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review genre: the case of four British  
broadsheets.*

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates rhetorical evaluative strategies in four British Broadsheets: The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Independent and The Times Literary Supplement. This study views writing in the interpersonal domain where language is shaped by social needs, politeness rules and the notion of appropriacy that is not absolute but mediated by the reading public. Broadsheet reviews come across as highly interactional texts where the voice of the reviewer overlaps with the voice of the reader and the voice of the author of the book. These voices are carefully orchestrated and framed within an argumentative discourse that aims at maintaining non conflictual relationships that respect the public's Face in the sense that Brown and Levinson (1978) give to the word. However, broadsheet reviewers also fulfil genre expectations that a review be honest and balanced.

A corpus of 72 reviews was coded and analysed, in order to detect the ways in which broadsheet reviewers select certain rhetorical evaluative strategies to judge the book and the work of the author. As these evaluative strategies seem to cluster round the conjunct BUT, and this is a key hub of evaluation in the Broadsheet genre, a database of 111 sentences featuring the conjunct is established. It is found that evaluative strategies clustering round the conjunct BUT are carefully planned by reviewers who distribute them in salient parts of the text. The choice of linguistic resources to judge a book are dictated by interpersonal needs aimed at reducing the Face Threat to authors and readers. Consequently, the Praise and Criticism Pair - that has a huge hedging potential - is often chosen to evaluate the work of authors while Criticism is hardly ever placed at the beginning of the review. Interaction with the readers seems to impact the evaluative patterns that occur in BRs. The clauses before BUT act as a prelude for evaluative acts while the clauses after BUT are the locus where evaluation is presented to the reader. Both the Praise and Criticism Pair and Hedges ensure mitigated evaluative acts that are framed in a cogent line of argumentation which makes them acceptable to readers. The skillful use of hedging allows broadsheet reviewers to be critical towards the Author and Specific Aspects of the book that are the recurring targets of the BUT Node. One of the main claims of this thesis is that broadsheet reviews are argumentative texts where the key organizational principle underpinning discourse is the worry to justify the judgement presented about the book read. This justification is framed within argumentation.



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*This thesis is dedicated to my mother Maria Loreta who taught me the charm of challenges and to my beloved daughter Amy to whom I wish to pass on this teaching.*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### **Chapter 1: Introducing the present study**

1.1. Introduction	7
1.2. The historical and social conventions of the broadsheet review genre	12
1.3. Investigating the key features of the broadsheet review genre: comparing broadsheet and academic reviews and their context of publication	15
1.3.1. The reader in broadsheet and academic reviews	20
1.4. Field of the Thesis and implications for the present research	22
1.4.1. Genre studies and writing as social interaction	23
1.4.2. Pragmatic studies	25
1.4.3. Media studies	28
1.4.4. Discourse and Corpus Linguistics Studies	30
1.5. Research questions	31
1.6. Structure of the thesis	33

### **Chapter 2: Linguistic Approaches to the Broadsheet Review Genre**

2.1. Chapter overview: BRs in a discourse and pragmatic perspective	36
2.2. A discourse perspective on the broadsheet review genre	36
2.3. The communicative event ‘broadsheet review’	37
2.3.1. The situational context - where	37
2.3.2. The situational context - the register	38
2.3.3. Sharing an aim	40
2.3.3.1. The aim	40
2.3.3.2. The sharing	41
2.4. BRs in the context of press genres	43
2.5. An argumentative perspective on the BR genre	49
2.6. An overview of politeness theories	51
2.7. Conclusions	57
CHAPTER 3: A preliminary study	59

3.1. A preliminary study: chapter overview	59
3.2. Defining terminology for the present study	62
3.3. Rationale: Why should Frequency and Distribution be investigated?	63
3.4. Literature review: How the Target Nodes relate to existing literature	64
3.5. Methods: The choice of NVivo as the Qualitative Data Analysis tool for the current study	66
3.6. Methods used for the Preliminary Study: identifying key categories	68
3.7. The coding processes	76
3.8. Findings of the Preliminary Study	76
3.8.1. The Frequency and Distribution of unhedged Praise and Criticism	77
3.8.2. The Frequency and Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair	83
3.8.3. The Frequency and Distribution of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism	86
3.9. The Target of unhedged Praise and Criticism in the Preliminary Study	93
3.10. The Target of Praise in the Preliminary Study	94
3.10.1. The Target of Criticism in the Preliminary Study	95
3.10.2. The Target of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the Preliminary Study	97
3.10.3. The Target of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism in the Preliminary Study	99
3.11. Identifying patterns in the data	103
3.11.1. Exploring patterns in the Frequency and Distribution of rhetorical evaluative strategies	103
3.11.2. Investigating patterns in the Target of rhetorical evaluative strategies	110
3.12. Conclusions: Implications for the main study	115
<b>CHAPTER 4: From the preliminary study to the BUT Database</b>	119
4.1. Research questions for the main study	119
4.2. Data sampling, collection and coding	119
4.2.1. The inter coder reliability checking procedure	121

4.3. Findings: The results of the NVivo queries	122
4.3.1. The Frequency and Distribution of the analytical categories in the BBC	122
4.4. The Target of Praise and Criticism in the BBC	127
4.4.1. The Target of Praise in the BBC	127
4.4.2.: The Target of Hedged Praise in the BBC	127
4.4.3. The Target of Criticism in the BBC	128
4.4.4. The Target of Hedged Criticism	130
4.5. The role of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BBC	130
4.6. Patterns of evaluation across subgenres (Biography, Fiction, History) in the BBC	133
4.7. From the BBC to the BUT Database	135
4.8. Conclusions	137
<b>Chapter 5: A qualitative analysis of interactional strategies in the BUT Node of the BBC</b>	<b>141</b>
5.1. Chapter overview: Broadsheet reviews: an example of argumentative discourse	141
5.2. Core features of argumentative discourse	142
5.3. Interactional resources in the linguistic tradition	147
5.3.1. Interactional resources in the BUT Database	150
5.4. The hedging power of metaphor: diluting the strength of criticism through metaphors	171
5.5. Literature review: Discourse markers in the linguistic tradition	180
5.5.1. A specific class of discourse markers: contrastive markers	185
5.6. Conclusions	190
<b>Chapter 6: A qualitative analysis of rhetorical evaluative strategies in the BUT node of the British Broadsheet Corpus</b>	<b>191</b>
6.1. Chapter overview: Rhetorical evaluative strategies round the BUT NODE: playing with distribution	191
6.2. Evaluative strategy 1: The location of the BUT clause within the review text	192
6.3. Evaluative strategy 2: From global to local: Choosing a strategic venue for Praise and Criticism and hedging devices in the BUT clause/s	

	196
6.4. Evaluative strategy 3: A Prelude to Criticism before BUT	200
6.5. Evaluative strategy 4: Seize the floor and praise before BUT	203
6.6. Evaluative strategy 5: Seize the floor and rise the tone after BUT	206
6.7. Conclusions	215
<b>Chapter 7: The use of hedges and of the Praise and Criticism Pair as rhetorical evaluative strategies in the BUT node of the BUT Database</b>	219
7.1. Hedging in broadsheet reviews	219
7.2. Hedges: a negative politeness strategy	220
7.3. Methodology and data sampling	225
7.4. Data analysis	228
7.4.1. The frequency and function of hedges in the BUT Database	229
7.4.2. The distributional patterns of hedges in the BUT Database	230
7.4.3. The subgenre distribution of hedges in the BUT Database	232
7.4.4. The linguistic realizations of hedges	232
7.4.5. Lexical choices and the function of adverbial hedges	243
7.4.6. The preferred target of hedging in the BUT Database	248
7.5. The Praise and Criticism Pair: a positive politeness strategy	250
7.5.1. The Frequency, Distributional patterns and evaluative Targets of the Praise and Criticism Pair	251
7.6. The Target of evaluation: comparing the whole corpus with the BUT Database	260
7.7. Conclusions	266
<b>Chapter 8: Drawing conclusions and implications of the thesis</b>	269
8.0 Chapter overview	269
8.1. Contextualizing the present study in Linguistics	269
8.2. Contributions and implications for the study of politeness, critical discourse analysis, pragmatics and media studies	271
8.3. Evaluation studies: Comparing the current study with similar	

studies: Staging evaluation in academic and broadsheets reviews	274
8.4. General Findings: The main features of Broadsheet reviews	280
8.5. Patterns of evaluation in broadsheet reviews	282
8.6. Limitations and Final Remarks	286
References	289
Appendices and Tables	305
APPENDIX A	305
Table A.1.: Reviews included in the main study of the BBC (Chapter 4)	305
Table A.1.1. Biography reviews in the BBC	305
Table A.1.2. Fiction reviews in the BBC	305
Table A.1.3. History reviews in the BBC	305
TABLE A.2. OVERALL CLASSIFICATION SHEET OF THE BBC	305
APPENDIX B	305
Table B.1.: Number of words in the Opening, Body and Close of the BBC (subgenre-based) (Chapter 4)	305
Table B.1.1. Biography reviews IN THE BBC	305
Table B.1.2. Fiction reviews IN THE BBC	305
Table B.1.3. History reviews IN THE BBC	305
APPENDIX C	305
Table C.1.: Distributional evaluative patterns of the Preliminary study across subgenres (Chapter 3)	305
Table C.2.: Evaluative Patterns in terms of Target in the Preliminary Study (Chapter 3)	305
Table C.3.: The BUT Database of the BBC (Chapter 4)	305
Table C.4.: The distribution of BUT extracts in the BUT Database (Chapter 4)	305
Table C.5.: The classification of hedges in the BUT Database: Adverbial Hedges (Chapter 7)	305
Table C.6.: The Target of evaluation in the BUT Database (Chapter 7)	305
Table C.6.1. The Praise and Criticism Pair in the BUT Database (Chapter 7)	305
Table C.6.2. The Frequency of the Target Nodes in the Pair of the	

BUT Database (Chapter 7)	305
APPENDIX D	305
Evaluation in the BUT Database (Chapter 7)	305
List of Tables in the Thesis per Chapter	305
TABLE C.6.1. THE PRAISE AND CRITICISM PAIR IN THE BUT DATABASE	361
TABLE 6.2 THE FREQUENCY OF THE TARGET NODES IN THE PRAISE AND CRITICISM PAIR OF THE BUT DATABASE	366
APPENDIX D: EVALUATION IN THE BUT DATABASE	369
LIST OF TABLES IN THE THESIS PER CHAPTER	377

# Chapter 1: Introducing the present study

## 1. Introduction

Reviews have become part of everyday life. Before booking a hotel, we look at reviews. We eat at the restaurant and are eager to share our opinion about the food with thousands of users on the Internet, we buy a product and cannot wait to click our satisfaction rate in an appropriate forum.

The spatial and temporal boundless opportunities of the Net, easily available 24/7 to users located in any corner of the globe, have amplified the consumer's voice and their chance to express their opinion about commodities. Nowadays anyone, equipped with a PC and an Internet connection, can become a reviewer and be followed by a huge number of users. This ease of communication on virtual highways has turned reviews into a text type that has acquired an enormous potential. Reviews can sink or boost businesses. In the digital era, reviews have become a kind of global shopping window where we can recommend or decide the failure of products and services. Quality is evaluated in reviews and the value judgement of products and services reaches a wide audience through the Internet.

As Melewar et alia (2017:1) write “Using digital platform tools such as Facebook, Twitter, Hashtag and Instagram, consumers who belong to various groups and communities in the digital space (Sillence and Barber, 2004) interact with one another across geographic boundaries 24/7...”

Digital platforms have allowed consumers to exchange views about brands, services and travel experiences. Review texts are characterized by a high level of interaction because the main motivation to write a review is to share an opinion with other people.

Within linguistics, reviews have been seen as an emergent discourse by Read and Carroll (2012:412) who associate reviews with a way of evaluating a product within a consumer society that has at its disposal a wide range of products every day. It is their view that the abundance of products has generated the need to justify our choices. Moreover, recommending a product has become not only a way to justify the purchase of a book, for instance, but also a way to earn a living as noted by Charters (2007:157).

The second feature of review texts is their evaluative nature because providing an opinion involves being engaged in an evaluative process. On



an intuitive level, it can be argued that key textual features, typical of review texts are interaction and evaluation. Later in the chapter, I will return to this claim and substantiate it with more research-based evidence.

It is relevant to move from textual features to readers' expectations about review texts in order to see what claims can be made.

Despite the current possibility that each of us has of becoming a reviewer thanks to technology in a digital world, one of the most prominent features of review texts, has traditionally been their level of specialization.

Readers demand a high level of expertise in review writing and expect reviewers to be engaged in some specialized discourse. If we look at what happened in a pre-digital era and still happens now, reviews have always been written by experts in the field. An art critic reviews an art exhibition in a specialized journal, a culinary expert reviews restaurants in the Sunday paper and a literary critic or an academic writes book reviews in a broadsheet.

Readers expects reviewers to be experts specialized in a field, be it art, food or books. Something else review readers expect is intellectual honesty. We would like to read a review to avoid eating in a terrible restaurant, sleeping in a dirty hotel or reading an awful book. Being guided in our choices by an honest review on a service or a product is of paramount importance in review writing. Expertise, honesty and a fair opinion on the subject of the review are an asset in a review text.

It is precisely because reviewers are knowledgeable about the topic they are about to review, that their personal opinion can be expressed with confidence. Reviewers are supposed to be authoritative sources of knowledge in the field of the book reviewed: historians if it is a History book, art critics if it is an Art book.

Another relevant point is that, regardless of their knowledge, reviewers are supposed to develop an argumentative discourse in their review where they make claims based on facts, namely mentioning the positive and negative aspects of the book, that should be expressed giving evidence in an argumentative text where positions are argued and carefully supported by logical reasoning.

Book reviewers are expected to express their views in a dialectical way, presenting both sides of the argument, rather than offering a biased opinion on a book. It follows that language in reviews becomes a tool to provide suggestions, argue for the validity of the opinion expressed, persuade the reader to comply with a certain line of arguing. For this reason, reviews can be seen as a good example of a dialogic exchange where both writers and readers have a key role to play. As suggested by

Hommerberg (2015:171), it is the very quality of the text that “construes the audience as a knowledgeable and sceptical group requiring tangible evidence in order to be convinced”. It follows that broadsheet reviewers will have to bear in mind readers and their reactions as they create the review text and the arguments within it.

This view of language, as an interactional tool, has also been postulated by the philosopher of language Ludwig Wittgenstein, who revolutionized a traditional way of looking at philosophy. Thanks to Wittgenstein, philosophy has become a more socially rooted discipline of which interaction is a defining feature. Language is conceived by Wittgenstein as an interaction that occurs through shared language. In his *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein (1953:6) wrote “The meaning of a word is its use in the language.” Wittgenstein emphasized the importance of sharing words with others, of dialogue, rather than the Cartesian, introverted reflection as a tool to discover the world and one’s role in it. Thus, Wittgenstein gives significance to interaction as a key element to discover knowledge and progress in the study of language.

This study sides with Wittgenstein’s view of language. It focuses on the interactional use of language in review texts and on rhetorical evaluative strategies at work in the broadsheet review genre. The very first question to ask is: why should reviewers resort to rhetorical strategies in order to evaluate a book?

My claim is that broadsheet reviews are challenging texts from an authorial viewpoint because readers expect reviewers to offer an evaluation of the book and to argue for their opinion in a sound way. They also expect reviewers to provide socially acceptable value judgements that are not offensive for readers or for the author of the book. It follows that rhetoric becomes a key tool to fulfil the expected aims of a review - offer an opinion and balance it - so that it does not come across as biased or detrimental for the reputation of the author of the book.

From a linguistic perspective, review texts are very demanding in terms of the pragmatic resources that are required by reviewers in order to soften claims and present them in an appropriate way. Politeness and respect, together with intellectual honesty and unbiased argumentation, lie at the very heart of review texts. This implies the presence of conflictual aims that push the text in various directions. Metaphorically speaking, reviewers are suspended between the social need to be polite and the readers' expectation to have a fair opinion on the book. This thesis explores the rhetorical and linguistic resources reviewers use in order to reconcile these two trends that characterize broadsheet reviews.

This study is placed in the context of language as a social medium where conveying a socially acceptable message is a priority because

language is not only a tool to describe reality but a way of acting on reality and interacting with other human beings. Interaction is a vital element of language both for Wittgenstein (1953) and for reviewers who constantly negotiate positions with their readers.

The interpersonal component of language, in the way Halliday (1978) defined it, as the role participants play in a speech act, seems to impact dramatically the writing of a broadsheet review text.

This thesis aims to explore how the overlapping of conflicting functions is bound to influence:

- a) the language used in broadsheet reviews;
- b) the relationship between reviewers and readers;
- c) the rhetorical unfolding of the review text.

On an intuitive level, the language we will find in review texts will abound in adjectives and adverbs that are used to qualify and hence evaluate the book. Taboada (2016:328) in her study on sentiment - defined as the expression of positive and negative evaluation - in opinionated, online texts written for a lay audience, notes the key role of adjectives in conveying subjective content.

There will be hedges to soften criticism and boosters to amplify praise. Reviewers' language will create an argumentative discourse where the reader is guided towards certain conclusions. As expected by the reader, reviewers will have to disclose their opinion about the book, be it positive or negative.

In order to avoid public offence of the author, claims will be made through rhetorical strategies such as creating a common ground with the reader, pulling the reader in the text to share a viewpoint or presenting an opinion not as a personal one but as the result of a sound argumentative process.

These rhetorical strategies are particularly valuable because evaluation is subjective and therefore liable to criticism. For example, an opinion thrown in the text without being substantiated, especially if it is a negative one, is bound to be refused by the reader because it has no logical justification. It follows that evaluation and argumentation are complementary in a review text. Framing evaluation within a cogent argumentative discourse becomes a *conditio sine qua non* in order to make the review acceptable for the addressee, especially in a text like broadsheet reviews, that have some directive subtexts. Readers read a review to be guided in the choice of books. They would like to know why they should accept the guidance; on what logical premises it rests.

As Hunston (2001:13) writes “Conceptually, evaluation has been noted to be comparative, subjective and value-laden. Identifying evaluation, then, is a question of identifying signals of comparison, subjectivity and social value.” In the case of broadsheet reviews, evaluation is also based on an emotional response to a literary work. The emotional response is then given a logical frame within which claims are presented and language is used to put forward an argument that often proceeds through comparison and exemplification and ends with a value judgement.

Reviewers may resort to comparison with other biographies on the same topic when they evaluate a biography, for instance. They may compare a specific novel with previous novels by the same author when they express a judgement about a novel. Comparison allows them to produce more acceptable claims that rely on evidence, tangible proof. Comparing books provides a tangible context where personal opinions become sound claims, following a line of reasoning that is based on logical procedures. These logical procedures belong to a whole range of rhetorical evaluative strategies that add rigour to what might be an otherwise highly subjective and not very reliable text.

Reviewers can use several rhetorical strategies in the attempt to turn their personal, aesthetic opinion of the book into a coherent and effective value judgement. They may choose to proceed through induction, for instance, when they quote from the text to exemplify a flaw of the book and then provide a critical comment on the book. They may also start with a general praise of the book that is also used as a '*captatio benevolentia*', a way to gain the interlocutor's favour, and then offer positive and detailed comments about specific aspects of the book using a deductive approach.

The interest of this thesis lies primarily in strategies appearing in broadsheet review texts to convey praise and/or criticism of the book reviewed, the author, specific or general aspects of the book. An exploration of the interaction between reviewers and readers, and the role reviewers assign to readers in various review texts, will contribute to our understanding of linguistic phenomena such as the evaluation of a cultural product, in this case a book that belongs to one of the three subgenres selected for the present study: Biographies, Fiction and History.

When I refer to BRs in this thesis, I mean reviews written by experts on the topic reviewed, historians for History books, literary critics for Fiction and biography experts for Biographies. The idea is that authorship is not improvised. The authors of any of these BRs are professional writers of the genre. They are not only following the conventions of the BR genre but also shaping the genre and contributing to its evolution, as maintained by Bhatia (2004:20). This idea of expertise is quite central to this work because the assumption is that the BRs in the BB Corpus are similar, to

some extent, to academic reviews because of an expert authorship that respects certain conventions and enacts specific argumentative strategies to persuade the reader that their opinion is shareable. The claim of this work is that the evaluative rhetorical strategies highlighted in the thesis are genre specific and therefore will appear in book reviews while film, restaurant and music reviews will have different features that will derive from the peculiarities of the product that is being reviewed.

This study will proceed through the analysis of writing as a social, dialogic rather than a monologic act where evaluation stems from a well-constructed rhetorical discourse that is enacted, considering the following aspects:

- a) The history and the social conventions of the broadsheet review genre;
- b) The investigation of the key features of the broadsheet review genre through the comparison of broadsheet reviews, with tabloids and academic reviews and the analysis of their context of publication;
- c) The role of the reader in academic and broadsheet review texts;

In this introductory chapter, I will deal with these issues in turn. An excursus of the origin of the British Broadsheet will be presented and the specific features of this genre will be outlined. I will show how the broadsheet genre has had, from the very beginning, a strong interactional nature. Broadsheet reviews will be compared with academic reviews in a contrastive analysis that will make the key features of the broadsheet genre emerge.

Thirdly, the role played by the reader both in academic and broadsheet review texts will be outlined. Differences between the two kinds of readers will be foregrounded and an active role for the reader will be claimed in the broadsheet review text.

## **1.2. The historical and social conventions of the broadsheet review genre**

In order to clarify the nature of the broadsheet genre, I will briefly explore their origin in a diachronic perspective.

Broadsheet reviews, hereafter called BRs for convenience sake, are defined thus because of their format. They have long, vertical pages typically measuring 22 inches. Traditionally, as much information as

possible was condensed on a single sheet to sell the broadsheet on the street.

After 1712, a single sheet paper became an even more valuable idea because the British government put a tax on newspapers, according to the number of pages of the publication. More recently, for practical reasons such as reading with ease on public transport, most British broadsheets have reduced their format to the one of the tabloids. The first to do so was *The Independent* in September 2004. *The Times* followed in December 2004. *The Guardian* opted for a slightly larger format than a tabloid, called Berliner, in 2005.

The broadsheet derives from an earlier publication called the broadside. Archer (2003:44) explains the difference between the two as follows:

“The broadside appeared first, emerging in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a bill posted in the marketplace with the town crier’s announcements. The broadsheet, printed on both sides, is identified with the printing of chapbooks, in which a single sheet was folded to compose 16 or 32 pp booklets, and later with the extra-large newspaper of the 1830s and 1840s. The term broadsheet extended to the two-sided advertising folder, which unfolds to disclose a single overall image.”

When Archer (2003) refers to chapbooks, she means small pamphlets containing tales, tracts, ballads that were sold on the street by pedlars. What characterized this publication was its popular nature in the sense that the readership was wide thanks to a cheap price. This was granted by the compact nature of the publication that tried to be as concise as possible so that a lot of information could be bound to a limited space.

Shesgreen (2002) studied a specific type of broadsides, called the 'Cries of London', that were a form of early advertising where craftsmen and merchants publicized their skills using images and short captions that were placed below the pictures. As time went by, words started to play a more important role and the captions became short ballads that praised the skills of the craftsman.

What is interesting about these broadsides that appear as the ancestors of modern broadsheets is:

- a) Their public nature;
- b) Their reader-oriented, interactional vocation;
- c) Their rhetorical character.

Shesgreen (2002:82) writes “...Cries like Craig’s are not mere passive reflections of the world. Objects of consumption, they are also agents of production; they are dynamic and transformative forces that shape

attitudes and form viewpoints instructing readers how to see and think about London.”

Shesgreen also (2002:82) notes how these broadsides have “a rhetorical character and a ‘high’ literary quality.” Like modern broadsheets, these broadsides aim at changing readers’ viewpoints, convincing them through arguments, hence their rhetorical character. Like broadsheet reviews, they offer an element of evaluation not only of books but of crafts. Broadsheet reviewers that for convenience sake will be called from now on BRers, evaluate the author’s skills such as crafting a character or shaping an appropriate style for the book. Like BRers, broadside writers seek a high level of interaction with the reader.

This brief historical excursus has shown how broadsheets, from their very origin, had a marked interactional nature. They were conceived as reader-centred texts because their function was to inform the readership about royal proclamations and official notices. They were a bridge between royal power and masses. Interestingly enough, masses did not play the mere role of recipients because broadsheets soon became a source of political activism, a way to spread political ideas through speeches and ballads.

When newspapers became more readily available, thanks to advances in the press technology and more widespread literacy, broadsheets mingled with newspapers, giving life to the modern broadsheet newspaper.

I will now move from a diachronic to a synchronic perspective on the broadsheet review genre. I will turn to the investigation of other newspaper genres, highlighting the difference between broadsheets and tabloids.

Broadsheets differ from tabloids for the choices of content that can be detected from the very first page. Tabloids usually host sensational news stories about scandals and celebrities with a single story and an attention catching title, while broadsheets host many titles and pieces of news that are loyal to the origin of broadsheets, that were characterized by reports on political speeches, but also the presence of ballads and poems, catering for a mix of informative and literary pursuits.

To provide a wider perspective on the British Press, I will use Gonzalez’s study (2006). In this study, the British press is divided into quality or popular newspapers that are classified on the basis of differences in style, content and readership. Quality newspapers are aimed at readers who want full information on a wide range of news and current affairs and are prepared to spend a considerable amount of time reading papers. Popular or tabloid newspapers instead, appeal to people who want news of a more entertaining character, presented in a more concise form

and with ample illustrations. The more popular tabloid papers tend to appeal to those who want issues with more human interest, aiming for maximum eye-catching impact in the fewest possible words, and they generally contain a larger number of photographs.

Bednarek (2006:13) is another linguist who highlights the differences between broadsheets and tabloids. She focuses on content choices. According to Bednarek, broadsheets are largely concerned with politics, economics and sports while the popular papers cover less politics and stories of more human interest. Moreover, the social class of the readership is different because the broadsheets draw 80-90 percent of readers from the middle classes compared to 30 percent of the tabloids. The readers of broadsheets are, on the whole, better educated than those of the popular press.

Sales are different, too. The tabloids sell four times as many copies as the broadsheets as stated by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (source: [www.abc.org.uk](http://www.abc.org.uk)).

Stuart (2004), Curran et al (1980) and Dahlgreen and Sparks (1992) report that tabloids not only have a popular appeal, use every day vernacular, snappy headlines but also show a wide range of prejudices such as presenting sexist, racist, homophobic and xenophobic ideas as if they were public opinion. It can be argued, instead, that broadsheets are aimed at an élite or, at least, are written as if they were, because they address a carefully constructed implied reader, as I will mention later. They often use sophisticated puns in headlines, aimed at an educated audience, and may value more 'politically correct' issues.

After outlining how broadsheets differ from tabloids, I will now analyse the specific features of the broadsheet review genre and explain why it differs from academic reviews.

### **1.3. Investigating the key features of the broadsheet review genre: comparing broadsheet and academic reviews and their context of publication**

In this section, I will review the existing literature about academic reviews to proceed in a contrastive analysis that outlines the key features of the BR. I will postulate hypotheses about possible recurring patterns of language use that are shared by academic and broadsheet reviews.

Given the scarcity of specific research on BR, it seemed sensible to start my research drawing on the work done on academic reviews and



news discourse in order to proceed in a contrastive analysis with the broadsheet review to unveil the key features of the BR genre.

On an intuitive level, the comparison with academic reviews is useful because both texts share the aim of reviewing a new publication, so it is likely that the shared aim will have an impact both on the rhetorical organization and on the linguistic features of the text, that will be similar to some extent.

Both academic and broadsheet reviews will offer an opinion about a book recently published, but also some information about the content of the book, for instance. However, while academic reviews may be assessing the knowledge contribution of the publication in a specific domain, the broadsheet reviewer may be evaluating the aesthetic value of a book and its potential to entertain the reader.

The first contrastive analysis will concern academic and broadsheet book reviews. I will start from the literature existing on academic reviews to outline the features of the BR genre and draw a distinction between the two genres. I will also report about possible similarities.

Academic reviews have been investigated, among others, by Johnson (1992), Belcher (1995), Motta Roth (1998), Hyland (2004a), Gea Valor (2001) who have underlined the evaluative nature of reviews. Johnson (1992) looked mainly at complimenting and politeness strategies in peer review texts while Belcher (1995) explored the writing of students' reviews as a way of enhancing critical thinking. Motta Roth (1998) analysed academic reviews in various disciplines such as Economics, Chemistry and Linguistics. Hyland (2004a) focused on various aspects of review writing such as disciplinary differences in evaluation and mitigation of evaluative acts. Gea Valor (2001) looked at academic reviews but with a specific interest in modality and politeness.

In order to compare academic and BRs, I looked at the data of the preliminary study, illustrated in Chapter 4, and contrasted them with the literature on academic reviews and, in particular, Hyland's (2004b) study of the strategies of praise and criticism in peer reviews, Gea Valor's work on politeness strategies and modality in book reviews (2001) and Belcher's (1995) research on critical writing. Belcher's aim (1995) was to establish a rationale for the teaching of critical writing to ESL graduate students.

One of the scholars who has worked extensively on academic reviews is Hyland (2004b:43) who argues that literary book reviews have much more prestige than academic ones and non-academic reviewers are given more credit for reviewing a literary work compared to academics that review an academic publication.

Hyland (2004b:43) claims that this peripheral status of the academic

review is exemplified by its position in a journal, “A literary review may be granted an important space in The Times Literary Supplement where reviewers write lengthy pieces while academic reviews are confined at the back of a journal and allowed a few lines of the space available.”

Hyland (2004b:43) explains this difference thus “(academic reviews) are less widely disseminated, less crucial in influencing purchases or prizes, and less significant in accumulating merit for their writers.”

Though this may well be the case, linguists have increasingly focused on the importance of academic reviews as a public space where the work of fellow academics is evaluated. On the other hand, reviews written outside the academic world have received little attention in the literature.

Linguists such as Hyland (2004a), Gea Valor (2001) and Moreno and Suarez (2008) view academic reviews as an extremely interesting site where a whole set of rhetorical strategies are set into action in order to fulfil their dual function: informing of new publications and providing an evaluation of how the publication contributes to the advancement of a discipline without threatening the Face of the reviewee.

Face seems a key concept in review writing because, by their very nature, reviewers tread slippery ground when they evaluate the book and the author's work. Face appears to be a relevant concept in the present research because reviewers may be searching for strategies to mitigate the expression of their judgement. They may plan the writing of their text, thinking about how to protect the author's image without sacrificing their desire to be honest about the book. They may also be careful not to threaten the reader's Face when they present an unconventional opinion about the book - that may differ from the reader's for instance.

North (1992) was one of the first academics to develop an interest in the book review genre. He identified some features of the academic book review, among them, the description of the content of the book, the evaluation of its meaning and the need to be balanced.

Both North and Hyland (2004b:43) emphasize the restricted space given to reviews and both stress this dual aim, informing and evaluating, promoting knowledge and safeguarding the sense of community and the cohesive nature of disciplinary communities, that underpins academic life. Politeness and critical thinking are also a need of academia for Johnson (1992:51) who suggests that complimenting strategies are used to redress specific and global Face Threatening Acts which characterize the genre critical review.

Gea Valor (2001:11) in her study on politeness and modality in

book review articles, emphasizes the importance of the book review as a “rhetorical means to challenge textual authority for the general benefit of the discipline, and to establish rapport and solidarity with the rest of members of the academic community.” Again, at the heart of the academic review, Gea Valor finds the desire to be critical towards the book to forward knowledge and, at the same time, the necessity for good, cohesive relationships.

Gea Valor investigates the function of the academic book review and concludes that the main functions of academic reviews are:

- a) to inform about the content and structure of the book;
- b) to assess the work of a fellow researcher professionally;
- c) to convey the reviewer's opinion on the book in terms of usefulness to its readers.

The occurrence of these functions will be analysed in the preliminary corpus of reviews in the finding section 4.3. of Chapter 4.

Another key concept for the analysis is evaluation, because the focus of this research is on exploring evaluative strategies used by reviewers to assess the work of authors. Looking at the literature existing on evaluation, Hunston and G. Thompson's (2001) work on the function of evaluation seems particularly relevant for this research. Hunston and G. Thompson (2001:6) identify three main functions for evaluation namely:

- (1) to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community;
- (2) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader;
- (3) to organize discourse.

In the previous sections, I explored both the importance of evaluation in order to express the reviewer's opinion and the value system of reviewers' community, namely how the accepted conventions of the BR genre impact the BR genre. I also investigated evaluation in writing as a dialogic, interpersonal act that has a key importance in establishing harmonious rather than conflictual social relations. The third function of evaluation, highlighted by Hunston and G. Thompson (2001), as a key component for discursal organization will be analysed in chapter 5 where I will look at how certain discourse markers, such as the conjunct BUT, become chief organizers of evaluative discourse in review texts, giving life to recurring distributional patterns of Praise and Criticism that will be

illustrated in Chapter 6.

The first function of evaluation, identified by Hunston and G. Thompson (2001:6), stems from an ongoing debate about genre and discourse communities outlined by Swales (1990) and the idea that writing is a socially situated event that is bound to be influenced by the shared conventions and rhetorical strategies of a discourse community. Bhatia (2004:54) emphasized how belonging to a disciplinary community, either professional or academic, has an impact on the genre of texts we produce because “Every disciplinary community has its own typical set of genres, which are used by most of its members in the achievement of the professional objectives.”

Despite the fact that their readership is neither academic nor specialized, reviewers in the two non-fiction genres under scrutiny in the current study, Biography and History, are university Professors and their status as experts is extensively referred to in the review. Moreover, non-fiction reviewers are strongly concerned with academic matters such as the appropriate use of historical sources for the book reviewed, an adequate choice of the person writing the Preface of the book or the author’s professional background and their suitability for dealing with the topic of the book.

Fiction reviewers of the corpus, instead, are more concerned with less academic, more mundane matters, such as the decline of the author from a bestseller writer of their first book some years ago to a boring, unnecessary latest publication that is currently being reviewed.

Readers' expectations about subgenres are going to influence the writing and evaluation of the text, too. We may share the view, for instance, that readers expect rigour in a History book, but not so much in a novel where they may expect originality.

In their study of academic reviews, both Motta Roth (1998) and Hyland (2004b), found disciplinary differences in the reviews they analysed. For Motta Roth (1998), Economics was the most evaluative among the three disciplines because a larger portion of the text is devoted to evaluation. Motta Roth (1998) found other differences across the three disciplines, such as differences in style and in the occurrence of evaluation. Chemistry reviewers prefer shorter, descriptive, objective texts which are less evaluative than the ones of Economics and Linguistics. Reviewers in Economics emphasize models and Maths when commenting on the good points of a book.

Motta Roth (1998) also explored the rhetorical moves within review texts and attempted to develop a taxonomy of categories that are articulated in Moves and submoves. She outlined recurring Move patterns in academic book review texts, for example, Move 1 is 'Introducing the

book' and, one of the submoves within Move 1, is 'Inform about the author' while Move 4 is 'Providing evaluation about the book' and includes submoves such as: 'definitely recommending or disqualifying the book' and 'recommending the book despite indicated shortcomings'. Motta Roth (1998)'s idea is that reviews have a set Move structure that is linear, sequential. For instance, in her model, informative details always occur at the beginning of the review while evaluative comments appear quite late in the review text.

In the following chapters, I will explore to what extent subgenre differences among History, Biography and Fiction reviews are bound to impact the occurrence of evaluative rhetorical strategies, their frequency and their distributional patterns across the review texts of the British Broadsheet Corpus compiled for this research project.

### **1.3.1. The reader in broadsheet and academic reviews**

In this section, a contrastive analysis of broadsheets and academic readers will be carried out relying on existing literature. The analysis of the reader as an active agent in broadsheet review writing will also be explored in more detail, in Chapter 5 of the present study.

