-text and also against the overall discourse, in search for implicit meanings that only show when read in the light of the whole article.

The whole 'reported' clause was taken as the unit of analysis; that is from the explicit or implicit *that* introducing the 'agent's words' (whenever applicable since it is not always consistent) or the stretch between inverted comas, indicating 'literal speech' within a paraphrased statement, as in: *the reconstruction is one of **"three great acts of closure"** for Bosnia, Ashdown told TIME* (14b). This meant that the realisations subject to the analysis differed from one another considerably, since the stretches of assessment ranged from a single

word evaluation, e.g. *an Iraqi mediator declared his remarks "**inopportune**"…*(03b), to lengthy and complex sentences passing judgement.

7.4.2 The Manner and Object of Evaluation

Not all the quotes serve the same informational and interpersonal purpose in discourse, nor do they behave evaluatively the same. The functions they fulfil depend on the type of text and the purpose they are used for. In this context, I make a distinction between the 'Object' and the 'Manner' of evaluation; while the 'Object' of evaluation refers to the person, entity, event or situation denoted (and evaluated) by the source's words; the 'Manner' of evaluation refers to the writer's explicit/implicit judgement the agent passes. However, the distinction is less obvious than it appears, since both Manner and Object of evaluation are closely intertwined.

It is argued here that it is not the propositional content of the attributions only that gets appraised, but above all, as Scollon (1998) suggests, the very source is evaluated and characterised in the process. Scollon, however, does not provide much detail of how this characterisation occurs; he only mentions the epithets and credentials assigned to the agents. Most attempts to disclose the characterisation of the sources included in the texts have focused on aspects related to their social standing such as; who gets included and how s/he gets represented (Bell, 1991: 195-ff); the representation of the elites v/s the minorities (van Dijk 1996); the status of the sources (White 1997); the proportional under-representation of women as compared with men (Caldas-Coulthard 1994). But nothing seems to have been said regarding the way they get evaluated by the content of their comments.

The categories outlined below precisely look at 'who' and 'what' gets evaluated through attributions and how this is achieved. They correspond to instances of 'Indirect evaluation', because strictly speaking, it is not the writer who evaluates but the source, even if the writer uses this material to make an indirect act of appraisal.

7.4.3 Implicitness / Explicitness[111]

The writer may convey (dis)approval; (dis)agreement; solidarity or lack of it with the content of the quotes in different ways, with different levels of commitment, and with varied levels of directness. The writer's attitudinal response towards the attributed material corresponds analogically to the inscribed/invoked categories depending on the level of implicitness/ explicitness with which s/he responds to the quotes. S/he may express explicit support/ antagonism or consent/contention towards the source or his/her quote or may instead hint such attitudes implicitly via indirect comments that will trigger an evaluation in the reader. However, it has been argued that the explicit/ implicit distinction is problematic because there are levels of implicitness or explicitness, since these categories are not discrete but are better represented as points on a cline. I suggest that the three categories of JUDGEMENT used in chapter 5 – Inscribed, Provoked and Evoked evaluation – are also applicable to detect evaluation triggered by the dialogical interaction between the writer and the sources. White's model cannot be applied integrally to this aspect of discourse, which is ontologically different from the analytical unit these categories were devised for; however, with some adaptations, the notions of Inscribed, Provoked or Evoked evaluation may be stretched to the analysis of

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[111] In this section, where the writer uses someone else's words to evaluate I will speak of explicit and implicit evaluation, while in the section in which the appraisal comes from the writer himself, following White's model, I will adopt his notions of inscribed and invoked appraisal.

writer-agent exchanges, in order to detect the way the writer endorses or disendorses the attributed position. These categories are shown at work in the following examples:

Inscribed

*...they are fining Shell a combined $150 million for **<u>"unprecedented misconduct,"</u>** in the words of the FSA.* (19b)

"The gaming market is <u>saturated with blood and guts and gore...</u>" *says Justin Roche, the game's project manager at WFP headquarters in Rome* (53a)

Invoked

*Jean-Cyril Spinetta, the chairman of Air France, says that **airport taxes on that route alone come to €51.** <u>So there's no way airlines can compete on price</u>.* (51c)

Said one strategist: **"If we don't change our image, we are finished."** <u>*Still, Gyurcsany's first message has been one of continuity*</u>.(19a)

Evoked

It (the video) showed a fourth captive, Fabrizio Quattrocci, <u>calmly </u>saying, **"I'll show you how an Italian dies,"** *before taking a bullet in the neck.* (03b)

*Russian President Vladimir Putin has claimed for years that **the war in Chechnya was over;** <u>last week, a new front opened up in Ingushetia.</u>* (10b)

At the explicit end are the overt cases of authorial attitude towards the propositional content, which correspond to Inscribed evaluation. The examples below show the writer's reaction to the quoted material in the blunt expression of adherence and disapproval respectively in the remarks immediately after the quotes.

(7.6)   *"Airports are to become the next major bottleneck,"* says Ronan Anderson of the Airports Council International Europe. *"Anything that alleviates that is more than welcome."* <u>Agreed.</u> (27b)

(7.7)   *Besides, she adds,* (Cambodian chicken seller about Bird Flu) *"only foreign chickens are affected, not the local ones".* <u>She's wrong, of course</u>. (40a)

Exchanges (7.6) and (7.7) represent the epitome of the writer's explicitness, but cases like these are rare. The writer's attitude towards the content of the quotes is normally expressed more implicitly; especially letting the speaker evaluate explicitly without him/her getting too involved. Exchanges (7.8) and (7.9), for example, show a more moderate manner of expressing attitude to the source's comments, but still easily recognisable as such by skilled readers.

(7.8)   *... <u>but he</u>* [Cheney] <u>*isn't likely to join in the kinder, gentler approach.*</u> *"Cheney soften?"* says a Bush official. *"Don't bet on it"*. (09a)

(7.9)   *Duffy said she* **hoped the iceberg would be "a symbol of hope" for the province's divided community**. <u>*Alas, like so many peace agreements before it, the work is bound to melt down.*</u> (41c)

These exchanges, although less direct than the ones above, still inscribe the writer's attitude, but they should be seen as transitional cases between Inscribed and Provoked evaluation, since there is an authorial intervention by means of lexical hints and modal forms *isn't likely; like ... is bound to,* to temper his response.

At the other end of the cline stand the entirely implicit cases, where the writer's endorsement is the least evident. The expression of conformity with or disagreement with the quotation is triggered by means of tokens that simply evoke judgements in the reader; therefore the actual evaluation is left to the reader's reaction of sheer facts who, based on inferences of implicatures and entailments, interprets the writer's comment[112]. This can be seen in instances where the connection between both moves exposes weak or no cohesive links, but is utterly ruled by coherence. These evaluations are better spotted when seen in the light of the whole text but here, due to space limitations, only the relevant section will be reproduced, as shown in the example (7.10)

(7.10) *...the judges* [Malawi High Court and Supreme Court] *who complained that **their old cars needed constant maintenance**, had originally demanded **Mercedes or BMWs.** Their new Nissan Terranos will cost about $60,000 apiece; per capita GDP is around $155.* (38c)

Despite the criticism the writer makes of the judges' demands, no evaluative signals appear on the surface of the discourse. The evaluation lies on the contrast between the cost of the judges' cars and the monetary reality of ordinary Malawians. Similarly, in (7.11) the reader should infer the writer's criticism of the Sudanese President and of the UN on the Darfur conflict simply by both clashing views.

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[112] I am adopting the conception of conventional implicature as introduced by Grice (1975); i.e. that more can be communicated than what is actually said. Implicatures account for those implicit meanings that can be logically inferred from an expression as distinct from what is literally said. Levinson (1983) argues that the notion of implicature bridges the gap between what is literally said and what is conveyed. The sources of pragmatic inference lie outside the organization of the language, but lie on some principles for cooperative interaction, and yet these principles have a pervasive effect upon the structure of the language (p. 97-98).

(7.11) *It is **"a tribal conflict,"** said al-Bashir, who came to power in a 1989 coup. They are **"outlaws or gangsters who are used to being on horseback and holding arms or guns. They are bandits".** <u>Two days later; the U.N. suspended much of its relief efforts in Darfur because of the continued violence.</u>* (29a)

The recognition of this implicit judgement implies a large body of world knowledge to trigger an evoked evaluation and grasp its full evaluative load. This manner of implicit evaluation often occurs when the writer criticises or mocks the agent's words, as in

(7.12) *Economy Minister Clement invited **anyone who found the new 16-page welfare benefit claims forms too complicated to give him a ring.** Days later**,** he admitted that his office was **"completely paralyzed"** by phone callers... <u>Maybe Clement's staff was having problems completing the forms, too.</u>* (14c)

(7.13) *Rhys argues **the industry is so competitive that when one car-maker absorbs rather than passes on the cost of compliance, the rest will have no choice but to follow.** <u>Perhaps. In the meantime, buyers should fasten those seatbelts.</u>* (07b)

In these examples, the writer's 'responses' to the attributions bear weak cohesive links with the agent's words; nevertheless s/he manages to convey a sense of disapproval of the quotes. The writer adopts a cynical attitude, signalled in highly sceptical remarks that 'complement' the agents' statements, often expressed via figurative language; with these touches of sarcasm his/her attitude becomes noticeable, without overtly exposing it. The fewer cohesive links between both statements, the more their connection relies on coherence, i.e. on the reader's inferences to make sense of adjacent clauses. Winter (1994), who discusses the clausal

connections at the sentence level, argues that "the moment you put together any two sentences for a purpose, your listener or reader looks for a sensible connection between their topics, and if they make sense to him/her, it will be because s/he can relate the two sentences… in expected ways" (p.49). On the other hand, Martin & Rose (2003) warn that when passing these value judgements, the writer needs to trust the reader's judgement, since the interpretation of metaphorical and indirect evaluations may easily be missed or misinterpreted; the same token may be used to be sarcastic, to criticise or praise, so the reader has to be very cautious and interpret them against their context (2003:29).

The discussion so far has shown the writer's immediate reaction to the quoted material, but this response may also occur displaced in the text, leaving large gaps between the quote, working as stimulus, and the writer's reaction. The examples have been carefully picked to illustrate the adjacent-clause relations, but in the cases of delayed responses the context plays an even more crucial role. For example (7.14) shows a somewhat surrealistic connection between clauses when seen out of context.

(7.14) *"They had the name recognition and horse power to do magnificent things"* says *media investor Harold Vogel.* <u>*A fairy-tale ending, however, appears to have been left*</u> <u>*onscreen*</u>. (15a)

Given the lack of context, the semantic connection between sentences here is not straightforward, but the passage deals with the competition between Dream Works Animation and Pixar, the largest computer animated film companies, with earlier references to *Shrek* and *finding Nemo*, thus setting the reader in a mindset of fairy tales. The writer reacts ironically to the quote with an endophoric reference (fairy-tales produced by the films industry), to intra-

textual information mentioned earlier in the text. Using endophoric references for evaluative purposes is common practice in my data, as shown below.

(7.15) *"That's just spit in the ocean." He told TIME. "You've got to fix the problem."* <u>A genuine fix means massive job cuts, which requires real political courage in Rome. Just another catch-22.</u> (04a)

(7.16) *Mark Pacitti, a corporate finance partner … notes that* **"private equity will make the difficult decisions that established [public] companies may be reluctant to do."** <u>Such cold bloodedness is what evokes the 'locust' comparison.</u> (53b)

In both texts the writer responds to the attributed formulations with allusion to information mentioned earlier in the texts. Text (7.15) opens: "*Alitalia has crash landed in a field of* **catch-22**", and closes with the same expression in the final sarcastic remark; thus the writer shows his support for the quote and distrust that the Italian government will act. Similarly, text (7.16) opens: "*officials have likened the firms to* **locusts**" thus tying in the final ironical comment with the opening formulation of the text. Unfortunately, these examples show the strategy only partially since, the fullness of the evaluative meaning given by the writer with such comments distant from the alluded quote can only be truly observed in the light of the overall text.