At this stage I will:

- a) outline why academic readers are different from broadsheet readers;
- b) question media marketers' assumption that broadsheet readers are a clearly defined public and their depiction is so reliable that a lot of money can be invested in commodities, that are typically used by the broadsheet readership and can therefore be successfully advertised in broadsheet newspapers;
- c) put forward another view of readers that are not the mere target of broadsheet advertising but participating and powerful presences in the crafting of broadsheet review texts.

I will start with a relevant feature of newspaper discourse for this research, namely stereotyping. Bednarek (2006:14-15) notes how both writers and readers are stereotyped in newspaper discourse. Writers are mainly identified with their institutions. The addressee, as Bell points out, is not known. He is envisaged and expected (Bell 1991:92) just like the implied reader in literary theory.

Bednarek (2006), along similar lines, shows how readers are construed through the text and are addressed as a social group.

The reader in the academic community is an active member of the community, in the sense that they are not only readers but also researchers and reviewers, a voice engaged in the debate about the discipline, so their expectations are clearly defined. In the academic world, writing reviews is a way of exchanging viewpoints on certain research areas. Through review writing, academics can side with a certain school of thought or become the counterpart of another one. Reviewing in academia is a way of showing our expertise in a certain field, but also a way of training novice academics who may want to refine their skill in evaluating a publication within the academic community that is bound within university walls. It has a specific function, the advancement of knowledge, and the training of future generations to become members of this community. Reviewing in academia is instrumental in making one's voice heard, training young academics and interacting with fellow researchers publicly, through review writing in journals.

Both writers and readers belong to the same community, share the same conventions and have similar expectations. It follows that the academic community could be seen as a much more homogenous ensemble than the BR community that comprises a reading public that may not share the same interests and may have heterogeneous levels of education. Hence the BR public appears to be more fragmented and less predictable than the academic one.

In BR, the reader seems less identifiable, fuzzier, especially in online reviews that can be accessed by anyone owning a PC and a connection. Tunstall (1996:12), in his book *Newspaper Power*, identifies broadsheets as upmarket dailies that unlike tabloids, "present themselves as providing predominantly serious news...typically carry three times as many words as does the tabloid...the assumption is of a serious but selective reader who will want to choose some (but not all) serious financial news, or serious arts, or serious domestic and foreign coverage." The idea is that broadsheets have a clearly defined public. Tunstall (1996) suggests that this is much more than an assumption if we think about how broadsheets 'sell' this idea to potential advertisers that are ready to pay high interest rates per thousand affluent readers. In Tunstall's words (1996:12), "The broadsheets are attractive to display advertisers who are selling expensive consumer products...In order to remain as vehicles suitable for advertising higher-salaried jobs and upmarket consumer products - and to gain high rates from advertisers - the broadsheet must retain a high proportion of educated and affluent readers."

Similarly, Bell (1991) observes that the audience is the most researched component of mass communication. The overwhelming bulk of research on audiences is carried out by media organizations themselves, because they want to find out what the audience finds appealing in order

to sell their papers.

Stuart (2004:123) makes a similar point emphasizing the huge interest there is in newspaper readership on the part of the owners of newspaper, its editors and marketing people. Advertising agencies are also keen on acquiring information about newspaper readers because they are fishing for potential customers for their products or services.

Reviews may as well be a means to amplify this idea of an educated readership, just because they deal with buying books and spreading culture. If this is the case, review writing in a broadsheet paper may be crucial in contributing both to the appeal and to the identikit of the educated 'ideal reader', that is promoted by broadsheets themselves to reinforce their 'public image'. If broadsheet reviewers manage to fulfil their readers' expectations when they write the review, they will contribute to the success of the paper.

It will be relevant, in the following chapters, to move from an external perception on BR readers, the media marketers' perspective suggested above, to an internal, text-bound view on readers that stems from the actual planning and folding of the text as a social, interactional act where the reader is always accounted for.

My claim is that this inner view will allow us to see how the writer's stance, and their interaction with readers, can provide glimpses of the implied reader, reviewers address in their writing. It will disclose reviewers' efforts not to disappoint their audience for the reasons previously mentioned, namely the key role of readers and the interactional, dialogic nature of BRs.

In the next section, I will highlight the field of this thesis and the implications of the present research framing it within studies of genre, pragmatics, media, discourse and corpus linguistics.

#### **1.4. Field of the Thesis and implications for the present research**

This thesis offers a new outlook on BRs as interactional texts where the politeness demands on the review text are bound to impact the reviewers' evaluation of the text. In this study, I will use Lakoff's definition of politeness and show how not only academic writers but also BRers are concerned with tending the addressees' Face. R. Lakoff, (1979:64) defined politeness as "a device used in order to reduce friction in personal interaction". Lakoff's definition is particularly relevant for this study because it emphasizes the interpersonal component of communication. It foregrounds the connection between conflict and a lack of politeness. In other words, if the main aim of politeness is to avoid

conflict among people that interact thorough language, being polite means enacting all those Face Saving strategies, both linguistic and rhetorical, like hedging criticism and foregrounding praise in salient parts of the review text, that are under scrutiny in this work as the key rhetorical strategies used to convey evaluation in broadsheet reviews. My claim is that, in order to comply with politeness, reviewers choose certain argumentative patterns that can back up their evaluative acts in an acceptable way for readers.

It is precisely these social demands that call for the use of rhetorical strategies. Their main aim is to comply with politeness - namely to safeguard the Face of the interlocutor. The specific focus of this study is to observe evaluative rhetorical strategies in BR, narrowing down an abstract category, such as evaluation, to more concrete analytical categories, for instance the evaluation of the Author or of General Aspects of the book. These evaluative categories become the analytical core of the review texts in the corpus of reviews under scrutiny. Through the coding of these analytical categories, key distributional and evaluative patterns that consistently appear in the reviews have emerged, offering new insights into the interactional, socially and value laden nature of BR texts. These patterns will be presented in Chapter 5 and 6 of the thesis.

#### **1.4.1. Genre studies and writing as social interaction**

I hope that this research will contribute to genre studies and, in particular, to the debate about the importance of writing as a social practice. Texts are classified as belonging to a genre, mainly for the communicative purpose they accomplish in a discourse community, as argued by Swales (1990). The main communicative purpose of BRs is to evaluate a book. In order to be acceptable for the reader, the reviewer's evaluation should sound unbiased and intellectually honest. It follows that positions cannot be imposed. They should be negotiated with readers. Hence writing, far from being a communication 'in absentia', becomes a dynamic exchange where social conventions, readers' response and their expectations come to play a key role. Texts are the outcome of a negotiation between writers and readers who come to share conventions about what is expected in a text.

These agreed conventions belong to the area of genre studies. The present research will explore what social conventions and which readers' expectations underpin the broadsheet review genre. The focus will also be on which rhetorical and linguistic resources are recurring in BRs, in order to negotiate critical comments of the book, to boost praise in an unbiased, objective manner so that readers feel the balanced and informative nature



of the BR has been complied with.

At this stage, I will provide more information about the genre under scrutiny - broadsheet reviews - offering an overview of the specific features of the broadsheets selected to create the British Broadsheets Corpus. Westin (2002) investigates the features of some broadsheets and, among them, three of the four broadsheets that were chosen to compile the corpus for the present study, namely: The Guardian, The Times and the Daily Telegraph. The Independent is not included in Westin's study. I have researched key facts about the birth and evolution of this broadsheet. I will now report on Westin's (2002) research to provide relevant information about the sources selected for the BB corpus.

According to Westin (2002), the Times claims to be independent, but it is usually considered right wing in its reporting. The Times is the oldest because its publication started in 1785. The Guardian was founded in Manchester in 1821 and was known as The Manchester Guardian. In 1959, it had more than two thirds of the circulation outside Manchester, so it changed its name to the Guardian and the editorial offices were transferred to London in 1964. The Guardian is left of centre, politically, and supports the Liberal Party. The Daily Telegraph is the youngest of the three. It was founded in 1855. It is right of centre and supports the Conservative Party.

The Independent was not taken into account in Westin's (2002) study. That is why I made some specific research on this broadsheet. The Independent was founded in 1986 as an independent national morning newspaper published in London. It was controlled by Tony O'Reilly's Independent News & Media from 1997 until it was sold to the Russian oligarch Alexander Lebedev in 2010. Until September 2011, the paper described itself on the banner at the top of every newspaper as "free from party political bias, free from proprietorial influence." This claim probably attracted a tolerant target audience, free from political bias and respectful of democratic viewpoints.

To summarize the information gathered about the broadsheets under scrutiny, it can be argued that the reviews were published on quality papers, so they were aimed at quite an educated readership. Readers are likely to belong to the middle class, as statistics suggest. Moreover, the choice of papers appears to be balanced, because the four broadsheets chosen cater for diverse political ideas.

I will now analyse BR from a sociolinguistic viewpoint as an interactional site where reviewers, authors and readers meet.

BRs are an example of writing as a social event. Reviewers' opinions are argued, authors are evaluated, their work is scrutinised, readers' possible rebuttals are anticipated. Therefore, reviews offer an

interesting example of how authors continually negotiate strategies of interaction and evaluative procedures with their potential readers. An opinion about the book is put forward, an argumentative process is initiated, evidence is sought to prove the point made, praise is balanced with criticism, readers' consensus is sought.

Hyland (2004c) explored the ways writers take a stance towards the content of their text. In this thesis, I will use the term stance in the sense Hyland (2004c;2005c) gives to this term. In Hyland's (2005c:176) words "This is an alignment dimension where writers acknowledge and connect to others, recognizing the presence of their readers, pulling them along with their argument, focusing their attention, acknowledging their uncertainties, including them as discourse participants, and guiding them to interpretations." In all the reviews analysed in this study, there is a constant effort on the writer's side to acknowledge the reader's presence and to create a line of argumentation that is shared, discussed and negotiated with an ideal reader.

Writers offer their personal authority through their arguments but they also acknowledge the presence of their readers and try to engage them by asking questions, using reader pronouns (you, we, our) and directives (consider, must). Thus writing becomes a dialogic act where writers focus readers' attention on key points of the text and they include readers in their arguments and guide them to interpretations. Hyland's (2004c) study, however, focused on academic book reviews. Are BRs different in this respect? The following chapters will show they are not because of the key role played by readers in this genre of text. Now it is important to analyse the conventions of broadsheet review writing and rhetorical strategies frequently occurring in this genre from a pragmatic perspective.

#### **1.4.2. Pragmatic studies**

Rhetorical strategies have been defined by Bondi and Del Lungo Camiciotti (1995:172) as "Linguistic choices which depend on the goals and intended effects of communication." In the broadsheet genre, which goals and effects are sought, and which linguistic devices will be selected in order to pursue this aim? These issues will be among the objectives of this research and will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters.

To frame this study in a wider perspective, the analysis of the peculiarities of the broadsheet review genre will provide interesting insights into the broader literature of writing as a dialogic act, because I will investigate how the reader, the social conventions of the genre such as politeness strategies enacted in BRs, shape the text and impact on its unfolding.

It seems that what is at stake here, is not only a reflection on writing as social practice, as I mentioned earlier, but a powerful speech act, embedded in what Austin (1962:101) defines 'subtle directives', meaning an appeal to the reader to pursue some line of action. Thus, BR language may have both illocutionary and perlocutionary meanings.

Here we enter the pragmatic domain because, in reviews, language may be used to cause some actions and to persuade the reader to do something. Austin (1962:101) writes "Saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons: and it may be done with the design, intention, or purpose of producing them."

I believe the exploration of review texts, in a pragmatic perspective, will allow readers to detect the *design* underpinning the review and the far-reaching consequences it may have beyond the text, such as determining the editorial success of a book or offering a critical review, bearing in mind the need to adopt Face saving strategies.

These precautions will grant a public space where solidarity rather than conflict is sought, balance rather than extreme value judgements is pursued. Language takes on a powerful interpersonal role in reducing Face threatening acts and promoting evaluative rhetorical strategies that tender Face and seek acceptance of divergent opinions. This will create constructive criticism and shared praise, fostering a continuous dialogue with the addressees, that is bound to impact the writing process itself.

One reason why a pragmatic analysis of the written genre of BR may be a fruitful area of research is that, traditionally, spoken texts have been the target of pragmatic studies with only a few exceptions, such as Myers' (1989) analysis of politeness strategies in scientific articles.

As Myers states, writing is a form of interaction and authors should be aware of the dialogic nature of writing when they write a text. Pragmatics studies focus on how the context and extra linguistic factors such as social, environmental and psychological influence meanings. It deals with the speaker's meaning rather than the meaning of the sentence. As Katz and Fodor (1963) suggested, the objective of pragmatics is performance, what users do with language. Language loses its ambiguity in the context that clarifies its meaning.

Pragmatic competence is generally defined as the ability to understand a speaker's intended meaning. Within pragmatics, what is particularly relevant for this study is the exploration of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987). It can be argued that review writing is a fruitful site to investigate politeness strategies, such as mitigation or redressing of Face threatening acts, the safeguarding of Face because of

the conflicting and diverging functions that lie at the heart of this text.

Reviewers use language to argue their opinions, pass judgements on the author and their book, to say what they liked and disliked about the book. Language becomes a means of showing appreciation and/or criticism. It is therefore crucial to avoid what Brown and Levinson (1987) call Face threatening acts, to soften criticism and avoid threatening both readers' and the author's Face.

A pragmatic analysis of this written genre will contribute to the linguistic research about the politeness model of interaction. It will reveal which strategies are consistently used to soften criticism and to hedge the force of the reviewers' opinions. For example, it will show to what extent the shaping of the text is influenced by the presence of the implied reader and author of the book and how their presence is acknowledged by the occurrence of certain rhetorical strategies such as indirect speech acts or the choice of 'not negation' to mitigate the reviewer's critical claims.

A pragmatic analysis will also foreground the social conventions of the genre. Both North (1992) and the American Library Association (2005) study on readers' expectations about book reviews show that the key feature of review writing is to achieve a balanced judgement on the book reviewed, where both strong and weak aspects of the book are highlighted. It follows that reviews will be texts where claims are argued and substantiated by cogent arguments.

Reviewers will have to offer both information and evaluation about the book. They will take care to avoid writing an offensive review or including spoilers that may be detrimental to the readers' desire to read the book reviewed.

The punctual meeting of all these expectations comes to be perceived as the 'conventions of the genre'. It can be argued that meeting expectations is what politeness is about. The analysis of the BB corpus will provide new insights into possible models of politeness in review writing. I will look at instances where reviewers meet their readers' expectations and instances where they deliberately flout politeness principles in order to fulfil a specific social aim. For example, they will avoid *bald on record* that is the first super-strategy listed by Brown and Levinson (1978) for the management of Face. They will do so because *bald on records* are direct, efficient utterances in terms of Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity which requires the speaker to provide as much information as necessary, but no more.

In this perspective, utterances should be to the point and avoid being long winded, so mitigation strategies would be considered unnecessary. However, because of the genre of the text under scrutiny, my assumption is that direct utterances will be very rare in the BB corpus. A lot of

language will be used to hedge and negotiate positions. Hence the social need to hedge and understate negative aspects of the book reviewed will impact the choice of politeness strategies.

The analysis of how expert members of the community of reviewers manage conflicting aims and opt for socially conditioned choices in reviews, will provide readers with recurring patterns of interaction that will become a model to imitate for novice writers who want to become proficient in the genre but also a precious tool for readers to be aware of hidden, subtle strategies at work to persuade readers of a claim for instance, between the lines of the text.

The knowledge of recurring patterns and common rhetorical strategies occurring in reviews will grant readers a choice. They may choose to go along and be teased by the reviewer, or, else, take a critical stance and distance from the text. This study will foster both the acquisition of expertise in review writing, focusing on key rhetorical strategies in this genre of text, but also text awareness of conventions, that are shaped by expert members of the community of writers - hence reviewers - as maintained by Bhatia (2004:20).

Bhatia (2004:20) argues that, in order to claim the status of experts, writers need not only generic knowledge, knowing the conventions of the genre, but also knowledge of the social context and pragmatic strategies appropriate for that context “Discourse as social practice functions within a much wider social space, where one may need social and pragmatic knowledge in order to operate effectively. ”

I hope that this study will add something to the social and pragmatic knowledge of this genre of text. Bhatia shows how expertise in a certain genre allows us to become agents of change in a specific professional genre. Genre is a dynamic concept. Writers tend to shape it, orienting genre towards their communicative needs. Now I will focus on the relevance of the present thesis for Media studies.

### **1.4.3. Media studies**

The present research may also impact media studies because apprentice journalists will benefit from key aspects of this study such as the awareness of the conventions of the review genre, the readers’ expectations and the reviewer’s potential in manipulating the planning and the writing of the text to convince the reader that their opinions are well argued, acceptable and shareable.

This research may support apprentice writers to develop a genre literacy in the writing of BRs, but also apprentice readers who are developing a genre literacy in identifying rhetorical strategies used by

broadsheet reviewers. Reviewers may create a text where they manipulate language to convince the reader of the validity of certain claims and involve readers in an argumentative process that comes to conclusions the reviewer wants readers to share. An awareness of the mechanisms and rhetorical strategies, vibrating through the review text, will allow readers more independence and critical thinking and therefore more possibilities to judge the review and take decisions about the biased or objective nature of the review text produced.

Evans (1972:56) discusses the criteria for choosing a suitable newspaper style and sums them up in four questions:

“1. Is it readable? 2.Does it save space? 3.Does it save time and materials? 4.Is it acceptable to the reader?”

What is crucial in determining a suitable newspaper style is mediated by patterns of interaction with readers. In other words, it is only through a negotiation of criteria of readability, efficiency, conciseness and acceptability with the addressee that we can establish what is appropriate for this genre of discourse.

If the reader has such a crucial role, it is necessary to encourage awareness in potential readers of reviews of recurring patterns of interaction, because this will benefit the quality of review writing for present and future generations of writers, not only in the English speaking world but also in geographical realities where English is used as a second language or as a press language, also by non-native speakers that could benefit from this study to gain a deeper awareness of the rhetorical evaluative patterns at work in these texts and necessary to create appropriate texts of this genre.

This research will also contribute to the ongoing pedagogical discussion about genre theory and its role in Genre teaching in a systemic functional perspective such as the one outlined by the work of the Australian school of Halliday (1978), Martin (1984) and Christie (1987,1999).

An exploration of the BR genre will allow readers to be more prepared to what to expect as readers, but also as writers of reviews. They will learn to plan their text and select rhetorical strategies, consistently chosen by reviewers in the writing of their texts, so I hope my research will contribute to offering a more detailed insight to media students interested in writing broadsheet reviews.

#### 1.4.4. Discourse and Corpus Linguistics Studies

This thesis concerns discourse studies and corpus linguistics as I will look at discourse, working mostly with paragraph of texts so above sentence level. As Taylor (2013:4) writes, discourse deals with “...the study of language and language use as evidence of aspects of society and social life.”

The present study regards how reviewers and readers interact socially in a specific genre of text namely broadsheet reviews, and what patterns of language use are repeated in this social interaction. Like discourse analysts, I focus on patterns of communication with an interdisciplinary approach that touches many branches of linguistics as shown in this chapter. Discourse analysts are interested in how speakers' interaction is shaped by social conventions. This study will research genre conventions, social constraints dictated by politeness and rhetorical evaluative strategies that, in turn, are determined by social conventions.

The means I use for this study is a corpus of reviews, therefore corpus linguistics is involved in the study, but corpus linguistics is not only a means but an approach as argued by McEnery and Hardie (2012). Traditionally corpus linguists study patterns in the data such as collocation and colligation. They focus on how distribution and frequency can impact the creation of a text. These are issues that will be discussed in this thesis, in relation to rhetorical evaluative strategies in BR.

I will show how BRers present recurring distributional patterns linked to evaluative purposes enacted in the genre BR. I will also highlight how frequency can be a very useful parameter to identify relevant evaluative patterns at work in the BR genre.

Here we come full circle.

I tried to argue for the importance of reviews as texts that exemplify the social nature of writing and therefore salient for genre studies. Then I argued for the importance of a pragmatic/discourse study of reviews as offering new models of politeness for written interaction, but also as a tool to foster text awareness and become proficient readers and writers of reviews. It follows that there could be pedagogical implications for this study because an analysis of the broadsheet is crucial to foster text awareness in readers, especially inexperienced ones. Thus, readers will be more aware of what the writer is doing with language, they will be able to follow the text through, identify the author's intention and make predictions about its unfolding.

An aware reader will be more critical towards the text and able to challenge the reviewer's ideas. This is particularly important in a world where written information flows in an 'unsupervised' way on virtual

highways and where education can no longer be bound to school or university walls. For instance, genre awareness is a key aspect of the syllabus in Italian Secondary schools where A' level students learn the features of texts from a genre perspective both in L1 and in English. The pedagogical thought underpinning this choice in the curriculum, is to prepare experienced readers that are trained to identify the writer's intentions and read texts in a critical way.

In the following section, I will illustrate the research questions that set my research process into motion.

### **1.5. Research questions**

In the previous sections, I introduced the threads that make up the present research. I would like to explain how they interweave, in order to provide an overview of the process undertaken in my research. I will start with a list of the questions that are worth exploring to gain an insight into evaluative strategies frequently occurring in the broadsheet review genre.

1. Is there evidence that book reviewers choose to locate evaluation within parts of the BR text?
2. Do evaluation strategies change according to the subgenre of reviews book reviewers are evaluating?
3. Do book reviewers tend to judge the book in a straightforward, direct way or do they privilege hedged evaluation?
4. Who or what do book reviewers judge when they write a broadsheet review?
5. Which interactional strategies would book reviewers choose in order to involve the reader in the text and in the judgement, they are expressing about the book reviewed?
6. What argumentation strategies do book reviewers use to persuade readers about the rightness of their claims?

These questions are relevant in linguistics because evaluation is a chief organizer of discourse as argued by Sinclair (1987; quoted in Hunston 2001:11). Evaluation is also a means to establish a good relationship with readers or speakers and to foreground the value system of a community as has been argued by Hunston (2001:6). If this is the case, it is then valuable to investigate how evaluative processes influence the relationship between broadsheet reviewers and readers and to what extent evaluative processes



shape texts and foster good interpersonal relationships within the community of broadsheet readers. Moreover, the exploration of these research questions appears also important from an applied linguistics viewpoint, as it can contribute to richer understandings of how language is used in the external world.

My claim is that this research has the potential to encourage critical thinking because readers who are aware of the rhetorical evaluative strategies unpinning texts, such as broadsheet reviews - are empowered readers who have the choice to go along with the broadsheet reviewer's attempt to persuade or simply read and understand the line of arguments presented, taking critical distance from the reviewer's claim.

This skill of critical reading and listening is of paramount importance in a society where decision makers often hide their persuasive and manipulative efforts behind sophisticated arguments in media discourse as CDA linguists would claim. Foregrounding evaluative rhetorical strategies aimed at persuasion is the first step towards the shaping of critical minds.

Given the widespread use of technology and the World Wide Web, reviews are becoming not only texts written by expert writers but also by users who can express their thoughts about books and contribute to the publisher's web page emailing their reviews. In order to express themselves in a public space like the Web, new generations will need to acquire certain skills and strategies. Awareness of strategies that make reviews effective, argumentatively sound and not biased will become a key asset for younger generations, the digital natives who seem not too familiar with the potential of argumentative writing and basic rules of good writing.

In my experience as a teacher, I have witnessed in the last ten years, youngsters who do not use punctuation, who avoid subordinate clauses and who are inclined towards a basic way of expressing their thoughts through a writing style that imitates the naïve superficiality of texting. My worry as an educator is that this superficial language hides a more serious concern which is that they have little interest in refining their cognitive abilities and reflective skills. Foregrounding examples of good practice - as I do in this thesis - by expert writers that are confident in the use of writing and thus shape the genre, as argued by Bhatia (2004), for future generations is a good strategy to empower digital natives with writing skills.

Last but not least, in a performance-oriented world where "savoir faire" is far more important than anything else, the ability to evaluate in a competent way and with an understanding of the outcomes of a negative critical evaluation is crucial. The analysis of the reviews from the BBC

provides excellent examples of the enormous potential of language in evaluating critically without offending the Face of our addressee. Such strategies are not only valuable in the maintenance of a good interpersonal rapport between broadsheet writers and authors, academic reviewers and scholars but also in everyday life when teachers evaluate students, headteachers evaluate teachers, trainers evaluate athletes, managers assess the work of their employees.

Balanced and well-argued evaluation could make our life in the community a more rewarding and enriching experience. This thesis shows a recipe for success that is set in the context of evaluating broadsheet reviews but whose fundamental principles are by no means confined to this context.

In the following chapters, I will attempt to answer the research questions. I will start from a preliminary study that offered further insight into the data and suggested the directions the current research was to take. But before delving into the matter further, it is important to outline how the thesis unfolds and how the present research has been structured.

## **1.6. Structure of the thesis**

In the previous sections, the main topic of my research was introduced: rhetorical evaluative strategies used by reviewers in BRs in four British papers: The Times Literary Supplement, the Guardian, The Independent and the Daily Telegraph. The corpus that has been compiled is called the British Broadsheet Corpus. It comprises 100 BRs that have been published over a span of three years between July 2013 and September 2016 in the four newspapers mentioned, as shown in the Classification sheet included Table A.2. on page 310.

The research questions work like stepping stones in outlining the path covered in the course of this research process.

I will now describe how the rest of my thesis is structured.

In Chapter Two, relevant linguistic theories for the analysis of broadsheet reviews will be reviewed. I will start with a genre, discourse and pragmatic perspective on BRs. I will highlight various perspectives on genre such as Swales and the academic discourse tradition. These traditions are relevant for the current research because of the emphasis they place on communicative purpose as the defining feature of genre.

I will then investigate various politeness models and reflect on the reasons why I decided to choose Brown and Levinson's (1987) Face-saving model as the one I would like to use in the current research.

Key concepts such as Face, Face-saving and Face-threatening acts, positive politeness, negative politeness, mitigation and redressing strategies are particularly relevant for the speech acts that reviewers are involved with, when planning a broadsheet review text. I will postulate hypotheses that will underpin the preliminary study.

In Chapter Three, I will describe the methodology used to conduct a preliminary study. I will illustrate the data selection criteria, collection and analysis for the preliminary study and explain how I compiled the British Broadsheet Corpus (BBC). I will draw on the Appraisal Theory by Martin and White (2005) to clarify key concepts such as Graduation, instrumental in the analysis of rhetorical evaluative strategies in BRs. At the end of the chapter, I will report on the findings and clarify how the preliminary study influenced the creation of analytical categories and research parameters for the coding and analysis of a larger corpus.

In Chapter Four, I will illustrate the analysis carried out on 72 reviews, which have been coded with the analytical categories tested in the preliminary study using NVivo. The parameters of Frequency, Distribution and Target, tested in the preliminary study, will be explained. The findings of a larger corpus suggested the relevance of investigating interactional strategies in the BB corpus, such as the use of metaphor as a hedging device and the use of the BUT clause as a privileged locus for evaluation. This analysis was done across the three subgenres in the BBC, Biography, History and Fiction. The argumentative nature of broadsheet review texts was also explored.

Chapter Five presents BRs as a form of argumentative discourse where claims are made with caution and opinions are carefully negotiated with the reader. Key interactional resources are investigated in the BUT Database in order to show how these resources become a fruitful tool to evaluate the book and the author enacting a whole range of Face-saving strategies. In the second part of the chapter, I will explore one discourse marker in particular - the conjunct BUT- that seems to offer a pivotal point for evaluation in the BBC texts.

Chapter Six presents some evaluative strategies at work in the BUT clause within the BUT Database. This database comprises all the utterances of BUT in the BBC and the clauses in which BUT occurs. I will look at the location of the BUT clause within the review text, the location of Praise and Criticism within the BUT clause and the choice of the Target of evaluation within the BUT clause. A comparison is made between the Target of evaluation in the BUT Database and in the BBC.

Chapter Seven explores the mitigating strategies used to soften criticism in the BUT clauses such as hedges, metaphors and quotations. The Frequency and function of hedges in the BUT Database have been

investigated and linguistic realizations for hedges have been identified. The Target of hedges and evaluation have been the focus of this chapter where a comparison between the Target of evaluation in the BUT Database and in the BBC has been presented. In this chapter, BRs are foregrounded as interpersonally oriented texts, where the establishment of a non-conflictual relationships with readers through language plays a vital role.

Chapter Eight, the final chapter, frames the thesis in the context of recent linguistic studies that range from CDA to globalization, from media to politeness studies. It also discusses possible pedagogical implications for this study and follows up possibilities in the research process. This chapter compares the current research with two seminal studies on evaluation of academic book reviews, namely Motta Roth (1998) and Hyland's (2004b). It also summarizes the general findings of this research and presents the recurring patterns of evaluation found in this study. In chapter 8, some reflections on how the findings can contribute to evaluation and politeness studies, are presented. At the end of the chapter, research areas that need further investigation are mentioned. I also present the limits and challenges of the current research and highlight possible future directions this research could take.

## **Chapter 2: Linguistic Approaches to the Broadsheet Review Genre**

### **2.1. Chapter overview: BRs in a discourse and pragmatic perspective**

The chapter opens with a discourse perspective on the broadsheet genre. Swales' analysis of genre as a communicative event will be used in order to investigate the most salient features of the genre broadsheet review and contrast it with other news genre as editorials and blurbs. I will then analyse reviews as argumentative texts using Toulmin's (1975) framework for argumentative patterns at work in texts.

Finally, I will outline the work of Brown and Levinson (1987), Fraser (1990), Grice (1975) and Leech (1974) on politeness and illustrate their relevance for the present study.

### **2.2. A discourse perspective on the broadsheet review genre**

I will now postulate my hypothesis about how genre can be seen as a goal-oriented activity that constrains textual choices and impacts both the crafting and the reading of texts. It can be argued that the purpose of the genre influences the author's textual choices in producing the BR and readers' expectations in receiving the text. Finally, I will make some further hypotheses on the evaluative function language takes on in the genre 'broadsheet review'. In the following chapters, these theoretical considerations will be tested against a corpus of online reviews I compiled, hereafter called the BBC corpus, that will be examined in terms of rhetorical evaluative strategies at work in this genre.

Swales (1990:45) defines genre as a communicative event. His definitions of genre include a list of five points and some comments. I will mention the points I believe relevant for the present analysis. He (1990:45) writes: "A genre is a class of communicative events. A communicative event is here conceived as comprising not only the discourse itself and its participants but also the role of that discourse and the environment of its production and reception, including its historical and cultural associations."

I will now attempt to develop Swales' (1990) definition in a series of points in order to outline the most salient features of the genre BR.

### **2.3. The communicative event ‘broadsheet review’**

When we think about genre as a communicative event, an activity type, we usually refer to a semiotic analysis of language that sees language as a system to exchange messages, and therefore it is useful to focus our attention on key aspects of the linguistic system: the sender of the message, the receiver, the message and the effect of the message on the addressee.

In the case of BR reviews, the sender will be an expert, a literary critic or a writer who chooses a written channel, the online press, to evaluate a new publication. Typically, the content of the message includes background information about the book and a judgement on the book read.

Reviewers might suggest reading or not reading a book. They may opt for straightforward praise of the book, followed by an exhortation to read the book, that could be conveyed in various ways, ranging from a direct imperative 'Read the book' to a more subtle way of recommending the book, enacted through an articulate argumentative process, where the act of reading may be portrayed as worthwhile.

Reviewers will motivate their choices, developing a discourse that will probably actualise an evaluative/ argumentative type of text. The effect they seek to produce on their receiver will be to persuade them of the reliability of their opinion. They may stimulate the reader's interest in the book reviewed or outline the book as not worth reading if they decide to evaluate the book in a negative way.

However, between these two polarities, of Praise at the one extreme and Criticism at the other, a whole gamut of nuances of evaluation are at the reviewer's disposal. This thesis will explore some of the choices made by BBC reviewers in their evaluation of the book reviewed.

#### **2.3.1. The situational context - where**

Since the BR is produced by an editorial office, it will share some of the production procedures of the newspaper article. The editorial staff will ask a journalist or a 'freelance' expert to read a book and to write a review. The expert will create a review that will be revised and modified by the 'copy editor', responsible for the final version of the text. Editors will choose the graphics, pictures to go with the text, and, if they like, captions. The title and the lead could be chosen by the expert or by copy editors as suggested by Bell (1991:35).

The BR is thus the outcome of a 'multiple authorship'. There is also an overlapping of text, graphics, titles, captions, and a lay out of the page that is the work of many. Reviewers will have to bear in mind the 'frame' in which their piece of writing will be placed. In the case of online BR, it

is a web page that can be browsed online by anybody who has access to a P.C and a connection to the Net. Typically, it is a page full of distractions, banners, ads, moving images.

BRers, like all journalists, will have chosen a sequence, an order in which their information units will appear in the review. What they consider more important will occur at the beginning of the article, in the 'lead' - which includes the opening and the first paragraphs. They will also have to think of the head, which introduces the content of their review, and of an appropriate coda to take leave of the reader, as suggested by Voglino et al (1994). It will be relevant to explore, in the chapters that follow, how the sequencing of paragraphs in BRs overlaps and interweaves with rhetorical evaluative strategies creating recurring distributional patterns in BRs.

### **2.3.2. The situational context - the register**

The situational context, in a systemic functional perspective, refers to the relationship between text and context, and the linguistic choices determined by register. Register is defined by Halliday (1978:31) as "the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associated with a situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context."

A register is constituted by the linguistic features which are typically linked with a configuration of situational features- with particular values of the field, mode and tenor. These contextual features stem from three macro-functions (ideational, interpersonal and textual) of language.

The 'field', which is defined by Halliday (1978:31) as "what the language is being used to talk about." BRers use language in order to judge and evaluate publicly the work of somebody else, using a powerful means of communication, the online press.

The 'tenor' concerns "the role relationships between the interactants." According to Poyton (1985), 'tenor' embraces three dimensions: 'power, contact, and affective involvement'.

I will now analyse Poyton's dimensions within the BR genre. In the case of BRs, it seems that there is a hierarchical relationship between reviewer and reviewee, in the sense that reviewers have a position of power, since they have the authority to express a judgement on the work of the author. Bolivar (1985:303) notes how in editorials "The reader endows the writer with the authority to make evaluations and quite justifiably also expects some recommendations." However, the following

chapters will show that readers do also have power, despite the apparent lack of voice in the BR text.

The contact between reader and reviewer could be frequent in the case of readers who read the reviews every week, or occasional, when the reading occurs only rarely. The emotional involvement on the part of the reviewer might be low, as the arguments backing up their judgement will be based on rational criteria, not on emotional ones. However, there might be also an affective involvement because reviewers are presenting their personal response to a written work. It can be argued that they are reacting to the book both as experts in the field, and as human beings, endowed with opinions, feelings and subjective views on the work reviewed.

The 'mode' concerns: "the role language is playing in the interaction". In analysing the language used, it is useful to consider what Martin (1984) calls 'spatial-interpersonal and experiential distance among participants'. BRs are a form of written communication without visual or auditory contact among participants and with hardly any chance of immediate feedback, even though a reader might decide to comment on a review, sending, for example, an e-mail to the reviewer.

As far as experiential distance is concerned, in reviews, language seems to play the main role, as not only does it accompany a social process, but it also creates it. It is through language that reviewers build their argument and articulate their judgement. In terms of written language, according to Eggins (1994:57), the 'mode' of reviews will have the following features: "monologic organisation, context independent, synoptic structure, rhetorical staging, closed and finite, polished, prestige lexis, standard grammar, grammatical simplicity, lexically dense."

I will show to what extent BRs appear as dialogic rather than monologic texts and the wide range of interactional strategies at work in the BBC in Chapter 5, where I will mainly concentrate on key rhetorical strategies used to interact with the reader.

Another reason why Swales' definition of genre is particularly relevant for this study, is the connection Swales makes between genre and goals. In Swales' words, (1990:46) "The principal criterial feature that turns a collection of communicative events into a genre is some shared set of communicative purposes. The decision is based on the assumption that, except for a few interesting and exceptional cases, genres are communicative vehicles for the achievement of goals."

Sharing communicative aims is a key element of genre. The text producer and the receiver will have to share certain assumptions about the purpose that a text genre has in specific communicative event. It is therefore valuable to analyse the concepts of 'aim' and 'sharing' within the BR communicative event.



### 2.3.3. Sharing an aim

#### 2.3.3.1. The aim

Aim is a key concept in genre studies because genre, in an SFL perspective, is mainly perceived as a goal-oriented activity. Writing a text stems primarily from the need to fulfil an aim. It is therefore useful to return to Martin's (1984:25) definition of genre as "how to things get done, when language is used to accomplish them."

These words suggest an idea of language as a series of speech acts with a locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary value that stems from Austin's theory of speech acts. Oversimplifying Austin's (1962) theory, it can be argued that the speaker uses language to make some statements about the real world but, probably, they also use language to change the circumstances of the real world through their speech act, and, thereby have a perlocutionary effect on the text receiver.

In the BR genre, the text producer writes a review to inform readers about the publication of a book, but they might also want to influence their judgement and to induce them to purchase or not to purchase a cultural product as suggested by North (1992:358). Thus, language is used as an action tool to pursue a certain aim. Reviews are argumentative acts since reviewers are presenting their opinion about a book and a series of arguments to support their thesis. According to Lo Cascio (1991:61), the aims of an argumentative text could be:

- a. define the position of a speaker towards a possible problem;
- b. act as a heuristic procedure to find out and formulate, through the analysis of certain data, a personal opinion that through the process of argumentation, is made clear to ourselves and to others;
- c. communicate to other speakers our own judgement accompanied by arguments that can prove its validity.

In the broadsheet review genre, reviewers will employ an argumentative-evaluative discourse. They will present their opinion through argumentation and, at the same time, they will use argumentation to evaluate the work of the author and certain aspects of the book.

The reviewers' argumentative process will support their interpretation and back up their evaluation. Reviewers will present their opinion as a claim. They will structure their argumentation in a rational and coherent way to convince their audience of the validity of their claims.

### 2.3.3.2. The sharing

The protagonists of this interaction, namely the writing and the reading of the broadsheet review, are the producer and the receiver who will have to reach a degree of consensus about the aim of the genre 'BR review'. It is therefore necessary to clarify the intentions of the writer and the expectations of the receiver. I will attempt to do so, bearing in mind the concepts of intentionality and acceptability, as formulated within the model of text analysis developed by de Beaugrande and Dressler.

De Beaugrande and Dressler (1994:18) define the text as "A communicative occurrence that satisfies seven conditions of textuality" among which I will mention intentionality, acceptability and intertextuality because they are relevant to the current study. Intentionality is defined as "... The attitude of a text producer who wants to create a cohesive and coherent text capable of satisfying his intentions, that is to say, spread knowledge or reach the specific aim of a project." (De Beaugrande and Dressler: 1994:22-23)

Acceptability regards readers' demands in terms of cohesiveness and coherence. Readers expect a text that will increase their knowledge and require their co-operation to a project. Thus, text receiver and producer must reach a consensus about the project that led to the production of the text. Reaching a consensus will also depend on the receiver's intertextual competence. Readers have a memory of text types; a memory that, in the interpretation of a text, will allow them to recall texts of the same type, their formal features, rhetorical strategies, the textual aim, and the conventions that, through centuries, have created some expectations linked to a specific text genre. As Hyland (2004b:61) writes, concerning the analysis of academic publications reviews in various disciplines "Each review is an instance of an established but evolving genre which draws on participants' previous experience of that genre." Key elements in deciding whether a text belongs to a genre will therefore be: participants and their opinion about the communicative aim of a text.

At this stage, I would like to postulate a hypothesis about the textual purpose and the range of functions language will play in the BR genre. In the attempt to analyse the functions that language can take on in this genre, I will use the model proposed by Leech (1974).

According to Leech (1974:67), a communicative event is not characterised by one function only but by an overlapping of functions. When language is used to convey information, we talk about informative function. If we aim at expressing the speaker's attitude and feelings, we talk about expressive function. However, Leech maintains, at times, it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between the expressive and the directive function in the sense Austin and Searle (1962:101) gave to the term. It is

hard to decide whether the speaker is expressing his opinion or is trying to influence the behaviour and attitude of his addressees.

If the attention is on how a message is structured, on lexical and grammatical choices made, we are moving within the realm of the aesthetic function. If, on the other hand, we are interested in how language is used to keep the channel open, we will talk about phatic function.

Jakobson (edited by Mouton: 1985:113) stresses how the phatic function does not only concern the establishing of a physical contact between the speaker and the listener but also a “psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and to stay in communication.” What is crucial is the idea of being willing to remain in contact throughout the utterance. It is relevant to point out that Mouton (1985:117) notes how the phatic function is the only communicative function shared with the animal world and with infants. Both talking birds use it and babies who focus on the need to keep in touch with their interlocutor through babbling before being actually able to utter any words that make sense.

The recurring role of the phatic function highlights its centrality in communication. In any verbal and non-verbal exchange, participants want to be listened to. My claim is that the phatic function has a predominant role in the written exchange between reviewers and readers. My contention is that broadsheet writers are involved in a communicative act where the actual tending of Face, the choice of hedging strategies, the attempt to pursue a cogent line of argument are mainly an attempt to keep the channel open, to make sure readers are willing to go on reading and accepting the roles the reviewer assigns to them as the reading process unfolds.

It can be argued that the phatic function doesn't simply imply that the addressee can hear us. I am not referring to channel in the strictly physical meaning of the term. I am referring to a receiver who is willing to listen to us, not reticent. When I use the word 'phatic' in this thesis, I will refer to the hearer's desire not to divorce letters from meaning, but the willingness to understand and accept the message.

The text producer will use language to give some information about what is new in the publishing world, the features of the book, the plot, characters, style. Apart from the informative function, the reviewer will activate an expressive function that, as Bühler maintains, is focused on the first person 'I'. The viewpoint of the sender is at the centre of the communicative event.

It can be argued that the text producer, the reviewer, will present a subjective process of interpretation that will have to be corroborated by arguments in the attempt to persuade the addressee. Thus, language will

take on a directive function because readers will share reviewers' viewpoint in the argumentative process. They will answer their rhetorical questions and become active participants in the written dialogue where the use of the pronoun 'we' and the possessive 'our' outline a leading role for the receiver.

One of the aims of the author of the review is to influence readers' opinions. Being experts in the genre, reviewers will select certain generic structures, they will develop their arguments in a convincing and skilful way, making careful, deliberate choices at the levels of syntax, lexis and discourse that are functional to the backing of their own claims.

Reviewers will also pay attention to phatic communication as defined above. They will seek an indirect, not one-sided way of expressing their opinions and to make them acceptable to their audience. They will not run the risk that the reader stops reading and closes the channel of communication. Certain linguistic and rhetorical devices will be thoroughly selected to ensure a mitigated, acceptable viewpoint on the book is constantly kept and conflict is avoided.

I will explore the frequency of these rhetorical and linguistic devices and the linguistic means used to convey mitigation in the BB corpus in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 of the thesis. At this stage, I will frame BRs in the context of press language.

## **2.4. BRs in the context of press genres**

BRs will now be compared to other press genres such as editorials and blurbs. The comparison with news discourse is relevant because reviews share the context of publication with the news. Broadsheets reviews belong to the broader category of news discourse as they are published in a broadsheet that will host news articles, financial news, obituaries, advertising, and editorials. For example, BRs, like newspaper articles, must be concise because they are located within a publication, the broadsheet newspaper, where every article is allotted a certain space. Hence the need to adjust the length of the text to occupy the space assigned by the editorial board to each publication.

Recency might be another common feature broadsheet newspaper articles and editorials share. Reviews will concern books just published, just as news articles will report about events just happened and editorials will comment on facts of the day. I believe that it is precisely in contrasting BRs with similar genres that the key features of the genre will start emerging and the recurring patterns of BRs will be foregrounded. Hence, I hope a deeper understanding of this genre of text will be gained.

In the literature review on press language, a seminal study is Bell's (1991) work on the language of news reports. Crystal and Davy (1969)

studied newspaper articles and how quality papers and tabloids differ. Carter (1988) investigated the subjective nature of front-page articles in tabloids. Van Dijk (1997) focused on the argumentative structure of editorials while Bolivar's (1994) interest was on distributional patterns of evaluation in editorials. Biber and Finegan (1989) studied registers of formality in British editorials. Vestergaard (2000) identified report and comment as the two distinctive characteristics of editorials. Ghadessy (1988) researched sport commentary.

I will start with Bolivar's (1994) work on editorials and then I will move on to Gea Valor's (2005) analysis of blurbs. Bolivar (1994) analysed 23 editorials from *The Guardian* and detected a three-part structure that resembles the two- or three-part exchange we meet in face to face interaction. She developed a model with three structural elements: The Lead, Follow and Valuate. Since the model has three elements, Bolivar called it triad. Bolivar (1985:343-344) observes a specific function for each turn. The lead introduces the topic of the editorial while the follow offers more details about the topic dealt with. The Valuate, instead, is the part where the journalist evaluates offering his opinion and conclusions about the facts presented in the other two sections.

Bolivar (1994:280) identifies evaluation as the key feature of the third turn in the structure of the editorial. In her words "While all turns may make evaluations, a particular status attaches to the Valuate: it ends the smallest communicative cycle with an evaluation." Bolivar's three-part structure will also be adopted in the present analysis, but it will be slightly reworked. The reviews in the BBC will be coded with the software NVivo and divided into three sections called the Opening, the Body and the Close. In coding the corpus, each review has been divided in these three sections.

This division seems particularly suitable for opinion texts, such as reviews and editorials, where an argumentative discourse underpins the text. Both in editorials and reviews, readers expect an introduction which Bolivar calls Lead, and I will call Opening where some information about the book is provided, such as hints about the plot for Fiction or the author's perspective on events for History books. The Body of the review, Bolivar's Follow, introduces and develops the reviewer's opinion on the book. Here information and evaluation may overlap. The closing, Bolivar's Valuate, ends the review and the editorial. Bolivar confines opinion-giving to this section. It will be interesting to explore, in the chapters that follow, whether evaluation in the BBC is limited to Closings or if it pervades the whole text.

The analytical advantage of this division is that in coding texts I will identify immediately, running a query in NVivo, the distributional patterns

of rhetorical evaluative strategies because the nodes in NVivo have been named Praise Opening, Praise Body and Praise Close. Detecting the Frequency of a distributional patterns could be the first step in exploring interesting patterns also in terms of target. I will also be able to make a connection between the frequency of a certain analytical category for example Praise and a privileged target of Praise for instance Praise of the Author in a specific section of the text.

Both Motta Roth (1998) and Bolivar (1994) envisage a distributional pattern of evaluation where information gradually gives way to evaluation in the last part of the text. It will be relevant to see to what extent this concentration of evaluation towards the end of the editorial applies to the BR in the BB corpus as well. Bolivar (1985:343-344) also detected a difference in the writer's stance in the three turns of the editorial. Both the Lead and the Valuate represent more definite attitudes. The Follow is there like a mediator, a sort of cushion or transition towards the terminal evaluation. It looks as if editorial writers avoid giving evaluations in a straightforward manner. The Follow works as hedging space that prepares for blunter, final evaluation.

This point is quite relevant also for BR analysis. Bearing in mind the preliminary remarks made on Face saving strategies and rhetorical strategies to dilute Criticism highlighted in the first chapter, both editorial and BR writers share this social convention to avoid offending the interlocutor, that could be argued, is embedded in opinion genres. This convention prevents writers from being direct and offensive. It pushes them to opt for hedged rather than straight-forward criticism.

It is now relevant to move from the rhetorical organization of editorials and reviews to the linguistic devices adopted to convey these rhetorical strategies. A good starting point is the analysis of which markers of evaluation were included by Bolivar. In her editorial analysis, Bolivar (1985:336) focused on markers such as logical conclusers, *therefore/so* that tend to occur in valuates. She also analysed the use of discourse adjuncts such as *but, nor, and*. She found that BUT is rarely used in the lead, very common in the follow and quite common in the Valuate. I will now outline the characteristics of the editorial. Finally, some similarities and differences between editorials, broadsheets and blurbs will be drawn. This analysis will offer the reader a clearer picture of the defining characteristics of broadsheets as opposed to other pieces of press language that are hosted in the same publication - the broadsheet newspaper.

On an intuitive level, it can be predicted that unlike editorials, reviews are not assessing facts, they are not the official voice of the paper commenting events. However, BRs may contain overt markers of persuasion, just like editorials, to give force to the reviewer's claims. In a

similar way, reviews are likely to share the opinion-based, subjective and argumentative nature of editorials.

Vestergaard (2000) notes how the editorial plays a key role within the opinion material because it is printed under the paper's name and logo and represents the paper's voice addressing the audience. Therefore, both content and linguistic choices differentiate these two types of news discourse. Vestergaard (2000: 157;161) presents some of the features of the editorial such as: the occurrence of unattributed, expressly evaluative illocutions but also argumentation. He explains the presence of argumentation thus "One of the reasons why leaders tend to be argumentative is that their main concern is to pronounce opinions about current events." Moreover, editorials are typically more subjective because they express an opinion. As Iedema et al (1994) argued, news reports show low personal involvement of the authorial voice because reports are supposed to be objective, while explicitly evaluative texts have a higher degree of subjectivity.

I will now focus on the features of the editorial in more depth because both reviews and editorials are focused on opinion giving rather than fact reporting that is a prerogative of the news article. The editorial, also called leading article or reader, is defined by Westin (2002:7) as "a newspaper article expressing the opinion of the editor or publisher of the newspaper on some topical issue." In terms of register, the editorial that has traditionally been associated with a formal register, is evolving into a more informal register as highlighted by Biber and Finegan (1989). They show how the language of British upmarket newspaper editorials has shifted to more informal styles. They found an increase in the frequency of markers of personal involvement such as present tense verbs, not negations, questions, imperatives and contractions. Editorials are becoming more informal and more embedded in rhetoric. Biber (1988:148) also found "overt markers of persuasion in editorials."

It can be argued that informality and the intention to convince readers are connected, because an apparent familiarity in the register may be a strategy to bring readers closer and make of them an easier target to draw into one's argument and viewpoints. Editorials, just like BRs, present an interactional nature where the reader is a privileged interlocutor. In both editorials and BRs, readers are called into the argumentation as active participants to whom the nature of discourse is promptly signalled.

I will now turn to another genre of evaluative texts, blurbs, to carry out a contrastive analysis that will outline common features and differences between blurbs and BRs. Blurbs share many of the features of broadsheet language such as a direct appeal to the reader and a directive

use of language aimed at eliciting a certain response in the reader. However, blurbs are different from broadsheets because their main concern is to promote a publication and encourage readers to purchase the book presented. Gea Valor (2005) studied the features of the blurb and concluded that “Blurbs perform an informative function based on the description of the contents of a book. But this function is secondary to their persuasive purpose, characteristic of advertising discourse, because blurbs recommend the book by means of review extracts from various sources in an attempt to persuade the prospective reader to buy the 'product'”.

Gea Valor (2005) is not the first scholar to detect the promotional aspect of blurbs that has also been noted by Bhatia (1997:190). Bhatia (2004:170) explored the features of blurbs from a multi-dimensional and multi-perspective outlook on texts. For the academic book blurb, Bhatia envisages a communicative purpose that is the description and evaluation of the book in order to influence the future actions, attitudes and judgements of the readers. The situation type requires the message to be brief, effective and adequate to fit the constraints of the book jacket. The content is deeply dependent on the subject matter of the book. However, Bhatia makes assumptions about the presence of descriptive elements. As far as the participants are concerned, the blurb might be written either by the author of the book or the publisher or maybe both contribute to blurb writing. In terms of lexis, Bhatia (2004:171) notes an overwhelming use of positive adjectives and he concludes that the blurb is predominantly promotional in its communicative objectives.

Bhatia (2004:171) also claims that there are recurring moves in the blurbs that are: *Headline/ Establishing the Field /Appraising the book / Previewing the book/ Indicating value of the book /Describing the book /Targeting the market/Establishing credentials*. Hence the blurb is likely to open placing the book within a certain genre. An opinion about the book will follow where some information about the plot will be disclosed. A judgement on the book will enrich the blurb together with a more detailed description of its content, the audience targeted by the author and the presentation of the author's credentials.

Gea Valor (2005), like Bhatia, detects a promotional nature in blurbs and claims that blurbs share linguistic features of advertising English because their ultimate goal is persuasion. Information is only a means to reach a promotional end. In Harris and Seldon's words (1962: 74, quoted by Vestergaard & Schröder, 1985: 5) “advertising [is] frankly and legitimately persuasive, but [...] it persuade[s] by being informative.”

Gea Valor (2005) investigates the structure of blurbs. She traces a recurring distributional pattern of moves where blurbs open with a



descriptive move that analyses the content of the book, an evaluative move follows where only positive review excerpts are used to praise the qualities of the book. The blurb ends with the presentation of the professional background of the author. This move frames the author as a successful professional that is bound to deliver an excellent book.

In terms of language, what is interesting is that blurbs tend to imitate the brief, concise and efficient nature of slogans and headlines. Their main aim is to catch the reader's attention. In terms of function, in blurbs, language is mainly used to compliment. The target of compliments may be the book in general or a specific aspect of the book, the style for instance, that is frequently praised in Gea Valor's (2005) corpus that comprises 60 blurbs. What is also often praised, is the rewarding nature of the reading experience that is consistently quoted in the review extracts selected for the blurbs.

The language of blurbs is full of superlatives, intensifying adverbs and positive adjectives but also some instances of hedging are present through the use of the adverb 'probably' or the expression 'one of'. The point of softening praise is, in Diez Arroyo's (1998:248) view, an *éscamotage* to fake modesty in order to become more credible to the eyes of the audience. Pretending to be modest, the writer of the blurb becomes more reliable and less biased in the reader's eye.

In blurbs, another way to manipulate readers and to bring them closer to the writer's view is the use of elliptical syntax. Like headlines and slogans, some verbs occur without subjects. This means that the reader must draw inferences and read between the lines. This is possible only when we are engaged in a conversation with intimates. We know our interlocutors so well that explaining is not required. This is an effective strategy to fake familiarity in this genre of text. Moreover, we listen to family and easily come to share their views.

As Goddard (1998:107) states "speakers who know each other well don't need to be all that explicit about their meanings, because they know the other person will fill in the gaps as a result of shared knowledge and shared history." It can be argued that the creation of this illusion may be instrumental for blurb writers because they are outlining an ideal reader that is compliant with their viewpoints and will be easily convinced to buy the book promoted. A similar reader may be envisaged in BRs, as will be shown later in the thesis.

Fairclough (1994:50) highlights the boundless power of writers in media discourse "producers exercise power over consumers in that they have sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and excluded, how events are represented and even the subject positions of their audiences." This last point is particularly relevant for this study

and not only for blurb writing. Both in blurbs and BR, writers use texts to create their own world. They decide what and who belong to this world and outline the position of their audiences. For instance, if they use an imperative, they are outlining a compliant reader who is ready to follow the directive given, if a rhetorical question is asked, the writer's assumption is that the reader will have some shared knowledge that makes the question rhetorical. In other words, no answer is expected but just a reflection on some aspects mentioned in the text produced. Interactional strategies in BR will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5 of the thesis.

It is now relevant to investigate to what extent the BR genre shares similar features with the blurb genre.

On an intuitive level, it can be said that the review has a different communicative purpose from the blurb, that is informing and evaluating the book rather than merely promoting it. It follows that quotations may be extensively used but not only positive ones, since a balanced evaluation is the main communicative purpose of the BR genre, as claimed by North (1992). Complimenting may as well be one of the main communicative functions of language in BRs, but it will be joined by criticism in order to provide an unbiased and objective feedback on the book.

Hedging praise both in blurbs and in BRs may have the same purpose, namely providing a flair of objectivity, however being concise and efficient may not be priorities for BRers who will be engaged in a more complex and articulate line of argumentation to prove their opinions are sound and well-argued.

BRers will be more preoccupied with offering a sound argumentative line rather than mere complimenting the author and the book, even though some elements of praise of the author, the style and a global judgement on the book will also be part of a BR text.

These are only intuitive, preliminary considerations that will be substantiated by a more analytical look at the data in the following chapters of the thesis where the BB corpus will be explored in more detail in terms of rhetorical strategies and linguistic devices at work in the BR genre.

I will now analyse BRs from an argumentative perspective.

## **2.5. An argumentative perspective on the BR genre**

In this section, the most prominent features of BR as argumentative texts will be highlighted using Toulmin's (1975) model.

One of the main claims of this thesis is that broadsheet reviews are

argumentative texts where one of the organizational principles underpinning discourse is the concern to justify the judgement presented about the book read. As Jordan (2000) argues, in reviews of products or aesthetic phenomena, the entire review text functions as a justification of the evaluation of the product. This justification tends to be framed within argumentation.

My initial hypothesis is that reviews belong to the macro genre: argumentative text. According to Toulmin (1975), argumentation has a justifying function. The opinion proposed in the argumentation is a 'Claim', a request, since the speaker tries to obtain, almost expects the addressees' consensus. In order to convince their addressee, the speaker will use six categories or argumentative functions, of which, three, 'Thesis', 'Arguments' and 'Warrant' are compulsory while 'Source', 'Qualifier' and 'Reserve' are optional.

What do BRers have to justify?

They may want to justify their opinions since they are writing about their views on the book and not facts as it happens in news reports. They may be interested in offering a justification, a backing for their claims, especially if they are presenting a negative review of the book.

I will now attempt to clarify the meaning of these categories as defined by Toulmin. The arguments, called by Toulmin 'Data', are the facts, the evidence that we have at our disposal about a certain matter. The 'Thesis', corresponds to the claim of the text producer, while the 'Warrant' concerns the "warrants or general rules on the basis of which, if you have certain arguments or 'data' you can back up or justify certain thesis or opinions." Warrants are the pillars on which the argumentation rests.

The 'Source' or 'Backing' concerns further texts that back up the arguments proposed, for example the use of quotations to support a claim in the argumentative process. The 'Qualifier' is the element that characterises, providing a frame of reference, the thesis presented. It can coincide with the area of modality. The 'Reserve' or 'Rebuttal' concerns the information that leads to conclusions different from those reached. They are expressed choosing, for example, a modal to make the conclusion more explicit. I will investigate to what extent and in what ways Toulmin's categories are used in the BB Corpus in Chapter 5. I will now turn to another key aspect of this research: politeness.

## 2.6. An overview of politeness theories

Studies on politeness that are of key importance for the present research will now be reviewed. Then pragmatic variables at work in the BR genre will be discussed. The discussion on politeness that follows is not intended to be a comprehensive review on the subject, but only to identify issues that are relevant for the current research.

One of the first studies on pragmatic competence was carried out by R. Lakoff, (1973).

Lakoff, R. (1979) identified a tension between the two main rules of pragmatic competence, namely: be clear and be polite. These two rules are not always compatible and could be mutually exclusive. For example, in review writing, at times clarity will be hard to reconcile with politeness. Uttering a clear, straightforward, unhedged opinion about the book reviewed may result in impolite verbal behaviour. Therefore, the reviewer may deliberately choose to sacrifice clarity and resort to fuzzy language, for instance, in the pursuit of politeness.

Cherry (1988a:66) reports on three maxims identified by R. Lakoff which can govern polite behaviour: formality, hesitancy and equality.

The first maxim has to do with the level of formality and can be explained with the need not to impose and to remain aloof. The second has to do with hesitancy and implies the necessity to allow the addressee his/her options. While the third has to do with Equality, that is to say the need to treat the addressee as equal and make them feel at ease.

BR reviewers seem to comply with Cherry's (1988a) maxims because they are cautious not to impose their views. They are hesitant, in the sense that they opt for mitigation rather than clear-cut, direct utterances that may offend their interlocutors. BR reviewers also treat the addressee as equal because they start argumentative processes where the interlocutor is addressed not only as a peer, but also as a potential accomplice, as it will be shown in Chapter 5 and 6.

At this stage, it is relevant to detail Brown and Levinson's study because their insights will be used extensively in this thesis.

Brown and Levinson (1987:66) based their study on politeness strategies in conversations on the notion of face that is defined thus "derived from Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated or losing face." Face relates to emotional investment. It can be lost, maintained, enhanced and must be constantly tended in any written and spoken interaction.

Just as R. Lakoff, Brown and Levinson (1987) explored maxims

that seemed to regulate polite behaviour. They identified recurring variables that were bound to determine how Face is distributed among participants. I will report their findings and will presently investigate how these variables may work in the interaction between BRs, readers and authors.

Brown and Levinson (1978) traced three variables at work namely:

- a) social distance between participants;
- b) power relations;
- c) the weightiness of any impositions they are negotiating.

Brown and Levinson (1978:81-82) define social distance as "a symmetric dimension of similarity/difference...based on an assessment of the frequency of interaction and the kinds of material and non-material goods (including face) exchanged between Speaker and Hearer."

In BRs, there is a huge social distance between the participants, because authors and reviewers probably do not know each other. Generally speaking, in news discourse, the readership is wide and not clearly defined, even if the "typical" audience for British broadsheets is the object of study of many surveys so it can be outlined, as highlighted in Chapter 1, frequency of interaction would be low.

Secondly, in terms of exchange among participants, there will be an assessment of the author's work, an attempt to share views and opinions with a compliant reader and a big verbal and rhetorical investment on tending to Face, because this aspect is bound to determine the success or failure of review writing and reading.

In other words, looking after the author's Face means complying with social respect and politeness principles, and similarly tending to the reader's Face means keeping the channel of communication open in Leech's (1974) terms, and succeeding in conveying the message - the reviewer's opinion about the book. Conversely, the lack of this Face tending would entail public offence and lead to the reader stopping reading the review.

The second variable identified by Brown and Levinson (1978:82) is power defined as an "asymmetric social dimension of relative power" and it involves "the degree to which Hearer can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation (Face) at the expense of the Speaker's plan and self-evaluation or vice versa."

In the case of BRers, reviewers have the platform to impose both their own view and their way of staging their opinions in the text, therefore they are in an extremely powerful position. However, the reader may decide to stop reading if the writing is biased, patronizing and ignoring the

addressee. Hence it is important to find strategies that involve the reader in the actual writing of the text and in the way that arguments are presented to the reader.

It follows that reviewers' writing is likely to be constrained by the author's and the reader's quiet but authoritative presence for the reasons just mentioned. Etiquette, social conventions and expectations are there to overlap and interact with the reviewer's voice.

Weightiness of imposition involves, according to Brown and Levinson (1978:82) "the degree to which they [impositions] are considered to interfere with an agent's wants of self-determination or approval." It will be interesting to explore, in the following chapters, not only the level of imposition the reviewer is exercising both on the reader and on the author of the book but also to what extent the impositions may interfere with the fulfilment of the addressees' desire to be approved.

It can be argued that reviewers in the BB corpus move on a continuum of imposition which ranges from an extreme of overt criticism of the book and, at the other extreme, enthusiastic praise. In between there are various nuances that include hedged praise or softened criticism. These nuances will be skilfully exploited for successful and expert review writing. My hypothesis is that the greater the expertise of the reviewer, the more varied will be the nuances of impositions deployed as argued by Bhatia (2004).

Since reviewers are asked by the editorial office of the broadsheet to write a review, it can be assumed that they are considered to be authoritative writers on the review topic. Hence their expert status. They may be knowledgeable about the topic of the book reviewed for History and Biography reviews, or they may be literary experts of a certain novelist, for Fiction reviews.

My claim is that it is exactly their expert status that made them eligible for the role of review writers. If this is the case, the consequence is that the BBC will be prolific in terms of nuances of evaluation that swing between harsh criticism and enthusiastic praise. The following chapters will show whether the hypothesis postulated will find a validation in the data.

Brown and Levinson (1987) maintain that the greater the social distance is, the more polite speakers will be. The more powerful the Hearer, the more polite the speaker, the greater the imposition represented by the speech act, the more polite the wording of the speech act. If this is the case, we are likely to be confronted with a genre of text - the broadsheet review- extremely rich in terms of politeness strategies. To move a step further, if the variables signal a fertile ground for politeness, what resources are available for the writer to stage the politeness strategies

this speech act requires?

This question will be explored in the following chapters.

I will now look in more detail at the key role played by politeness conventions in BRs texts. A pragmatic outlook on broadsheets will be presented. In this perspective, broadsheets become a site where writing is embedded in social practices. Interactants must comply with certain rules such as mutual respect, intellectual honesty and a balanced evaluation of the book. Achieving balance in evaluation requires the use of linguistic resources such as hedges and understatement in order to dilute criticism for instance, and provide a negative evaluation, that does not appear impolite, and therefore is acceptable in a public genre.

When reviewers praise or criticize in BRs, the author's Face could be threatened, for instance when the reviewer expresses a negative opinion about the book. The reader's Face is also at risk when the reviewer presents a judgement in a categorical way, without offering a cogent line of argumentation, because the public may perceive the review as biased and not worth reading.

Reviews are a public space where the author and their work are evaluated in a medium, the broadsheet, that reaches a wide, anonymous, not easily defined audience. Given these contextual variables, Face comes to be a very important concept to bear in mind when reviewers plan their texts. I will investigate the concept of Face defined by Brown and Levinson (1987:66) as a person's public self-image "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction."

Reviewers experience a paradoxical situation because they are suspended between readers' expectation to offer judgement and the risk to be socially offensive or inappropriate in providing evaluation. My claim is that neglecting politeness demands in this genre of text, broadsheet reviews, could have the consequence of causing public offence to the author. We may share the view that this effect is not welcome in the review genre in our culture.

Both in the academic world and in broadsheet reviews what is at stake is the reputation of the author of the academic book and/or the novel and the relationship with readers that could be based on solidarity rather than conflict. Ignoring politeness demands would probably result in a conflictual relationship with the reader where consent is not sought, and readers may feel discouraged from proceeding with their reading of the review. It can be argued that both academic readers and the general public may feel intruded upon and manipulated by a reviewer's textual voice that

sounds too assertive, one sided and biased. By contrast, opting for a hedged reviewer's voice allows both academic and broadsheet reviewers to create that space for common ground and consent that is conducive to the creation of dialogic texts where the implied reader becomes a friendly presence that is willing to follow the reviewer's line of argument and share the conclusions reached. It can be argued that the reason why reviews are written in the first place is to persuade the reader of the rightness of one's claims.

The very function of the BR text is to express judgement but, at the heart of the BR genre, there are social constraints that regulate the expression of this judgement in a soft, socially acceptable way. It follows that reviewers will need strategies that enable them to save Face in a context where the purpose of the text is to evaluate and judge. The present study will explore these evaluative strategies and highlight reviewers' efforts to attend to Face.

North (1992:350) looked at reviews from the perspective of the reviewer and complained about the little time reviewers have to complete their review, the scarce guidelines and support provided by the editorial staff of the journal. He reports that the only clear guidelines he could find about review writing came from the MLA Style Manual that recommended the following "At its best, a book review is both informative and evaluative, describing the book's contents and assessing its significance, accuracy and cogency. Reviewers, given little space must take particular care to present a balanced examination of the case."

Reviewers are expected to provide both information and evaluation. Readers expect to find a description of the contents of the book, but also an evaluation of the book through a coherent, detailed and meaningful argumentation. Conciseness is an asset for reviewers because they are often granted a small place within the journal or newspaper that hosts the review.

It could be argued that balance is expected, not only in the sense of providing information about both positive and negative aspects of the book, but also offering an evaluation that is nuanced and not overtly negative or too complimentary. The first may offend both the author's Face and the reader's Face because addressees will feel imposed on and not respected. The second option may be perceived as intellectually dishonest because as, Gea Valor (2005) points out, reviews are different from blurbs.

Given the social complexity of review texts, North (1992:355) argues that reviewers may opt for writing 'safe reviews', meaning reviews that do not offer a negative feedback on the book, because they are presenting opinions and not truths. Caution is desirable for two reasons:



North's idea of the reviewer as a solo performer and the problem that the audience is hard to define. North sees reviews as tricky texts with an ambiguous function. Arguments are presented about texts that readers have not read for an indeterminate purpose. Do reviewers guide readers through the reading process or are they encouraging them to buy a book? North (1992:358) concludes that no answer can be definite and what is desirable is the need to encourage "ongoing negotiations between reviewers and their audiences."

Given these contrasting aims that lie at the heart of the review genre, it is relevant to analyse how authors interact with readers in review writing and which rhetorical and pragmatic strategies are used in order to convey their view, safeguarding the Face of the author, but also of the reader, who may have a different opinion from reviewers.

In a newspaper context, the community appears much less cohesive than the academic community because reviewers often work as freelance writers. The review text is the result of multiple authorship because the editorial staff will edit the review and shorten its length, for instance, to adapt it to the space allotted in the broadsheet. Even the choice of which book to review is not the reviewer's but the paper's responsibility.

To identify key features of BRs, it is important to bear in mind key differences between academic and BRs. The specificity of academic reviews lies in the importance of sharing a methodology of research, showing a competence in the handling of disciplinary issues. BR reviewers, instead, will not be interested in sharing research methods or in the advancement of a discipline. They will address a less specialized and less homogenous public.

In a social continuum, academic readers lie in what Wolfson (1981) would call the 'middle' of the cline because some academic readers will be acquainted with reviewers of academic journals that they are likely to meet at conferences. Some reviewers will know personally the authors of the academic publications they are reviewing. BR reviewers, instead, confront a more anonymous, unknown public. It follows that different interactional strategies may be at work.

Wolfson (1988:32) in her theory of social distance called 'The Bulge' made a connection between speech acts and the social relationships of interlocutors. She detected a very similar verbal behaviour in the two extremes of social distance, minimum and maximum, intimates and strangers, while "relationships which are toward the centre show more marked difference." Wolfson focused mainly on complimenting and invitations and found that while they appear in abundance towards the middle of the social continuum, friends and acquaintances, they are very infrequent among strangers and intimates.

Following Wolfson's view, academic reviews are likely to display more negotiation with readers than BRers because, in the academic community, the social distance between interlocutors is more towards the middle than it happens in the BR genre where interlocutors will be strangers.

Turning now to the similarities between academic and BRs, it can be argued that writing both broadsheet and academic reviews entails the shaping of a public space where writers attempt to develop arguments through rhetorical strategies that should come across as appropriate and acceptable to the readers. Appropriacy becomes an even more relevant issue in a genre like BRs where, what is shared, is not simply information but opinions and evaluation that are highly subjective and in need of sound argumentation in order to be substantiated.

## **2.7. Conclusions**

In this chapter, discourse and pragmatic perspectives on the BR genre have been presented. The dynamic nature of genre, that characterizes linguistic studies, has been highlighted and a suitable working definition for this study has been chosen. Swales' model has proven to be the most suitable for the emphasis he places on the goal-oriented, functional nature of genre. Following this model, the communicative context of BRs has been investigated, using Swales' analytical framework.

BRs have been analysed, both in a discourse and in a pragmatic perspective and their argumentative nature has been foregrounded. Politeness has been identified as a key concept for this study and relevant theories, such as Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness theory and their concept of Face have been presented.

In the next chapter, I will illustrate the preliminary study of the BB corpus. This study has had a key role in the research process because it has allowed me to develop the analytical categories and implement the research parameters necessary to carry out the main study.