7.5   The Model of Analysis

The act of evaluating with or through the agents may take several modalities; at times only the writer evaluates, at times only the source does so, sometimes both of them do it together; and

each of these modalities may do so explicitly or implicitly. These modes should be seen as rhetorical and discursive options for the writer to show stance towards the agent's words. I devised a set of categories which capture all the possible dialogical relations established between the three 'parts' interacting in the evaluation, namely: the writer; the agent; and the propositional content of the quoted material. The model comprises five scenarios, which represent all the cases found in my corpus.

1) The writer 'dialogues' with the quoted material (comprising two sub-scenarios and four modalities of semantic combinations of the clauses).

2) The writer evaluates through the agent's words.

3) The writer judges the speaker by the words s/he utters.

4) The writer contrasts two versions.

5) Other.

Each category encapsulates a particular strategy, but the act of assessment in each scenario accepts numerous realisations; therefore the categories are broad enough to allow varied modes of evaluation within the general pattern.

Although the formal object and/or the manner of the evaluation may prevail in particular scenarios, both aspects appear tightly intertwined, so cannot be told apart easily. Also, the categories of inscribed, provoked, evoked judgement do not relate directly to one scenario or another, but run across them and may occur likewise in all five scenarios. In what follows the model is described and illustrated with paradigmatic examples from the corpus. The instances have been picked carefully in order to exemplify the points without much need of context, but

they exhibit different levels of clarity and some, given this decontextualisation, necessarily entail harder work.

7.5.1 The Writer 'Dialogues' with the Quoted Material

The first scenario corresponds to the clearest case of 'dialogical interaction' but paradoxically is the most complex scenario, where a kind of interchange takes place between writer and speakers. Exchanges of this kind display a dialogistic pattern consisting of two moves; one for each part, which may combine in two ways:

1) The quote initialises the exchange and the writer responds to the attributed material, or

2) The writer initialises the exchange and uses the attributed material to support his/her point.

Typically, the writer's remark evaluates the content of the quotes which may be paraphrased or presented as literal – signalled by the inverted commas convention. This move may either support or oppose the attributed claims; it is in these cases, where the two positions do not concur, that conflicting exchanges appear. In sub-scenario (1) the agent's words trigger the writer's reaction, which opens up this pseudo-dialogue. Following the convention, here the attribution is also represented in ***bold italics*** and the writer's reaction in <u>*underlined italics*</u>.

(7.17) ***"We are talking about someone who is saying you should burn gay people alive,"***
       says OutRage president Peter Tatchell. <u>*But the outrage hasn't stopped there...*</u> (17c)

(7.18) *Supporters said **the change was needed because Russians are divided over the***

        ***revolution;** <u>presumably, they agree on the Romanovs.</u>* (34c)

(7.19) *a new study in the New England Journal of Medicine suggests **the virus may spread***

        ***more easily through the air than first thought**. <u>Sadly there are now some new cases</u>*

        <u>*to help test the thesis*</u>. (02a)

These cases of 'attribution + writer's response' represent the most common chain of interaction, but the sequence takes the reverse order in sub-scenario (2), where the writer, aware of what is coming, introduces his/her attitude beforehand to reassert the point being made. For example:

(7.20) [discussion on sugar price] <u>*One consolation:*</u> *European confectionery and biscuit*

        *makers say **the new prices will make them more competitive.*** (59b)

(7.21) <u>*When negotiating with enigmatic, totalitarian North Korea, progress can be*</u>

        <u>*maddeningly hard to achieve.*</u> *That's why… Hill warned reporters **not to expect the***

        impasse over North Korea's nuclear-weapons program to be resolved soon. "I want

        to caution people not to think we are coming to the end of this". (62a)

(7.22) <u>*But there's also a risk that splinter groups could keep the violence going*</u>. ***"Nothing***

        has changed," *a defiant source from the Continuity I.R.A. told TIME.* ***"There is still a***

        British presence that has to be removed." (61b)

Naturally, the first sub-scenario is more dialogical than the second one, as the writer responds to the agent's remarks, whereas in the second one the source cannot respond to the writer's remarks. A noticeable feature of these reactions is that they are frequently worded in a colloquial and humorous style, as in:

(7.23) *"The Prime Minister cannot answer for anybody else's comments"* says spokeswoman Vera Duskova. <u>He'd better keep up his mortgage payments.</u> (39c)

The act of evaluation in both modalities can be made with optional levels of explicitness/ implicitness. Examples (7.24-5) show blunt cases of explicitness, where the writer's attitude towards the attribution is clearly inscribed in his/her intervention. Here the writer reformulates the 'original' locutions with a personal interpretation of what s/he 'thinks' the speaker meant with these words (marked by <u>*double underline*</u>):

(7.24) *Italy's banking sector is highly fragmented and not very competitive* according to Credit Suisse First Boston, <u>*meaning that greater efficiencies - and profits - can be wrung out of them.*</u> (47c)

(7.25) *His Iran,* said the erstwhile mayor of Tehran**, would be modern and strong** (<u>*meaning nuclear powered*</u>) *and rich, with prosperity to be shared among all classes*...(56a)

This is a strong form of authorial interference and control, not only makes an explicit act of evaluation of what has been said, but also clearly positions the reader on the same stance. However, most of the writer's overt expression of attitude towards the quotes are less invasive and with varying degrees of inscription. In (7.26), for example, the connection between both

formulations is highly transparent, since the word *scorned* creates a strong semantic link with the attributed statement; whereas their relation in (7.27) is considerably more elusive, since there are no cohesive links between both formulations and the writer makes a faint allusion to information discussed earlier in the text.

(7.26) *Civilians, too, felt scorned.* **"Burning the flag is a slap in our face,"** *said Ahmet Güney…* (46b)

(7.27) [after four sessions of peace talks] **"It's hard to talk about progress until you have an agreement"** *Hill said on Saturday.* *Get ready for a fifth round.* (62a)

These are somewhat atypical cases; the commonest modality in evaluative exchanges is the combination of explicit and implicit devices of evaluation. This can be seen in (7.28) where the writer's lengthy reaction to Schwarzenegger's words mixes explicit and implicit devices, together with attributed chunks:

(7.28) *…the Californian Governor responded saying* **the U.S. should "close the borders" with Mexico to stop "all of those people coming across."** *The gaffe infuriated the state's Hispanic voters, and Schwarzenegger rushed to explain he had meant to say* **"securing our border,"** *blaming the misunderstanding on a* **"language problem"** *But suddenly, the Governor's heavily accented bons mots didn't seem so charming.* (49b)

The writer inscribes disapproval towards Schwarzenegger's quite explicitly via lexical items such as *gaffe* and full statements as *didn't seem so charming*. But these signals appear interwoven with subtler ways of condemning him such as: *rushed to explain; suddenly;*

blaming the misunderstanding on a... and the retrospective label (Francis 1994) *heavily accented bons mots*.

It is worth noting that the acts of evaluation by the writer are markedly negative. Notably few positive evaluations were made by the sources and came out of the dialogical interactions. More often than not, the attributions are negative, or the writer uses the quotations to criticise or make fun of personalities and newsmakers, by censuring or poking fun at their words (e.g. 7.28), which brings back to mind, that 'positivity' is not among the 'news values'.

7.5.2 Clause Relation in the Interaction

Still within this dialogistic scenario, further subdivisions can be identified in terms of the semantic relations that both formulations establish in the interaction. There are various ways in which the participant voices may relate following certain rules which emerge from four types of relations between the clauses. In what follows I describe the semantic modalities offered by these exchanges:

(i)   Situation/Claim + Evidence

(ii)   Situation/Fact + Confirming Claim

(iii)   Claim + Contradiction

(iv)   Other.

(i)   (Evaluative) Situation/Claim + Evidence

Following, to some extent, Winter's patterns of sequences[113] (1982, 1994), I see this scenario as resembling the basic text structure 'Situation/Claim' + Grounds. This pattern consists of an averred evaluative situation or claim[114], complemented by a quote that provides evidence to reassert the allegation, as in:

(7.29) *He proved to be an effective insurgent. A Taliban source told TIME that **Shahzada masterminded a jailbreak in Kandahar in October, when 41 Talibs tunneled to freedom as bribed guards turned a blind eye.*** (08a)

(7.30) *...but he* [Cheney] *isn't likely to join in the kinder, gentler approach**. "Cheney soften?"** says a Bush official. **"Don't bet on it".*** (09a)

(7.31) *After years of drought, this is comeback time for the initial public offering; **European IPOs for June have already trumped the $6.6 billion fetched during all of 2003,** according to Dealogic.* (11b)

In this scenario there is an explicit act of evaluation by the writer, who uses the attributed material to overtly support and even reinforce his/her views. Thus, the attribution is in perfect agreement with, and provides evidence for, the averred formulation.

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[113] Despite applying Winter's model, it needs to be noted that it differs from mine significantly, in that in his 'sequenced utterance' (p.49) a single speaker presents and evaluates the situation, while in my sequences that involve two speakers, each one is responsible for one constituent of the whole structure.

[114] I am defining Claim as 'to assert as a fact' (Collins dictionary) and Situation as 'a state of affairs or a combination of circumstances' (*ibid.*). The grouping of these two notions in a single constituent of the sequence is because the first element may be expressed either by an assertion (e.g. 7.28 and 7.30) or by a modalised statement (e.g. 7.29).

(ii)   Situation/Fact + Confirming claim

This category consists of an attributed 'Situation/Fact' + an averred 'Claim', which confirms and judges the prior attributed proposition. The elements of this scenario relate somehow to Sinclair's (1986) notion of fact and averral and the link between the attribution and consecutive averred claim is made explicit by linking markers such as *that is why*, *so* and *as* (signalled below by *double underline*).

(7.32)   [concerning bird flu cases in Cambodia] ***"A problem in a remote part of the world becomes a world problem overnight,"*** *Dr. Julie Gerherding, the director of... said last week.* <u>*That's why the blind faith of a Cambodian chicken seller is ample cause for international concern*</u> (40a)

(7.33)   *A senior U.S. official hinted...:* ***"This was a tough call, we went back and forth on it in the U.S. government... Our embassy in Baghdad will run a number of overt programs to support the democratic electoral process,"*** <u>*as the U.S. does elsewhere in the world.*</u> (20a)

(7.34)   *Jean-Cyril Spinetta, the chairman of Air France, says that* ***airport taxes on that route alone come to €51.*** <u>*So there's no way airlines can compete on price*</u>. (51c)

The evaluation in this category is considerably more overt than in (i), since the writer's claim explicitly evaluates and reasserts his/her position with the data provided by the agents. Conversely, such claims confirm and reinforce the source's position, thus placing the writer in good control of the material.

(iii)   Claim + Contradiction

Contrary to the two previous categories, here the writer contests the speaker's views using the attributed material precisely to draw attention to the conflicting views. The exchange in these sequences opens up with the attributed claim which is succeeded by an averred remark that opposes the source's position. Interestingly, the writer's reaction is often introduced by a surface marker that announces his/her intervention, signals the semantic relation between clauses and guides their interpretation. For instance:

(7.35) *"There is no place in Islam for such acts"* [suicide bombings] *insists Mufti Rehman...Sadly, there seems to be a place for them in Pakistan.* (55a)

(7.36) *...he described **the effects of the official 35-hour week as "perverse."** But don't expect change until after the summer holiday.* (11a)

(7.37) ***His Iran*** *he* (Ahmadinejad) *said **would be modern and strong... and rich, with prosperity to be shared among all classes, not just the elite.** Still, the streets of Tehran's better-off northern districts were like a ghost town full of zombies, with residents in shock....* (56a)

Obviously, these are exemplary exchanges, where the writer's disagreement with the source's view is easily spotted out of context, but their discrepancy is not always expressed this unequivocally. Evaluation may be put across much more subtly without connectors linking both views; in (7.38-40) for example, the conflicting nature of the exchanges needs to be inferred after contrasting the positions which work as tokens of evaluation. These cases which need to be interpreted by the reader relate to evoked evaluation.

(7.38) *Russian President Vladimir Putin has claimed for years that **the war in Chechnya was over;** last week, a new front opened up in Ingushetia.* (10b)

(7.39) *...instructed staff **to write shorter documents, as the arrival of 10 new member states threatened to overwhelm the translation service.** A similar order in 2001 failed to stanch the flow of verbiage.* (06.c)

(7.40) ***"I do what I want and I know how to protect the Palestinian interests better than anyone else".*** *After four years of violence that shows no signs of ending opposition to Arafat is spreading to the street.* (12a)

Although in these cases there is no apparent authorial voice articulating the evaluation, the writer skilfully contests (7.38-9) – and criticises (7.40) – the speakers simply by providing 'factual' information which challenges their versions. In (7.38) the writer contends Putin's denial of a well-known conflict and proves him wrong with the indication of *a **new** front* signalling the existence of ***former** fronts*. In (7.39) the author augurs a negative outcome merely by recalling a prior frustrated attempt, and in (7.40) s/he condemns Arafat's decision, by stating the consequences his position has brought about. Examples (7.10-11) above also correspond to this manner of evaluation.

(iv)   Other

This category brings together two less frequent scenarios of dialogistic interaction which do not fit into the categories above. The formulations in these sequences relate as follows:

- **Attributed Claim + Problem**

In this pattern the writer's remark points out the problems s/he sees as deriving from the setting presented by the source. Examples (4.41-2) denote straightforward cases of appraisal, where a problem is marked by surface markers which lead to the correct interpretation:

(7.41) ***"We want to identify perpetrators and have them brought to justice by internationally accepted means."*** <u>*And therein lies a dilemma*</u>. (41b)

(7.42) *Alitalia CEO Giancarlo Cimoli warned that* **the state-owned carrier faced collapse within 20 days unless unions agree to cost cuts and layoffs.** <u>*But downsizing has consequences.*</u> (19c)

- **Situation + (Sarcastic) Concession**

Here, the relation between both constituents differs qualitatively from those noted above. The adjective 'sarcastic' was added in brackets, because the few instances I found happened to bear a touch of mockery. This humoristic concession involves an indirect evaluation, which is context-dependent, therefore may be missed out in the examples below due to their lack of context.

(7.43) ***"These are young people, 25 to 40, mainly couples. They go on travel tours. They drink beer. It's leisure,"*** *she says.* **Look out, though, when the British stag parties start arriving,** *says Marketa Sebkova of the Hilton in Prague.* ***"They are loud. They get drunk."*** <u>*On fine champagne, no doubt.*</u> (59c)

(7.44) *Hamas sources tell TIME that **some local leaders are threatening to join with malcontents from Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's faction to form splinter terrorist cells that could go after U.S. targets**. <u>At the top power of Hamas, Meshaal will have to decide how to deal with the hotheads.</u>* (02b)

7.5.3 The Writer Evaluates through the Agent's Words

The second scenario represents the most straightforward strategy of appraisal, where the object of evaluation is the same for the speaker and for the writer. Now, the agent's evaluation stands alone, in the sense that there is no obvious response from the writer indicating attitude or interfering with the formulation in any way; the evaluation is left totally in the speaker's hands. The writer seems to stand aside, but indirectly endorses the judgement passed by the agent. Even if there is no explicit signal of such alignment, his/her agreement with the claim is hinted at by the overall context. The writer's inclusion of the attributed judgement and his/her lack of antagonism give away his/her stance. As noticed so far, when the authorial and external views clash, the writer signals it, either implicitly or explicitly, but never keeps silent. On the other hand, when the agent's propositions do not seem to conflict with the position of the overall text, there is no indication of the writer's opinion. In my view, this silence should be interpreted according to the Latin maxim *Qui tacet consentit* (silence gives consent), as in (7.45-6) where there is no authorial reaction:

(7.45) *"**Karimov is digging his own grave**," says Panfilov, a Central Asia expert in Moscow. "**The tragedy is he's dragging his entire country along**"* (55b)

(7.46) *"Corruption hasn't become more frequent,"* says Ludolf von Wartenberg, director

general of ... *"It's just that the cases have become more spectacular."* (63b)

The agents are normally authoritative sources; i.e. experts in the field, witnesses, actors involved in or affected by the events, like the speaker in (7.47) who describes a fire vividly.

(7.47) *"People were pushing and jumping over each other to get out,"* concertgoer José Maria Godoy told reporters. *"It was like a human wave. As people fell down running to the door, others just simply ran over them or pushed them down."* (34b)

In this example, both the agent and the writer evaluate the same event, yet the writer does so through the concertgoer and includes the description to help readers figure out the extent of the drama in the fire. Likewise, in (7.48) the writer backs the positive opinion of the study in question.

(7.48) *"This is a very interesting and a very brave study,"* says Sloboda, a psychology professor and co-founder of Iraq Body Count... (25a)

People can also be –and often are– object of evaluation. The strategy of leaving the role of assessor to the sources offers the writer a way to play safe when talking about others. Thus, the writer takes the principalship without the inconvenience of the responsibility for the authorship. Note this strategy at work in (7.49-50) with a direct judgement and a much subtler ironical one respectively:

(7.49) *His group Americans Against Arnold alleges that the Governor is **"a megalomaniac with aspirations of being a dictator."*** (30a)

(7.50) *Asked last week if the country would be better off if Gore had won, the usually dour Nader cracked a smile**. "George W. Bush is an easy act to follow, or precede,"** he said**. "Anyone would be a better President."*** (21a)

The assumption that the writer agrees with the formulations lies on the lack of a reaction. His/her silence and apparent uncommitted position to value the judgements is quite eloquent when seen in the light of the overall framework. As noticed so far, if the writer disagrees with the formulations, s/he would either exclude them altogether or would come out in the Governor's and Bush's defence. Similarly in (7.51) the author presents a negative judgement of Aznar simply by making no defence of him or offering a counter view, but on the contrary, complementing the quote with additional information on the case.

(7.51) ***"This is a sign of his authoritarian and self-centered way"*** *says Begonia Lasagabaster, a Basque congresswoman. <u>The bad publicity just kept coming</u>.* (13a)

There are also conflicting cases, like (7.52), where the speaker praises the enemy, in order to project a potential negative effect: namely to make readers see how dangerous he is.

(7.52) ***"We face a thinking, adaptive enemy,"*** *says U.S. Marine Commandant General Michael Hagee, **"and they have a seemingly inexhaustible supply of manpower."*** (52a)

Sadly, as mentioned above, positive evaluations are rare, especially regarding people. Examples (7.53-4) represent two of the very exceptional cases in my corpus.

(7.53) *"I give them every benefit of the doubt."* says Michael Harrison of the industry magazine Talkers. *"They get publicity, they're selling ads."* (46a)

(7.54) *"He is very capable and very serious,"* says Marwan Ilamade, a leading opposition MP. *"He has the knowledge and the guts. From where he is now; Rafik Hariri should be satisfied."* (50a)

The writer's support is also deduced from preceding positive comments in the text, such as *...this is U.S. radio's fastest-growing format* (7.53) and *Many hope that Saad can finish the job of rebuilding and reuniting Lebanon his father began* (7.54). The ***Many*** in this statement is a form of what Hunston (2000) calls the 'hidden self' in which the writer is the source of the assessment but in a hidden manner (see below 7.5.3.2) thus signalling his/her endorsement of the sourced opinion. The function of this rhetorical device may also be interpreted as if what matters is the content of the proposition rather than who uttered it.

Apart from these mainstream examples, there are some subtypes of the same phenomenon, which have been described separately: namely, (7.5.2.1) Deeper Embeddedment and (7.5.2.2) Undetermined Sources.

7.5.3.1   Deeper Embeddedment

So far only strategies of simple attributed evaluation have been discussed, where the source's explicit judgement is embedded in the writer's implicit one. However, this scenario may grow in complexity with deeper embeddings. Cases of this nature occur when the source reports on someone else's words, intentions, feelings, etc. so at the time that the 3rd person's attitudes or values are reported, s/he is also evaluated. Thus, the writer appraises simultaneously both the speaker and the person being spoken about. This occurrence is clearly seen in (7.55)

(7.55)   *"**I don't think Mubarak has any intention to reform,**" says Hisham Kassem, chief of the independent newspaper Al Masri Al Youm. "**He just needed something to embellish his presidential campaign.**"* (62b)

In (7.55) there are three levels of embedded judgement: (i) the appraisal the writer makes of Hisham Kassem, (ii) what the agent (Hisham Kassem) says about Mubarak and (iii) Mubarak's intentions. The source judges Mubarak negatively by alluding to his intentions – a fairly subjective assessment from a start. However, at the same time the writer evaluates Hisham Kassem's attitude reflected in his comment. Although the writer is not responsible for these words, s/he effectively endorses them by the simple fact of their inclusion and the failure to refute or counter them.

The matter gets even more complex as the embeddedment goes deeper, and more participants are included in a single formulation. In (7.56) there are four layers of embedded speech. The writer gives the floor to Letta to speak about Berlusconi, who describes him by reference to Bush's desires.

(7.56) *"Berlusconi wanted to be like Bush, pursuing an expansionist policy by running a deficit,"* says opposition MP Enrico Letta. (48a)

Here we have Letta judging Berlusconi (for his assumed desires) and at the same time judging Bush (for his assumed intentions). On his/her part, the writer appraises Berlusconi by Letta's formulations and indirectly also appraises Bush, whose assumed intentions get negatively judged as well. The writer uses what the agent says to judge somebody, in this case two more people, Berlusconi and Bush, putting Letta as intermediary. With this strategy, the writer's position remains unstated but normally his/her stance appears explicitly somewhere in the vicinity of the attributed material. The authorial attitude becomes apparent in the remark following the attributed material, even if not spelled out too explicitly:

> *Having patched over coalition differences, the PM is playing it safe… For the next year, Berlusconi's main mission will simply be to survive.* (48a)

This statement seems to confirm the purely inferred assumption the reader may have derived from what the deeply embedded judgments suggested above. Therefore, more than one person may appraise and be appraised in a single formulation; when this is so, they do not necessarily have to be appraised in the same terms, such as example (7.57) about the release of a Taliban captive from the Guantanamo prison, who the writer agrees *proved to be an effective insurgent.*

(7.57) *a Taliban tells TIME* **that Shahzada convinced his captors he had been picked up by their Afghan allies only because he was Pashtun, a rival ethnic group**. (08a)

Here the Taliban source praises Shahzada's shrewdness and indirectly judges negatively his captors – who happened to be American – that were easily fooled. The speaker seems to make fun of them for believing his story and letting Shahzada go. So we have a negative judgement of someone embedded in a positive one of somebody else. Surprisingly the writer does not 'respond', therefore, according to the *Latinae Saentenciae* noted above, s/he should be seen as endorsing the propositional content of the quote.

7.5.3.2   Undetermined Sources

Most of the agents to whom the quotes are attributed are clearly identifiable sources, but there are exceptions. The claims by undistinguishable sources relate to Hunston's category of the 'Hidden self' (2000) by which the writer's personal evaluation is voiced by vague or unknown sources (*many, few, some, others*) to make the judgement sound more neutral. However, not all the cases of undetermined sources fit Hunston's pattern. I also include reported clauses which present a summary of what many people may have said, summarised in a single evaluative statement. Below undetermined sources are *underlined*.

(7.58) *Many Zimbabweans believe **there are darker reasons for the sweeps, which have included incidents of police brutality and destruction of property.*** (54b)

(7.59) *But as his long papacy grows ever longer, some **feel the next conclave will seek a shorter- term "transitional" figure.*** (32a)

(7.60) *But others point out that **the foreign fighters al-Zarqawi is said to command seem to represent only a small percentage of the rebels in Iraq;*** (52a)

(7.61) *But <u>some</u> question **Yudhoyono's decisiveness.** (22b)*

(7.62) *But <u>few</u> believe **this will end Sudan's problems.** (34a)*

(7.63) *When suicide bombers killed 88 people in the Egyptian resort of Sharm el-Sheikh on July 23, <u>many</u> assumed **it was the work of al Qaeda.** (62b)*

The hidden self may also be adopted for diffuse formulations or locutions in passive voice:

(7.64) *But such comity **was met with bafflement** by <u>some</u>;* (61a)

(7.65) ***The combative tone suggested** to <u>many</u> **that Sarkozy**… is already eyeing the 2007 presidential elections.* (58b)

Not surprisingly, the tenor of these anonymous judgements is strongly evaluative which may be one of the reasons why they are kept anonymous. Furthermore, they are always in perfect agreement with the perspective underlying the text. This modality of evaluation not attributed to anybody in particular enables the writer to place his/her personal views in undetermined mouths, thus freeing him/her from the responsibility of their content.