## **CHAPTER 3: A preliminary study**

### **3.1. A preliminary study: chapter overview**

In this chapter, I will explain the reasons for conducting a preliminary study. I propose three reasons: Firstly, a preliminary study is needed in order to test the analytical categories. Some of these categories have been applied to academic reviews and research articles but not to broadsheet reviews written for the general public. It is important therefore to test them beforehand in a small-scale study.

Secondly, a preliminary study is a good means to check the methodology before proceeding on a large-scale study. Thirdly, a preliminary study was conducted to obtain some preliminary insights into the uses of rhetorical evaluative resources in the broadsheet review genre. In order to achieve this objective, a coding framework was developed that allowed the formulation of initial hypotheses that were further refined and tested in the preliminary study within a smaller corpus of BRs. This study paved the way for the coding and analysis of a wider corpus of BRs.

In this chapter, I will define the terminology for the present research and introduce key analytical categories used in the coding of the preliminary corpus that was done with the NVivo software. At the end of the chapter I will report what the Preliminary study has achieved and what were the next steps taken.

I will now explain how the analytical framework was developed in order to explore the Frequency of evaluative strategies, their Distribution and their Target.

As far as Frequency is concerned, I counted the number of occurrences of the analytical categories selected within the 12 reviews. For Distribution, I looked at where in the broadsheet review these strategies tend to occur. In order to investigate Distribution, the reviews have been divided into three parts: Opening, Body and Close. I decided to label the three parts of the review Opening, Body and Close, also following the labelling used in the literature, in particular Sinclair (1987), Belcher (1995) Johnson (1992) and Gea Valor (2001). Sinclair (1987) suggested the three-part structure as the basis for organization in written discourse. This division resulted instrumental in the current research.

In the present study, when I refer to Opening, I mean the title, the by-line and the first paragraph. When I refer to Close, I mean the last paragraph. The Body includes the rest of the review. Regarding Target, I will investigate to whom or what the evaluative categories are directed. Who or what do reviewers tend to praise or criticize? Is it mainly, the

Author, Specific aspects of the book or General ones? In order to choose the categories for Target, I looked at existing literature but also at what emerged from the coding of the data done with NVivo.

In this chapter, I will review how the analytical categories, hereafter called Nodes, relate to existing literature. Since the objective of this study is Evaluation, as a researcher, I must be aware that evaluation is a complex and articulate phenomenon that cannot be restricted to a word or a sentence, but reverberates across the whole paragraph and at times, more than one paragraph, as highlighted by Hunston (2001:19). That is the reason why evaluative occurrences will always be shown, not as isolated items but in their context of use, namely a sentence or a paragraph.

The preliminary study (presented in this chapter) confirmed that evaluative rhetorical devices seem to be spread throughout the text, even though the positioning of evaluative devices within certain parts of the review text, appears to be a shared choice for many reviewers of the BBC corpus.

This study, as suggested in Chapter 1, will use both qualitative and quantitative approaches because the overlapping of these two approaches is crucial to enrich the current research and make it more effective and valuable. I will adopt three main parameters in the research process, namely: the analysis of the Frequency, Distribution and Target of evaluative acts.

It is now relevant to explain why the three main research parameters differ. Frequency signals recurring patterns and how many times they occur in a review text. This provides a quantitative insight into the BB Corpus. Distribution, in the sense of where reviewers decide to place evaluation within the review text, is initially explored by counting nodes that have been labelled as Praise Opening, Praise Body and Praise Close to identify where the reviewer decided to place Praise, for instance. However, the findings of where evaluation is located, will subsequently require a more qualitatively - oriented approach that will reveal how reviewers use the location of Praise itself as a rhetorical strategy. The third research parameter, Target, refers to the addressees of evaluative acts that can be the Author, Style or Specific Aspects of the book, for instance. The analysis starts from quantitative data, but it gradually moves to a qualitative outlook on the data. My claim is that Frequency, Distribution and Target will be instrumental in revealing evaluative rhetorical strategies that are worth investigating.

Thus, the springboard for this study is quantitative, but the main focus is qualitative because evaluation is a complex concept and requires more than the mere counting of data. I had to code the BB corpus manually, because in the labelling of nodes, some interpretation was

required that could not be left to the software.

In this chapter, I will highlight the importance of the preliminary study to develop an analytical framework that comprises evaluative categories of analysis, such as Praise, Criticism, their hedged versions and the Praise and Criticism Pair. I will also clarify how these categories relate to the research parameters chosen, namely Frequency, Distribution and Target.

I will illustrate how the preliminary study has had an impact on the coding of the wider corpus, the decision to isolate BUT clauses in the BUT Database and to focus both on interactional and rhetorical evaluative strategies recurring in the BUT Database. These two aspects of the research will be dealt with in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively.

One of the reasons for doing a preliminary study was to explore how BRers exploit certain rhetorical strategies such as Praise, the Praise and Criticism Pair, Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism to convey to readers their evaluative stance on the book reviewed.

In order to clarify the research strategy underpinning the Preliminary study, I will illustrate the terminology I use for the present analysis and the importance of investigating Frequency, Distribution and Target of the rhetorical evaluative strategies identified. Presently, I will outline, in more detail, each category and how the target nodes chosen, relate to the existing literature. I will explain why NVivo was chosen as the appropriate software to carry out the current analysis. Eventually, there will be a focus on the analytical framework, namely how the data for the preliminary study were collected, sampled and analysed. The chapter will finish with a report on the findings and an analysis of the patterns of use detected in the preliminary study. At the end of the chapter, I will describe how these patterns led the research to certain directions.

The analytical framework for the coding was created in order to identify evaluative rhetorical strategies frequently found in the Preliminary corpus. The actual analytical categories were developed, both looking at the data with a bottom up approach, exploring recurring patterns in the corpus, and with a top down approach, researching the literature namely Hyland's (2001) work, Orteza's (1996) article on book reviewing and also the study carried out by the American Librarian Association in 2005 that focused on readers' expectations about what or who is often evaluated in book reviews.

### 3.2. Defining terminology for the present study

Since the focus of the current research is on evaluative rhetorical strategies, it is necessary to define what is meant in this study with the term evaluation. I will follow Hunston's (2001:5) definition of evaluation as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or the writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other set of values."

The focus of the present study is on the broadsheet reviewers' attitude and viewpoint toward the book they are reviewing. This attitude will not concern statements about truth value, but it will regard the desirability of the reading experience or the degree of certainty with which the reviewer expresses their evaluation of the book. For instance, is the judgement presented with assertiveness or with caution?

The key categories of the present study are evaluation in its positive polarity – Praise – and in its negative polarity – Criticism. Generally speaking, reviews seem to belong to what Aristotle called epideictic rhetoric. Reviewers are engaged in writing an epideictic argumentation aimed at evaluating the work of somebody, in Aristotle's (quoted by Lo Cascio 1991:138) words: "...of the epideictic genre the two aspects are praise and blame." Reviewers will therefore select certain strategies to express Praise or Criticism towards the book read.

In addition, contrast relations, such as the mitigation strategy 'Praise-criticism', which are quite common in reviews according to Gea Valor (2001), Hyland (2004a) and Diani (2007) will be investigated. When instances of positive negative evaluation occur one juxtaposed to the other, I will refer to the Praise and Criticism Pair. Reviewers perform both positive evaluative acts – Praise – and negative evaluative acts – Criticism. However, at times, they seem to deliberately reject either positive or negative polarity and opt for a juxtaposition of the two for a whole gamut of reasons that will be the object of this research.

In the analysis of the preliminary study, evaluative acts of Praise, Criticism, the Praise and Criticism Pair but also Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism will be investigated. I will take Shaw's (2009:219) definition of evaluative act "The evaluative act is a text segment (a sentence or less), which evaluates the book in question and is uniform in polarity – that is uniformly negative or positive."

However, I will slightly revise Shaw's definition because, in the current analysis, I will also include the Praise and Criticism Pair, Hedged Criticism and Hedged Praise as evaluative acts, even though they lack uniformity in polarity. The reason is that these categories seem to suit

better the nuances of evaluation that are required in the broadsheet genre.

Uniform polarity seems quite an uncommon objective for reviewers who are expected to be struggling with a wide range of purposes in their work, namely, to be honest about the book without threatening the Face of the Author, providing a personal opinion but avoid being biased. If this is the case, uniform polarity becomes a controversial choice, while a sequence of positive and negative evaluations appears more suitable to the diverging aims to be sought in the broadsheet review genre.

My initial hypothesis, which will be checked against the data is that, rather than seeking uniformity, BRers will attempt to find ways of modulating intensity, looking for resources to attenuate or emphasize the force of their illocutionary acts. It is therefore relevant to see how they do that through hedged praise for positive hedged evaluation, and hedged criticism for negative hedged evaluation.

I will use Appraisal Theory to analyse how evaluative resources for the adjustment of the degree of evaluation, called by Martin and White (2005:37) 'graduation', work in this genre of text. As Martin and White write (2005:35) "Graduation attends to grading phenomena, whereby feelings are amplified, and categories blurred." Graduation is a resource that adjusts the degree of an evaluation, to indicate how strong or weak it is supposed to be. The force of the evaluative act seems to be regulated, not only through linguistic realizations, such as intensification through comparative and superlative morphology for instance, but also downplaying the force of the utterance through hedges. That is why the last categories of analysis in the preliminary study are: hedged praise and hedged criticism. This analysis will provide some insights into the exploitation of hedges to attenuate the force of an evaluative act in the BR genre.

### **3.3. Rationale: Why should Frequency and Distribution be investigated?**

The preliminary study focuses on the Frequency of evaluative rhetorical acts in BRs, because the repeated occurrence of certain analytical categories may signal patterns of use in the unfolding of the review text that are characteristic of the genre.

Not only the Frequency but also the Distribution of evaluative rhetorical strategies seem to be of great importance, since BRers are what Bhatia (2004) would call *expert writers* and, because of their expertise, their choices are hardly ever casual. As Bhatia (2004) notes, conventions come to be established by the repeated use their expert writers make of certain patterns in their texts. These choices come to be half expected by their readers and will, in time, shape the conventions of the genre and transform it.



Distribution is an interesting concept to explore, because the unfolding of the text may also be planned, bearing in mind the notions of salience and communicative dynamism. As advertisers choose to place their logo and slogan at the top or at the bottom of the page, to give prominence to this information, reviewers may decide to place rhetorical strategies, such as the Praise and Criticism Pair in salient parts of the text such as the Opening or the Close or in less salient ones, such as the Body, for various reasons that will be illustrated in the chapters ahead. Thus, the Distribution of evaluative acts can become itself a rhetorical strategy to exploit, manipulate and pull the text in certain directions, as I will show in more detail in Chapter 6.

There is a point to be made that the positioning of certain evaluative acts can become strategic. It may happen that the force of Criticism can be softened by the location chosen for critical comments. It is also likely that the Praise of a book a reviewer didn't particularly like, can shine through the review, if it is given prominence – that may be identified with its positioning in the Close because this is the part of the text readers will remember, or possibly skim through, to discover whether the book is recommended or not.

This is the reason why looking at Distribution can become an effective way to explore the planning of evaluative strategies underpinning the review text. Through the analysis of Distribution, it is possible to gain an awareness of the steps taken and choices made to manipulate evaluation, balance it with description, and choose linguistic realizations to boost or hedge statements with the overall objective to fulfil the readers' expectations about the text within a wider dialogic and intertextual perspective on reading and writing. The awareness of how these reviews have been planned and staged will probably feed our expectations about how other reviews of the same subgenre should be written and, ultimately, how the genre shall evolve as argued by Bhatia (2004).

### **3.4. Literature review: How the Target Nodes relate to existing literature**

As explained earlier in this thesis, against conventions, literature review sections are scattered in relevant parts of the thesis whenever it is felt that other researchers' work can be fruitful to carry out the present research. At this stage, I will analyse how the nodes coded in NVivo relate to the literature. The way in which the reviewer responds to the book is called by Shaw (2009:220) the *evaluator's response* and roughly corresponds in Appraisal Theory to Martin's (2005) *affect*. An example that Shaw (2009:219) provides for this category is "Your reviewer was

surprised at the sophistication of this argument” where the reviewer addresses himself in the third person, probably to make the evaluation sound more impersonal, even though the possessive 'your' usually involves the reader in the evaluative process in quite a personal way, in order to praise the argumentative skills of the author of the book. In the Preliminary corpus, this category would be coded as Praise of General Aspects of the book. Evaluation may be modified through hedges or boosters. Hyland (2004a) found that hedged negative evaluation is typical of academic book reviews. Similarly, Shaw (2009:219) identified a category called *Modification of evaluation* and gave, as an example “This book is quite interesting.”

In the present research, Shaw’s example would be coded as Hedged Praise while a sentence such as: “This book is not entirely bad” would be coded as Hedged Criticism. What Shaw (2009:219) calls Author (evaluation carrier), exemplified in the sentence:” Smith is right to draw this conclusion” would be coded in the BB corpus within one of the eight dimensions of Praise I illustrated earlier, namely the Praise Author node.

In a similar way, what Shaw (2009:219) calls Label (positive or negative) and exemplifies as “In this book’s favour one can say that” [it shows a deep knowledge of the events reported] would be coded in this corpus as Praise of Specific Aspects of the book, while the negative example provided by Shaw “It is a pity that the topic” [hasn’t been more extensively researched] would be coded as Criticism of General Content book. [The second part of the examples in brackets is mine.]

Another aspect of this research focuses on what Hunston and Sinclair (2000:100) called *the thing evaluated* meaning, in this case, what aspect of the book is evaluated. Hyland (2004b:47), who worked on academic book reviews, identified content as the most common recipient of evaluation.

Hyland (2004b:47) identified six core categories of evaluation in academic book reviews namely: content, style, readership, text, author and publishing. Each category was further articulated in subcategories, for instance, the first, content that has two subcategories: General content and Specific content.

Among general qualities, Hyland listed: coverage, approach, interest, currency, quality. Among specific qualities, Hyland listed: argument: insight, coherence, explanatory or descriptive value. Style included exposition, clarity, organization, conciseness, difficulty, readability and editorial judgements while readership referred to the value or relevance for a specific readership.

In academic BRs, some textual features were evaluated such as the extent, relevance and currency of references, the number, usefulness and

quality of diagrams, tasks and exercises. When the author was evaluated, this was done in terms of the writer's experience, reputation, qualifications or previous publications. Some publishing details were discussed, such as the price, quality and production standards of the book. The categories, used for academic reviews, needed a little re-adjusting in order to become suitable tools of analysis for the preliminary corpus given the differences between BRs and academic reviews illustrated in Chapter 1.

### **3.5. Methods: The choice of NVivo as the Qualitative Data Analysis tool for the current study**

NVivo is particularly suitable for the text based qualitative analysis of data that allows researchers to classify, sort, arrange, store and retrieve chunks of data. It is possible to explore and identify relevant analytical categories, called 'Nodes' in NVivo, and code texts with the nodes chosen.

The choice of NVivo was not a straightforward one. The preliminary study was initially carried out on 12 reviews using Antconc. It was mainly a trial and error process that started with the analysis of the corpus at sentence level with the concordance software Antconc. This attempt did not prove fruitful because it offered only a superficial outlook on the data. When I started using Antconc for the analysis, it provided the Frequency of the occurrences and a concordance perspective on the data, but I found that the concordance view is a limiting tool for the analysis of evaluation because rhetorical strategies and linguistic resources for evaluation are positioned above the sentence level, at times at paragraph level and, at other times, across the whole text, so a more flexible tool such as NVivo was needed

From the outset, using Antconc to code the BB Corpus was problematic for various reasons. First of all, the nature of this study, that is a qualitative research, did not fit in with the limits of Antconc that has been devised mainly for the quick, rough analysis of large chunks of data. I could work with concordances and identify parts of speech such as modals, adjectives and adverbs that are, traditionally, means to convey the author's stance and evaluation, but the focus was on chunks of language rather than paragraphs. This did not allow the researcher to have a bird's eye, holistic view on the data across the paragraph that is where evaluation is spread, as argued by Hunston (2001:19) "It is clear - and all studies of evaluation have said so - that evaluation tends to be found throughout a text rather than being confined to one particular part of it" .

In a way, I was missing the whole picture. A lot of relevant syntagmatic relations among Parts of Speech were lost. Secondly, the fleeting,

sophisticated nature of evaluation required manual rather than the automatic coding Antconc could offer. What was needed was a software that could retrieve quite lengthy comments on the data coded. NVivo allowed the storage of large chunks of comments on the data and the retrieval of categories coded that enabled the researcher to double-check the coding with a click. When the researcher sets up a query, NVivo brings you to the review text, offering a context-based view of the evaluative resource under scrutiny. NVivo was quite a useful resource to ensure homogeneity and consistency in a long coding process that lasted longer than a year. I double-checked that the evaluative categories were selected in a consistent way and that the three research parameters, Frequency, Distribution and Target, were appropriately coded.

In other words, if I found Praise of the author at the outset of the review, this part of text was coded as Praise Opening, because a positive evaluation of the book occurred at the beginning of the review. This strategy for mapping evaluation within the review text allowed the development of hypotheses about how reviewers in the corpus made choices concerning the location of evaluation that appeared to be far from casual. In the corpus coded, the same stretch of text may also contain positive comments on how the author worked in the book, so the same portion of text would be coded not only in terms of distribution, as belonging to the node Praise Opening, but also as Praise Author because the other research parameter, Target, had to be taken into account. The reviewer began the review with Praise but who or what was the recipient of Praise? If it was the Author, the section of text was coded as Praise Author since the Author was the Target of the evaluative act.

NVivo allows an overlapping of coding which is of key importance in a research like this one where Distribution and Target tend to occur in the same part of the review text. That is why I decided to use NVivo that seems the best tool to do a qualitative analysis on evaluative strategies. NVivo offers a finer granularity in terms of categories chosen and a more in-depth, qualitative outlook on the evaluative data that stretched over sentence level. In addition, the current analysis required a more detailed coding of the categories chosen, in terms of:

- a) The Frequency of the analytical categories within the review text;
- b) The Distribution of the analytical categories within the review text;
- c) The Target of the analytical categories within the review text.

After the preliminary study, the researcher used NVivo for narrowing down the analysis to a part of the corpus called the BUT Database, as I will show in chapter 4. For the time being, it will suffice to mention that coding data with NVivo allowed the researcher to explore patterns of use in the data in terms of evaluative strategies that were further investigated

through NVivo coding queries. This query system, called Matrix coding, allowed the researcher to count the occurrences of Praise for instance, or to locate Criticism in strategic parts of the review text. Through NVivo a quantitative outlook on the data was foregrounded. Frequent patterns of use in evaluative resources were identified. These recurring evaluative patterns have in turn become the object of the researcher's qualitative analysis and led to the development of hypotheses about the use of evaluative rhetorical strategies in BRs.

Using NVivo, the analytical categories could be given a hierarchical organization where the macro, broader categories of analysis became Parent Nodes, while the micro, more specific categories were labelled as Child Nodes. For example, Praise is a macro category that comprises micro categories such as Praise author or Praise opening. Praise author is part of the research parameter Target, while Praise opening is part of the research parameter Distribution.

**Table 1: Macro and Micro categories coded in NVivo**

MACRO CATEGORIES CALLED PARENT NODES IN NVIVO

Frequency	Distribution	Target
	OF	

MICRO CATEGORIES CALLED CHILD NODES IN NVIVO

Praise	Hedged Praise
Criticism	Hedged Criticism
The Praise and Criticism Pair	

This hierarchical organization of macro and micro categories created a systematic net of evaluative acts that tended to occur in a consistent way throughout the Preliminary corpus. This allowed the researcher to pin down the fleeting nature of evaluation and discover strategic evaluative patterns in the review texts of the British Broadsheet Corpus which will be illustrated at the end of this chapter.

### **3.6. Methods used for the Preliminary Study: identifying key categories**

As mentioned earlier, the Preliminary study was mainly conducted in order to test the methodology and the choice of the analytical categories

that come from analysis of academic tests, especially Hyland (2004). These categories, however, have been adjusted following the literature review and, in particular, the ALA Survey about what the reading public expects to find in book reviews. It was therefore crucial to check whether these adjusted categories worked well in the analysis and coding of broadsheet review texts.

To carry out the study, I collected 3 reviews taken from the websites of the Guardian, 3 from the Daily Telegraph, 3 reviews from The Independent and 3 from the Times Literary Supplement. I analysed the selected reviews with NVivo software. I coded the evaluative parts using the categories illustrated above.

The objective of the coding was to highlight the evaluative parts of the review in terms of their occurrences within each paragraph of the text across the three subgenres: Biography, Fiction and History. (See Table 2). To identify evaluation, I followed Hunston's (2001:13) suggestions "...conceptually evaluation has been noted to be comparative, subjective, and value-laden. Identifying evaluation, then, is a question of identifying signals of comparison, subjectivity and social." When I coded the preliminary corpus, I considered the interpersonal aspect of the evaluative acts coded and how their subjectivity was blurred using specific evaluative strategies.

The Preliminary Corpus comprises the following reviews that are grouped per Subgenre:

**Table 2: BRs included in the Preliminary Study**

<b>BIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>FICTION</b>	<b>HISTORY</b>
BIO11DT	FICT21DT	HIST01DT
BIO31TLS	FICT26TLS	HIST12IND
BIO23IND	FICT27G	HIST04TLS
BIO28G	FICT35IND	HIST09G

Each evaluative speech act was coded at paragraph level, using the nodes identified earlier in the chapter, and the NVivo software to see where evaluation occurred.

Since I was interested both in the Frequency of the analytical categories and in their Distribution, I created codes which indicate in which section of the review, the categories occurred, for example: Praisebody or Critclose. This coding allowed the researcher to analyse how the evaluative categories were distributed across the three subgenres. In the preliminary study, the occurrence of the following analytical categories was explored:

1. Praise
2. Criticism
3. The Praise and Criticism Pair
4. Hedged Praise
5. Hedged Criticism

In Table 3, an example for each category coded in the preliminary corpus is provided. Each review in the corpus has been assigned a code, as shown in brackets below. In the code, I specified the genre, Bio for Biography, Fict for Fiction and Hist for History. What follows is the broadsheet where the review was published: DT stands for the Daily Telegraph, G for the Guardian, Ind for The Independent and TLS for the Times Literary Supplement.

For a detailed list of the reviews in the preliminary corpus and more information about the BB corpus, see Appendices B and C, in particular C1, C2 from page 323 to page 334.

**Table 3: Examples of rhetorical strategies analysed in the Preliminary Study**

Nodes	Praise	Criticism	The Praise and criticism Pair	Hedged praise	Hedged criticism
Review code	BIODT11	HIST01DT	FICT21DT	FICT21DT	FICT26TLS
examples	Martin Gayford is one of our <u>most distinguished writers on what makes modern artists tick</u>	...that it is hard to <u>comprehend how such a clumsily written book can have scooped the William Hill Sports Book of the Year award</u>	Yet for all its irritations as a <u>reading experience you can't ignore the vast rigour with which Lee fashions this speculative destiny.</u>	Often Lee <u>seems to use more words than he needs</u> : "She was quite enrapt, we are certain, even as her face remained almost totally blank, just as a drinking glass remains unchanged when filled with water but of course is not at all the same."	<u>Unfortunately</u> , Kureishi's fiction began to sputter after his first novel, and <u>part of the problem is that he finds it difficult to animate these questions in a compelling way.</u>

The Praise and Criticism Pair was coded as such even when the Criticism came before the Praise, because the focus of the present study has been on the juxtaposition of the categories rather than on their sequencing.

In order to carry out the Frequency, Distribution and Target analysis,

five Parent Nodes in the NVivo software were created. To investigate Distribution, for the node Praise, and for all the other parent nodes that comprise the evaluative rhetorical strategies highlighted at the beginning of the chapter, I created a parent node, in this instance, Praise, or any other analytical category chosen, and three child nodes:

- a) Praise Opening
- b) Praise Body
- c) Praise Close

When I ran the query, NVivo listed all the occurrences of Praise in the Preliminary corpus. Since I had labelled different nodes for the Distribution of Praise within the text to detect their position, I could also find where exactly reviewers had positioned Praise. Running a matrix coding in NVivo, I could count the Frequency and Distribution of each occurrence of Praise in the reviews. Among the evaluative categories chosen, Hedging Praise and Hedging Criticism appear as key evaluative acts in the Preliminary corpus. As highlighted in the first chapter of the thesis, hedges are a powerful strategy to express an opinion. It follows that hedges will play a crucial role in BRs; whose main function is to offer an opinion about a book. Among the functions of hedges, traced in the literature, I found the softening of critique, looking after the negative Face of both the reader and the author. Hedges allow reviewers to put forward evaluation without sounding too categorical and therefore imposing on their addressee.

In Chapter 7, hedges have been identified as a crucial negative politeness strategy as defined by Brown and Levinson (1978). Hedges play a key interpersonal function because they are used to down tone critique and help reviewers confront possible rebuttals. Myers (1989:48) highlighted the rhetorical value of hedging in scientific discourse where they are seen as the “toning down, not one’s claims for one’s research, but one’s language.”

Along similar lines, Hyland (2004b:56) points out that the main purpose of hedges in his academic reviews is to “mitigate the interpersonal damage of critical comments.” Many researchers emphasize the importance of hedges. The importance of softening criticism is also emphasized by Orteza (1996:200) “Any critical comment on their work [our colleagues’ work], any exaggeration of their flaws, or even a slight distortion of a certain meaning of a word, could bring about rebuttal on their part.” Itakura (2013:144-145) highlights the importance of hedges in reviews as Face-saving devices both in Praise and in Criticism. In his view, hedges protect reviewers’ negative Face because they limit



reviewers' commitment and defend them from possible critical comments made by readers who may have a different opinion.

When the twelve reviews for the preliminary study were coded, it was found that hedges were frequently used by reviewers in all the subgenres chosen and throughout the review text. This is the reason why I decided to explore the use of hedges as a key evaluative strategy in BR. To that purpose, I created a node called 'Hedged praise' that was coded every time there was an act of praise conveyed by the use of one or more hedges and a node called 'Hedged criticism' when a negative comment about the book was put forward through hedging.

My claim is that, linguistic devices that soften critique -like hedges- seem to be of great importance in this genre of text. Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism will be explored both in terms of their Frequency, Distribution within the text and their Target. It will be relevant to see whether the author is the target of this Hedged Criticism, as Orteza (1996) suggests, or the content of the book itself in its General and Specific features.

I looked at how Hedged Praise was distributed in the Opening, the Body and the Close. The occurrences of Hedged Praise were counted and were organized in a table that shows the Frequency of Hedged Praise in the corpus. When I investigated the Target of Hedged Praise, I created the same nodes I used for the other categories.

Hedged Criticism was analysed in its Distribution in the three following Child Nodes:

a) Hedged Criticism Opening

b) Hedged Criticism Body

c) Hedged Criticism Close

For the Target of Hedged Criticism, the same nodes used for the other categories were repeated.

At this stage, it is necessary to make a distinction between three categories of analysis: on the one hand, Hedged Praise and Hedged

Criticism, and, on the other, the Praise and Criticism Pair. The three categories imply that some hedging, in the evaluative process, is accomplished through them. It is true that the choice of the Pair could be seen as a hedging strategy itself. However, when the texts were coded, I coded the clause or phrase as Praise and Criticism if there was a juxtaposition of a positive and a negative comment, usually linked by the conjunct BUT. When hedges were used, I coded the sentence as Hedged Praise in the case of a positive comment and Hedged Criticism when there was a negative comment, as shown in Table 4 below.

**Table 4: Examples of rhetorical evaluative categories using hedging as coded in the Preliminary Study:**

Rhetorical category	Hedged Criticism	Hedged praise	The praise and criticism pair
Review code	FICT21DT	FICT2TLS	FICT26TLS
example	it's hard not to raise an <u>eyebrow</u> when we're told about an event Fan "never mentioned... to anyone", or what she dreamt	There is an <u>argument to be made</u> that Hanif Kureishi is the most emblematic English author of the past twenty-five years	Kureishi knows how to write some sharp psychology and perhaps every novel he's published has a memorable portrait of a father in it. But he's prone to cliché and wish fulfilment.

I will now explain in more detail how the categories for the Target node were selected and developed. Eight child nodes were created that detailed how the target of Praise was articulated. The following categories were chosen and applied to the coding of the texts.

In Table 5 on the left, there are the categories selected for each node. The possible targets of Praise are listed. On the right, the actual sections of texts coded are shown. These examples show the reader the complexity and the fine granularity of the manual coding carried out for the preliminary study by the researcher. The category Praise Style had to be taken outside the reviews selected for the Preliminary Corpus because it was not found in the 12 reviews chosen, even though it kept appearing in the other reviews of the BB corpus. That is why this Target Node was included. In Table 5, Target of Praise is the parent node, while the categories listed above were the Child Nodes for the analysis of the Target of Praise.

The same child nodes were repeated both for Distribution and for Target across the five main categories and across the three subgenres: Biography, Fiction and History. It is worth mentioning that while most of the child Nodes focus on the Target of evaluation like Praise Author and Praise General or Specific Content, there are two categories namely Comparative Value and Praise Through quotations that focus on the means by which evaluation is expressed. It is my claim that this choice enriches the qualitative analysis carried out in the current research because in evaluating a book, it is also important to emphasize the means used to foreground an evaluative process and not only the target. The “how” and the “what” should mingle in the analysis in order to offer a more holistic view on evaluative phenomena.

This perspective is coherent with the main claim of this work that broadsheet reviews are argumentative texts where evaluation is achieved through a dialectical argumentative process that entails also the use of quotations to soften criticism or to justify it and the use of comparison to proceed in a dialectical evaluative process that often proceeds through comparison and contrast- As maintained by Hunston (2001:13) “...evaluation consists of anything which is compared to or contrasts with the norm”.

**Table 5: Examples of the Parent Node Praise and its Child Nodes in the Preliminary Study:**

Target category: Praise	Review code and review text
a) Praise author	BIO31TLS: But Stephen Parker's Bertolt Brecht: A literary life is that rare thing, not only the biography of a genius, but itself a biography of genius. Parker, a Professor of German at Manchester, has written a foot perfect, detailed, fascinating and really inward book on a man who was plausibly described as "one of the most complicated human beings of the past fifty years."
b) Praise General aspects of content	HIST08G: A gripping account reveals how, as the Nazis put Jews and communists into the first camps in 1933, brave attempts were made to uphold the rule of law
c) Praise Specific aspects of content	FICT21DT: Fan's encounter with this minor character is one of the picaresque escapades that drive the novel
d) Praise Narrative style and language	Fict37IND: There is little argument that the fugue of language and heritage that is The Way Things Were is a substantive contribution to new writing from the subcontinent.
e) Praise Comparative value	FICT27G: Review: Through the eyes of the bad guy: BOOK OF THE WEEK: Barry's third novel about the McNulty family is the most exciting yet, argues Claire Kilroy: The Temporary Gentleman by Sebastian Barry 268pp, Faber, £16.99
f) Praise Reading experience	Bio31TLS: So, we aren't given Brecht the old unscrupulous automaton, the theatre shouter and "indoor Marxman" (Malcolm Lowry's phrase, not about Brecht), the arid and grasping authoritarian and hypocrite. Instead we get a wholly fresh and absorbing sense of what it might have been like to be Brecht, from the sickly child to the prematurely old, dismally undiagnosed heart patient.
g) Praise through quotations	BIO31TLS: Certain themes are sounded insistently, implacably and rightly throughout: Brecht "the extravagantly gifted child", his "extravagant intelligence", "this hugely gifted boy", "his extreme talent." It may sound like a lot, like overkill, even, but it is only just, and anything less would have been remiss.
h) Praise subject matter	Bio23Ind: One of the funniest things I have ever seen on television was one of the many afternoons shows that Pryor guested on in an effort to become a household name, and therefore have the freedom, the money and the revenge against the white man that he craved.

### **3.7. The coding processes**

For various reasons, the coding process was one of the most challenging steps in creating an analytical framework for this research. First of all, for the subjective nature of the research itself that focuses on the fleeting concept of evaluation and, secondly for the solitary nature of the act. Working as an individual, mature, distance researcher offered me few opportunities to share my doubts and uncertainties with fellow researchers, especially at the beginning of the process when I was not so experienced.

Coding was a long and tiresome process where decisions had to be taken and tested against the data and other researchers' opinions. Distribution and Frequency, being more objective parameters, were less problematic than Target. Once I decided that the review was divided into three macro-sections, coding where evaluative comments were located was quite a straightforward process.

Target, instead, was another story altogether. First of all, for its subjective nature and, secondly, for its global rather than discrete inclination. Reviewers tended to praise more than one aspect of the book in a paragraph so, at times, each line had a different target, and this made the coding a stratified, complex process even to look at graphically with lines of different colours for each evaluative Target.

It was difficult to draw borders: where does Praise of the Author end and Praise of General Content starts? There were times when I had to admit to the fact that a node was both criticizing the book and the author exactly on the same line so two nodes were coded.

To overcome this difficulty, I decided to code the corpus once, wait for some months and then do the coding again to see whether it was consistent with the first coding or if some adjustments had to be made.

Another solution was to ask two colleagues to check part of the coding and make the necessary changes after comparing their coding with mine.

Still, there are instances of coding that are not one sided and can bring about multiple interpretations. I am fully aware of this and I believe this is part of the challenge of this kind of research.

### **3.8. Findings of the Preliminary Study**

Despite the small size of the corpus, I believe the specificity of the sample will bear meaningful results for a wider scale analysis. As Leech

argues (1991:10-12) "In the case of specialized corpora, to focus merely on size would be naïve." What is of great importance in a corpus, representing a specific genre, is not the size but how representative of the genre it is. Along similar lines, Ooi (2001:179) claims that the main properties of a genre can be detected after reaching a certain threshold of words of specialized language "The threshold is not defined by the number of words but it depends on the genre and on the size that can be reached when the collection of more texts sheds light on its repeated lexico-grammatical or discourse patterning."

In the case of the preliminary corpus, it can be argued that it was highly indicative of the evaluative patterns that were found in a subsequent phase of the research process in a much wider corpus. For this reason, I will devote some time to the detailed discussion of the findings because this preliminary study is tied up in a thread of consistency with the rest of the thesis. In the following sections, the findings of the preliminary will be discussed. The results will be organized in the key categories investigated in the preliminary study namely:

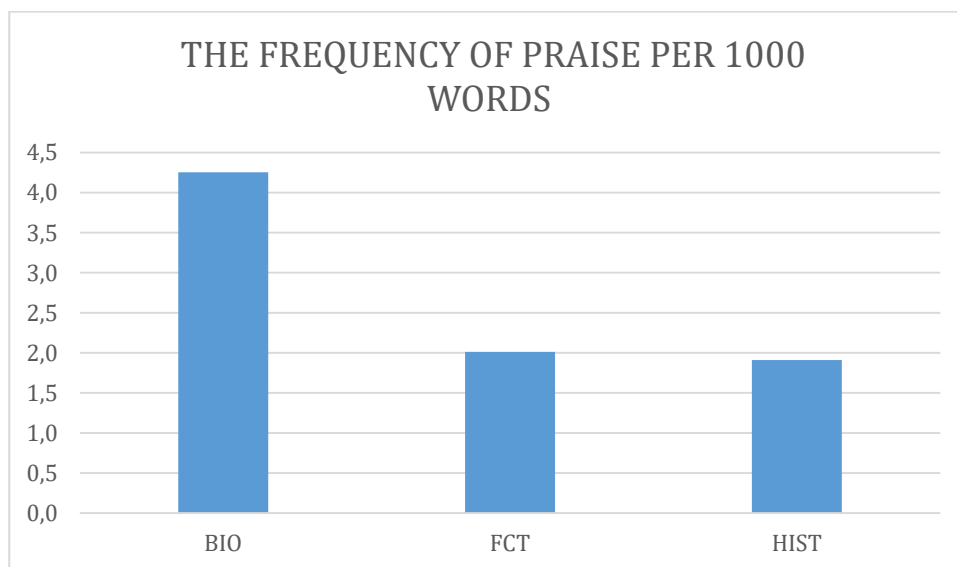
- a) The Frequency and Distribution of Praise and Criticism as unhedged categories;
- b) The Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair;
- c) The Distribution of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism.