7.5.4 The Writer Judges the Speaker by his/her own Words

Another indirect mode of attributed evaluation consists of the appraisal of the agent himself through his/her own words. This category involves a complex strategy since the assessment is not contained in the quotation itself, but needs to be interpreted against the frame of the writer's attitude throughout the whole article towards the speakers or their affiliations.

Not infrequently, the writer makes use of the words uttered by the agent, not to evaluate the event or person denoted, but to evaluate the very same 'denoter'. In this way, the writer appraises the newsmaker by what s/he says, becoming the target of the evaluation. Typically, the attributed material in these cases is not supplemented by any authorial comments; therefore it is less obvious than the cases discussed above. The evaluative status is left to the reader's interpretation without any signalling of the implicit message involved in the selected quote. These cases rely heavily on implicatures and world knowledge. For example

(7.66) *The ruling prompted Putin to crack:* **"I am not even sure the judge knows where Russia is."** (35a)

In this example there is an implicit evaluation attached to the statement uttered by Putin. The writer is not using Putin's words in order to evaluate something or someone else, but to pass a judgement on Putin himself. Even though Putin is discrediting a judge by 'invoking' ignorance, in the text the quote is really used as an indirect mechanism to discredit himself, who scoffs at a judge. Such token relies on shared norms and values between the writer and reader, and the writer assumes the invocation of these unstated meanings will be understood by the reader, hence will agree with his/her stance, in this case, regarding Putin. A clearer case can be seen in the example below which requires a more extended stretch of text:

(7.67) *Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir insisted that the international outcry over his country's rupture was a misunderstanding. There is* **"no reality"** *he said, to claims that the conflict is a genocide.* **"It is a tribal conflict"***... The Janjaweed are merely* **"outlaws or gangsters who are used to being on horseback and holding arms or guns. They are bandits"** *he said.* **"It was started by this rebel group that tried to**

avenge losses against another tribe. And naturally, when one tribe attacks another tribe, there will be losses." (29a)

Sudan's president's words need to be interpreted in the light of some information given a few lines above:

"...the violence, which has killed an estimated 70,000 people and left more than 2 million homeless, has been carried out by members of the Janjaweed, an Arab militia that has received financial and military support from the Sudanese government..." (29a)

Given the dimensions and the cruelty of the war in Sudan, it can hardly be labelled as a 'tribal conflict'. The writer does not respond to such formulations; s/he does not need to, since the disparity in stance seems to surface spontaneously. In fact, the discrepancy is so noticeable, that the writer seems to let the president's quote speaks by itself, expecting the reader will react the same, and will judge the speaker in the same way that s/he implicitly does.

In these cases there is a clear mismatch between the object of appraisal of the writer and that of the agent; while the agent is explicitly evaluating an external entity, the writer is indirectly judging the speaker for his lack of sensitivity, common sense, and in this way the same utterance serves two completely different purposes for either party. This manner of assessment is difficult to grasp since it counts on no explicit indicators on the surface of discourse, but the effect is merely achieved by the mutual knowledge the writer assumes the reader shares with him/herself. In addition, as noted above, the signals that direct the reader to the correct interpretation of the statement do not necessarily occur adjacent to the speaker's

formulation but need to be found elsewhere in the text. The evaluation through these instances is hard to spot in a loose excerpt, because they need to be seen in the light of the overall context. For example:

(7.68) *Arafat has remained defiant…"**I'm not going to surrender**" Arafat said… "**I do what I want and I know how to protect the Palestinian interests better than anyone else**".*
(12a)

The full significance of Arafat's words – and the writer's judgement – only come to view when interpreted within the judgemental context of the passage, which presents another facet of his decision:

> *As riots rocked Gaza… After four years of violence that shows no signs of ending …opposition to Arafat is spreading to the street… leaflets accusing his henchmen of corruption and violence… Arafat has no intention of getting the Palestinians out of their present diplomatic dead end.* (12a)

Here the writer uses Arafat's self-defence in the manner of an accusation, since in the context surrounding his statements the writer presents his/her disagreement with Arafat's position. When read in the frame of the whole article, Arafat's statement can only be interpreted as a form of criticism.

In these two instances the speakers are justifying their behaviour while at the same time judging the behaviour of other people. However the writer manages to exploit their self-defence and turn them into grounds for accusations. The same quote then serves conflicting

purposes to either participant. This is skilfully done since the writer adds nothing, but passes a strong judgement, while the speakers, by justifying themselves, only manage to make the accusations against them even worse.

A wholly different case is realised when the writer judges the agent by his/her words, even though the agent may not be passing any judgement. (7.69) resembles the prior cases but differs formally from them in that the writer signals his attitude very subtly in the framing by means of the adverb 'calmly' as a token of praise for the speaker.

(7.69) *the video showed a fourth captive, Fabrizio <u>Quattrocci</u>, <u>calmly </u>saying, **"I'll show you how an Italian dies,"** before taking a bullet in the neck.* (03b)

In (7.69) the Italian is not evaluating anything, there is no event to evaluate – the quote is an event by itself. The writer includes the quote as praise for the captive and so s/he implicitly judges him as a brave person. A similar case of indirect praise is found in (7.70)

(7.70) *Walid Jumblatt, a Lebanese senior opposition figure, thinks he could be one target* (of terrorist attacks). *In a television interview he called on his followers to **"behave calmly and peacefully"** should he be assassinated. **"This is my last will and testament,"** said Jumblatt, who rarely leaves his heavily guarded home south of Beirut*. (58c)

The writer seems to want to emphasize the virtue and high moral standard of a person who considers his probable death so peacefully, and discourages others from taking revenge. Unfortunately, as noted earlier, positive cases like these are rare; the marked tendency is to

judge people negatively or at least trigger negative evaluations from the attributions. The examples provided to illustrate the scenarios correspond to rather 'pure cases', since they facilitate their elucidation, but they are not prototypical. Habitually, different phenomena and scenarios co-occur in discourse. Excerpt (7.71) shows the combination of evaluative strategies.

(7.71) _Faced with these embarrassing assessments, Rumsfeld kept a low profile last week, staying away from the capital._ **"I don't think anyone with any judgment expects the person in my position to know what's going on in the night shift 6,000 miles away"** _he said in a Phoenix, Arizona, radio interview. Rumsfeld's problems seemed to mount over the week end_ _with reports that the FBI is investigating Larry Franklin, a Defense Department analyst, for allegedly passing classified information to Israel._ (17a)

This text brings together implicit and explicit evaluation. The passage opens up thus: _A report released last week places responsibility for the mistreatment of inmates at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison on the shoulders of U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld._ The writer judges these assessments explicitly as _embarrassing_ − a strategy of the 1st scenario. S/he then introduces a particularly indirect evaluation by means of Rumsfeld's own words; a quote which seems to be an outburst of self-defence in the face of the accusations. This strategy corresponds to the 3rd scenario, since no authorial comment supplements it, but the writer lets the words speak by themselves. Given his political position and that, to a large extent, he was responsible for the war; most people would have contested this reply arguing, '_yes, precisely because of your position, you were expected to know exactly what was going on 6,000 miles away_'. Finally, the writer closes the text with a personal comment that adds up an extra touch of indirect judgement: _problems seemed to mount over_ −a strategy of category 1. As the

correct interpretation of the writer's intention and the evaluative meanings require the full context to be captured fully, some texts are analysed and illustrated in section 7.6.

7.5.5 The Writer Contrasts Two Versions

This strategy relates to the presentation of contrast (discussed in section 5.4.2.2) but here the external voices offer contrasting versions of the same event, while the writer retains an apparent impartiality. If the propositional incongruities occur adjacently, they are often marked on the surface of the discourse by some cohesive marker, but they may also come about quite distant from each other in the text. If so, what links them together is a kind of 'propositional equivalence', and some lexico-semantic balance in the formulations. Regarding the form, there are no fixed patterns in the interaction of these voices, since at times both are presented in DS or both in IS or each voice in a different form. However, given that the writer selects the material of each 'side', the choice in the quoting form is not neutral. In the examples below, since they are out of context, no indication of the writer's position is noticed yet, when read against the whole frame of the narration, a slant may be detected, since one side is always put forward more strongly than the other, or is in agreement with the perspective of the whole text. The propositions being contrasted are ***underlined***.

(7.72) *Uzbek authorities claimed that **173 people died**, mostly militants… Zainabitdinov said* **the death toll could be as high as 1,000**. (55b)

Both versions, although not adjacent, display strong elements of lexical cohesion (№ + *died; death toll* + №) that links them together. The contrast lies on the inconsistency of the official and unofficial views on the government's crackdown of a demonstration. The writer supports

none, yet the unofficial formulation is in agreement with the stance of the article, from where it gets its support. A related case is (7.73) where contradictions arise between what one side says is a *guarantee* of a deal v/s the opposing views concerning the impossibility of such pledge.

(7.73) *A Pakistani official who brokered the truce says that **the deal included a guarantee from tribal leaders that "non-Pakistanis"… would no longer cross over to ambush U.S. troops in Afghanistan**. But local officials in Waziristan say **that promise is impossible to enforce**.* (01a)

This example, like many others in this class, presents the problem that the two versions are worded quite differently, so it is difficult to see the connection. However, the cohesive marker *but* plus the retrospective label *that promise* to connote the statement of the deal tell us of the connections between the two versions. Similarly, in (7.74), the connection between both statements lies on the coordination, but above all, on the semantic balance of the utterers (both presidents) and their reference to members of the same group, even if in dissimilar terms:

(7.74) *The movement has aroused fears of vigilantism. Mexican President Vicente Fox has called groups like Simcox's **"immigrant hunters**," and U.S. President Bush said last week, **"I'm against vigilantes."*** (45c)

In (7.74) both quotes engage in a kind of supporting dialogue, with one side reinforcing the other while the writer stands aside; here both quotes are no conflicting, but the second one reinforces the prior one. Below in (7.75), a dialogue develops between two parallel exchanges where Chavez responds to Rice very much in the same terms. The cohesion between both

locutions here is achieved above all by the repetition of the form '*call somebody something*'. However, the disparity in the qualifications given by both actors in the context of international politics seems to speak by itself, not precisely favouring Chavez.

(7.75) *Condoleezza Rice, showed no signs of softening on Chavez, <u>calling</u> him **<u>a "negative force" in the hemisphere.</u>** Chavez… <u>called</u> Rice **<u>"an illiterate" who "seems to dream about me"</u>** (37a)*

Example (7.76) contrasts two formulations even more unbalanced syntactically and semantically: BA official version concerning staff shortage, and the Union's position. The statements are linked by *Unions disagree* to introduce Blisset's highly figurative response, which contrasts with the institutional account.

(7.76) (Over 100 flights grounded due to staff shortage) *The carrier blames **<u>twice the normal rate of workers quitting the firm earlier in the year, with recruiting delays not helping.</u>** Unions disagree: BA **<u>"didn't just cut the flab,"</u>** railed Ed Blisset of the GMB. **<u>"It cut into the bone as well."</u>** (Referring to cost cuts and layoffs). (19c)*

As shown hitherto, the contrasting formulations may adopt varied external forms; in fact each case seems to be quite unique, but there are always some semantic indicators that bring them together in the discourse for the sake of evaluation.

7.5.6 Other

The model does not hold all the possible relationships that may emerge from the interplay between the writer, agent and message. Some infrequent or unique realisations do not fit in

any of the categories outlined above, so they were placed under the category 'Other'. This class brings together those scenarios where the writer (i) seems to remain neutral, (ii) both voices blend into the same clause, and (iii) the agents make predictions. These scenarios are discussed and below.