### **3.8.1. The Frequency and Distribution of unhedged Praise and Criticism**

In this section, the Frequency and Distribution of Unhedged Praise and Criticism across the corpus will be reported. I will count the number of occurrences of Praise, the Frequency of Praise, and also where reviewers choose to position a positive comment about the book, the Distribution of Praise, within the three macro sections identified in the review text, namely: the Opening, the Body and the Close using the NVivo software. I will do the same for Unhedged Criticism.

**Table 6: Evaluative Acts of Praise in the Preliminary study**

PRAISE SUMMARY TABLE												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVERALL PER 1000 WORDS
BIO	3	650	4.6	31	7271	4.3	1	306	3.3	8227	35	4.3
FCT	2	706	2.8	6	3203	1.9	1	563	1.8	4472	9	2.0
HIST	2	636	3.1	6	4227	1.4	2	369	5.4	5232	10	1.9
TOTAL	7	1992	3.5	43	14701	2.9	4	1238	3.2	17931	54	3.0

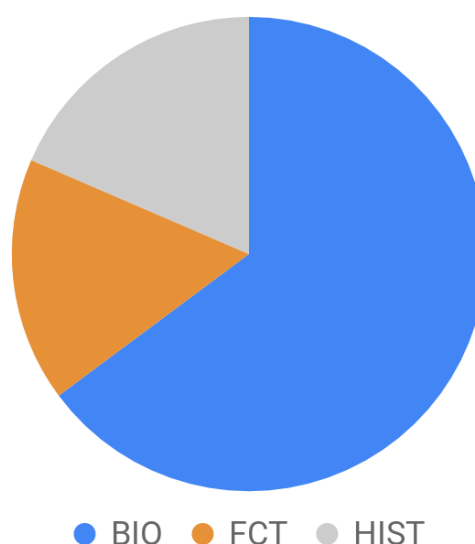


	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	35	4.3
FICT	9	2.0
HIST	10	1.9

Praise is quite conspicuous in the Openings and in the Closes with 3.5 and 3.2. evaluative acts per 1000 words respectively, while the number of Praise diminishes in the Body with 2.9 acts per 1000 words. It seems that reviewers praise in more salient parts of the text possibly to tend Face needs namely in the Opening to set a positive tone and a good relationship with the reader and in the Closes where, even if the review is negative, some positive aspects of the book are mentioned to avoid harsh criticism and tend to politeness needs. As shown in the pie chart below, Biographers tend to praise more than Fiction and History reviewers with 65% of Praise while Fiction reviewers praise only 16% and History reviewers 19%.

**Table 7: Evaluative acts of Praise Per Cent**

### EVALUATIVE ACTS FOR PRAISE PER CENT



	Evaluative acts	Evaluative acts for praise per cent
BIO	35	65%
FICT	9	16%
HIST	10	19%
<b>TOT</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100%</b>

Across the three subgenres, Biography, Fiction and History, the Body hosts the bulk of unhedged evaluation, both for Praise and for

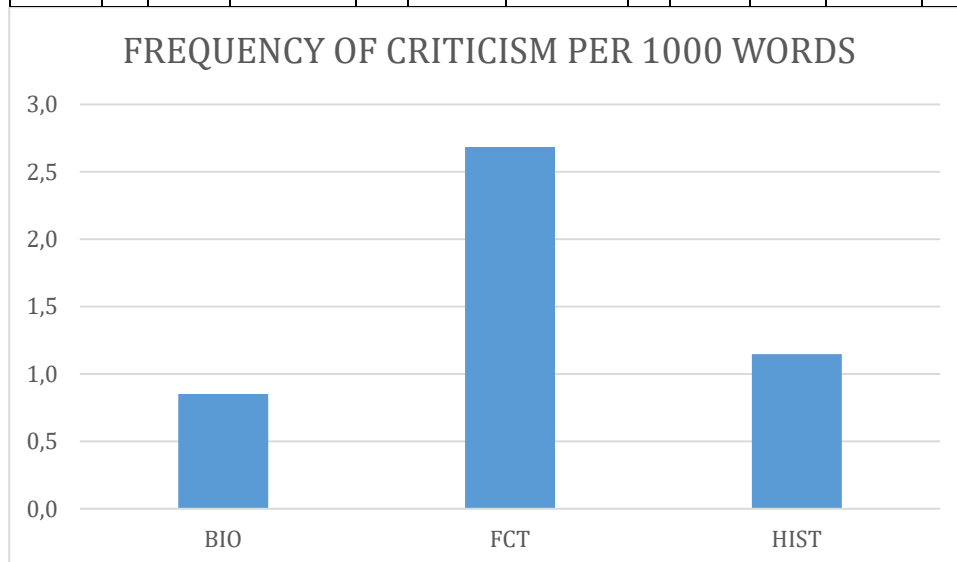


Criticism with 43 occurrences, 68% of Praise and 20 occurrences of criticism, 32% in a total of 63 evaluative acts.

On the other hand, the Distribution of Criticism in the Opening and the Close is quite diversified with 1.0 for Openings and 2.4 for Closes. As a result, reviewers are much more critical in Closes than in Openings because criticism needs to be substantiated and justified and justification tends to occur in the Body where arguments are put forward to back up critical comments. These data suggest that Criticism is quite conspicuous in the Body of the review, with 1.4 evaluative acts per 1000 words. The reasons for the presence of evaluative critical comments, both in the Closes and in the Body of the BRs of the Preliminary study could be investigated in a wider study with more data available.

**Table 8: Evaluative Acts of Criticism in the Preliminary Study**

TABLE 2D SUMMARY TABLE CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION ACROSS SUBGENRES												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVERALL PER 1000 WORDS
BIO	0	650	0.0	7	7271	1.0	0	306	0.0	8227	7	0.9
FICT	1	706	1.4	9	3203	2.8	2	563	3.6	4472	12	2.7
HIST	1	636	1.6	4	4227	0.9	1	369	2.7	5232	6	1.1
TOT	2	1992	1.0	20	14701	1.4	3	1238	2.4	17931	25	1.4

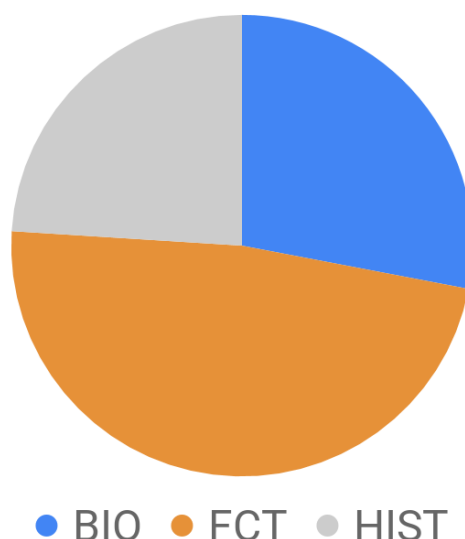


	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	7	0.9
FIC	12	2.7
HIST	6	1.1

One of the reasons why closes are heavily critical is that reviewers are expected to reach what Motta Roth (1998) calls an Evaluative summation, a final evaluation of the book. It could be claimed that Openings are more informative and therefore there are fewer critical acts, also because the reviewer is preparing the ground for an argumentative frame, offering details about the book. This frame is reinforced in the Body and comes to a full circle in the Closes. It is also interesting to look at the percentage of evaluation in terms of subgenre differences. The most inclined to criticize are Fiction reviewers with 48% of critical comments while Biographers have 28% and Historians 24%.

**Table 9: Evaluative Acts of Criticism Per Cent**

### EVALUATIVE ACTS FOR CRITICISM PER CENT



	Evaluative acts	Evaluative acts for criticism per cent
BIO	7	28%
FICT	12	48%
HIST	6	24%
	<b>25</b>	<b>100%</b>

Looking at the differences across subgenres in Table 10 that follows, Biographers tend to praise four times more than Fiction with 35 positive evaluative acts for Biographers, 9 for Fiction reviewers and 10 for History reviewers out of 54 evaluative acts of Praise. In percentage terms Praise is distributed across the three subgenres as shown in Table 10:

**Table 10: The Distribution of Praise per subgenre in the Preliminary study**

PRAISE	BIO	FICTION	HISTORY
Instances of praise	35	9	10
Percentage of instances	35/54	9/54	10/54
TOT	65%	17%	19%

As far as the Distribution of Criticism, across subgenres, is concerned, Fiction reviewers tend to be more critical than History reviewers with 12 negative evaluative acts against 7 negative evaluative acts for Biographers and 6 for Historians out of 25 critical acts with the following percentages of critical evaluative acts in the three subgenres:

**Table 11: The distribution of Criticism per subgenre in the Preliminary Study**

CRITICISM	BIO	FICTION	HISTORY
Instances of criticism	7	12	6
Percentage of instances	7/25	12/25	6/25
TOT	28%	48%	24%

As in Hyland's (2004b) academic corpus, Praise (54) and Hedged Praise (10) are more widespread than Criticism (25) and Hedged Criticism (20) in a corpus of 17,931 words. If the categories of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism are added to unhedged Praise and unhedged Criticism, we have 64 instances of Praise and 45 instances of Criticism, which in percentage on a total of 135 evaluative acts would be 47% for Praise and a percentage of 33% for Criticism. These percentages include hedged evaluation. This datum reinforces the hypothesis made earlier that hedging strategies play a key role in this genre of text. Reviewers use quite consistently both Praise and Hedged Praise, Criticism and Hedged Criticism, perhaps in the attempt to reach a balance of positive and negative comments in their reviewing of the book.

This way of proceeding, arguing about positive and negative points of the book, softening both positive and negative evaluation through hedging, ensures the production of an unbiased review text that is bound to be polite, less Face-threatening and more acceptable to the reading public.

### **3.8.2. The Frequency and Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair**

This section concerns the analysis of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the preliminary study. The Praise and Criticism Pair appears to be quite frequent in the Body, with a percentage of 54% (14 instances in a total of 26) across the three subgenres. This is in line with what happens with Praise and Criticism as isolated, unhedged categories. However, unlike what happens in unhedged Praise and Criticism, the Pair is more used in the Openings, with a percentage 30.8% (8/26) than in the Closes. My claim is that Openings are a strategic point of the review text where reviewers try to establish a positive rapport with the reader. It can be argued that the flexibility and versatility of the Pair grants space both to positive and negative opinions, seems a perfect rhetorical strategy to start the review. My contention is that this Pair tends to occur at the beginning because it offers a balanced evaluation that works as a prelude for the judgement that will be expressed more at length in the Body of the review. This claim will be explored and substantiated in a larger corpus of reviews.

Not surprisingly, the Pair is more frequently used in the Body, where evaluation is more conspicuous and in the Closes that are salient parts of the review, where the reviewer wants to offer an objective view about what is good and what is bad about the book. Juxtaposing good and bad points is a useful resource for reviewers that seem to use it quite consistently across the three review subgenres. However, the Pair is used in 27% of the cases by Biography reviewers while Fiction and History reviewers use it more frequently, with a percentage of 35% for History reviewers and 38% for Fiction, as shown in Table 11 that follows. These data suggest that there isn't much difference in the use of the Pair across genres. The overall Frequency of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the preliminary study is 19% with 26 evaluative acts on a total of 135 evaluative acts which totals the number of evaluative acts across the five analytical categories chosen namely: Praise, Hedged praise, Criticism, Hedged criticism and the Praise and Criticism Pair.

**Table 12: The Frequency of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the Preliminary study**

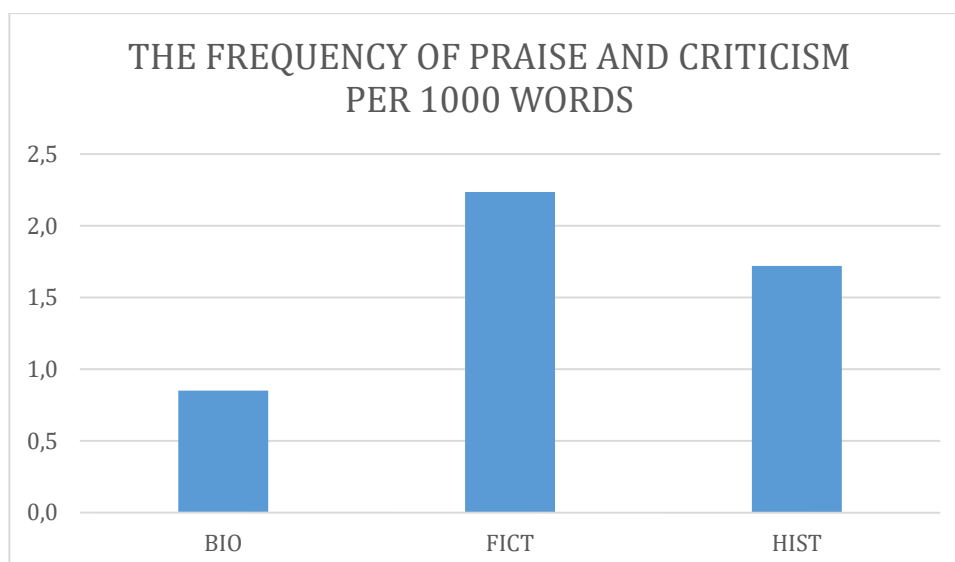
		Percentages
Praise and criticism Opening	7	27%
Praise and criticism Body	10	38%
Praise and criticism Close	9	35%
TOTAL	26	100%

**Table 13: The distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair per subgenre in the Preliminary Study**

	BIO	FICTION	HISTORY
Instances of praise and criticism	7	10	9
Proportion of instances	7/26	10/26	9/26
TOT Percentage of instances	27%	38%%	35%

**Table 14: Evaluative Acts of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the Preliminary Study**

TABLE 3D SUMMARY TABLE: PRAISE AND CRITICISM ACROSS SUBGENRES												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVERALL PER 1000 WORDS
BIO	3	650	4.6	3	7271	0.4	1	306	3.3	8227	7	0.9
FICT	2	706	2.8	6	3203	1.9	2	563	3.6	4472	10	2.2
HIST	3	636	4.7	5	4227	1.2	1	369	2.7	5232	9	1.7
TOTAL	8	1992	4.0	14	14701	1.0	4	1238	3.2	17931	26	1.5



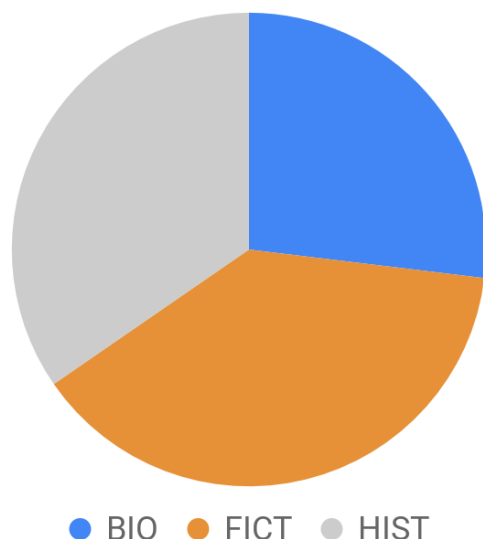
	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	7	0.9
FICT	10	2.2
HIST	9	1.7

In the Openings, History reviewers have almost 4.7 evaluative acts per 1000 words while Fiction have 2.8 and Bio 4.6. In the Body, History have 1.2 evaluative acts per 1000 words while Fiction have 1.9 and Bio 0.4. In Bio Closes, there are almost 3.3 evaluative acts per 1000 words. For Fiction reviewers, the number is 3.6 evaluative acts per 1000 words. History reviewers use the Praise and Criticism Pair 2.7 per 1000 words.

It seems that Fiction reviewers tend to use the Pair more consistently than the other two subgenres, both in the Body and at the end of the Broadsheet review. In the Opening, the Pair is used more by History than Fiction reviewers, while Bio reviewers use it the least in the Body and in the Closes. In the Opening, Bio reviewers use the Pair quite consistently with 4.6 evaluative acts per 1000 words. In percentage terms, Biographers use the Pair the least with 27%, while Fiction reviewers use the Pair the most with 38%. History reviewers are in the middle with 35%.

**Table 15: Evaluative acts for the Praise and Criticism Pair in per cent**

### EVALUATIVE ACTS FOR THE PRAISE AND CRITICISM



	Evaluative acts	Evaluative acts for praise and criticism per cent
BIO	7	27%
FICT	10	38%
HIST	9	35%
TOT	26	100%

### 3.8.3. The Frequency and Distribution of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism

I will now compare the ways in which reviewers use hedging with a positive and a negative polarity in the various sections of the BR text: Opening, Body and Close and across the three subgenres. It is relevant to point out that while Praise is hedged both in the Opening, with a percentage of 30% (3/10) and in the Body 60% (6/10). Criticism is predominantly hedged in the Body with a percentage of 65% (13/20) and in the Close (7/20) with a percentage of 35%. Closes, instead, (1/10) have only 10% of Hedged Praise. The number of occurrences of the evaluative category are shown in brackets in Table 16 and 17 that follow.

**Table 16: The Frequency of Hedged Praise in the Preliminary study**

		Percentages
Hedged Praise Opening	3	30%
Hedged Praise Body	6	60%
Hedged Praise Close	1	10%
TOTAL	10	100%

**Table 17: The Frequency of Hedged Criticism in the Preliminary study**

Hedged Criticism Opening	0	0%
Hedged Criticism Body	13	65%
Hedged Criticism Close	7	35%
TOTAL	20	100%

The reason for that may be that the Body appears to be a favourite location for Criticism, and it is therefore in the Body that Criticism tends to be more hedged. It is as if the reviewer attempted to keep Criticism away from more salient points –the beginning and the end of the review, especially from the beginning of the review, where Hedged Criticism never appears. However, a less prominent location for Criticism seems not enough to safeguard the potential threat to the Face of the addressee, as we will see later in the thesis. On an intuitive level, the reason why Criticism is not hedged in the Opening of the review is that there are hardly any critical judgements at the beginning of the review where either Praise or the Praise and Criticism Pair are more frequently used to start the broadsheet review on a positive note. This often happens in evaluative processes where the positive is a prelude to negative comments- the example of evaluating students will suffice for the time being. A more detailed analysis will follow in section 4.6. of chapter 4.

Comparing the Frequency of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism in terms of subgenre differences in Table 18 and 19 that follow, it seems that a huge amount of hedging Criticism occurs in Fiction with 6 instances of Hedged Praise and 13 instances of Hedged Criticism. Biography reviewers hedge the least, with 2 instances of Praise and one of Criticism. History reviewers hedge Criticism in 6 instances and Praise in 2 instances. Criticism (20) is hedged double the times compared to Praise (10) with a percentage of 15% for Hedged Criticism and 7% of Hedged Praise on the total of 135 evaluative acts that occur in the 12 reviews of the Preliminary study.



The Preliminary study shows that two rhetorical strategies overlap: the location of Criticism and its hedging. Hedged criticism is chosen by reviewers in order to comply with politeness strategies and safeguard the Face of the author. The use of hedges seems to ensure a less Face-threatening approach to critical comments. The presence of Hedged Criticism in the Close may be accounted for by the fact that here the reviewer has two contrasting aims to fulfil: one is to provide an honest opinion about the book that cannot be postponed, because reviewers have reached the end of the review, and the other is that the readers expect to hear their opinion about the book, but also expect reviewers to avoid offending the addressees of the review. These distributional patterns and the presence of hedges make Criticism more socially acceptable and less Face threatening for the audience as shown in Tables 19 and 21 below.

**Table 18: The Frequency of Hedged Praise in the Preliminary Study per subgenre**

Analytical category	Evaluative acts	Percentages
Hedged Praise Bio	2	20%
Hedged Praise Fiction	6	60%
Hedged Praise History	2	20%
TOTAL	10	100%

**Table 19: The Frequency of Hedged Criticism in the Preliminary Study per subgenre**

Analytical category	Evaluative acts	Percentages
Hedged Criticism Bio	1	5%
Hedged Criticism Fiction	13	65%
Hedged Criticism History	6	30%
TOTAL	20	100%

**Table 20: The Distribution of Hedged Praise per subgenre in the Preliminary Study in instances and percentages**

HEDGED PRAISE	BIO	FICTION	HISTORY
Instances of hedged praise	2	6	2
Percentage of instances	2/10	6/10	2/10
TOTAL	20%	60%	20%

**Table 21: The Distribution of Hedged Criticism per subgenre in the Preliminary Study in instances and percentages**

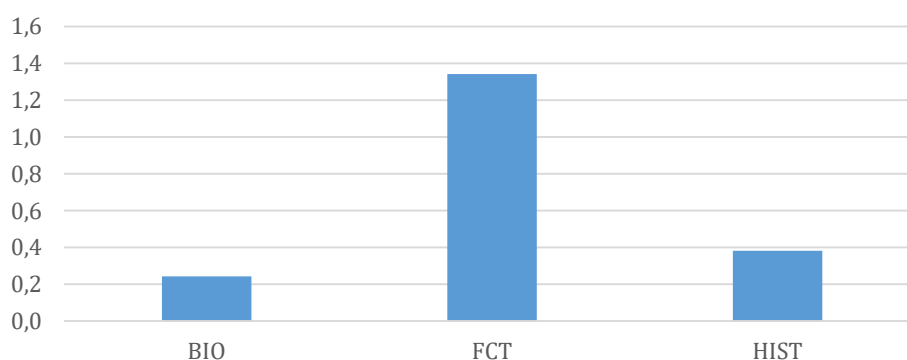
HEDGED CRITICISM	BIO	FICTION	HISTORY
Instances of hedged criticism	1	13	6
Percentage of instances	1/20	13/20	6/20
TOTAL	5%	65%	30%

Table 22 and Table 23 show where Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism occur and their Frequency in the Preliminary study while Table 22a and 23a show evaluative acts of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism per cent.

**Table 22: Evaluative acts of Hedged Praise in the Preliminary Study**

SUMMARY TABLE 4D HEDGED PRAISE DISTRIBUTION ACROSS SUBGENRES												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVERALL PER 1000 WORDS
BIO	1	650	1.5	1	7271	0.1	0	306	0.0	8227	2	0.2
FICT	1	706	1.4	4	3203	1.2	1	563	1.8	4472	6	1.3
HIST	1	636	1.6	1	4227	0.2	0	369	0.0	5232	2	0.4
TOT	3	1992	1.5	6	14.701	0.4	1	1238	0.8	17931	10	0.6

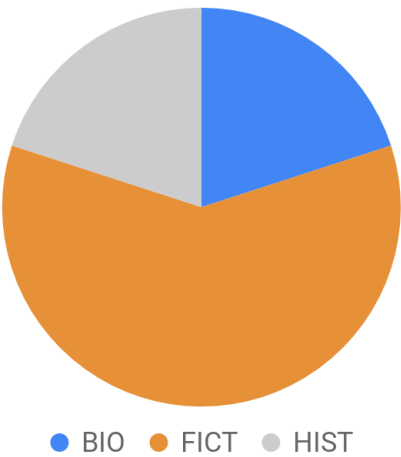
**THE FREQUENCY OF HEDGED PRAISE PER 1000 WORDS**



	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	2	0.2
FICT	6	1.3
HIST	2	0.4

Table 22a: Evaluative acts for hedged Praise per cent

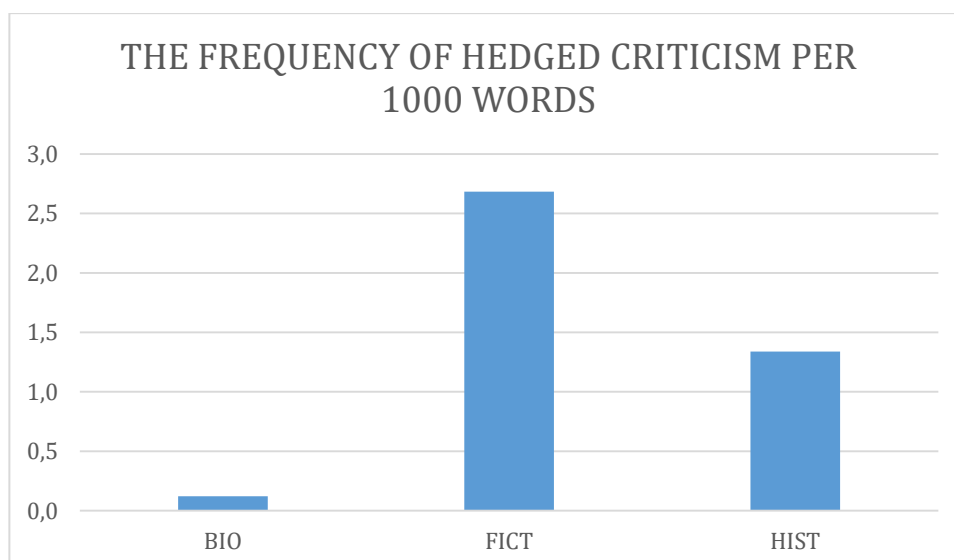
EVALUATIVE ACTS FOR HEDGED PRAISE PER CENT



	Evaluative acts	Evaluative acts for Hedged Praise per cent
BIO	2	20%
FCT	6	60%
HIST	2	20%
TOTAL	10	100%

Table 23: Evaluative acts of Hedged Criticism in the Preliminary Study

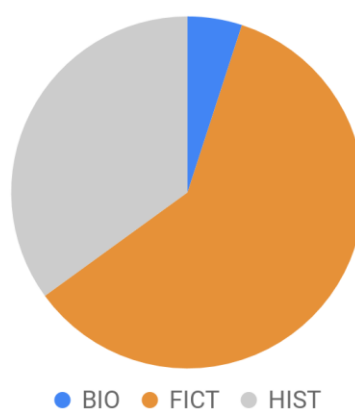
SUMMARY TABLE HEDGED CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION ACROSS SUBGENRES												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVERALL PER 1000 WORDS
BIO	0	650	0.0	1	7271	0.1	0	306	0.0	8227	1	0.1
FICT	0	706	0.0	8	3203	2.5	4	563	7.1	4472	12	2.7
HIST	0	636	0.0	4	4227	0.9	3	369	8.1	5232	7	1.3
TOTAL	0	1992	0.0	13	14701	0.9	7	1238	5.7	17931	20	1.1



	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	1	0.1
FICT	12	2.7
HIST	7	1.3

**Table 23a: Evaluative acts of hedged criticism per cent**

EVALUATIVE ACTS FOR HEDGED CRITICISM PER CENT



	Evaluative acts	Evaluative acts for hedged criticism per cent
BIO	1	5%
FICT	12	60%
HIST	7	35%
TOT	20	100%

The preliminary study shows that, in the selected corpus, there were 10 evaluative acts of Hedged Praise, with a percentage of 33% versus 20 acts of Hedged Criticism with a percentage of 67%, which is almost double. The corpus consists of a total of 135 evaluative acts. In terms of subgenre differences, Hedged Criticism occurs 0.1 in the Body of Biography reviews, 2.5 times in the Body of Fiction reviews and 0.9 in the Body of History reviews. Criticism is never hedged in Closes for Bio, but it is hedged 8.1 for History BRers and 7.1 per 1000 words for Fiction BRers. Fiction reviewers tend to hedge criticism more than the others, both in the Body and in the Close of the review.

As far as Praise is concerned, in the Opening, Bio reviewers hedge 1.5 per 1000 words, Fiction reviewers hedge 1.4 per 1000 words and History reviewers hedge 1.6 per 1000 words. For Criticism, there is no hedging may be because there is no Criticism in Openings.

In the Body, reviewers hedge Praise 0.1 for Bio, 1.2 for Fiction and 0.2 for History. While for Criticism, Bio reviewers hedge 0.1 per 1000 words, Fiction reviewers hedge 2.5 per 1000 words and History reviewers hedge 0.9 per 1000 words.

In the Closes, Bio and History reviewers do not hedge Praise while Fiction reviewers hedge 8.1 per 1000 words. For Criticism, there is no hedging in the Closes for Bio reviewers while Fiction reviewers hedge 7.1 per 1000 words and History reviewers hedge 8.1 per 1000 words.

It is relevant to point out that in the Fiction subgenre both Praise and Criticism are hedged the most. It seems that it is the subgenre and not the polarity that determines the hedging. This result is in line with the work of other linguists such as Itakura (2013). My contention, from these preliminary data, is that polarity does not affect hedging in a significant way - as also maintained by Itakura (2013). The preliminary data indicate that it will be relevant to study hedging and polarity in a larger scale corpus to see whether data are consistent with the Preliminary Study or different.

Looking at the study globally, it is also interesting to observe that out of 5 categories, only 2, Praise and Criticism imply a straightforward, unhedged comment of the reviewer on the book, while 3 out of 5 categories, namely Praise and Criticism, Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism suppose a certain amount of hedging. In terms of evaluative acts out of 135 evaluative acts, 56 acts have some hedging while 79 acts are not hedged, they are mere Praise or Criticism.

In percentage terms, 59% of evaluative acts are unhedged while 41% of evaluative acts call for some hedging. This is a relevant datum for a study on evaluative strategies in BR as the current one, to bear in mind when exploring hedging devices further in the following chapters. It seems that even though hedging plays an important role in evaluative processes,

BRers also opt for unhedged evaluation on a consistent number of occasions. The analysis of a larger corpus may suggest the reasons for this choice.

Looking at the data in terms of polarity of evaluation, understandably, reviewers felt the need to hedge Criticism much more than Praise for the reasons mentioned above, namely, to protect the Face of author but also of the reader. A critical comment may be not acceptable for the author, since they may feel offended. Moreover his/her public Face and reputation may be threatened. Similarly, the reader may refuse extremely negative comments, first of all because they aren't expected in this genre of texts where a book comes to be publicly evaluated. Secondly, extremely negative comments may seem biased, while reviews are expected to be objective and impartial and, most of all, balanced, as shown by the ALA (2005) study on expectations about this genre. However, also Praise was hedged quite often with 10 occurrences. There seems to be an interpersonal concern in BRs not to sound biased, but also the necessity not to threaten the negative Face of the reader who might not share the same appreciation of the reviewer, even if it is a positive comment on the book or on the author.

### **3.9. The Target of unhedged Praise and Criticism in the Preliminary Study**

Target is the third research parameter used to investigate which evaluative strategies are at work in this highly evaluative genre. In this section, I will explore the following questions:

- a) Who or what is the Target of Unhedged Praise and Criticism?
- b) Do BRers tend to praise the Author and criticize Specific Aspects of the book? Do they attempt to shift blame away from the author of the book as in Hyland's (2004b) academic corpus? Or does the broadsheet genre have peculiarities of its own that haven't been explored yet?
- c) Are the Targets different depending on the positivity or the negativity of the comments?
- d) Does the subgenre impact the choice of the Target in a meaningful way? For instance, do biographers judge the author more than historians?

Eight nodes were identified as possible Targets of Praise and Criticism at the beginning of the chapter. I will now present the results within the four categories of analysis I have already used for Distribution.

### 3.10. The Target of Praise in the Preliminary Study

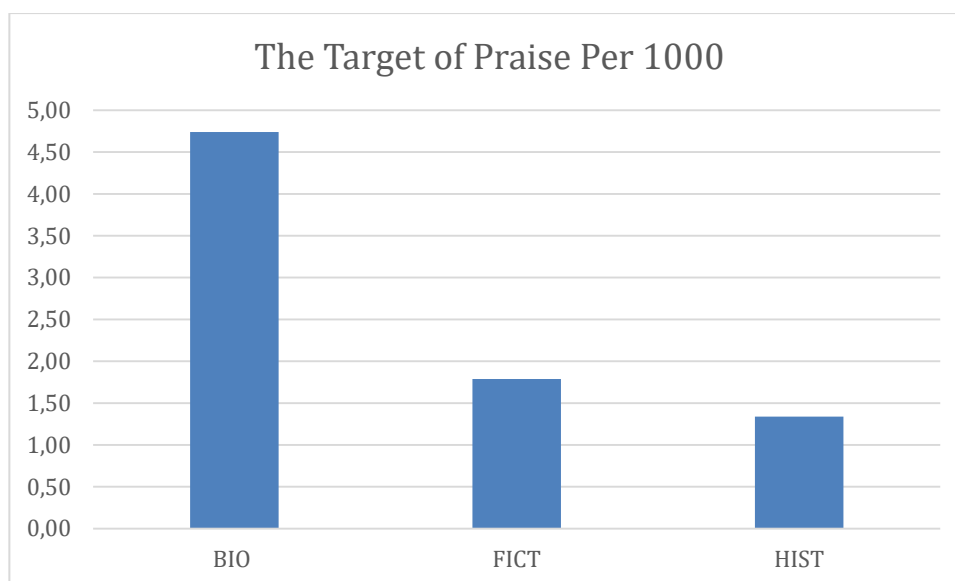
In this section, the targets of Praise and the possible similarities and differences across subgenres will be identified. When reviewers of Biography, Fiction and History Praise, their favourite target is the Author (19) followed by Specific aspects of content (11) and then by General aspects of content (6). The number of evaluative acts is shown in brackets.

**Table 24: The Target of Praise in the BB Preliminary Study**

SUMMARY TABLE 12 D: THE TARGET OF PRAISE ACROSS SUBGENRES											
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise compar ative	praise reading experien ce	praise thr quot	praise subject matter	total occurre nces	number of words	Per 1000
BIO	5	7	13	0	2	1	2	9	39	8227	4.74
FICT	1	2	3	0	1	0	0	1	8	4472	1.79
HIST	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	1	7	5232	1.34
TOTAL	6	11	19	0	4	1	2	11	54	13459	4.01

Broadsheet reviewer's focus on Specific Aspects (11) of the book they liked twice more than they do with General comments (6). They tend to give credit to the Author for the achievements of the book reviewed, making Praise mainly a Praise of the Author with 19 instances.

Praising the Subject matter (11) is also very important for Biography reviewers, who seem more interested in indulging on conveying their knowledge about the subject of the review, rather than commenting on the book reviewed. However, these occurrences are limited to 2 biography reviews-Bio31TLS with 7 occurrences and Bio 23 Ind with 2 occurrences. It will be interesting to explore what happens in a larger corpus in this respect. Table 25 shows the target of Praise in more detail. The number of evaluative acts per 1000 words is 4.7 for Bio, 1.7 for Fiction and 1.3 for History. Biography reviewers tend to praise consistently more than the other two subgenres. The bar chart below shows Praise across genres. It is relevant to note that Bio broadsheet reviews use this evaluative resource more than the other two subgenres, as shown by the number of occurrences.

**Table 25: The Target of Praise across subgenres per 1000 words**

	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	39	4.74
FICT	8	1.79
HIST	7	1.34

### 3.10.1. The Target of Criticism in the Preliminary Study

In this section, I will explore the impact the polarity of evaluation has on the choice of the reviewers' Target. I will attempt to deal with the issues below:

- 1) Do certain analytical categories tend to attract negative evaluative comments? For instance, are Specific Aspects of the book always criticized?
- 2) What Targets do reviewers consistently choose for Criticism?

The data in Table 26 indicate that negativity does not change the target dramatically. Table 26 shows the Targets of Criticism within the preliminary study and the Frequency of the analytical categories selected for this study.