(i)   The writer remains 'neutral'

This category corresponds to the scenario supposedly expected by readers, in which the writer neither supports nor contends the agent's words, but the quote stands by itself. Cases like these ,where the writer does not seem to take sides, are rather infrequent and normally occur in passages in which no ideology is at stake. The few texts where I found occurrences of this nature reported on accidents, natural disasters, naturally caused tragedies and human dramas where the writer adopted a compassionate attitude. For example:

(7.77)   *"My family is gone and my house is gone too,"* said 40-year-old Rosin Madombe, *whose two small children drowned before she could get them out of her now-submerged house.* ***"What am I supposed to do?"*** (06b)

This is a chiefly emotional formulation. The woman is not evaluating anything but spelling out her grief while the writer, through this statement, attempts to portray the depth of the grief and the human drama of those affected by the floods. It is not an evaluation *per se*, since presumably there is a unanimous attitude towards natural disasters, but the writer illustrates its horrors and attempts to create a sense of empathy. This attitude is also found in (7.78-9) which report on an accident and a fire respectively, thus the information in the reported clauses is free from an evaluation, agreement or disagreement from the writer.

(7.78) *Jang Song-gun said **the disaster occurred because an electrical pole was "knocked down after an oil tanker collided with two carriages loaded with ammonium nitrate".*** (03a)

(7.79) *Fernandez also warned that **the death toll was likely to rise**.* (34b)

These instances may be regarded as evaluative to some extent since they hint at the dimensions of the catastrophes, and although the writer does not express attitude towards the events explicitly, the assumption is that s/he is in accord with the propositions. These texts report on such sensitive topics that there is no place for the writer's intervention. Texts like these, in which there are no ideological implications, are written in a more respectful tone than the other articles in the corpus.

(ii)   Partial quotes

This category regards cases where the authorial and external formulations merge in the same statement. Often the attributed excerpts are very short, consisting mostly of adjectives and nominal groups, but they are heavily judgmental. Quite understandably then, the writer quotes them in inverted comas, signalling them as uttered literally by the agent, for instance:

(7.80) *workers arriving from Pyongyang describe parts of Ryongchon as **"obliterated".*** (03a)

(7.81) *he admitted that his office was **"completely paralyzed"** by phone callers who were referred to a government hotline.* (14c)

(7.82) *calling for a ban on all Jewish organizations, which they labeled **"extremist."*** (39a)

(7.83) *military General Staff ... issuing a statement describing the incident as an act of* ***"treason"*** *by* ***"so-called citizens."*** (46b)

(7.84) *Stanislav Gross ...calling media coverage of the loan* ***"slanderous."*** (39c)

(7.85) *... the judge in question accused Sarkozy of* ***'demagoguery,"*** (58b)

(7.86) *Interior Minister Anibal Fernández ....in what he called* ***"a mortal trap."*** (34b)

(iii)   Predictions

This strategy consists of reported clauses, in which the agents make predictions. With them, the speaker does not judge an event, but forecasts potential outcomes of the current state of affairs. Even if predictions do not embody evaluations as such, they are heavily marked by a personal view, since they somehow involve an interpretation of present facts. As opposed to the contrasts outlined earlier, no instances of two divergent sides were found but predictions always proved to be one-sided, which is particularly significant in openly political passages.

(7.87) *Fatah officials told TIME that* ***as many as 40% of the party's members may now boycott the election.*** (30b)

(7.88) *Japanese lawmaker Shinzo Abe… saying:* ***"I think we should consider the possibility that regime change could occur."*** (28a)

(7.89) *...jury consultants scouring the panel say* ***some members could be sympathetic to the pop star.*** (41a)

(7.90)   *Novartis CEO Daniel Vasella reckons **the sector will be worth $100 billion by 2010.***

   (42c)

(7.91)   *"This is just the beginning," warns Berkan.* ***"I expect this wave of nationalism to***

   grow." (46b)

This section is closed with a diagram of the modalities and scenarios of evaluative attribution. The illustration presents all the categories and subcategories of the speaker-writer interactions in discourse.
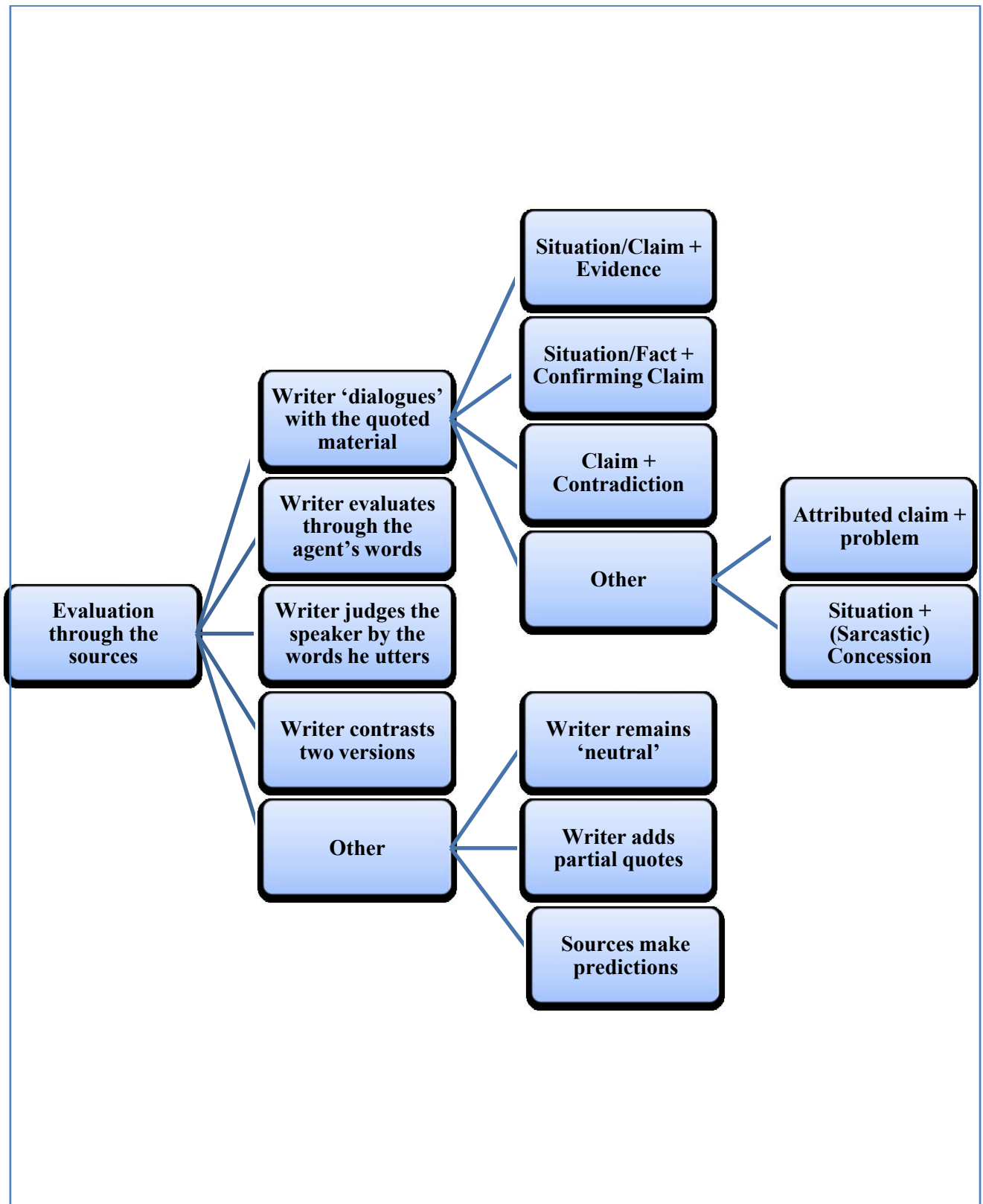
Diagram 7.1. Summary of the strategies used by the writer to assess the agents themselves, to appraise with the sources and evaluate through sourced formulations.

7.6   Case Studies

The model for evaluating through sources is now shown at work with the whole context in order to point up occurrences of implicit meanings that can only be perceived and interpreted in the light of the overall text. I stick to the practice of representing the stretches of quoted material in **bold italics** and the writer's reactions in *underlined italics*. The attributions under discussion have been numbered in the text to facilitate their identifications.

Example 1: SAMSUNG'S A NO-SHOW (35b)

*Mobile phones rang a merry tune this Christmas – especially stylish varieties like NEC's "clamshell", Britain's top seller. Good looks and fancy features helped South Korea's Samsung Electronics grab 13.8% of the global market in the third quarter of 2004, ousting Motorola, as the world's No. 2 behind Nokia. But Samsung does not want to show off about it. (1) The company announced that **for fear of copycats, it will no longer demonstrate its cutting edge handsets at tradeshows like CeBIT fair in Hanover next March.** (2) **Samsung values "protecting state-of-the-art technologies and innovative designs over winning design contests,"** says executive director Yoon Ji-hong. (3) Rivals are perplexed. (4) **"We haven't perceived a problem"** says Marianne Holmlund, communications director of Nokia. (5) So how will people learn about Samsung's new phones? If you figure that out send us a message.*

The passage is heavily evaluative and a significant part of this tone is given by the attributions. The text contains three attributed stretches: (1) a paraphrase of Samsung's announcement; (2) Samsung justification for their policy by executive director Yoon Ji-hong's; (4) the competition's reaction to Samsung's decision; (3) and (5) represent the writer's reactions to these formulations.

The writer starts praising Samsung's achievements but ends up mocking its new strategy. Without saying anything explicitly against them, s/he invokes a negative reaction from the reader. With intervention (1) the writer indirectly mocks the company's decision, since the Hanover fair is the hotspot for companies to display their latest technology. This strategy corresponds to Category 3 where 'the writer judges the source by his own words', in this case the company, despite not attributing the statement to anybody in particular. The writer's criticism is disclosed by his/her personal addition *for fear of copycats,* which is unlikely to have been uttered by the Samsung spokesperson in its formal announcement. Similarly, in (2) the writer uses their justification for such decision to judge indirectly the very speaker and the company he represents. This may be deduced from the writer's feedback immediately after Ji-hong's declaration (3) *rivals are perplexed* which corresponds to the indirect manner of evaluation described in section 5.6. Here the writer denotes the rivals' perplexity –3rd person AFFECT – to convey their negative judgement of the event. However, this state seems to be shared by the writer as well, if not felt by him/herself and transposed to the other participants; this type of assessment that resembles the instances of the 'hidden self', where the writer attributes words or affectual attitudes to undetermined actors to put across a personal view. Ji-hong's words regarding the display of their latest technology are finally contrasted with a tempered response from a rival (4). Nokia's director (representing a Western and larger company) presents a 'safe' and positive view of the fair. This strategy corresponds to Category 1 in the scenario where 'the writer uses the attributed material to support his/her point'. These invoked signals hint at the writer's attitude towards Samsung's policy; but his/her overt position shows at the very end, when his/her real blow comes (5). The writer scoffs at the company's decision formulated in a rhetorical question and a conditional clause. This reaction falls under Category 1 of the model; the writer 'dialogues' with the external voice. The connection between these statements presents the problem that they are not

adjacent, so they cannot establish clausal relations. However, at a macro level or rather discoursally speaking, an analogous relation to Category 1 of the type 'Situation + Claim' would get established. This text shows a very subtle way to evaluate, since no explicit criticism is made, yet the writer's position would be easily identified by a skilled reader, who would manage to see the irony in the last utterance, in which the reader gets directly alluded to – therefore involved.

Example 2, **IRAN'S NEW HAND (57a)** is rich in attributions, but due to space constraints, just the excerpt necessary for spotting the evaluative strategies at work has been included and only those fragments that have been highlighted will be commented on. The passage deals with the election of Ahmadinejad, as the new Iranian president – described earlier as *a little-known revolutionary and Islamic zealot* – a result hardly predicted which caused surprise and fear among Western nations.