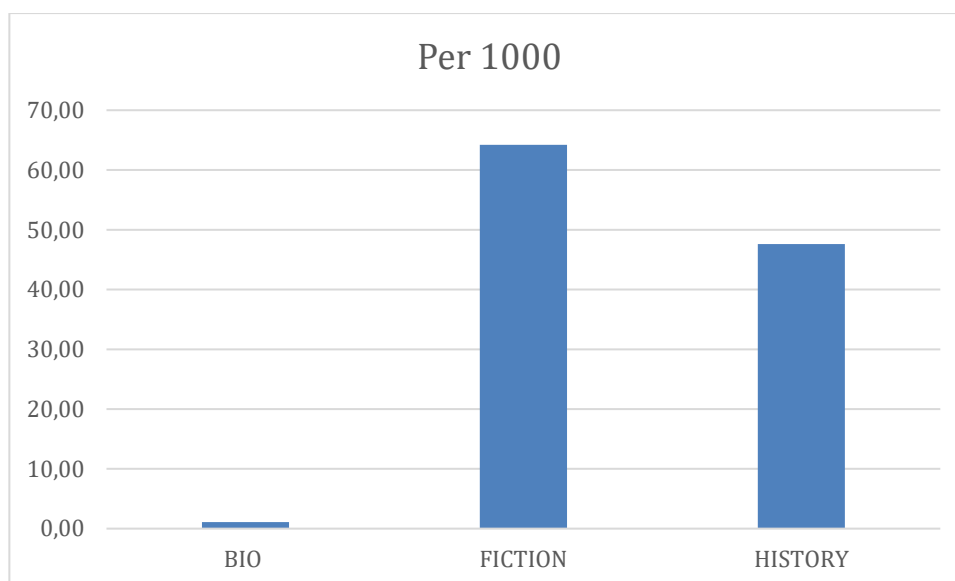


**Table 26: The Target of Criticism in the BB Preliminary Study**

SUMMARY TABLE 13 D: THE TARGET OF CRITICISM ACROSS SUBGENRES											
	general crit content	specific crit content	Crit author	Crit style	crit compar ative	crit reading experie nce	Crit thr quot	praise subject matter	total occurre nces	numbe r of words	Per 1000
BIO	1	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	9	8227	1.09
FICT	0	4	4	4	0	0	2	0	14	218	64.22
HIST	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	42	47.62
TOTAL	1	6	9	6	1	0	2	0	25	8445	2.96

As with Praise, also in the Criticism node, the Author comes first with 9 occurrences, followed by Specific Content and Style with 6. It seems that the same categories as Praise appear to be valued. Criticism occurs in Fiction reviews 64 times per 1000 words, while History reviewers are critical 47.6 times every 1000 words. The number of critical occurrences in the History subgenre is extremely rare in the BB Corpus with 1.1. Times every 1000 words.

Moreover, Style and language come to be criticized with 6 occurrences, also the use of Quotations, either from the book or from other sources, is a useful tool for critique with 2 occurrences. It seems that Criticism requires more in-depth detailing of what wasn't liked. Reviewers appear to owe more explanations to the readers for their critical comments than they do for their positive ones, as one may expect. Within the three subgenres, fiction writers tend to criticize Style with 4 occurrences out of 6 and, understandably so, because style is key requirement for a writer of Fiction while rigour may be more appropriate for Biography and History reviewers.

**Table 27: The Target of Criticism across subgenres per 1000 words**

	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	9	1.09
FICTION	14	64.22
HISTORY	2	47.62

As far as Criticism is concerned, both Fiction and History BR reviewers make extensive use of critical comments while Bio reviews rarely choose Criticism. For Fiction, the frequency per thousand words is 64.22, for History it is 47.62 while for Bio it is only 1.09. These data outline Bio broadsheet reviewers as the most reluctant to offer negative comments about the book reviewed.

### **3.10.2. The Target of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the Preliminary Study**

In order to address Q1 on page 95, I will now focus on the Targets of the Praise and Criticism Pair and reflect on the extent to which the juxtaposition of positive and negative judgement can impact reviewers' choice of the target.

**Table 28: The Target of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BB Preliminary Study**

SUMMARY TABLE 14 D THE TARGET OF PRAISE AND CRITICISM ACROSS SUBGENRES											
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise compar ative	praise reading experie nce	praise thr quot	Praise subject matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
BIO	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	8227	0.73
FICT	4	4	3	0	0	1	1	0	13	4472	2.91
HIST	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	7	5232	1.34
TOTAL	10	8	6	0	0	1	1	0	26	13459	1.93

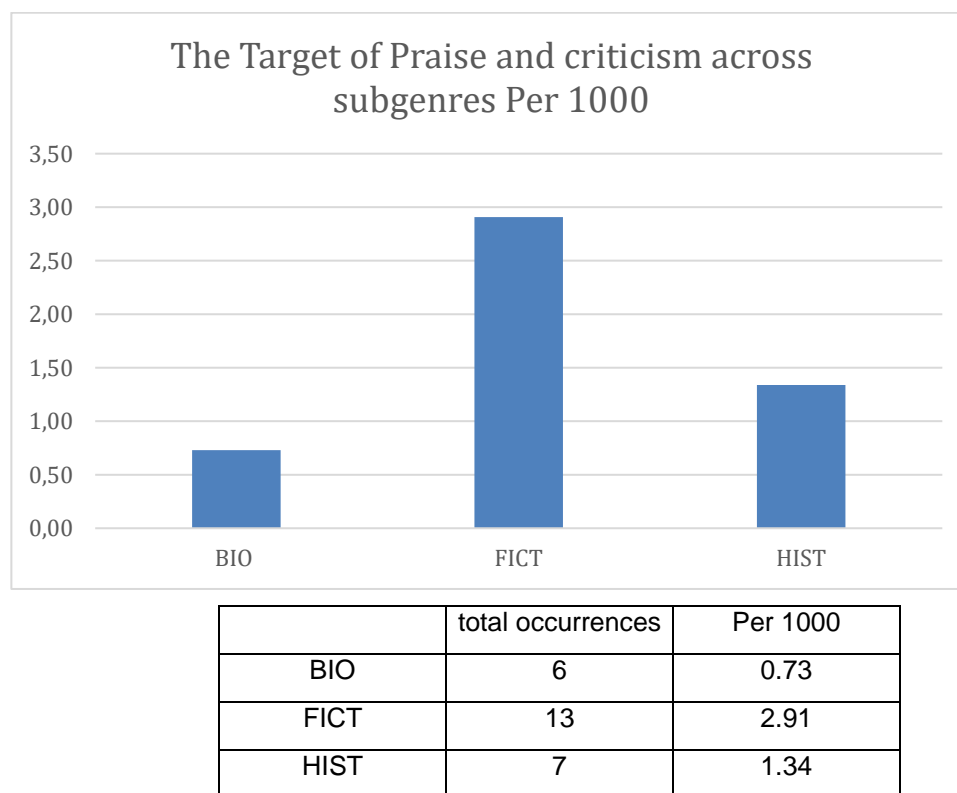
When reviewers praise and criticize within the same utterance, they focus on General aspects of the book (10) first, then Specific aspects of the book (8). The Author follows with 6 occurrences. The occurrence of General versus Specific aspects of the book is a very interesting datum. It is heavily impacted by polarity. It varies greatly for Criticism that has only 1 instance of General criticism and 6 of Specific Criticism of certain aspects of the book. For Praise, there are 6 occurrences of Praise of General content and 11 for Praise of Specific content. Praise and the Pair are not very different in terms of number of occurrences.

It could be argued that the gap is narrower compared to Criticism since Praise is positive and the Pair ensures a balanced amount of positive and negative comments. It follows that when reviewers use the Pair, they can be bolder and criticize the book as a whole - an extremely Face-threatening act - as observed by Hyland (2004b:48). They can target not only General Content but also the Author. This could be a potentially Face-threatening act, but the Praise part of the Pair seems to readjust the risk of any possible offence that may be caused by the negative part of the Pair. This Pair seems to provide enough hedging in the praise part of the Pair that is often placed before criticism as if to foreground its force.

BRers of the Preliminary corpus also make comments on the Reading experience (1). They use Quotations to evaluate (1) but they are never concerned with Style (0). It seems that substantial aspects such as Content and Author are targeted by the Pair more than formal ones such as Style and Comparative experience. My contention is that this allows the evaluative target core of the review to be hedged in a socially appropriate way. In other words, substantial, key aspects of the book are targeted by the reviewer using an evaluative strategy such as the Praise and Criticism Pair. The main feature of the Pair is that it conveys both

positive and negative comments on the book. This safeguards the Face of both the author and readers. BRers across subgenres use the Pair in a consistent way because it is instrumental in complying with politeness rules. The graph below shows how the presence of the Pair crosses all the subgenres with a peak of frequency for Fiction and quite an even presence for Bio and History.

**Table 29: The Target of Praise and Criticism across subgenres per 1000 words**



### 3.10.3. The Target of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism in the Preliminary Study

This section addresses the question: What happens when reviewers choose to praise and criticize using hedges? How does hedging affect the evaluative process in the Target research parameter?

I will now look at how hedging influences the Target of judgement and how reviewers behave across the three subgenres. The use reviewers make of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism will also be contrasted.

**Table 30: The Target of Hedged Praise across subgenres**

TABLE 15 D: SUMMARY TARGET OF HEDGED PRAISE ACROSS SUBGENRES											
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise comp arativ e	praise reading experie nce	praise throu gh quotat ions	hedged praise subject matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
BIO	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8227	0,12
FICT	4	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	8	4472	1,79
HIST	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5232	0,19
TOTAL	6	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	10	13459	0.74

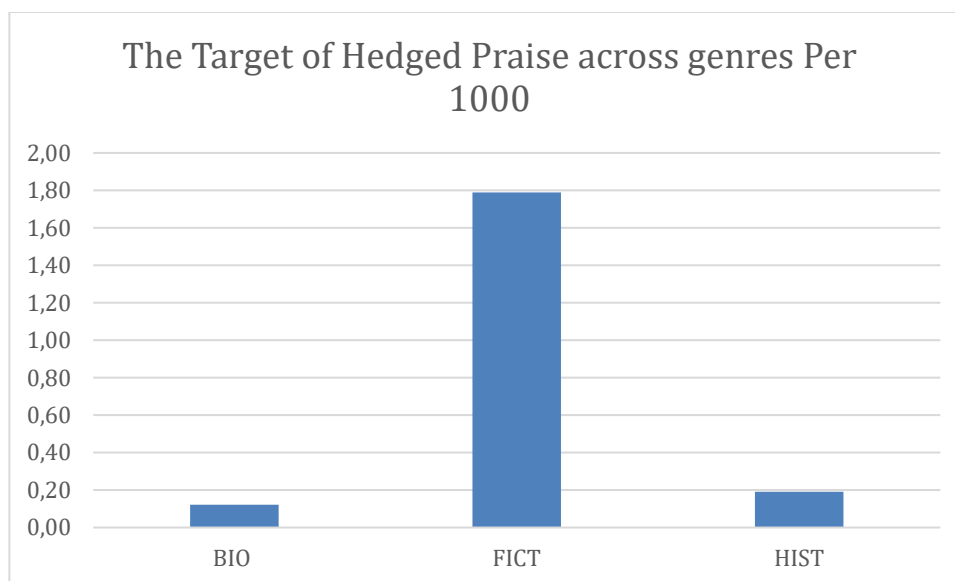
If we start with Biography, it appears that biographers rarely hedge Praise. They do so when the Targets are General Aspects of content, but only in one occurrence out of 10 evaluative acts of Hedged Praise.

Fiction reviewers seem keener on hedging the evaluation of General Aspects of Content with 4 occurrences. They hedge Specific Content only on 2 occasions and the Author and Quotations on 1 occasion only.

History reviewers focus on hedging General content only on one occasion. Looking at the summary table of the three genres, General content comes first with 6 occurrences out of 10. However, 4 instances out of 10 belong to the subgenre Fiction. In terms of subgenre Distribution, Praise is hedged 0.1 times every 1000 words in Biography, 1.8 times in Fiction and 0.1 times in History.

If we look at the Target of Hedged Praise across genres, Fiction BRers appear to use hedging more frequently when they praise, while both Bio and History BRers use it very rarely as illustrated below:

**Table 31: The Target of Hedged Praise across subgenres per 1000 words**



	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	1	0.12
FICT	8	1.79
HIST	1	0.19

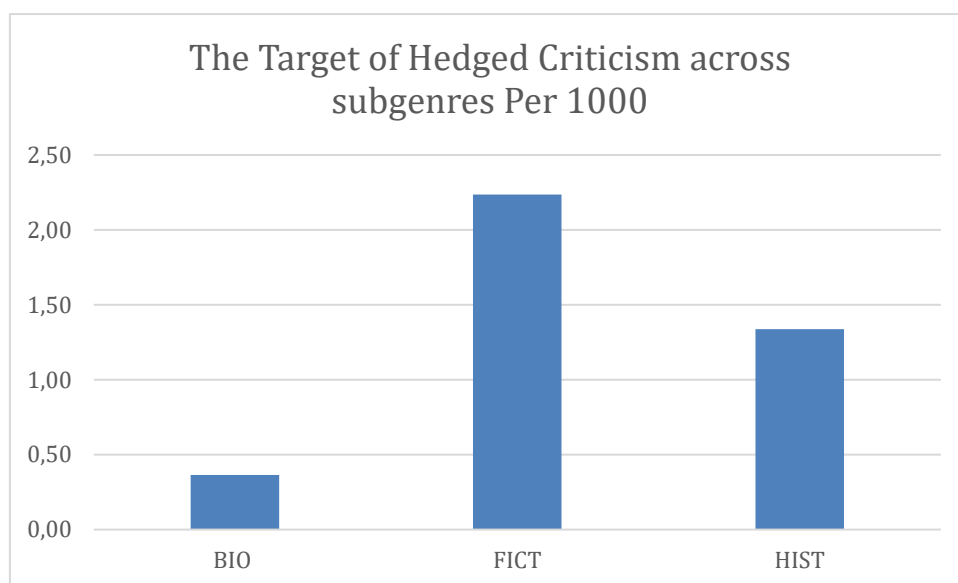
When reviewers hedge criticism, they mainly focus on both General (7) and Specific Aspects of content (7) followed by the Author and Style with 2 instances, while Subject matter, and Quotations all have 1 occurrence.

**Table 32: The Target of Hedged Criticism across subgenres**

SUMMARY TABLE 16 D: THE TARGET OF HEDGED CRITICISM ACROSS SUBGENRES											
	general crit content	specific crit content	Crit author	Crit style	crit comparative	Crit reading experience	Crit thru quot	hedged criticism subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000
BIO	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8227	0,36
FICT	4	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	10	4472	2,24
HIST	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	7	5232	1,34
TOT	7	7	2	2	0	0	1	1	20	13459	1.49

As shown in the graph below, Criticism is hedged 0.3 times per 1000 words in Biography, 2.2 in Fiction and 1.3 in History reviews.

**Table 33: The Target of Hedges Criticism across subgenres per 1000 words**



	total occurrences	Per 1000
BIO	3	0.36
FICT	10	2.24
HIST	7	1.34

The total number of evaluative acts of Hedged Praise is 10 while the total number of evaluative acts for Hedged Criticism is 20. Across the preliminary corpus, Criticism is more hedged than Praise, as expected, due to the Face threatening potential Criticism has. It is relevant to point out that Fiction BRers and History BRers that use Criticism more than History BRers, feel the need to hedge critical comments the most. This choice is consistent with Politeness strategies at work in the BR genre that highly value the respect of Face.

The main difference between Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism seems that while Hedged Praise mainly targets General aspects of content, Hedged Criticism mainly concerns both General and Specific Aspects of content. The reason may well be that Criticism is diluted and softened by hedges and by a specific target that circumscribes the negativity to certain aspects of the book as noted by Hyland (2004b:48) without taking the risk of evaluating the whole book in a negative way.

On the other hand, Praise is hedged to seek a balanced evaluation that couldn't be achieved through boosted Praise. This suggests that amplifying Praise is a biased judgement, unacceptable in a genre BR that aims at balance as argued by North (1992) and the survey of the American Library Association (2005) reported in the first chapter of the thesis. However, the positivity of Praise is enhanced by the fact that it embraces

broad aspects of the book and therefore ensures a positive feedback to the reader. These two contrasting forces that pull the text towards attenuated but overreaching Praise, seem particularly fruitful in this genre of text for the politeness and social constraints highlighted earlier in the chapter.

### **3.11. Identifying patterns in the data**

#### **3.11.1. Exploring patterns in the Frequency and Distribution of rhetorical evaluative strategies**

In this section, key patterns in rhetorical evaluative strategies in the Frequency and Distribution of analytical categories will be analysed. Table 26 that follows, presents all the data collected to indicate patterns of use in the Frequency and Distribution of evaluation in the preliminary study. A comment on the data of this table will follow in the form of a series of synthetic points that summarize the most significant patterns of use found in the preliminary study. The patterns of use detected in terms of Frequency and Distribution in the preliminary study are four and are presented as a series of points.

- 1) Evaluation is mainly found in the Body of the review;
- 2) Rhetorical evaluative patterns are subgenre specific;
- 3) The Praise and Criticism Pair has a hedging power;
- 4) Hedging strategies follow distributional patterns.



**Table 34: Patterns in the data: Frequency and Distribution of evaluation in the BBC Preliminary study**

	OPENING	BODY	CLOSE	TOT OF EVALUATIVE ACTS
Praise	7	43	4	54
Criticism	2	20	3	25
The praise and criticism pair	8	14	4	26
Hedged praise	3	6	1	10
Hedged criticism	1	13	6	20
Tot of evaluative acts in each section of the BR	21	96	18	135
Percentages	16%	71%	13%	100%

I will now explain the four points in more detail.

**Pattern 1: Evaluation is located at the heart of the broadsheet review.**

Evaluation is mainly found in the Body across the three genres with 96 occurrences out of 135 evaluative acts and a percentage of 71%.

In Openings, reviewers tend to praise with 21 occurrences out of 135 and a percentage of 15%. There are few occurrences of criticism both in the Opening with 2 occurrences out of 135 evaluative acts and in the Close with 3 occurrences out of 135 evaluative acts. Praise and Hedged praise have 64 occurrences while Criticism and hedged criticism have 45 occurrences. This result contrasts with Hyland's (2004b:46) findings in academic reviews where Praise outnumbered Criticism with 68% of occurrences in the corpus. In the preliminary corpus, there is a slight difference between positive and negative evaluation that does not differ so dramatically. Critical evaluative acts have a percentage of 33% while positive evaluative acts are 47%.

However, BRers feel the need to hedge Criticism (20) much more than Praise (10) over 135 evaluative acts, as expected. As mentioned before, the illocutionary force of Criticism requires some softening to protect the Face of the author and readers, but also to put forward a sort of 'captatio benevolentia', in order to establish a non-conflictual relationship with readers and guide them along the reviewers' claims and argumentative process, as it will be shown in Chapter 6 .

The Praise and Criticism Pair occurs 26 times, similar to the number of critical acts, 25. This datum signals that this Pair requires further investigation because it is a privileged strategy, reviewers chose in the

preliminary corpus, in order to evaluate the book reviewed. The overall number of evaluative acts is 135 in a corpus of 17.931 words which, when normed, means that, in this corpus, the occurrence of evaluation is almost 8 evaluative acts in 1000 words.

**Pattern 2: Evaluative patterns are subgenre specific: Biographers praise, Fiction reviewers blame**

In this section, I will focus on the impact the subgenre of the text, Biography, Fiction and History, has on the evaluative process. In his study, Hyland (2004a) was interested in exploring disciplinary differences in evaluations across academic reviews that ranged from Philosophy to Sociology, from Physics to Marketing. What Hyland (2004b) found was that, especially in Praise, there are disciplinary differences. In Hyland's (2004b:49) words "...while the density of criticism was broadly similar across the fields, the engineering and science reviews contained far more praise than those in the soft fields."

Hyland was working both on hard and soft knowledge, disciplinary fields that are likely to be more heterogeneous in the use of evaluative strategies, while the preliminary corpus comprises only three subgenres, Biography, Fiction and History, which belong to the Humanities domain. Despite this apparent homogeneity, I found disciplinary differences. Fully aware that this is only a partial datum to be confirmed by the analysis of a wider corpus, it is relevant to point out that the most academic of the subgenres, Biography, has a higher percentage of Praise compared to the other two subgenres. I will now make some comments on Table 35, highlighting evaluative patterns from a subgenre perspective.

**Table 35: Evaluative Patterns from a subgenre perspective**

	Praise	Crit	Praise and Crit	Hedged Praise	Hedged Crit	TOT Evaluative acts
BIO	35	7	7	2	1	52
FICT	9	12	10	6	12	49
HIST	10	6	9	2	7	34
TOT	54	25	26	10	20	135

Biographers (35) praise four times more than History (10) and Fiction (9) reviewers. On the other hand, Fiction reviewers (12) tend to be more critical than History (6) and Biography (7) reviewers with almost double occurrences in a total of 25 acts of criticism. The Praise and Criticism pair is spread quite evenly across genres with 7 instances for Bio, 10 for Fiction and 9 for History. Hedging both praise and criticism is more used by Fiction reviewers in the Body of the text with 18 instances

out of 30. Hedging, instead, is scarce in Openings with 3 instances out of 30.

It can be argued that the only impact of polarity is in History where criticism is more hedged than Praise with 7 evaluative acts of hedging for Criticism and only 2 for Praise. In terms of subgenre, Bio (52) and Fiction (49) are more evaluative subgenres than History (34). In percentage terms, Biography BRers evaluate 38.5% in 135 evaluative acts, Fiction BRers evaluate 36% and History BRers 25%. In terms of polarity, Bio BRers tend to praise the most with a percentage of 26%, Fiction BRers tend to praise the least with a percentage of 6.6%. As far as criticism is concerned, Fiction BRers are the most critical with a percentage of 8.8%, while History BRers are the least critical with a percentage of 4.4%. The Praise and Criticism Pair is evenly distributed across the three subgenres with a percentage of 5.1% in Biography, of 7.4% in Fiction, and 6.6 % in History. Hedged Praise is mostly used by Fiction BRers with a percentage of 4.4%, while hedged criticism is scarce with 0.7% in Biography, 8.8% in Fiction and 5.1% in History.

**Pattern 3: The hedging power of the Praise and Criticism Pair:  
The Pair softens the illocutionary force of the Opening and the Body**

In this section, I will make a connection between BRers' choice of the Praise and Criticism Pair as an evaluative strategy and their need to down tone the force of their criticism. As argued both in chapter 1 and in chapter 2, BRs require what North (1992) called 'a balanced judgement.' Readers expect an honest evaluation of the book where both positive and negative aspects are illustrated through a convincing argumentative process, where the reader seems to play a crucial role.

For these reasons, a one-sided, biased approach to evaluation should be avoided. The Praise and Criticism Pair, that juxtaposes positive and negative aspects is therefore a privileged evaluative tool for BRers. It allows them to reach that sense of balance, of social acceptability. It fosters solidarity rather than conflict. My claim is that this is the reason why the Praise and Criticism Pair has a conspicuous presence in the preliminary corpus with 26 occurrences out of 135 and a percentage of 19%. A too critical Opening could be detrimental and not allow an open channel in the sense Jakobson (1960) gave to the term, with the unwanted outcome that the reader may stop reading the review.

The Pair occurs most frequently in the Body with 14 occurrences out of 26 across the three subgenres probably because the Body is the evaluative core of the review text. However, the Pair is also commonly used in the Openings with 9/26 occurrences. It is also relevant that the Pair has a scarce frequency in closes with 4/25 occurrences. These results show a consistent use of the Pair in the evaluative part of the review, namely the

Body but at times, the BR also takes the opportunity to provide a balanced evaluation as an introduction to the review using the Pair. This creates some expectations on the objective, unbiased judgement that will follow in the review. As shown in the examples below, taken from the Openings of two History reviews of the Preliminary corpus, negative comments are balanced with positive ones. In example 1, Praise precedes Criticism while in example 2, Criticism precedes Praise.

The choice of foregrounding Praise rather than Criticism as a theme for the BUT Clause, could be an evaluative strategy itself, given the importance of distribution of evaluative strategies highlighted so far. Another issue worth considering is which Parts of Speech tend to convey positive and negative evaluation. In example 1, the adjectives 'winning' and 'plodding', together with the verb 'let down' are the carriers of evaluation. In example two, the adverbs 'never' and 'deeply' hint at a certain superficiality on the part of the author while the adjectives 'ready' and 'relevant' praise the author's skill in the choice of subject matter handled and the adverb 'almost' hedges the final praise. The connection between certain Parts of Speech and evaluation is worth exploring in a wider corpus.

### **Example 1: Hist01DT**

William Hill-winning tale of a Sixties race-fixing ring is let down by plodding prose,

### **Example 2: Hist12IND**

A conversational book that never delves too deeply into any topic but ready with relevant comment on almost everything.

As far subgenre distribution of evaluative comments and hedges are concerned, in the Preliminary Corpus, Biography reviewers hardly ever hedge criticism in Closes. There is also a subgenre difference in Fiction where the Body is heavily hedged for negative comments with 12 occurrences while for positive comments, reviewers use hedges half the times. These data comply with social demands linked to the BR genre, where negative comments require more softening than Praise because readers are less inclined to accept Criticism. Some examples, taken from the Close of Fiction reviews of the preliminary study, illustrate how hedging works in Closes.

Example 3 below, is interesting in terms of hedging strategies enacted. First of all, Criticism is shared with the reader who becomes the main protagonist of the critical act, as signalled by the use of the personal pronoun 'you' and the object pronoun 'us.' Secondly, Criticism is not

presented as an assertion but as a hypothesis, as indicated by the connector 'If', that opens the sentence. Both strategies hedge criticism.

### **Example 3: Fict 21DT**

If aspects of its history are obscure – did China annex the United States? – You feel it's because he's plunging us in without a guidebook-style gloss rather than because he didn't think things through. (Close)

In Example 4, the adverb 'Perhaps' hedges Criticism because Criticism is not an assertion, a fact but as a possibility. The blame for starving the author's talents is not on the author but on the environment and his early success-both are external factors. The environment is personified and presented as the agent responsible for the death of the author's talents. Presenting Criticism as a personal opinion as envisaged by the adverb 'perhaps' and the shifting of responsibility onto the environment, outside the author, hedge and soften the force of the critical act. The result is adherence to the politeness conventions at work in the BR review genre.

### **Example 4: Fict26TLS**

Perhaps his meteoric early success catapulted him into an environment that starved his talents. (Close)

### **Pattern 4: Hedging strategies follow distributional patterns: hedging Praise in the Opening and Criticism in the Close**

In this section, I will show how reviewers play with the Distribution of hedging strategies to satisfy the rhetorical needs of the BR, namely, to avoid subjectivity, to be socially acceptable and open to readers' contrasting opinions. Reviewers tend to use Hedged Praise in the Opening (2/10) with a percentage of 20% and in the Body (6/10) with a percentage of 60%. They tend to hedge Criticism in the Body (12/20) with a percentage of 60% and in the Close (7/20) with a percentage of 35%. Here the percentages that relate to the analytical category under scrutiny have been calculated, in order to foreground the use of hedging in that specific category.

Criticism is hedged in a high number of cases in the Body, as shown by the percentages. Some examples of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism in the Body for Fiction follow. In example 5, the reviewer criticizes the handling of the topic and a lack of suspense. The use of Style is also criticized. Criticism is hedged by the use of Quotations because

they provide evidence of the reviewer's argument about the author's long-winded style. The adverbs 'often' and 'almost', the epistemic verb 'seem' hedge the reviewer's critical comments.

### Example 5: Fict21DT

“...for a quest narrative – it's almost painfully zestless, despite bouts of intense action...Often Lee seems to use more words than he needs: “She was quite enrapt, we are certain, even as her face remained almost totally blank, just as a drinking glass remains unchanged when filled with water but of course is not at all the same.”

In example 6, the hedging of Criticism is conveyed by the negation 'none' followed by the adverb 'entirely' that narrows Criticism to one specific aspect hence limiting the Face-threatening force of Criticism. Also, the use of 'likely' hints at a possibility rather than a fact and, this, acts as a hedging device. The sequence of negatives that follow 'not, isn't, isn't' and the adverb 'often' seem to have the same aim: softening Criticism.

### Example 6: Fict26TLS

None of these books is entirely bad, but even a very charitable reading would have to call them patchy. Kureishi's characters have also become increasingly likely to launch into rudderless and not obviously ironic reflections about the purpose of art, which – if it isn't the kiss of death exactly – isn't often the mark of an author with a keen aim.

It is also relevant to compare the percentage of Hedged Criticism in the Body (13) with the Opening (1) within the analytical category Hedged Criticism. There is a huge difference in the use of hedging in these two parts of the review text. The Body has 65% of Hedged Criticism while the Opening has only 5%. The distributional evaluative gap widens and becomes more relevant. The reason may be that Openings are often more informative than evaluative so reviewers tend to offer either background information about the content of the book or the author or they opt for the Praise and Criticism Pair that enhances the balanced nature of judgement of the reviewer from the very beginning of the text.

A comparison will now be drawn between Openings and Closes of some reviews of the Preliminary study. Examples of hedged Praise in the Openings and Hedged Criticism in the Closes will follow to offer an example of the pattern of evaluation detected. In example 8, the reviewer's choice to use an impersonal construction signals the reviewer is taking distance from the Praise that follows - which acts as a hedging device.

### **Example 8: Hedged Praise Fict 26TLS**

There is an argument to be made that Hanif Kureishi is the most emblematic English author of the past twenty-five years.

In the Close of example 10, the reviewer manages to hedge a slight Criticism of the book reviewed stating the factual difficulties that the subject matter presented. These obstacles act as a kind of justification for the author's shortcomings. On an interpersonal level, empathizing with these difficulties makes the reviewer appear as understanding and the author as fallible and human. The reader may be tempted to share the reviewer's perspective and sympathize with the Author. The outcome is that Criticism is softened and a positive relationship with the audience is achieved.

### **Example 10: Bio 11 DT Hedged Criticism**

The difficulties of writing his [Michelangelo's] biography are compounded by the inconvenient facts that he simply did so much, and lived so long, through one of the most interesting periods of western history.

On the whole, in the Preliminary Corpus, Criticism is hedged 20 times with a percentage of 15% calculated on a total of 135 evaluative acts while Praise is hedged 10 times out of 135 hedging acts with a percentage of 7%. These results are not surprising. They confirm the genre as reader-oriented and politeness focused. We do expect Criticism to be more hedged. Reviewers of the BBC do not seem to disappoint readers' expectations.

My claim is that hedging Criticism twice more than Praise is a strategy to seek balance and put forward an argumentative process that sounds unbiased to the reader. However, also Praise needs hedging. Boosting the value of a book without offering valid arguments would make reviewers appear as dishonest. Being too critical would have the same effect, plus the risk of offending the author publicly. It follows that a deeper investigation into how the polarity of evaluation is distributed in the review text (Opening, Body, Close) and, the role of hedging within evaluation, is worth exploring in the chapters that follow.

### **3.11.2. Investigating patterns in the Target of rhetorical evaluative strategies**

In this section, the target of rhetorical evaluative strategies will be explored. Table 36 summarizes the patterns of use in reviewers' choice of the evaluative Target. The analytical categories are the same shown for Frequency and Distribution earlier in the chapter. In table 36, the targets of Praise and Criticism, also in their hedged version, are shown. The targets of the Praise and Criticism Pair are listed. Some comments on the patterns follow. I will consider if and how the polarity of evaluation

impacts the choice of the Target. I will look at how the juxtaposition of positive and negative comments, within the Praise and Criticism Pair, influences the Target of evaluation. The most frequent Targets of evaluation in the Preliminary study will be identified.

**Table 36: Patterns in the preliminary data: The Target of evaluation**

	Target of praise	Target of criticism	Target of the praise and criticism pair	Hedged praise	Hedged criticism	TOT of each evaluative node
General content	6	1	10	5	7	29
Specific content	11	6	8	2	7	34
Author	19	9	6	1	2	37
Style	0	6	0	1	2	9
Comparative value	4	1	0	0	0	5
Reading experience	1	0	1	0	0	2
through quotations	2	2	1	1	1	7
Subject matter	11	0	0	0	1	12
TOT	54	25	26	10	20	135

As far as the Target of evaluation is concerned, in a nutshell, five patterns were found in the Preliminary Study:

Pattern 1: Praise and blame for the Author, Criticism for Specific Aspects of the book;

Pattern 2: Author and Content are the main Targets of evaluation;

Pattern 3: Hedges are used to seek balance in targeting evaluation;

Pattern 4: The Praise and Criticism Pair hedges the Target of evaluation;

Pattern 5: Quotations are used as a mitigating strategy for Target.

Each of these patterns will be exemplified in the following paragraphs.

**Pattern 1: Praise and blame for the Author, focus on Criticism for Specific Aspects of the book**

The Target of Praise across the three genres is the Author (19) followed by Specific Aspects of content (11), the Subject matter (11) and General Aspects of content (6). The focus on Specific aspects is double the focus on General Aspects, however the Praise of the Author is three times more frequent than Praise of the overall book.



When we look at the Target of Criticism, negativity doesn't seem to impact the Target dramatically in the sense that reviewers still focus on the Author with 9 occurrences. However, reviewers narrow down their Criticism to Specific aspects (6) of the book rather than General ones (1).

This choice works as a mitigating device, as highlighted by Hyland (2004b:48)"The effect of global criticism is to condemn the entire work-a particularly threatening act." The negativity of the reviewers' comments is mitigated when the comments are restricted to something specific. The choice of Specific rather than General Criticism acts as a hedging device to diffuse the force of the Criticism. Thus, it restrains the negative consequences General Criticism could have - namely offending the author and the reader but also coming across as a biased reviewer, unable to provide a balanced review of the book as expected by the reader.

It is relevant to note that, in the preliminary study corpus, only once was there a General Criticism of content and this was in a biography review of the Guardian (BIO 26 G). Only when Criticism becomes more specific, does it come to be widespread to other Target categories such as Style with 6 occurrences. This happens in a more evident way in the subgenre fiction, where readers would expect the language to be commented on, since reviewers are evaluating novels.

It is also interesting that Quotations are used to criticize in 2 fictions reviewers, again in this subgenre, reviewers feel they can exploit the author's words to highlight the shortcomings of the book. This somehow seems to shift the negative voice outside the reviewer and onto the author himself and, with the voice, the responsibility for this act, as I will explore in more detail in Chapter 5.

## **Pattern 2: Author and Content: The main Targets of Evaluation**

In all the categories of analysis: Praise, Criticism, the Praise and Criticism Pair, Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism, the same Targets keep coming back, namely:

- a) Author (37 instances)
- b) Specific aspects of content (34 instances)
- c) General aspects of content (29 instances)

These data give us an idea of the reviewers' priorities-what they are interested in evaluating in a review text. It can be claimed that evaluation is author-based because it targets Authors, mainly to praise them, 19

occurrences out of a total of 37, with a percentage of 51% but also to signal to readers what they did not like, 9 occurrences out of a total of 41 with a percentage of 22%. It is relevant to note that Criticism of the Author has a similar percentage of the Praise and Criticism Pair of the Author with a percentage of 16.2%, which means that critical acts, privileged by BRs in the preliminary study, are not straight-forward criticism but the juxtaposition of Praise and Criticism in search of objectivity, diluted criticism and readers' compliance - one could argue.

### **Pattern 3: Hedges as balance seekers**

Praise is rarely hedged (10/135 occurrences) however it is highly hedged by fiction reviewers (10/13) also when the Target of the reviewer's evaluation is mainly the General Content of the book that has 6 acts of Hedged Praise out of a total of 10 acts of Hedged Praise in the preliminary study corpus. The reason may be that a balanced review needs hedges to restrain not only Criticism but also Praise. Hedging processes ensure that BRs do not appear biased, offering what Shaw (2009:217) calls an 'interested stance', meaning the intention to promote a book. This presence of hedges prevents BRs from crossing the genre line and becoming blurbs rather than reviews (Gea Valor: 2005: 41-62).

However, when Criticism is hedged (20), it is both for General Aspects of Content (7) and Specific Aspects of content (7) but also for the Author (2). It seems that the presence of hedges allows reviewers to manage and reduce the danger of the Face-threatening nature of criticizing General Content.

### **Pattern 4: The hedging value of the Praise and Criticism Pair**

Only in the Praise and Criticism Pair, reviewers decide to target General content in a consistent way with 10 occurrences. This choice seems to be deliberate, because it suits the rhetorical need for objectivity, for a lack of bias in the text broadsheet review. It can be argued that the nature of the Pair is instrumental to the generic features of the text. The Praise part of the pair allows reviewers to be bolder in their critical comments, so they dare to criticize the book in:

- a) its General aspects (10)
- b) Specific aspects of content (8).
- c) the Author (6)

It is relevant to point out that both General and Specific aspects of the book are targeted through the use of the Praise and Criticism Pair. The rhetorical structure of the Pair, Praise first and Criticism after, is

instrumental in its use in softening criticism as noted by Gea Valor (2001:150). Gea Valor (2001:150) sees the Pair as a common politeness strategy used by reviewers to create a favourable context for the Face-Threatening Act performed and to reduce its negativity.

### **Pattern 5: The use of quotations as a mitigating strategy**

In the last part of this section, I will focus on another mitigating strategy, the use of Quotations that like hedges, is extensively exploited by BRers in the preliminary corpus. In order to do so, some examples from the preliminary corpus will be used to illustrate how quotations are used by reviewers. These examples will provide an idea of the handling of evaluative rhetorical resources in the BB corpus. To grant a balanced outlook, I selected one example per subgenre: History, Fiction and Biography.

I will start with a History review published in The Daily Telegraph:

In example 10, the reviewer quotes from the book to back up some critical comments. He juxtaposes his Criticism with evidence from the book, for example referring to mistakes made, and clichés used. Here Quotations become a way to intensify criticism using the author's words. The author, ironically, becomes the agent of Criticism of his own work.

#### **Example 10: History 01DT**

One can forgive the odd typo ("He died in his early 1950s"), but there are so many lazy clichés ("Ted Smith had never had it so good") and passages that belong in a Mills & Boon novel ("Stepping out of her skirt and petticoat and peeling off her stockings...")

In example 11, published in the Daily Telegraph, the reviewer criticizes a verbose style used by the author of the book, and to make his point, he reports a long-winded description from the book. Again, Quotations work as what Toulmin (1975) called Backing for the reviewer's claim.

#### **Example 11: Fiction 21 DT**

Often Lee seems to use more words than he needs: "She was quite enrapt, we are certain, even as her face remained almost totally blank, just as a drinking glass remains unchanged when filled with water but of course is not at all the same."

In example 12, the reviewer points out a shortcoming of the book, that is to say the author's lack of knowledge of the historical period he is writing about. This lack can lead to claims that do not make much sense and are quoted by the reviewer to sustain his line of argument and share it with the reader.

### **Example 12: Bio 11DT**

Ill at ease with the historical context, Gayford can too easily reach for glib or anachronistic analogies: the claims that a “plentiful supply of water” led to the Renaissance, and that the Medicis fixed the Florentine constitution show that he might have been more successful in writing a book a third as long that stuck to quarrying Michelangelo’s works and letters to build up a closer profile of the man.

In a way, it seems that Quotations are used as a resource to avoid direct Criticism. The inverted commas give voice to the weaknesses and the flaws of the book that speak for themselves, as to say, shifting the responsibility for negative, critical comments far from the reviewer. Hence the search for indirectness through quotations appears to act as what Brown and Levinson (1987) would call 'a Face -saving device.' This brief overview on Quotations as a mitigating strategy will be investigated more closely in Chapter 5 of the thesis.

### **3.12. Conclusions: Implications for the main study**

In the preliminary study, I looked at the Frequency, Distribution and Target of evaluative acts in three subgenres of BRs namely: Biography, Fiction and History reviews. For each genre, 4 reviews were selected for the coding process. As I started gathering the data, some features of the broadsheet review began to emerge, such as the key role played by evaluation and the space it takes up in the text.

It was also found that recurring patterns in the Distribution of Praise and Criticism tend to occupy the Body of the review. The Praise and Criticism Pair occurred with a high frequency, possibly as a strategy to balance positive and negative comments about the book reviewed and produce a balanced, less subjective, more soundly argued evaluation. Beside the choice of the Pair, other strategies occurring in the corpus to soften the force of Criticism, are the use of Hedges and the use of Quotations to back up the reviewer's Criticism, for instance.

This preliminary study suggests that it would be worth investigating these recurring patterns of use and evaluative rhetorical strategies in a larger corpus. To summarize the issues investigated in the Preliminary study, the manual coding supported by NVivo and the Matrix coding query run in the coded corpus, showed recurring patterns of use in terms of:

- a) The Frequency of the main analytical categories investigated in the preliminary corpus such as Praise, Criticism, Hedged Praise, Hedged Criticism and the Praise and Criticism Pair.
- b) The rhetorical Distribution of the analytical categories

investigated, for example where Hedged Criticism or where Praise tend to occur. The following distributional patterns seem worth exploring:

- b.1. Distributional Evaluative patterns in the Opening, the Body or the Close of BRs;
- b.2. Differences in the Distribution of evaluative strategies across the three subgenres;
- b.3. The Frequency and Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair;
- c) Another issue signalled by the Preliminary Study is the role played by hedging strategies such as the Praise and Criticism Pair, Hedges and Quotations in a larger corpus. It has been noted that three out of five analytical categories, chosen for this research imply an element of hedging namely: Hedged Criticism, Hedged Praise and the Praise and Criticism Pair while only two categories Praise and Criticism suppose a more direct evaluation of the book.

It is therefore worth exploring hedges in more depth because the literature review identified hedges as a frequent negative strategy as suggested by Brown and Levinson (1978). Do reviewers use a negative politeness such as Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism to fulfil the same politeness and Face-saving functions in a larger corpus?

- d) Not only Frequency but also the Target of analytical categories are worth investigating further. Recurring nodes for the Target of the categories, Author and Specific and General Content resulted to be among the most frequent Targets of BRers. This would establish who or what reviewers tend to evaluate most in the three BR subgenres: Biography, History and Fiction. The preliminary study suggests it would be crucial to find, for instance, if Criticism of General Content is still a scarce Target compared to Specific Content in a larger corpus of BR. In a subgenre perspective, it would be relevant to establish whether the Author is a privileged Target of evaluation across the three subgenres or if Hedged Criticism is more diversified in terms of Target compared to Hedged Praise across subgenres.

When I was coding the preliminary study corpus, I noted that many of the occurrences of the Praise and Criticism Pair were linked by the conjunct BUT. Another feature, found in the twelve reviews, was the role of BUT that functioned as a recurring connector to link evaluative comments of different polarity-one positive and one negative that formed the Praise and Criticism Pair.

In the main study, I used a corpus of 72 reviews in order to explore this recurring linguistic phenomenon further. In addition, I isolated all the paragraphs that included the conjunct BUT in sentences or paragraphs where BUT had the function to connect a positive and a negative comment. The paragraphs where BUT occurred were listed in a database called the BUT Database. The BUT Database compiled is made up of 111 review extracts. It can be found in Appendix C.3. on page 335.

The BUT Database allowed the researcher to start a more detailed analysis on the data, on a more manageable amount of reviews that could be analysed manually with the support of NVivo for the coding, the storing and the retrieval of the data. In the following chapter, I will present the research questions for the main study and how data were sampled, collected and coded. I will also show how the research moved from the preliminary study to the compiling and exploration of the main study - the analysis of the BUT Database.



## **CHAPTER 4: From the preliminary study to the BUT Database**

### **4.1. Research questions for the main study**

In this chapter, I will show how the preliminary study and the identification of recurring evaluative patterns in the preliminary corpus, impacted the research process and led to the main study reported in the following chapters.

The main study focuses on the exploration of key evaluative categories in broadsheet reviews and on the role played by hedged evaluation in this genre. Chapter 4 will address research questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 posed on page 31. The current research aims at analysing recurring evaluative patterns in the distribution, the frequency and the target of the evaluative categories identified. In order to investigate these aspects, it is necessary to concentrate on the following issues in a wider corpus:

- a) How frequent are the analytical categories of Praise, Criticism, the Praise and Criticism Pair, Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism in a wider corpus of broadsheet reviews?
- b) Who or what do BRers judge when they write BRs?
- c) Do BRers evaluate in a direct way or do they privilege hedged evaluation? Can patterns be traced in hedged evaluation?
- d) Is there evidence that BRers locate evaluation within parts of the BR text?
- e) What role is played by the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BBC?
- f) Do evaluation strategies change according to the subgenre of the reviews BRers are evaluating?

### **4.2. Data sampling, collection and coding**

In order to answer the questions above, it was necessary to compile a larger corpus, so I went on the website of the four British broadsheets used for the preliminary study, namely:

- a) The Guardian
- b) The Daily Telegraph
- c) The Independent
- d) The Times Literary Supplement

100 reviews that were selected. The subgenres chosen for the research are Biography, History and Fiction. The BRs were published from



September 2013 to July 2016. These reviews were divided according to subgenre and broadsheet type. For instance, all the biography reviews taken from The Independent were classified with the genre, BIO, the broadsheet code IND and a number.

The same procedure was followed for the reviews of the other subgenres, Fiction and History, and broadsheets, The Independent, The TLS, The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian. Afterwards, I asked a fellow researcher to select randomly 24 reviews from each file and copy and paste them in a new file. I decided to ask a fellow researcher to select the reviews because this allowed more objectivity in corpus selection. It ensured that reviews were randomly selected and not according to the interests or the need to ground a claim of the main researcher, or to suit her research hypotheses.

This became the British Broadsheet Corpus, hereafter called BBC, which comprises 24 reviews for each subgenre for a total of 72 reviews and 81.552 words. At this stage, the reviews were imported in the qualitative analysis software NVivo where three different folders were created, one for each subgenre: one was labelled Biography, one was called Fiction and the other History. I also prepared a classification sheet with NVivo that shows the following details:

- a) The review code, for example BIODT1;
- b) The date of publication of the review;
- c) The subgenre of the review;
- d) The name of the reviewer;
- e) The broadsheet it was taken from;
- f) The title of the review;
- g) The title of the book;
- h) The word length of the review
- i) The name of the book's author.

Here is a screenshot of the Classification Table. For the whole table see Table A.2. in Appendix A on page 310.

**Table 1: The overall classification sheet compiled for the BBC**

	E	F	G	H	I
1	Newspaper	Title of the review	Title of the book	length of the review	name of the author
2	TLS	Franz Kafka's badly healed wounds	Die fruhen Jahren	2705	Reiner Stach
3	The Guardian	The John Carey puzzle	The Unexpected Professor:an Oxford Life in Boo	2567	Stefan Collini
4	Daily Telegraph	Universal Man:the Seven Lives of John M	Universal Man; The Seven Lives of John Maynard	823	Richard Davenport-Hines
5	Daily Telegraph	Charles Moore's Biography:Review by An	Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography	1623	Charles Moore
6	The Independent	Stalin's Daughter:the extraordinary and t	The Life and Death of David Kelly	3148	Rosemary Sullivan
7	The Guardian	Minister,Author ,bon viveur	A Well Rounded Life	1579	Jonh Campbell
8	The Independent	Elizabeth:Renaissance Prince	TThe fresh prince of Tudor England	553	Lisa Hilton
9	The Guardian	Colonel Blood,Father of all treasons	On the Move	768	Robert Hutchinson

At this point, the corpus was complete, and the coding could start. Each review was coded manually for the analytical categories and the parameters of Frequency and Distribution identified in the preliminary study. The reviews included in the BBC are listed in Appendix A, Table A.1 on page 307.

The third parameter of coding was Target. I created various Child Nodes for the Target of Praise, for example Praiseauthor, or the Target of Criticism, for instance Critgencontent. The Child Nodes were repeated for each Parent Node, as explained for the Preliminary study in chapter 3. The third step in the research process, after corpus design and coding, was queries with NVivo.

#### **4.2.1. The inter coder reliability checking procedure**

Since evaluation is quite a slippery, subjective matter, I asked two fellow researchers to check the coding to obtain a more objective outlook on the data. I prepared a sample of the BBC corpus for peer checking. The sample included some randomly chosen analytical categories and some instances of the categories that are shown in brackets.

The following nodes were chosen:

- a) Criticism Content specific (4)
- b) Criticism Author (3)
- c) Hedged Criticism Specific content (4)
- d) Hedged Praise Specific content (4)
- e) Praise and Criticism Author (5)
- f) Praise and Criticism General Aspects of content (3)
- g) Praise Style (3)
- h) Praise through Quotations (3)

The criteria followed for the selection were variety and balance. After choosing the nodes, I copied all the occurrences of these categories from NVivo and I exported them into a Word file. If the Node Criticism Author had 4 occurrences in Biography and more in the other two genres, I deleted the extra occurrences in the two other genres so that my fellow researchers examined an even, balanced and, not too long, corpus. Various occurrences for each category were included, from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 5. The occurrences are signalled above next to the analytical category. The results of the procedure were that the classifications of the main researcher were in line with those of the other researchers in 80% of the cases. When they were not, the coding was double-checked and discussed and, consequently, adjustments were made.

### **4.3. Findings: The results of the NVivo queries**

#### **4.3.1. The Frequency and Distribution of the analytical categories in the BBC**

In this section, I will report on the results obtained by the Matrix Coding queries, run in NVivo, that were stimulated by the preliminary study carried out on a limited corpus of BR.

I will now comment on the results shown in the Tables below. Starting with the Frequency of negative polarity, Criticism, reviewers seem to privilege positive evaluation rather than negative with 45.7% of Praise and 20.3% of critical comments in the BBC.

As far as their hedged version is concerned, reviewers feel the need to hedge their negative comments twice as much as they do when they praise, because Hedged Criticism has a percentage of 13.6%, while Hedged Praise has less than half with 5.6%.

The Praise and Criticism Pair seems to play a relevant role also in the BBC, with a percentage of almost 15% of instances of frequency.

As far as the Distribution of the analytical categories is concerned, the Body is confirmed as the privileged *locus* for evaluation with 470 instances out of 700 with a percentage of 67%. Closes are more evaluative than Openings with 137 instances of evaluation with a percentage of 19.5%, while in the Openings there are only 93 instances of evaluation with a percentage of 13.7%.

These data reinforce the initial hypothesis of Openings as an informative section of the review, while the Body and Closes come across as more evaluative oriented parts of the review text, as also highlighted by Bolivar (1994) for editorials and Motta Roth (1998) for academic reviews. The distributional pattern, traced by the analysis of a wider corpus, confirms that Criticism tends to occur in the Body, both in its unhedged

(117 occurrences) and hedged (59 occurrences) version, with a percentage of 16.7% and 8.4% respectively. At the end of the review, unhedged criticism has 22 occurrences, while Hedged Criticism has 14 with a percentage of 15.8% and 10%.

Praise, instead, runs through the reviews from the beginning to the very end, with 225 instances in the Body with a percentage of 32.6%, 56 instances in the Opening with a percentage of 8.1% and 64 instances in the Closes with a percentage of 9.2%. In its hedged version, Praise is more frequent in the Body with 12 occurrences and a percentage of 1.7% and scarcer in the Opening with 5 occurrences and a percentage of 0.7% and in the Close with 8 instances with a percentage of 1.1%.

**Table 2: The Frequency and Distribution of the analytical categories in the BBC**

Analytical categories	Opening	Body	Close	TOT	Percentages
Criticism	9	117	22	148	21.1%
Hedged praise	5	12	8	25	3.6%
Hedged criticism	7	59	14	80	11.4%
Praise	56	225	64	345	49.3%
Praise and criticism	16	57	29	102	14.6%
Evaluative acts	93	470	137	700	100%

Table 2 shows that the distribution of evaluation across the corpus seems more prominent in the Body (470) and in the Closes (137), while Openings (93) appear less evaluative. Praise tends to occupy Openings with 56 instances, while Criticism is more frequent in Closes with 22 instances. It follows that polarity has a huge impact on distributional evaluative patterns, underpinning broadsheet review texts. A lot of hedging is present in the Body with 12 instances of hedged praise, 59 instances of hedged criticism and 57 instances of the Pair that, for its very nature, has a hedging function, since Criticism is softened by the juxtaposition of Praise. My claim is that the hedging process occurs in the body because this is the section where opinions are argued and justified to the reader. Hedging becomes the backbone of argumentative processes that cross the Body of broadsheet reviews. The number of words for each review section (Opening, Body and Close) of the BBC can be found in

Appendix B, in Tables B.1.1, B.1.2. and B1.1.3 from page 319 to page 321.

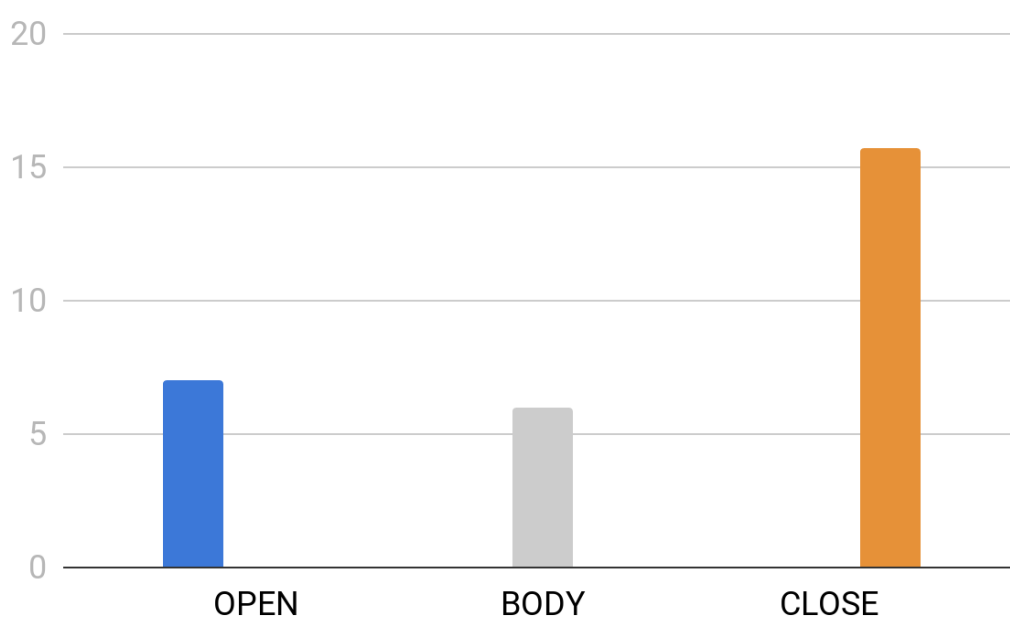
Norming the results in Table 3 that follows, the distributional patterns appear clearer and less influenced by the number of words in each section of the review where Bodies tend to be much longer than Openings and Closes.

**Table 3: Normed Results for the Frequency and Distribution of the analytical categories in the BBC**

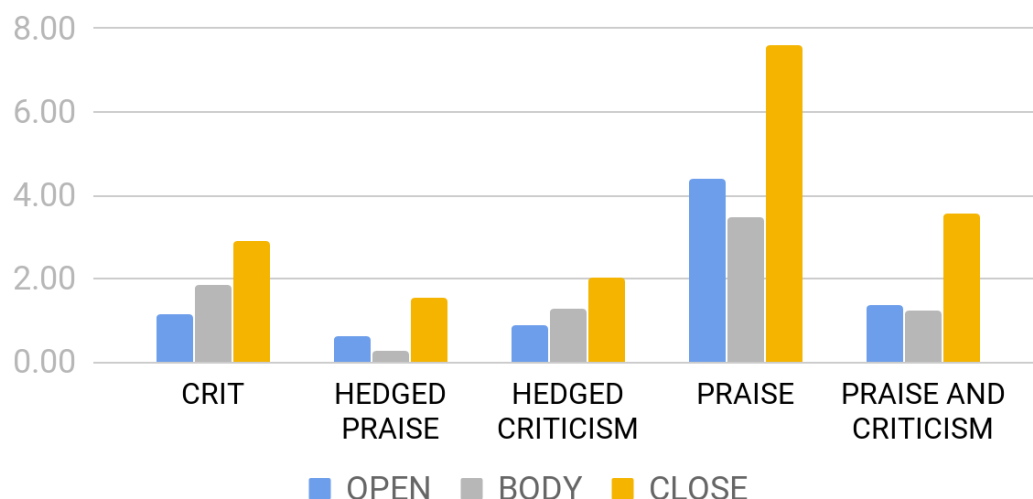
Analytical categories	Opening	Body	Close	Normed Analytical categories	Opening	Body	Close	Percentages
Criticism	9	117	22	Criticism	0.68	1.50	2.53	21.1%
Hedged praise	5	12	8	Hedged praise	0.38	0.15	0.92	3.6%
Hedged criticism	7	59	14	Hedged criticism	0.53	0.76	1.61	11.4%
Praise	56	225	64	Praise	4.24	2.88	7.36	49.3%
Praise and criticism	16	57	29	Praise and criticism	1.21	0.73	3.33	14.6%
Evaluative acts	93	470	137	Evaluative acts	7.05	6.02	15.75	100%
Section Percentages	13.2	78.1	8.7					

**Table 4: Evaluative acts in review sections**

Opening	body	close
7.0	6.0	15.7



### RELATIVE DENSITY OF EVALUATIVE ACTS IN SECTIONS OF REVIEWS BY CATEGORY



The normed results show the relative density of evaluative acts in the three sections of the review: Opening, Body and Close by analytical category. The density of Praise in the Openings stands out and can be justified with the attempt to open the review on a positive note. Closes also appear to be dense in terms of evaluation across all the analytical categories which means that closes are a strategic point to evaluate in BRs, in line with other studies such as Motta Roth's (1998) who found evaluation mainly in closes in her study of academic reviews. Likewise, Bolivar (1994) identified evaluation in editorials mainly in the last section of the review which she called Valuate. It is also relevant to point out that BRers opt for a balanced evaluation in the close, as shown by the density of the Praise and Criticism Pair, Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism. BRers tend to leave the reader with a positive evaluation of the book, as highlighted by the density of Praise in Closes. However, they are also critical when necessary as shown by the density of Criticism. The Body is dense with evaluation, too and the evaluative categories mostly hosted in the Body are Praise, Criticism, the Praise and Criticism Pair and Hedged Criticism. This variety, in terms of evaluative categories in the Body, outlines the Body of the review as an argumentative arena where positions are argued using a whole range of evaluative resources.

#### 4.4. The Target of Praise and Criticism in the BBC

In this part, I will comment on the following tables that concern the most recurring Targets of the analytical categories in the BBC corpus.

##### 4.4.1. The Target of Praise in the BBC

When reviewers praise, their Target is the Author with the highest number of instances, 101, and General Aspects of the book with 71 instances but also Specific aspects with 61 instances and Stylistic ones with 25 instances. The choice of the Subject matter is praised with 28 instances and the book is praised through the comparison of other books on the same topic or by the same author in 26 instances. Quotations are used to praise in 25 instances.

**Table 5: The Target of Praise in the BBC**

Target categories	Instances	Percentage
Praiseauth	101	29.3%
PraiGencont	71	20.6%
Praispecificcont	61	17.7%
Praisesubjmatter	28	8.1%
Praicompvalue	26	7.5%
Praithroughquot	25	7.2%
Praisestyleandlang	25	7.2%
Praireadexperience	8	2.3%
TOT evaluative acts	345	100%

##### 4.4.2.: The Target of Hedged Praise in the BBC

Praise is less hedged than criticism and, understandably so, because positive comments about the book do not need to be hedged. They do not threaten the Face of the author or the reader, instead, they praise the book. However, it is relevant to note that the same three categories Author, General Aspects of content and Specific Aspects of content rank first both in the category Praise and in the category Hedged Praise. Unlike Criticism, hedging in Praise does not modify the target.



**Table 6: The Target of Hedged Praise in the BBC**

Target categories	Instances	Percentage
Hedgedpraiseauth	8	32%
Hedgedpraigencont	7	28%
hedgedpraisspecicont	5	20%
hedgedpraicompvalue	3	12%
hedgedpraistyleandlang	2	8%
hedgedpraithroughquot	0	0
hedgedpraireadexperience	0	0
hedgedpraismatter	0	0
TOT	25	100%

#### 4.4.3. The Target of Criticism in the BBC

When reviewers criticize, they target Specific aspects of content in 42 instances and the Author in 33 instances. They also criticize stylistic and linguistic aspects of the book in 19 instances. They use quotations to criticize in 18 instances and express negative judgement of General Aspects of the book in 13 instances. Reviewers also use comparison with other books of the same author (mainly for fiction) and on the same topic (mainly for nonfiction) in 10 instances. They are critical towards the Subject matter in 6 instances and towards the Reading Experience as a whole in 7 instances. A pattern can be detected in the expression of Criticism where General aspects are not overtly criticized as in Hyland's (2004b:48) corpus of academic reviews where General Criticism was avoided because it was too Face threatening. The same pattern seems to be at work here. This may well be the reason why Criticism of Specific aspects of the book ranks first, while criticizing General aspects has only 13 instances.

It is also relevant to point out that formal rather than substantial aspects of the book are criticized with 19 instances for Style and 7 for the Reading Experience as a whole. Indirectness in Criticism is a privileged strategy, since reviewers use other people's work or words in 10 and 18 instances respectively, with the nodes Criticism Comparative value and Criticism through Quotations.

Interestingly enough, the Author is a prominent target of Criticism, with 33 instances. This may seem unexpected from a pragmatic, socio-cultural viewpoint in the light of Brown and Levinson's theory of Face. However, the act of blaming the author occurs within an argumentative

process that is well developed and fully justified to the reading public. Positions are not only argued but also presented as personal viewpoints that are subjective, tentative, cautious. This may turn criticism of the author into something acceptable and not too offensive both for the author and for readers.

**Table 7: The Target of Criticism in the BBC**

Target of analytical categories	Instances	Percentage
Critcontspecific	42	28.4%
Critauthor	33	22.3%
Critstylelang	19	12.8%
Crithroughquot	18	12.7%
Critgencont	13	8.8%
Critcompvalue	10	6.7%
Critsubjmatter	6	4.0%
Critreadexper	7	4.7%
TOT Evaluative acts	148	100%

As shown in Table 7 above, both for positive and negative evaluation, the Author is one of the most recurring targets in the BBC. However, while the hedging process does not seem to impact the Target Praise where Author, General and Specific Content remain the most recurring targets, in Criticism, the Target is much more varied. Criticism is Specific with a percentage of 28.4% rather than General with a percentage of 8.8%. Quotations are extensively used as an indirect way to criticize Specific aspects of the book with a percentage of 12.7% and also formal features such as Style, are heavily criticized with a percentage of 12.8%. My claim is that the very choice of Targets for Criticism is a rhetorical evaluative strategy to make it softer and more socially acceptable.

#### 4.4.4. The Target of Hedged Criticism

When Criticism is hedged, General Content becomes a more prominent category with 16 instances, only preceded by Criticism of Specific Aspects of content with 36 instances. In other words, hedging devices allow reviewers to be blunter in the criticism of both Specific and General Aspects of the book. The Author comes third with 13 instances, making it one of the main Targets of Criticism both in its hedged and in its unhedged version.

**Table 8: The Target of Hedged Criticism in the BBC**

Target of analytical categories	Instances	Percentage
Hedgedcritspecont	36	45%
Hedgedcritgencont	16	20%
Hedgedcritauth	13	16.2%
Hedgedcritthroughquot	7	8.7%
Hedgedcritreadexp	3	3.7%
Hedgedcritstyleandlang	2	2.5%
Hedgedcritcompvalue	2	2.5%
Hedgedcritsubjectmatter	1	1.2%
TOT Evaluative acts	80	100%

#### 4.5. The role of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BBC

The use of the Praise and Criticism Pair does not seem to be discipline bound. In fact, the data in Table 9 that follows, suggest that Biographers, Fiction and History reviewers seem to exploit the Pair in similar ways:

**Table 9: The Distribution and Frequency of the Praise and Criticism Pair across subgenres**

	BIOGRAPHY	FICTION	HISTORY	TOT
opening	6	6	3	15
body	18	19	25	62
close	7	8	10	25
TOT	31	33	38	102

As far as Distributional patterns are concerned, the Praise and Criticism Pair is mostly located in the Body with 62 instances but also very prominent in the Close with 25 instances. Instead, it is quite scarce in the Opening with only 15 occurrences. The privileged location for the Pair is the Body with 18 instances for Biography, 19 for Fiction and 25 for History.

The Praise and Criticism Pair has fewer occurrences in Openings than in Closes. It is likely that the Pair comes to be exploited as a useful and appropriate punchline for reviewers in a salient section of the review because this juxtaposition of positive and negative polarity provides a suitable space for a balanced evaluation that is supposed to be the expected point of arrival for each reviewer. In this respect, both academic and broadsheet reviews aim at a balanced evaluation as the ideal close for the review.

In terms of frequency, as shown in Table 10, the Pair has a frequency in the whole corpus of almost 15%.

**Table 10: The Frequency of the Pair in the BBC**

subgenres	Bio	Fiction	History	Tot	percentage
Praise and criticism	31	33	38	102	14.5%

My claim is that this Pair is one of the most effective evaluative strategies the reviewer has in order to fulfil the aim of the review: provide a balanced and well-argued review.

I believe the Pair is effective from various viewpoints:

- (a) It is effective at discourse level because it juxtaposes a positive and a negative comment thus offering a balanced opinion;
- (b) It is instrumental in a socio-cultural pragmatic perspective because mingling positive and negative comments safeguards the Face of the author and of the readership;
- (c) It is valuable in a rhetorical perspective because it allows for the expression of a complex, articulate, soundly argued opinion because both positive and negative aspects are taken on board in the best tradition of argumentative writing.

I will now focus on the Target of the Pair in the BBC corpus.

When reviewers opt for the Praise and Criticism Pair, they evaluate mainly Specific (42) and General aspects of the book (25) but also the Author (19). The Style (7) and Reading experience (6) and are also evaluated but less often. The instances of evaluation of the Pair are indicated in brackets.

**Table 11: The Target of the Praise and Criticism Pair as distributed in Child Nodes**

Target category	Instances	Percentages
Pandcbookspecific	42	41.2%
Pandcbookgen	25	24.5%
Pandcauthor	19	18.6%
Pandcstyeland lang	7	6.7%
Pandcreadexperience	6	5.9%
Pandcthroughquot	2	2%
Pandccompvalue	1	1%
Pandcsubjectmatter	0	0
TOT evaluative acts	102	100%

It is worth noting that the Pair is the analytical category where reviewers target General Content in a more consistent way, with a percentage of 24.5% while General content had 18.9% in Hedged Criticism, 28% in Hedged Praise, 8.8% in Criticism and 20.6% in Praise. It is quite self-explanatory why General Content needs hedging both in Hedged Criticism and in Criticism. As mentioned before, an overall condemnation of the whole book may become offensive both to the Author and to the reading public.

It can also be argued that targeting Praise of General Content is an effective and economical way of using space in newspapers. As Hyland (2004b:48) explains, reviewers tend to target general aspects of the book when they praise because they "...obey another imperative, perhaps the injunction of review editors, for writers to convey overall impressions within a restricted space." In a way, the Praise of General Aspects of Content is suitable for the context of the publication, that is, newspapers where space and the management of space on the page, both paper and digital is a key issue.

#### 4.6. Patterns of evaluation across subgenres (Biography, Fiction, History) in the BBC

In this section, I will investigate the relationship between subgenre and evaluative patterns. I will attempt to answer the question:

Does each subgenre of the review correlate with evaluative patterns and if so, in what ways?

I will make some comments on how the subgenre of the review impacts instances of evaluation, exploring whether there are differences in the way in which reviewers evaluate the book linked to the subgenre of the review. I will look at the analytical categories selected in turn; I will start with Praise.

Praise is evenly distributed across the three subgenres with 131 instances in Biography, 112 in History and slightly fewer in Fiction, 102. Fiction reviewers praise more in Openings with 25 instances, while History reviewers only praise in 10 instances and Biography reviewers in 13 instances at the beginning of the review.

Table 12, below, shows that in the Body, there are no clear differences across the three subgenres, even though Fiction reviewers tend to praise the least. Like Criticism, also Praise is mainly hosted in the body, with 181 instances. The Body comes to be outlined as the evaluative core of the review. Praise is also evenly spread in Closes with 20 instances in Biography, 23 in Fiction and 17 in History. On the whole, biography reviewers are the most inclined to praise while fiction reviewers are more prone to criticism as shown in Tables 12 and 14 below.

**Table 12. The Frequency and Distribution of Praise across genres in the BBC**

	BIOGRAPHY	FICTION	HISTORY	TOT
Open	13	25	10	53
Body	98	54	85	181
Close	20	23	17	69
TOT	131	102	112	345

As highlighted by Table 13 below, in its hedged version, Praise is still more prominent in the Body with 12 occurrences and in the Close with 8 rather than in the Opening with 5 occurrences. The frequency of Hedged Praise in the Body appears quite balanced across the three

subgenres with 5 instances in Biography and Fiction and 2 in History where there are only 4 instances of hedged praise. However, biography reviewers use Hedged praise more frequently than the other reviewers in the Close with 6 occurrences. History reviewers use Hedged praise the least, with 2 occurrences in the Opening, 2 in the Body and none in the Close.

**Table 13: The Frequency and Distribution of Hedged Praise across genres**

	BIOGRAPHY	FICTION	HISTORY	TOT
Open	1	2	2	5
Body	5	5	2	12
Close	6	2	0	8
TOT	12	9	4	25

Criticism is quite evenly spread across the 3 subgenres analysed, as shown in Table 14 that follows. It has 47 instances in Biography, 53 in Fiction and 48 in History. Looking at all the instances of criticism, as distributed in the various sections of the review: The Opening, Body and Close, reviewers of all the three subgenres are very critical in the body with 49 for Fiction, 39 instances for Biography and 32 for History.

Fiction reviewers are the most critical in the Body. In the Opening of the review, criticism distribution is quite even across genres, with 4 instances of criticism in Biography, 3 for History and 1 Fiction. Therefore, fiction books in the BBC are likely to have hardly any critique at the beginning of the review. In the Close, Biography and Fiction reviewers are quite critical with 4 and 3 instances respectively, but History reviewers tend to be the most critical with 13 occurrences.

**Table 14: Frequency and Distributional patterns of Criticism across subgenres in the BBC**

Subgenres	BIOGRAPHY	FICTION	HISTORY	TOT
Criticism open	4	1	3	8
Criticism body	39	49	32	120
Criticism close	4	3	13	20
TOT	47	53	48	148

As illustrated by Table 15 below, in its hedged version, Criticism is

more conspicuous in Biography (32) and Fiction (28) than in History (20). History reviewers never hedge criticism in the Opening. In the Close, they are critical only twice. Instead, in the Body, hedging is more evenly spread with 20 instances in Biography, 21 in Fiction and 18 in History.

**Table 15: Frequency and Distributional patterns of hedged criticism across subgenres in the BBC**

Subgenres	BIOGRAPHY	FICTION	HISTORY	TOT
Open	5	2	0	7
Body	20	21	18	59
Close	7	5	2	14
TOT	32	28	20	80

As exemplified in Table 15, the Body is where reviewers make their evaluative claim. They give shape, develop an argument to prove the soundness of their opinions, therefore it is not surprising that quite a lot of hedging of critical comments is occurring. Hedging criticism allows reviewers to convey their criticism of the book without offending the Face of the author or the reader, thus maintaining a positive, socially appropriate relationship with the audience that meets socio-cultural expectations about the balanced and unbiased nature of review writing.