...Now with Rafsanjani humiliated at the polls and reformists crying in the wilderness, Kharnenei has an acolyte as President. Ahmadinejad, says a political scientist based in Tehran, will effectively function as Khamenei's "executive secretary." (1) The opposition in Iran grumbles that **Khamenei's hand - and funds - may have given the modest Ahmadinejad's campaign a huge and unfair boost**. *The former mayor's supporters say otherwise. Says one (2)* **"We believe God's hand is higher than everything else and it was his hand that made the people go and vote"**. *Still, says Sadegh Zibakalam, a political analyst at Tehran University (3)* **"The people of Iran would be naive to believe that Ahmadinejad was one of them, a simple man with no backing. Ahmadinejad is just the tip of the iceberg. Behind him are the regime's most powerful political and military institutions."**
The hard-line triumph in Iran is already causing deep anxiety in neighboring Iraq, which is riven by Sunni and Shi'a factionalism. Now some Iraqis worry that whatever remains of their fragile détente may be shattered by pro-Shi'a Iranian interventionism. Says Isam al-Rawi, an

outspoken Sunni cleric in Baghdad: (4) **"Ahmadinejad is a man with narrow religious views,** **and he wants to export these."** *(5)* <u>But Iraq's Shi'a establishment, which has deep ties to Iran,</u> <u>is nonplussed</u>*… (6)* **"We will judge the regime by its actions***," said Joanne Moore, a State* *Department spokeswoman. (7)* <u>Relations between Washington and Tehran are unlikely to be</u> <u>warmed by the new lineup.</u>

The writer wittily contrasts two opposing views (strategy of scenario 4) about the outcome of the elections; *the opposition* (1) versus a *supporter* of the new president (2). If read with critical – and cynic at– eyes, it becomes apparent that both statements do not bear the same discoursal weight, especially for the target readership in the western world. The opposition stance is pragmatic and down to earth; they credit Ahmadinejad's success to 'Supreme *Leader Ayatullah Khamenei's hand - and funds –* which gave a *huge and unfair boost to Ahmadinejad's modest campaign* (1). The supporters, on the contrary, ascribe the success to supernatural considerations *"We believe God's hand is higher than everything else and it was his hand that made the people go and vote"* (2). The writer does not comment but complements these 'uneven interactions' with a quote from an expert supporting the pragmatic opposition's stance (3), admittedly welcome by the Western readership. Quotes (4 and 6) need to be read and interpreted in the light of the tenor of the previous paragraph, since they do nothing but reinforce the same point. The words by the Sunni cleric (4) provide a very explicit evaluation of Ahmadinejad's Shia adherence (Category 2). Conversely, the cautious response of Joanne Moore on behalf of the US is hardly evaluative on the surface (6); she only shows her lack of commitment to say anything, but deep down her assertion is heavily evaluative, since it discloses her sceptical attitude and therefore the US government distrust of the newly elected president. This cautious formulation is finally 'complemented' with the writer's response to her words (7) disclosing his/her attitude towards the events. The

passage is heavily slanted; yet, the overall evaluative tenor is built on the attributed material which invokes certain values and triggers a sense of unease and suspicion in the reader.

7.7   Problems and Limitations

The strategies outlined in the chapter serve as general guidelines; they do fit the 'pure' cases comfortably, but in actual fact, the realisations are not always as 'pure' as the model proposes. The frame cannot account for the uniqueness and peculiarities of every single instance. Many cases proved difficult to tag given their inadequacy for the categories described, while others combined more than one strategy, and accordingly, tallied more than one attitudinal category (e.g. 7.71). Consequently, the results are not susceptible to be translated into figures since it would not be possible to make a fair quantitative analysis with so many cases standing between or on the verge of the categories. Above all, the analysis showed that most meanings emerged from the relation of the quotes with their environment.

Judging the 'agent's words' from an evaluative perspective presents a number of complications. In the first place is the problem of the injustice we do to the speaker, since it is a potentially unfair analysis. We can only judge him/her by what has been recorded in the text, but we will never know what the agent really said; what s/he meant; what was left out; how exactly things were said; the genuine context in which the words were uttered; etc. We form our opinion based on information that has already been filtered by the reporter, the writer and probably by other editing layers as well. It is not meant here that this manipulation is done with a twisted intention to adulterate the anterior speech, but as recipient one cannot help interpreting things from a particular perspective (cf. Tannen 1989) and as not everything

may be included, the analysis is done on the grounds of already fairly curtailed and filtered material.

An additional complication arose from cases of ambiguous attribution. These stretches are a normally occurring phenomenon and have been reported in the literature (Scollon 1998; Waugh 1995; Semino & Short 2004). Often, the authorial and external voices merge in single statements with no indication of where the agent's original words end and the writer's narration begins, and vice versa. For example:

(7.92) *... Civil Guard General Manuel Garcia Varela told the panel <u>that at 2 p.m. on March 13, then Interior Minister Angel Acebes was told of the imminent arrest of Moroccan and Indian suspects, yet later that day Acebes said publicly that ETA was still the main focus of the investigation.</u>* (13a)

The beginning of this locution seems to be clearly uttered by the agent, but at some uncertain stage, his voice seems to blend with the writer's. These instances occur exclusively when the agent's words are presented in IS, but when judging these statements one can easily attribute the words to the wrong voice.

7.8   Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this chapter was to dig into the evaluative dimension of attributions and uncover the role they plain in the attitudinal tone of the passage. The analysis has revolved around the uses (and misuses) the writer makes of the attributed material for evaluative purposes, and the strategies used to project and reinforce his/her personal position through the

sources' discourse. I have only scratched the surface of this facet of attributed materials, and it has proved worthy of greater attention than it has received, given their implications at discourse level. Attribution is not normally listed on the inventories of resources and strategies to convey evaluation, which shows it has not received all the attention it deserves.

A large proportion of the attributed material in the NOTEBOOK texts consists of overt comments and opinions by external voices, especially expressing negative assessments which add up to their overall evaluative tone. This observation is consistent with the identification of negativity as one of the prime news values (cf. Bell 1991; Bednarek 2006a). These locutions typically perform speech acts such as: accusing, blaming, complaining, criticising, denouncing, acknowledging errors, etc. Analogically, these utterances may be said to have an illocutionary effect on the writer, who almost always responds to them in order to reinforce his/her own views. What makes implicit attitudinal values meaningful is not so much their propositional content but the function they are given in the discourse. The writer's responses often bring about an act of appraisal which judges not only what the agents say but also the agents themselves, confirming the notion of the speaker's 'characterization' (Scollon 1998) and/or 'representation' (Fairclough 1995).

The problem of fuzzy boundaries between implicit and explicit evaluation was discussed throughout. It is difficult to make a clear cut distinction between the merely 'factual/ informative' and the evaluative formulations. Certainly, some attributions are evaluative *per se,* but they need not be openly judgemental to convey assessment. Even the most 'neutral' formulations, apparently conveying no stance whatsoever, may acquire judgemental values in context if manipulated for ideological purposes. These evaluative meanings of the nonaligned formulations are assigned by the surrounding context which may ascribe them new

judgemental values, perhaps unintended in the original locution. Their evaluative condition therefore is not necessarily 'contained' in the quotations themselves, but 'is given to them' by means of the strategies like the ones described above. The fullness of their evaluative meaning results from the role the writer gives them in the text. Therefore the interpretation of their evaluative function needs to be made against the textual context, but also against the macro context, e.g. the nature of the publication, the targeted audience, the socio-political moment, and so on.

The inclusion of external voices in news reports is typically viewed as a sign of openness and objectivity from the journalist, signalling his/her desire to offer perspectives other than his/her own and first-hand or expert information. Yet, paradoxically, this model seems to contradict this claim. The analysis appears to show that one of the ways in which the writer operates authoritatively in the text is by portraying his/her own views despite the inclusion of views differing from his/her own. Although the writer invites and even 'interacts' with other voices, they are not given enough space to 'talk', and the writer's position always seems to prevail in the dialogue, imposing and reinforcing his/her position, despite the discordant voices. So, in these situations of conflict, the speaker is always on the losing side. This practice relates to a very indirect form of White's notion of 'monologic' engagement, with which the writer uses 'dialogic' or 'diaglossic' strategies to acknowledge other views; yet used in this way, it is precisely through this strategy that s/he manages to control the perspective of the text. The reader may feel in control of the material, but actually is not.

As suggested in the introduction, I see the evaluation through the sources as another form – and an even subtler one – of naturalization of the writer's values and position (see chapter 4 & 5), but in this case the views are presented as 'given' and upheld by others. Such stretches are

attributed to clearly specified agents, making their sources responsible for those overtly evaluative formulations. The writer detaches himself from the content of the attributions, indicating that s/he is simply reporting other people's views, leaving it up to the readers to make up their own minds. Although no definite content-form correlation emerged from the analysis, external comments articulating heavily inscribed judgements are normally presented in DS, e.g.

(7.93)   *"... the government by Ahmadinejad <u>will mean regressing to the fiery days of the</u> <u>revolution</u>," says Sepideh Ahmadlou, 24, who works for a software company.* (56a)

(7.94)   *"This is a <u>devastating proposal</u> that must be fought tooth and nail," said McDonald, chief executive of the Sugar Association of the Caribbean.* (59b)

This giving the floor to the source 'to speak by him/herself' indicates the writer's detachment, but deep down an alignment with such quotes, since these blunt comments often concur with the stance of the article. Despite his/her detachment, the writer is behind the selection and inclusion of these excerpts, which commits and places an important part of the responsibility on his/her shoulders. Even those interventions s/he disagrees with, serve as springboards for the writer to make a whole new evaluation of their words to support his/her point.

While attributed inscribed values are frequent, cases of overt averred evaluation are rare. The writer's role as an evaluator is predominantly performed indirectly, and his/her most common practice is to appraise through others. His evaluation unfolds implicitly alongside the 'factual' recount and presentation of events, leaving the explicit judgements to other people's voices, while s/he stands aside. S/he uses the agent's direct appraisal as a means of indirect

evaluation. For this reason the authorial assessment is harder to work out than that of the external voices. S/he exploits their external comments by engaging in an 'interaction' with them, or using their words to pass judgement, or complementing them with his/her own views, etc. So even thought the agent is the one that often appears evaluating, the writer benefits from these statements, using them at his/her own convenience in such a way that they are always fitting to his/her own view.

It needs to be admitted that the use of this resource, with these characteristics, is not common to all news reports, but some notions may be transferable. Yet this argument may also serve partly to argue that the texts in my corpus are a genre of their own, as suggested earlier in the data description.

8. CONCLUSIONS

8.1   Introduction

As explained in the introduction, the original motivation for this study was largely pedagogical. I noticed the challenge the NOTEBOOK texts posed to competent EFL readers and the difficulty these learners faced in discerning underlying meanings. This led to the choice of these texts, but the description of this genre *per se* was not my main interest. The texts have many interesting aspects which contribute to the peculiarity of their style, but I felt that the amount and implicitness of evaluation was one of the main contributors to their complexity and difficulty for readers. In general, discerning underlying meaning in reading is not an easy skill to develop, and its absence might affect the reader's understanding of all texts, including the NOTEBOOK ones. Although this thesis has explored this aspect only on this text type, it is argued here that the forms of implicit evaluation found in this study are not exclusive to these texts but are highly likely to be transferable to other text types.

The approach of the study was based on discourse analysis[115], with a view to educational applications, especially regarding advanced reading skills in EFL. As suggested in the hypothesis (chapter 1), some interpersonal subjective meanings in these texts are conveyed so indirectly, that they are hardly detected in a first reading, especially by readers whose native language is not English. The general objective of this thesis was to attempt to identify and describe some of the strategies used to convey these attitudinal meanings, particularly those which have not been well accounted for in other descriptions. I started from the standpoint that a great amount of work has already been done in this area; especially concerning explicit

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[115] Although it can be argued that the whole issue of evaluation, especially implicit meanings, actually belongs with pragmatics, most research in this area adopts a more Hallidayan approach of the SFL.

markers of evaluation (e.g. modal auxiliaries, adverbials, modalisers, attitudinal lexis), which have already been thoroughly described. Conversely, research on the conveyance of implicit evaluative meanings still has a long way to go, with many facets remaining to be explained even now. The analysis in the previous chapters has attempted to identify some features of their implicitness and the strategies for conveying such meanings implicitly, which I felt were missing in the models available. This general idea was articulated in a single question, reprinted below for the sake of convenience:

1. Apart from surface indicators – already well described in the literature – what other resources and strategies does the writer employ to encode attitude in these texts so implicitly that evaluation is hardly perceptible and so difficult to pinpoint for skilled ESL readers?

In the process of the investigation I realised it was not through the writer's resources and strategies only that these meanings were communicated, but there were other factors that played an important part in the process which had not been considered initially, therefore not addressed in the original question. So I saw the need to extend the question to include these points:

2. What other factors play a part in this process to convey the writer's evaluation and implicit meanings?

The result was the identification of dimensions of evaluation little or totally undescribed so far, as shown in the sections below.

8.2 General Findings: The Whole Picture

At the end of each analytical chapter (5, 6 and 7) some partial findings pertaining to the aspects discussed therein were presented. I now provide a more holistic view of these outcomes relating them to each other. I have then divided this overview into two sections, namely: 'How they work', and 'What they are used for'.

8.3 How they Work

Despite the value of these partial findings by themselves, their real significance becomes manifest when seen all together interacting in the text. The most notable finding, which in a sense encompasses all the others, is the fact that the NOTEBOOK texts display rather few explicit attitudinal words, an observation that appears to contradict my initial claim regarding the texts' evaluative nature. My original assumption – based on intuition after reading many samples of these texts – was that given their heavily attitudinal tenor, they would be loaded with attitudinal lexis. Accordingly, they were initially described as highly evaluative and this trait was put forward as one of their distinctive characteristics in the data description. This turned out to be partly true; but the analysis showed that their full evaluative condition depended much more on other aspects –which had passed unnoticed to me initially– than on isolated value-laden terms. These aspects have been summarised into three main categories:

- Indirect evaluation
- Pervasiveness
- Interplay of factors

Because these features concern the way they work, they cannot be seen as discrete categories but as complementary –and even 'collaborative'– classes. Below, each of these features is briefly outlined separately, for pragmatic motives only.

- **Indirect Evaluation**

Contrary to my expectations, the analysis showed that, despite the highly evaluative tenor of the texts, overt evaluative averrals (e.g. *this **brutal** game…* (31a); *an **infuriating** mobile phone ring tone* (53c)) were rather scarce. The evaluative tone of the text appears not to be given by attitudinal lexis only, but seems rather to reside heavily in other –hardly noticeable– evaluative devices. In actual fact, most explicit judgemental formulations are not articulated by the writer, but by cited sources, which the writer uses indirectly to reinforce his/her position without taking the responsibility for their contents. The authorial mark of attitude, on the contrary, unfolds mostly implicitly alongside the 'factual' recount of events. This apparently 'purely informational' content positions the reader very much on the writer's side, so despite being ideational, in the end, these meanings work interpersonally. This finding is in keeping, at least superficially, with the journalistic ethos of 'objectivity'.

- **Pervasiveness**

In connection with explicit attitudinal terms, the analysis showed that they stand out so noticeably and their evaluative content is so influential that they seem to have much greater presence in the text than they really have. It looks as if they play such a powerful role in the text that a mere handful of them scattered throughout the passage are enough to project their assessment to the whole text and permeate it with their evaluative tone, and this is what makes

us think that the texts are heavily loaded with strong explicit evaluations and that they have much greater presence than they really. Their attitudinal projection sets the reader in a frame of mind that positions him/her to respond attitudinally to invoked tokens and subtler forms of evaluation, which will guide him /her to judge evaluatively 'neutral' stretches, where no explicit evaluation is encoded. In other words, these terms tint the text in such a way that they position the reader to interpret the passage from the particular perspective they render to the text, and assign judgemental value to formulations that otherwise would not have an evaluative value.

- **Interplay of Factors**

Closely linked with pervasiveness is the issue of the interplay of the factors construing the textual evaluation, which results from the interaction between:

- the author and external voices;
- the explicit and implicit evaluation;
- what is evaluative with what is not.

It seems that, once again against my predictions, the full evaluative power of the texts results not so much from the action of a limited number of – not even many – resources, but from their interrelation at work. Along these lines, attributions interplay with the writer's averrals; the attitudinal lexis with invoked tokens; overtly judgemental locutions with apparently neutral formulations. From this perspective, it is very difficult to assign a specific evaluative effect to a single resource or particular signal, since they all seem to establish a network of connections that collaborate towards the overall evaluative representation of the content.

There is a natural coincidence between the categories of 'pervasiveness' and 'interplay of resources', because both seem to be different facets of the same feature.

8.3.1 What they are used for

The second aspect concerning the strategies found in this thesis makes reference to the function they serve in the text.

8.3.1.1   Writer's Control and Naturalisation

This section is, in a sense, at the core of the thesis. All the findings somehow come down to devices of 'writer's control'; that is, resources used by the writer to exert control over the text and ultimately over the reader. All the strategies share this basic principle; they legitimise or delegitimise certain values and attitudes, which indirectly fuel the writer's opinion or ideological position. As White asserts, this is largely achieved by means of naturalising certain views and values, by presenting them as 'given', which indirectly position the reader on the author's side.

The analysis, based on White's (2004, 2005/6) resources of naturalisation, forward some new strategies to encode evaluation not included in his model. Here I discuss two ways in which naturalisation works: via resources of unarguability and via attributions. The former links chapters five and six; i.e. naturalisation through strategies of unarguability, and the latter links the analyses of chapters five and seven: namely the naturalization through the external voices. Both mechanisms correspond to forms of implicit evaluation and may be seen as equally, if

not more, controlling of the reader's point of view than the choice of explicit resources. They also enable the writer to be in command of the tone of the passage without explicitly stating it.

- **Naturalisation via Unarguability**

White's (2005/6) notion of naturalisation implies that certain attitudinal assessments are construed as 'assumed'. A way to achieve this condition is by rendering them in positions of unarguability in the sentence (e.g. attributive adjectives and certain embedded clauses), which makes them very difficult to contend. However, I argue that this attribute is not applicable to inscribed evaluation only. Even if the presence of attitudinal lexis in unarguable position is the most noticeable realisation of unarguability, the analyses herein showed that implicit evaluation also occurs in this position. The more implicit the evaluation, the greater the naturalisation and consequently the greater the writer's control, which shows a clear connection between implicitness, naturalisation and writer's control; which is, in a way, the subject of this thesis.

The naturalisation by means of tokens of invoked evaluation is achieved all the more, since the contention of implicit values presented as presuppositions in non-arguable position involves quite a challenging task. My addition to White's model in this respect is that unarguable condition of evaluation cuts across the inscribed/invoked distinction. The inclusion of unarguable judgemental formulations helps position the readers and disables them from arguing against these values, since little or no room is left for discussion. This practice grants the writer full control over the material, thus adding to the control s/he indirectly exerts over the reader.

- **Naturalisation via Attributions**

It is argued here that one of the strategies with which the writer exerts most control over the text, is through the manipulation of attributions. It was noted in chapter six that the studies on the evaluative dimension of attribution have chiefly attended to their framing. Little consideration has been given to their contribution to the evaluative tone of the discourse and to the writer's strategies to channel his/her own judgements through these interventions.

The inclusion of external voices in journalistic discourse is viewed as sign of openness from the writer since it involves the objectivity of offering other perspectives. In White's model, this practice relates to the notion of 'heteroglosssic' engagement, which acknowledges other views on the matter. Nevertheless, the analysis seems to argue against this claim, suggesting that one way in which the writer controls the attitudinal tone of the text is by reproducing those voices and materials that suit his/her aims (cf. Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 303). Their choice and inclusion is not fortuitous but presupposes the writer's endorsement of those comments to validate his/her own position or a platform to express disagreement. This is a skilful and accomplished manner of naturalising a position since, by means of this resource, the views intended to be naturalised are presented by external voices which reinforce the writer's 'natural' views. Paradoxically then, the writer seems to use this diaglossic strategy precisely to control the text.

An aspect closely related to the matter referred to in the paragraph above, is the interaction that emerges from both voices. The authorial and external voices often engage in a dialogue which in the end is not such, since it is strongly controlled by the writer. Through this mechanism, the writer responds attitudinally to external comments in such a way that a whole new evaluation emerges from this pseudo-dialogue held between the attributed material and

the writer's reaction to it. This interaction generates a 'shared act of evaluation' wherein the attributed material acquires new attitudinal dimensions. It was noticed that the writer does not normally respond to those comments s/he endorses and are in agreement with the position of the text, but does react attitudinally to those which have a different line of thought. These 'authorial reactions' are normally implicit and can easily be missed as invoked signals of evaluation. The discrepant views are manipulated to strengthen the position presented in the article, thus the speakers are always on the losing side. This goes back to the paradox of the writer's openness to insert many quotations but with the purpose of using them evaluatively at his/her own convenience. Within this frame, even locutions with no particular slant in themselves may be given an evaluative status and be skilfully used to pass implicit judgment.

One of the traits that make the NOTEBOOK texts look more explicitly evaluative than they really are arises from the abundant number of quotes. Attributed material stands out for its overt evaluative status; explicit judgements coming from other voices are commonplace, especially negative assessments. It appears that the writer leaves such explicit criticisms to other voices, which frees him/her from the responsibility of their content. So on the whole, the writer does not need to evaluate, but invites others to do so on his/her behalf. This differs again from White (e.g. 2003, with Martin 2005) who does not treat the content of external voices as a resource to indicate authorial judgement. Although Appraisal Theory scholars do discuss attributed appreciation and attributed judgement, they do not deal with this dimension. I argue, then, that these voices play a rather different role and that although they are dialogic on the surface, functionally they are not so; they appear to be used to reassert the writer's position.

Finally, a further indirect way, though not closely related to naturalisation, in which the writer operates authoritatively, is by not giving these external voices enough space to talk. The writer 'gives the floor' to the source 'to speak by him/herself' while s/he stands aside, uncommitted with the propositions. However, the analysis showed that the writer uses these interventions, to a large extent, as springboards to make a whole new evaluation where the agent's direct evaluation is used simultaneously by the writer to judge indirectly. Their full evaluative significance comes not from their ideational content only, but also from their conformity or incongruity with their surrounding context and with the rest of the text.

8.4   Contributions and Implications

The contribution and implications of this thesis pertain to three domains: the study of a) evaluation, b) genre, c) advanced reading skills in EFL.

8.4.1 Implications for the Study of Evaluation

The analysis confirmed findings already well described in the literature. It especially, confirmed, once again, Labov & Waletzki's claim (1967) proposed over 40 years ago, that evaluation is pervasive and occurs throughout the text. Other findings, though, may be seen as novel features which had not been identified and described earlier. They shed new light on the overall phenomenon and help understand both the explicit and implicit modalities of evaluation and their interaction. The analysis highlighted the range of strategies used to impress evaluation in the text and the variety of layers of implicitness their encoding may take.

As already hinted, the presence of a few inscribed evaluations in each text seems to be powerful enough to project their evaluative meanings, and imprint the writer's desired effect to the whole passage. In this respect, apart from their own function of connoting a given attitude onto the entities they denote, they also serve as cues that guide the interpretation of the whole passage from the 'expected' attitude, thus performing the more macro function of infusing their particular tone to the text. This cue-like function may even instil evaluation in superficially neutral formulations that acquire an interpersonal value in that context. This practice positions the reader in a mindset to attitudinally interpret stretches that would not count as such in a different context or looked at from a different perspective. This strategy of positioning the reader in a particular stance empowers the writer to hold full control over the text – thus over the reader's interpretation. The explanation seems to be that, because these terms are so blatantly evaluative, only a few are necessary to put across one's view noticeably, without turning the text into an overt expression of praise or criticism. In actual fact, the limited number of explicit instances is enough to render a balance between the writer's personal view and the supposedly required objectivity and impartiality of journalistic discourse. More than that would make the text sound too biased and lose its alleged neutrality; consequently, the writer would lose credibility and readers would be put off.

As noted elsewhere, my work was partially based on White's proposal of Appraisal, adopting some of his notions and applying part of his model to my data. Even though nothing was meant to be added to White's model (2003 2004, 2005/6), this thesis contains some unexpected outcomes. His framework was of great value in the analysis, but it did not offer all the necessary categories and resources to analyse the aspects I was trying to grasp. In this attempt to seize dimensions not included in his model, I saw the need to devise resources absent from his paradigm. These aspects are characterised by their high level of implicitness,

but above all, their greatest worth lies on their re-emergence. Their recurrence is a strong point, since their incidence in the text contributes to the accumulation of the writer's attitudinal position, reinforcing the tone of the discourse. Among these evaluative features are comparisons and contrasts and the provision of hard evidence, especially figures, which are not included the Appraisal model as evaluative devices.

In the same manner as overtly evaluative terms may 'spread' their attitude around, it is argued here that through the interrelations established between explicit and implicit resources, non evaluative formulations *per se* may take on an attitudinal dimension in context. This suggests that very few signals are purely evaluative by themselves; many of the attitudinal meanings 'we read' are acquired and/or reinforced in context. I see this as a process of 'potentialisation', in which evaluative meanings are acquired or magnified by the surrounding formulations; thus, values that would not position readers attitudinally strongly when seen out of context, become powerfully evaluative when contextualised. This argument is consistent with the idea that evaluation is context-dependent (cf. Lemke 1998; Hunston & Thompson 2000), which has important implications because it would suggest that no evaluation is purely implicit; that there is always a hint somewhere in the text that guides the reader on his/her interpretation. In this way, severe judgements may be passed without turning to lexis of positive or negative evaluation (see, for example, case study in chapter 4).

A final point in this section –which relates to the pedagogical implications as well– concerns the interpretation of invoked meanings. Because the reader does all the evaluative work in these instances, when s/he comes across evoked tokens of judgement, s/he may read them or miss them; this is likely to make the same text more or less evaluative for different readers; thus the writer's point is more or less successful.

8.4.2 Implications for the Study of Genre

It was noted in the introduction that this thesis was not a genre study in the first place. However, an exploration of mechanisms of evaluation without consideration of the genre where they occur, would be incomplete. Despite this focus on evaluation, the analysis also made visible some interesting features – seemingly unique to this discourse type –that led me to view it as a genre of its own among journalistic texts.

One of the points highlighted as characteristic of this genre was its rhetorical function. I noted that these texts differ from other journalistic text types in that, together with the informational material, the writer not only tries to influence but explicitly controls the readers' opinion. They are not persuasive texts as such, but they serve a similar rhetorical function: the writer guides the readers into what position to take, and how to judge the ideational content. On the other hand, it may be argued that those readers familiar with the genre do approach the texts with a generic expectation, in the sense that they expect the texts to be opinionated. This is so because the texts, as well as informing, also aim at entertaining and even amusing so, within this frame, the partial and opinionated position of the writer seems to be well accepted. One aspect that stands out in this respect is that the writer tends to support popular positions rather than 'official' or institutional ones. Thus it seems that information precision is not a main concern since sources such as '*many* believe…', '*critics* say…', '*some experts* think…' are frequent. However, this aspect is left open for future contrastive investigations.

Perhaps then, the most relevant finding this piece of research shows regarding genre studies is that the genre of 'minor' text types, in terms of their relevance for the field of journalistic discourse, may present features not commonly found in more prominent and better described

genres. Texts like this show that they also have great potential and many interesting features to offer.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that even though the interpersonal meanings of the text may convey positive or negative values, the negative evaluations surpass notoriously the number of positive values. However, no quantitative information can be provided, since not all instances have the same evaluative power and for other reasons explained in section 8.5. Although this outcome may only be predicated of this particular genre and attributed only to my corpus, the claim seems to be keeping with most value descriptions of the news discourse recorded in the literature.

8.4.3 Pedagogical Applications in EFL

If most of the evaluation in the text is implicit, as suggested above, its status has major pedagogical implications, especially in ELT practice. Most scholars (e.g. Oakhill & Yuill 1996) agree that poor comprehension in one's mother tongue is due to poor skills to make inferences and connecting ideas in a text. Smith (1991: 35) has noted that "reading depends more on what is behind our eyes – on *non visual information* than on *visual information* that is on front of them". These conditions make the case even harder for reading in an L2.

As noted above, most implicit meanings are hardly perceptible, especially in a first reading, since they are intertwined with –and get communicated through– ideational meanings, and get reinforced by other items in the text. Most evaluation cannot be found locally, but its full expression arises from signals and connections scattered throughout the text; the unrelated bits of information come together to build up a picture. That is to say, the identification of

interpersonal meanings can only be detected after a deep reading and thorough examination of the text. This is a process that requires considerable time and attention, especially in a second language. Without any certainty of how generalisable these findings are, I hypothesise that they are likely to be transferable to other text types as well.

Reading tasks related to this in which the reader needs to identify implicit evaluative aspects, are often given in advanced English reading examinations (e.g. CAE, CPE[116]) in order to 'measure' reading skills. However, the time allocated is insufficient to reach this depth of understanding; the candidate needs to read the text more than once to identify and relate the signals below the surface that lead to the full evaluation. The skill to infer implicit evaluation at this depth cannot be taken for granted in one's L1, then all the more in an L2. This linguistic skill is hardly ever developed in ELT course books especially designed to perform in these examinations. I think the unveiling of these strategies may help tackle this shortcoming in the preparation for the exam, and develop strategies to bring higher level cognitive processes into the courses in order to further more competent advanced reading skills.

Concerning the use of the NOTEBOOK texts in EFL lessons – which was the original motivation for this study – the difficulty they pose is not linguistic only. Besides the level of language proficiency, other factors may also influence their full understanding: the learners' individual capacity to respond to texts, their familiarity with similar genres in their culture, their understanding of their rhetorical function, their perception that the writer guides their interpretation, etc. In addition, the readers' expectation of what to find in the text facilitates the process, so perhaps their lack of contextualisation and the learners' lack of preparation for them may also have a role in their capacity of understanding. Naturally, the actual

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[116] Cambridge Advanced Examination of English, and Cambridge Proficiency Examination of English.

identification of such difficulties would require an eventual exploratory follow up with readers. This can be an opening for a future stage of this research, in views to developing remedial strategies and materials that may contribute to develop reading skills with a deeper comprehension.

8.5 Limitations

This study presents limitations in several respects. In the first place, due to time and space constraints, only a limited number of features were analysed; many important textual features were left aside as well as some evaluative aspects (e.g. Engagement and Graduation systems of the Appraisal model) and some cultural factors which could certainly have shed new lights to the analysis. These and other significant variables absent from this study are likely to have added new dimensions to the examination. Related to this is the fact that the features analysed were largely treated in isolation which, though not ideal, certainly facilitates their analysis. By now, it is clear that these aspects – and also those left aside – are all tightly interwoven, so a proper treatment of the topic would demand the inclusion of more aspects and the consideration of the way they all interrelate. Therefore, the results and conclusions need to be taken with caution, since they are partial and only limited to the few selected elements.

The lack of quantitative analysis may stand out as the most significant shortcoming of this study, but there are good reasons to avoid this type of analysis. The main one is that the strategies involved in the encoding of evaluation are not readily susceptible to calculation. In the case of attitudinal lexis, not all instances have the same evaluative power (especially when modified by signals such as amplifiers and mitigators) while the implicit meanings, on the other hand as it has been argued along the thesis, acquire much of their evaluative condition in

context, making it very difficult to set the limit of what is 'evaluative'. According to the model, a limited set of words do have connotative meanings to a greater or lesser extent, but the value of many units is somewhat chameleonic[117], whereby they acquire negative / positive values depending on the general tone of the text. This brings about the difficulty of establishing what exactly to tag as evaluative or not. The attitudinal meaning of the texts is heavily influenced by signals other than the pure inscription. Many of the terms that contribute to the texts' tenor are technically neutral, but acquire a particular tone in the context. Given the elusiveness of the evaluative condition of much of the judgemental material, these units can hardly be measured, and any quantification of their meanings would not do justice to their value and would force them into unsuitable categories. The interpersonal dimension of these units is so ephemeral and context-bound that it can hardly be handled in any numerical way. Any measurement or classification would necessarily force them into unsuitable categories. Therefore, it is difficult in this field to set up general rules since each evaluative case, and each text, is unique. A further point that makes evaluative items uncountable is that readers may react 'evaluatively' differently. So some may see evaluation in slightly or non-evaluative formulations at all, while others may simply miss them altogether.

A further limitation is that of specification; when I say that something is implicit or explicit, I am only doing so based on my intuition. A systematic survey on how readers regard and interpret certain formulations or what the writer meant with a particular locution, would not only add worth and new lights to the discussion, but also provide the empirical evidence which is absent from this research; note that this should be regarded only as the first stage. Future investigations could also include contrastive surveys between native and non-native speakers or, learners with different cultural backgrounds.

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[117] Used metaphorically to refer to an entity that changes a property depending on the environment where it is found.

8.6   Final Remarks

The initial aim this piece of research was to disentangle the factors that play a part in the communication of attitudinal meanings. Some new light has been thrown on the topic but, at the same time many, more doubts have emerged. I embarked on it among other things, because I felt that the descriptions put forward so far did not account for the whole phenomenon of evaluation. Now, at the very end, and after some interesting insights have come out, I still feel the phenomenon is totally unaccounted for. I expected to identify discrete resources or features in well organised categories; I did not expect to find this system of interactions. The main conclusion in this respect is that, regardless of the degree of detail present in the list of strategies and resources for understanding the encoding of attitude, such level is not likely to provide a full description of the phenomenon: the issue is far too complex to be reduced to a list of factors or categories. Therefore, a multi disciplinary study would be required to attest those non linguistic factors which may also interact with the process. The process may be better explained as a network of linguistic and non-linguistic factors underpinning the text. However, discriminating between linguistic and non-linguistic is always difficult as all aspects (cognitive, cultural, etc.) require to be expressed linguistically. Therefore they are virtually inseparable from the linguistic ones.

The analysis shows that evaluation is a multifaceted phenomenon realised by such a wide array of resources that one may wonder whether it can fairly be conceived as a single phenomenon. It works at different linguistic levels (lexical, grammatical, semantic, discursive, cognitive), and it may be realised through formally and functionally unrelated formulations, ranging from explicitly attitudinal items to vague allusions. There is certainly an underlying connection embracing all its semantic variances, but the mechanisms to convey it spread along a cline with few, if any, features in common at both ends. The overall effect of

evaluation results, then, precisely from this transversal combination of means working at different levels. But they all work together; they all contribute to the cumulative effect along the text, and they all predispose the reader to read neutral formulations evaluatively. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why implicit attitude is so hard to seize; the set of clues and tokens has a strong evaluative power altogether; none of these clues and tokens are capable of 'speaking too loud' by themselves so each one is hardly perceptible on its own.

The more one looks into evaluation, the more resources conveying attitude one detects, and it becomes increasingly evident that evaluation pervades the whole of the discourse. This is especially so because, after learning to identify the resources which fulfil this function more covertly, evaluative meanings have some bearing on non-evaluative ones. Thus, one runs the risk of seeing attitudinal meanings where no evaluation was intended, forcing certain formulations to convey the meanings sought. Therefore, I intentionally tried not to stretch the non-judgemental formulations which, in my opinion, were doubtful to the point of assigning them attitudinal value.

These findings have only been identified in this text type, which is a small sample in the textual universe but, given that they are strategies involved in the encoding, I should assume they are likely to apply to other texts. Although partial, they will hopefully add something to the currently accepted proposals; it is expected that this contribution will eventually complement their views and supplement their models, thus contributing to drawing the full picture of the communication of evaluation.

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APPENDIX

CORPUS OF NOTEBOOK TEXTS

Index of the Texts in the Appendix