It can be argued that this way of proceeding from information to evaluation is strategically effective and rhetorically sound within the economy of the review text. While the Opening offers an introduction to the book in terms of topic dealt with and how it compares with other books on the same topic or of the same genre in the market, Bodies are the place where arguments can be put forward and evaluation is expected because the reader has been given the informative background that is necessary to understand the evaluative claims presented. In the Closes, reviewers strategically reinforce their evaluation through the presentation of their opinion in a concise but effective manner as it happens with punchlines in newspaper articles.

#### **4.7. From the BBC to the BUT Database**

I will now explain how my interest shifted from the BBC corpus as a whole and focused on a specific section of the corpus, the BUT Database, namely all the sentences that are linked by the conjunct BUT.

The research interest arose from the frequency of BUT compared to other conjuncts. The use of conjuncts both as Criticism openers and Praise



openers was analysed in the Preliminary study. The Node which appeared to be richer in terms of contrast conjunct was the Praise and Criticism node where the following conjuncts kept occurring: 'but, despite, yet, even if.' The most frequent conjunct was BUT with 111 occurrences. A closer analysis of the corpus revealed that this was not simply a quantitative datum but also a qualitative one.

A privileged place for evaluation started to emerge in BR. It was near BUT that evaluation clustered in the Praise and Criticism Node. At this point, it was necessary to isolate the occurrences in order to have a closer, more detailed look at them and explore any recurring evaluative patterns.

The BUT Database was compiled in order to accomplish this purpose. This Database allows the researcher to work with a more manageable set of data and to code in detail what kind of rhetorical evaluative acts were present in the proximity of BUT. The preliminary study had already highlighted the role of contrast conjuncts for evaluative purposes.

The connectors: 'but', 'yet', 'despite' are used both as Praise openers and Criticism openers as shown in the examples below:

### **Praise openers**

Example 16: Barry's third novel about the McNulty family is the most exciting, yet. (Fict 27G)

### **Criticism openers:**

Example 17...and yet in the end his career does give the impression of an author who owes more to circumstance than inspiration; (Fict26TLS)

Example: 18: But that's just the problem. (Fict 26TLS)

Example 19: Yet in the act of sifting through versions, of setting down words, you might excavate some facet of the human heart that casts light on what it means to be alive. It is Barry's steadfast devotion to this process that makes him an artist of the highest order. (Fict 27 G)

Example 20: Yet for all its irritations as a reading experience you can't ignore the vast rigour with which Lee fashions this speculative destiny. (BIO 11 DT)

Example 21: There is an intriguing idea here about what it might be like for one writer to have his life wrestled away from him by another, but the execution lets it down (FICT 26 TLS)

In example 17, 'yet' paves the way for Criticism, while in example 19, it introduces Praise. In example 20, 'yet' introduces Criticism and paves the way for the Praise that follows. In examples 18 and 21, BUT foregrounds Criticism. These examples show, in a nutshell, a complex

cluster of evaluation that occurs in the proximity of BUT. My claim is that a more systematic analysis of the corpus will reveal relevant evaluative patterns in terms of Distribution and Target and also highlight the role of hedges in the BUT Database. These aspects will be further explored in the following chapters.

For the time being, it will suffice to highlight how BUT becomes a hub for evaluation and a conjunct of both positive and negative comments, as shown by the examples below, taken from the three subgenres under scrutiny,

Example 22: but the contents can sometimes resemble a palace built on a bog (Fict 21DT)

Example 23: But this enormously enjoyable, if frequently ridiculous evocation of the extraordinary artists gallops gloriously to the end (Fict 35Ind)

Example 24: But it is certainly a good story (Hist 01 DT)

In examples 23 and 24 BUT is followed by Praise that is expressed through the colligational pattern Adverb Adjective where the adverb boosts Praise. In example 22, instead the adverb 'sometimes' colligates with the verb 'resemble' and works as a hedge for Criticism.

In compiling the BUT Database, it was found that the conjunct BUT often links two evaluative comments where one is Praise and the other Criticism. This means that BUT, in the BB corpus, mainly occurs within the Praise and Criticism Pair. This database allowed the exploration of the most recurring distributional patterns of the Praise and Criticism Pair. The question then is where praise occurs, does it follow or precede criticism? A smaller and more manageable corpus for qualitative analysis allowed the investigation of interactional and evaluative strategies at work in the BUT Database.

#### **4.8. Conclusions**

In this chapter, I highlighted the key role of the Praise and Criticism Pair as an effective tool to carry out argumentation in the review text. The Pair is effective from a rhetorical perspective, because it is instrumental in the development and the shaping of an argument where both the strengths and weaknesses of the book are highlighted, claims are put forward and the reviewers' opinion is justified. The Pair is also strategically used for socio-pragmatic reasons, because balancing Praise with Criticism favours the avoidance of Face threatening Acts that could be inappropriate in the Broadsheet genre.

Key observations made in this chapter were:

- BUT is often used with the Praise and Criticism Pair to link contrasting evaluative acts that embody both positive and negative polarity;
- The Pair has a Frequency of almost 15% in the BBC and it is evenly distributed across the three subgenres with 31 evaluative acts of the Pair in Bio, 33 in Fict and 38 in Hist;
- The Pair is mainly located in the Body with 59 acts and in the Close with 31 acts;
- The main Targets of the Pair are: Specific Aspects of the Book with 42 instances, General Aspects of the Book with 25 instances and the Author with 19 instances.

There is a pattern running through the corpus which presents evaluation in terms of contrast as highlighted by Hunston (2001:26). In other words, a positive comment is juxtaposed with a negative one.

Evaluative instances are mainly present in the Body and in the Close and are not impacted by subgenre differences. What links evaluative acts is mainly the conjunct BUT. This set a new thread of research into motion that called for a narrower and more specific set of Data. These recurring patterns called for the design of a smaller, more dedicated corpus where a detailed analysis of rhetorical evaluative strategies occurring in the proximity of BUT could be pursued. Hence the BUT Database was created.

In terms of Target, hedging strategies, the polarity of evaluation, distributional evaluative patterns and the role of the Praise and Criticism Pair, what had been detected in the Preliminary Study, has been confirmed by the coding and analysis of a wider corpus namely:

- 1) The Author and Specific aspects of the book are the main targets for Broadsheet reviewers of the BB Corpus;
- 2) Hedging Criticism allows reviewers to be blunter in their critical acts. That is why criticism of General Aspects of the book, that is more Face threatening, usually occurs in the Pair and Criticism Pair or in the Hedged Criticism Nodes;
- 3) Hedged criticism is more frequent than hedged praise with 80 and 25 instances respectively;
- 4) Evaluation both positive (181 instances) and negative (120) instances is mainly hosted in the Body;
- 5) Praise (345) is more frequent than Criticism (148);

- 6) Openings (53 instances) and Closes (69 instances) host mainly Praise, while Criticism is carefully avoided at the beginning of the review text, both in its unhedged and in its hedged version with only 8 and 7 instances respectively;
- 7) The Praise and Criticism Pair has a key evaluative role in the BB corpus with almost 15% of Frequency:
- 8) The Pair is not only quantitatively but also qualitatively relevant because it hosts balanced evaluation that is presented in the form of contrast, as argued by Hunston (2001:26) and thus performs a pragmatically instrumental function that is softening criticism and creating a positive relationship with the audience.

In the following chapter, broadsheet reviews will be investigated as argumentative discourse where contrast and comparison become the backbone of evaluation and contrastive discourse markers turn into a strategic means to enact evaluative strategies.



## **Chapter 5: A qualitative analysis of interactional strategies in the BUT Node of the BBC**

### **5.1. Chapter overview: Broadsheet reviews: an example of argumentative discourse**

In this chapter, I will show that one of the key features of broadsheet review texts is argumentation. The need to justify the opinion about the book appears the backbone of broadsheet review texts. It is the scaffolding that supports balanced evaluation. The focus of the chapter will be on how the argumentative nature of broadsheet reviews intertwines with their evaluative nature to give life to a text where rhetoric and dialectics are used to evaluate, resorting to a wide range of evaluative strategies. It is precisely through argumentation that rhetorical evaluative strategies are enacted. Both research question 5 and 6 on page 31 will be explored in this chapter.

In the first section, I will look at interactional resources in the BUT Database that foreground the social, interactional dimension of the broadsheet review. These resources construct a reviewer who argues with and for the reader, thereby creating a reader's space that allows the addressee to become a forceful presence in the evaluation process.

In section two, I will explore how argumentation proceeds through figures of speech such as metaphor that make evaluation not only more visually powerful but also more socially acceptable. Metaphors often evoke images in the reader's mind which make communication of content more immediate and memorable, as argued by recent studies (Brown, S.:2014) that emphasize the power of visual learning and understanding through the 'doodle Revolution' where concept maps, pictures and infographics enrich communication more than auditory and kinaesthetic stimuli. This happens especially in a technology driven society like ours where the power of social networks as Instagram, Pinterest and Snapchat have disclosed to young generations a more appealing way of sharing thoughts and ideas through images.

G. Lakoff and Johnson (1999), two key cognitive metaphor scientists, suggest that, "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature." Along similar lines, G. Lakoff, (1986) maintains that metaphors are not just figures of speech but figures of thought.

Metaphors are analogic just like thought and images. They are perceived holistically by the mind. They can be more easily stored and retrieved than words that are sequential, discrete and harder to decode.

Unlike words, metaphors support understanding and ease our access to new and complex concepts as argued by Laarson (2013:354) "conceptual metaphor theory, which states that abstract thinking is largely metaphorical, the article argues that this is true also for digital phenomena that, thus, are largely understood through metaphors." Online BR reviews are also a digital phenomenon, so let us take an example of a metaphor from the BBC and see how it enhances understanding through visual, analogic thought:

**Example 41:** It's easy to see why the jacket praise dubs him "a writer of immense subtlety and craft.", but the contents can sometimes resemble a palace built on a bog. (FICT21DT) CLOSE EXTR 15 F

The comparison between the contents of the book and a palace built on a bog is visually powerful because it evokes in the reader's mind the image of a royal beautiful, well designed building that has crumbling bases and is at risk of falling anytime. This image conveys to the reader the idea that the surface beauty of the book hides flaws and imperfections. Without the metaphor, the reviewer would have needed many more words that would probably not reach the visual impact of the metaphor chosen.

In Section three, I will concentrate on the role of connectives in the review text and, in particular, on the connector BUT. I will start by identifying the key features of argumentative discourse and I will show how broadsheet reviews belong to the argumentative genre. First, I will briefly review the main theories on argumentation that are relevant to the current research, then I will highlight the reasons why broadsheet reviews belong to argumentative discourse and I will reflect on how the argumentative nature of reviews impacts both the writing and the unfolding of the review.

## 5.2. Core features of argumentative discourse

Plantin (2012) proposes that the two key elements of argumentative discourse are dialectics and rhetoric. With reference to the review genre, it can be argued that reviewers are aware of the personal, biased nature of their judgement on the book and are ready to put forward evidence for the claims they make in a dialectical tension where possible counter arguments are taken on board and made explicit. The final claim takes into account readers' rebuttals and the possibility of a different judgement on the book. This is the reason why dialectics is at the heart of the broadsheet review genre. Dialectics also makes contrasting positions debatable, acceptable thus encouraging an open-minded, flexible attitude in the presentation of reviewers' claims to the audience, complying with both positive and negative politeness strategies as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987).

The other element of argumentative discourse is rhetoric which is defined by the Sophists, in Poulakos's words, (1983:36) as a "technè (art) whose medium is logos and whose double aim is *terpsis* (aesthetic pleasure) and *pistis* (belief)" in the sense that persuasion of the listener is not the only aim sought. The reviewer is also sharing with the reader the pleasure of the reading experience and the writing of the review is the very means by which this pleasure is conveyed to the public. Poulakos (1983:41) explains how persuasion is achieved through an effective and appropriate style, appropriate in the sense that "what is said must conform to both audience and occasion".

In modern terms, we can interpret 'occasion' as the genre of the text because both readers and the conventions of the genre are bound to establish what is appropriate in terms of style. In other words, a review is expected to be an opinion text that seeks objectivity rather than subjectivity. Evaluation of the book is a must and so is the creation of a polite relationship with the reader. From an interpersonal viewpoint, genre conventions expect the text to be reader-oriented because reviews are written so that the public can decide whether to read the book or not. It follows that 'you' pronouns and also an argument that involves the reader will be expected in the text.

Adherence to genre constraints is a main preoccupation for reviewers, as indicated in previous chapters. The key role of the audience is also detected by Kienpointer (2003) who distinguishes between introverted and extroverted rhetoric. The former focuses on the subject matter - meaning and enunciation - while the latter privileges participants in the speech act so it is aimed at the addressee. It places an emphasis on interaction, communication and eloquence.

My claim is that dialectics and rhetoric become the two key components of broadsheet reviews, where the reviewer's attempt to resolve a difference of opinion through persuasion underpins the creation of the text and impacts its unfolding.

Plantin (2012) observes how persuasion is embedded in argumentative discourse. He traces a gradual move, in research, from a structural approach to argumentation to a more functional and a pragmatic approach that focuses on the perlocutionary effect of the words on the addressee and takes into account the broader context of argumentation. I will review Toulmin's model (1958) as an example of a structural approach and Van Eemeren and Houtlosser's pragmadialectal theory (1999) as an example of a functional approach.

The structural approach that focuses on the actual forms of arguments in texts considers arguments as a series of propositions that are sequenced following certain patterns. For example, Toulmin (1958) articulates his



argumentative structure in three core elements namely:

1. The Claim that is the conclusion of an argument;
2. Data – the evidence necessary to seek that particular claim;
3. Warrant-that represents the inferential process-how we move from data to claim.

There are also three more peripheral elements:

4. The Backing that offers further evidence to support the warrant;
5. The Qualifier that is attached to the claim and specifies how forceful the claim is, so it can be linguistically expressed by adverbs such as ‘possibly, probably’;
6. The Rebuttal that, according to Healy (1987:4), "serves the important functions of anticipating objections, counter arguments, or limiting conditions pertaining the claim and its evidential support."

In the BBC, however, elements such as Rebuttal and Qualifier which seem peripheral to Toulmin, take on a key role. BRers’ main preoccupation seems to be to foresee possible rebuttals readers may have about their judgement on the book and anticipate them in their argumentative process as shown in 5.3.1. BRers’ concern for qualifying their opinion on the book as something that is possibly true and shareable is foregrounded in Chapter 7 section 7.4.4. where the use of modals to express the reviewer’s opinion on the book exemplifies their stance towards the evaluative utterances made.

On the functional side, Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (1999:480) put forward a pragmadialectical theory that sees argumentative discourse as "an exchange of verbal moves ideally intended to resolve a difference of opinion. This dialectical angle of the theory is manifested in the maintenance of critical standards of reasonableness, the pragmatic angle in the definition of all argumentative moves as speech acts functioning in a context of disagreement."

In broadsheet reviews, reviewers envisage a possible difference of opinion in the sense that the reader may disagree with their personal appreciation of the book. Reviewers need to stage their judgement not as a fact but as the result of an argumentative process where the claim, using Toulmin’s model, is backed up with Data and the Warrant is clearly shown to the reader. In other words, the review should map the steps in the reasoning that bring the reviewer from the Data to the Claim. Further Backing can reinforce the argument. Also anticipating possible Rebuttals, clearly stating counterarguments or foregrounding objections, may be successful strategies to convince the reader of the rightness of the claim.

Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) add an element of dynamism and dialogicity to Toulmin's theory since argumentation becomes a staged process where negotiation of opinions and discussion play a key role. Within this theory, van Eemeren and Grootendorst. (1984) develop a critical discussion that has four stages:

1. A confrontation stage, in which a difference of opinion becomes clear;
2. An opening stage, where the procedural and material points of departure for a critical discussion are established;
3. The argumentation stage, where the opinions are challenged and defended;
4. The concluding stage, where the results of the discussion are uttered.

Consequently, the text becomes a dynamic locus where the reviewer has not only one voice but ideally leaves the floor open to the reader to express possible rebuttals. It follows that writing becomes a dynamic process where the reviewer adjusts his arguments, taking on board the perspective of other participants –the reader and the author – for instance, as the argument unfolds from initial confrontation to an evaluative conclusion.

Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (1999) suggest a series of strategic manoeuvres that are aimed at easing the reader's entrance in the text. One of the strategies presented by Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (1999:484) is 'the topic potential' that is explained as a situation where "speakers or writers may choose the material they find easiest to handle" adjusting it to audience demand "choosing the perspective most agreeable to the audience" using presentational devices that organize "their contribution in the most effective wordings." In the case of broadsheet reviews, the 'topic potential' may occur in the Opening of the review where reviewers provide the informational background that is necessary to readers in order to understand and follow the evaluative process that is enacted through argumentation in the Body of the Review and comes to a conclusion in the Close of the broadsheet review text.

It seems that both philosophers and linguists recognize the predominant role of audience in argumentative discourse. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969:19) state "Since argumentation aims at securing the adherence of those to whom it is addressed, it is in its entirety, relative to the audience to be influenced." Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca work within the tradition of New Rhetoric. They are interested in an empiricist theory of knowledge that establishes how to evaluate value

judgements. For them, dialectical reasoning is at the heart of arguments. This kind of reasoning foresees an interlocutor in the process of argumentation that starts from shared premises. The main function of argumentation is persuasion and the audience is an active presence in the process.

Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (1999:485) have explored a number of strategies that can be used to persuade the audience. For example, one is to resort to common sense because it stems from truths that are hard to question. Another is the use of presentational devices such as figures of speech because they have a strong impact and a persuasive character. A further strategy could be analogy because as Walton (1989:256) notes "Arguments from analogy are often extremely powerful forms of persuasion to a particular audience because they compare an issue to something the audience is very familiar with or has very positive feelings about. Arguments based on analogies are a form of plausible reasoning."

The analysis of the BRs that follows in section 5.3.1. will highlight which interactional resources BRers use in order to clarify their argumentative moves to readers. The focus of the analysis will be on evaluative strategies that are enacted in review texts to acknowledge the presence of the reader and that are framed within an argumentative discourse.

Cohen (1987:11) focuses on the goal-oriented character of argumentation that has the main objective of convincing the reader of a claim through the staging of evidence that supports the claim. The writer indicates the structure of the argument to ease the readers' decoding process and to guide them to the correct interpretation. The writer uses cue words, mainly connectors, to accomplish these functions. According to Cohen (1987:15), connectives specify the relationship between the current proposition and prior ones. For instance, two utterances could be in a cause effect relationship if they were linked by the connector "so" or the second utterance could be a further specification of the preceding utterance if they were linked by the connective "in particular". Each class of cue words has a precise function within the text: "As a result" signals inference, "in particular" will add further detail, "in other words" hints at an argumentative move that is reformulation, "but" and "on the other hand" prepare for contrast, "as a result" directs to an inferential move and "in sum" to a summary of the content displayed. Cohen (1987) shows the key role of connectives to orient reader's interpretation of the text and, I would add, to follow the argumentative process that is occurring in the text.

This brief overview of argumentative discourse suggests broadsheet reviews share some of the salient features of argumentative texts. In a nutshell, the broadsheet review comes across as a dialogic text where

reviewers argue for the judgement they make on the book. Argumentation proceeds through the unfolding of data, the inferential process called Warrant, which is backed up by evidence and the Backing. The intended conclusion is to convince the reader to share the reviewer's opinion. Argumentation is signalled to the reader through cue words, mainly connectors that ease the reader's interpretation, as suggested by the pragma-dialectical theory.

To summarize the points made, my contention is that broadsheet reviews are fully argumentative texts because they are:

1. Reader oriented;
2. Goal-oriented working towards the persuasion of the reader;
3. Aimed at seeking a resolution of a possible conflict in the evaluation of the book;
4. Focused on orienting the reader in certain directions.

Argumentation is the 'modus operandi' but the ultimate objective of the broadsheet review is to evaluate. Arguments offer evaluation balance, plausible reasoning, acceptance of counterarguments and anticipation of rebuttals. My claim is that arguments serve as a scaffolding building a fair evaluative environment that protects both the author's and the reader's Face. In analysing the BRs, I will move from the assumption that BRs are argumentative texts that proceed through claims as argued by Toulmin. In order to interact with the reader, BRers use some of the strategies suggested by Van Eemeren and Houtlosser's (1999) pragma-dialectical theory. Both Toulmin (1958) and Van Eemeren's theories will be used as an analytical framework for this thesis. However, the approach chosen is not only confined to theory. It is also bottom up. It moves from the analysis of data to capture the most salient discourse features of the BRs in the BBC.

### **5.3. Interactional resources in the linguistic tradition**

In this section, I will discuss three terms that will be instrumental in outlining one of the features of argumentative discourse: the presence and relevance of interactional resources in the corpus. The terms are: metadiscourse, stance and engagement. These concepts all belong to an interpersonal outlook on texts. The term 'interpersonal' was first used by Halliday (1973) who suggested three components in text analysis-the ideational that has to do with *what*-the subject matter of the text, the textual that deals with *how* the text unfolds and the interpersonal that has to do with *who*- the participants in the textual interaction.

A researcher who has extensively investigated interpersonal resources in texts is Hyland (2004c: 109) who defines metadiscourse as "the interpersonal resources used to organize a discourse or the writer's stance toward either its content or the reader."

In this thesis, I will use Hyland's definition of metadiscourse because it is instrumental in clarifying the key role of the reader in this highly dialogic text- the broadsheet review.

Writers exploit a whole gamut of linguistic features in order to express their argument and, in so doing, they take into account the readers' expectations and also offer textual clues, such as interactional resources, that help readers interpret the text.

Tse and Hyland (2006:770) identify two key elements in metadiscourse, namely:

1. How the writer manages the information flow to guide readers through the arguments;
2. How writers give speech role to themselves and readers to comment on the material presented.

We can look at metadiscourse as a platter of interpersonal resources available to writers, where reviewers select language in order to organize their arguments, guide readers through them and assign roles to the participants in the speech act. This becomes an extremely dynamic and heteroglossic process in Bakhtin's (1981) sense of the term where in the text, there is not only one voice but an overlapping of voices. Writers are not only expressing their own view, but they become what Goffman (1981) calls 'animators' of the views attributed to others.

Keane (2000: 272) points out how different roles can be overtly expressed, even within a single turn of talk. The author's words can be embedded in the animator's words (in this context the animator is the reviewer). However, the animators may decide to bring in other voices, using quotations, reported speech or choosing an anonymous voice when they use the passive, for example. Keane (2000: 272) stresses that "voice is not a personal attribute but involves shared assumptions about recognizable types of character and their attributes but the exact identity of a given voice may be contested, ambiguous, or rendered purposely indeterminate, with important social consequences such as the occlusion or diffusion of responsibility."

Therefore, animators, in this case, broadsheet reviewers, may decide to play with voice in order to bring their argument to the desired conclusion or to pull the reader in as a friendly accomplice in delivering criticism of the book reviewed. The effect is to diffuse the responsibility for criticism.

Participants in this speech act – review writing and review reading - are involved in stance taking. Stance is the second term that is relevant for the analysis of interactional resources in the BUT Database. An influential definition of the term stance comes from DuBois (2007: 220) "Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects, and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimensions of the sociocultural field."

Dubois (2007) perceives stance as social action that involves both the evaluation of objects, people and siding for or against a certain issue, not remaining neutral but taking a position. Myers (2010:264) observes how stance involves not only arguing for an opinion but using that opinion "to align with or disalign with someone else."

Kiesling (2009) enriches the debate capturing the two aspects of stance. He (2009:172) defines 'epistemic stance' as the degree of certainty speakers have towards their utterances. However, stance can also be interpersonal, when it refers to the attitude of the writer towards the interlocutor, the level of formality, the nature of the relationships that can range in a cline that goes from hierarchical to peer.

Stance is a relevant concept for the current analysis of interactional resources because it is exactly through these resources that reviewers will make their stance explicit to the reader. Stance is the end and interactional resources are the means. Stance taking will have not only textual consequences, as the writer will evoke readers using a direct question and guide their interpretation of the book in certain directions. The writer's stance will also have social consequences in the external world in negotiating positions among participants. Readers may refuse harsh, unjustified criticism while they may accept well-grounded criticism and well-argued Praise. Selecting the appropriate stance will determine the communicative success of the text.

In this light, the whole process of reading becomes dynamic because interpretations are suggested, roles are designed for the reader, so participants are thoroughly engaged in this exchange. Engagement is the third term I will use in this overview of interactional resources in linguistics.

Engagement refers to a wide range of rhetorical strategies writers use to acknowledge the presence of their readers into their texts in an explicit way (Hyland: 2001, 2005c). Hyland (2005c:176) draws a subtle distinction between stance and engagement. While stance can be associated with the textual voice, expressing how writers present themselves and convey their opinion, to what extent they are committed to their arguments, engagement is more related to the writer-reader

relationship with respect to the claims presented in the text.

In Hyland's (2005c:182) view, engagement strategies focus on writers' predictions about how readers will react to their arguments, their expectations about which arguments readers will find convincing and to which ones they may object. Engagement has also to do with identifying what readers will find difficult to understand and what requires an explanation in the text.

In summary, then in this thesis, I will use the terms metadiscourse, stance and engagement in the sense Hyland (2004c; 2005c) gives to these terms.

According to Hyland (2004c;2005c), stance and engagement are two types of metadiscourse. Engagement is a form of metadiscourse because reviewers may choose expressions as 'it goes without saying' before an opinion to present the opinion as a fact and anticipate any possible rebuttals readers may have. Writers use textual strategies that are more rhetorically oriented to persuade and manipulate the reader.

The main objective of these strategies, according to Hyland (2005c:177) is to outline the reader as an active participant in the text through specific resources for engagement such as: reader pronouns, directives, questions, shared knowledge and personal asides.

Texts take on a dialogic nature in the sense that writers pull the reader in the text using the 'you' pronoun. They involve the reader in an argument or in a judgement selecting the inclusive 'we' pronoun rather than 'I'. Readers are outlined not as passive observers, but active participants of argumentative discourse. Reviewers may also give directions on how to follow an argument that is leading readers in a certain line of reasoning. They will ask readers to recognize a claim as familiar in order to create common ground. They may also stop the argument to offer a personal comment on their utterance. They will exploit questions to give an interactive flair to the review text. Metadiscourse, Stance and Engagement are bound to play a key role in broadsheet review texts, given the key importance of interpersonal resources in this genre of texts. It is therefore worth focusing in more detail on specific interactional resources at work in the BUT Database.

### **5.3.1. Interactional resources in the BUT Database**

I will now explain why interactional resources play a key role in broadsheet reviews. I will relate these resources to the analysis of evaluative rhetorical strategies and, eventually, I will examine how interactional resources are used in the BUT Database, and which functions

they fulfil.

Tse and Hyland (2006:775) underline the interactional nature of review texts "The genre book review is unique in its interpersonal negotiations with readers." It has been widely recognized in the literature that reviews are interpersonally complex and represent a strategically crafted social accomplishment (Hyland 2004a; Motta-Roth 1998). Readers expect a good review not only to provide an insightful perspective, deriving from a deep knowledge of the field, but also to adequately respond to the complex social context of the review text, where merit is assessed publicly through sound and cautious argumentation, and negotiation of possible conflicts is a must.

The interactional complexity of reviews stems from the function of the genre, namely evaluating and recommending books publicly. It is a commonly shared belief that the acts of judgment and persuasion are embedded in the genre. In fact, both acts call for a compliant addressee that is open to opinions other than their own and willing to be convinced to take a course of action, that is not simply buying the book, but allowing the writer to lead them in the stages of their argumentation with an open and receptive mind. What G. Thompson (2001:58) calls "the reader in the text" must be a proactive presence, willing to answer the writer's questions, ready to be engaged and negotiate solidarity with the writer.

My first claim is that the presence of interactional resources in the BUT Database confirms that, - not only academic but also broadsheet reviews, are a rich environment to explore interaction in texts. Moreover, this analysis will disclose the specific interactional features that occur in the BR genre. It will show how evaluation relies on interactional features to modulate its force and to appear more balanced, less one sided, and therefore more acceptable to readers.

The Database under scrutiny is composed of the BUT clauses taken from the 74 broadsheet reviews that form the BB Corpus. For convenience sake, I will call this collection of BUT clauses the BUT Database. This database has been previously identified as a privileged locus for evaluation and it is therefore worth investigating in detail, given the focus of the present research which concentrates on evaluative rhetorical strategies in BRs.

My second claim is that a skilful use of interactional resources can become a valuable rhetorical evaluative strategy to negotiate positions and bring home the writer's argument, safeguarding the Face of the author and the readers' opinion. In other words, these resources ensure that writers leave a space for readers' ideas. Through them, criticism is properly argued and adequately softened so that no offence can be taken at the utterances made.



Last but not least, the aim of the text - evaluating a book - can be effectively accomplished because Face saving strategies create a space for a fair evaluation of the book, as I will explain later on in the chapter.

I will now turn to the literature to explore the main linguistic realizations of interactional resources in texts. I will subsequently look at the resources identified in the BUT Database.

As mentioned earlier, Hyland (2005a:365-6), looked at patterns of engagement in student and professional writers, and found the following interpersonal resources to be high frequency categories occurring in his corpus of academic reviews:

"(1) questions; (2) direct reader references, comprising first person and second person pronouns and items referring to readers; (3) directives, mainly imperatives and obligation modals directing readers to a particular action (must, ought, should, have to, need to); (4) references to shared knowledge; and (5) asides addressed to the reader, marked off from the ongoing flow of text."

I will now map the reader's presence in the review texts of the Database. To do so, I will use Hyland's (2005a) categories and see how they appear in the Database. To proceed in my analysis, I will:

1. gather and list relevant occurrences from the Database where interactional resources are used;
2. classify the occurrences from a functional perspective;
3. identify three main categories of use for interactional resources;
4. group occurrences in the corpus according to the categories selected;

I am fully aware that this categorization may be slippery at times, because reviewers embed multiple functions in one review in order to amplify the dialogic potential of the text, thus making it more dynamic from a communicative viewpoint. This happens in example 105 on page 160 of this chapter where the directive 'beware' foregrounds criticism, the epistemic modal 'may' hints at a weakness of the book and a direct question offers the perfect punchline for a final Praise of the book.

However, the attempt to categorize, fighting against the slippery nature of evaluation, bore positive results because it was beneficial for the current research. It supported a systematic outlook on the data, eased the access to the decoding of the review texts and offered an informed analysis of the results.

In the BUT Database, three main categories that map the reader's presence in the text were found. Interactional resources are exploited for the following purposes:

A) In the first category, the reviewer acknowledges the reader's presence in the text.

This presence has three different degrees of granularity that range from passive to active, as illustrated below.

A.1. The reviewer mentions readers in the text and designs a role for them;

A.2 The reviewer appeals to the reader's solidarity seeking a positive, friendly relationship using inclusive pronoun *we* and *you*;

A.3 The reviewer calls for the reader's action urging the reader to action, using directives such as imperatives.

B) In the second category, the reader quotes the author of the book to enhance weaknesses or flaws in the book;

C) In the third category, the reviewer uses direct questions to elicit the reader's response, that often means guiding the reader towards conclusions that align with the author's argument.

I will now comment on each category in turn and quote the relevant reviews, highlighting the function of the interactional resource in the extract. I will end by drawing some conclusions about the informative or evaluative function of interactional resources and, more generally, on the role played by interactional resources in the Database.

The first category in the group is:

#### **a) The dialogic nature of review writing**

This category has three subcategories:

##### **a.1.: The first is: acknowledging the reader's presence in the text.**

The relevant extracts and their functions are listed below:

**Example 56:** This may cause a collective gasp of outrage from Banks's legions of fans, but then I would say that the reasons I have trouble with some aspects of Banks's writing are the very reasons why he has legions of fans in the first place; and these can be summarized as guilelessness, and the lack of a gap between idea and expression. (Fict33G) BODY

FUNCTION: ANTICIPATING THE READER'S REBUTTAL OF THE REVIEWER'S OPINION (EVALUATIVE)

In example 56 above, the reviewer anticipates what Toulmin (1975) calls a possible rebuttal of his opinion, outlining his viewpoint as unconventional but well-grounded in argumentation because he provides a precise explanation of the reason for his criticism. The reviewer is creating shared knowledge with the reader and this makes his line of argument more acceptable to the interlocutor, thus using one of the strategies highlighted in the pragmadialectical theory.

**Example 57:** This means that any criticism is mildly muted, and the significance of its position in the Banksian oeuvre enhanced. This is fair enough, honourable and decent even; but it's still a novel, and readers still want to know what to expect. (FICT33G) BODY

FUNCTION: FOREGROUNDING READERS' EXPECTATIONS (INFORMATIVE)

In example 57, the reviewer anticipates that readers' expectations will not be fulfilled by the reading of the book. The personal asides include a chain of positive adjectives 'fair enough, honourable and decent' that hedge the force of his criticism and make it more acceptable to readers. The reviewer starts his argumentative process from shared premises that are based on common sense and are hard to question namely "The author is terminally ill, and reviewers avoid being too critical about his book". This premise is easily acceptable for the reader, at this point, and when he has proved his point, the reviewer explores the counterargument "It is fair to tell readers both the good and the bad aspects of the book" thus showing the reader that the opposite view is also justified and acceptable. At this stage, the initial difference of opinion has been resolved. As argued by the pragma-dialectical theory, the reviewer has assumed a difference of opinion with the reader and he has envisaged an interlocutor that starts from shared premises. In presenting these argumentative moves, the BRer has also fulfilled the Van Eemeren (1999) topic potential because he has managed to present his judgement in the most agreeable perspective for the reader. He has empathized with the sick author, but he has also expressed criticism of his work in a delicate way that is appropriate to the situation and will be appreciated by the reader.

**Example 63:** As you'd expect, this makes for some grim reading, but Leyshon always keeps a firm hand on the reins, allowing the reader to draw breath with moments of levity and respite. (Fict 40DT) CLOSE

FUNCTION: SHARING CRITICISM AND PRAISE WITH THE READER (creating shared knowledge) (EVALUATIVE)

In example 63, the reader is pulled in the text through the use of the personal pronoun 'you' and as the recipient of levity. The initial evaluation that is subjective, is presented as shared knowledge thanks to the use of 'As you'd expect'. Inferring expectations becomes a pragmadialectical strategic argumentative move to orient readers' expectations in a direction that is desirable for the BRer because it fits into the evaluative frame the BRer is outlining. In other words, he seems to be saying: both me and you expect dull reading, given the premises highlighted in the previous sentence where he refers to the sad life of his characters that are drug addicts coming from broken families, but, and here the unexpected is about to be stated, the book comes as a surprise because reading is turned into a much more satisfactory experience.

**Example 96:** Also missing is the role that the Thames River Police (a reformed and dynamic small specialist force, formed as early as 1798) may – or may not – have had as a model for Peel's New Police. And a consideration of the policing, or lack of it, of upper-class hoodlums on the rampage in the West End after a hard night's drinking would have been welcome, too. But these are minor criticisms of an otherwise excellent compendium, which is likely to be a huge help to anyone who wishes to set about mining the many rich seams of police history. (Hist14TLS) CLOSE

FUNCTION: SUGGESTING READERSHIP FOR THE BOOK  
(INFORMATIVE)

At the end of example 96, the reviewer is outlining the target reader of the book, fulfilling a key informative function for their readership.

**Example 101:** The result of this easy-going affability sometimes means that the power and terror of the story is lost. I could have done with more of Stanford's own opinion and a more dramatic sense of implication and argument. But I suppose that if your subject matter is, in Pope Leo I's words "the wickedest and unhappiest man that ever lived", then the reader should perhaps be grateful for small mercies. (Hist17Ind) BODY

FUNCTION: MITIGATING PREVIOUS CRITICISM  
(EVALUATIVE)

It is relevant to point out a shifting viewpoint on the book in example 101. This shifting viewpoint allows the exploration of the argument - the author's voice is often lacking in the book and the counterargument - these flaws can be justified by the challenging nature of the subject matter. The conflicting opinions come to be resolved when the reviewer states that the reader should be satisfied with the good parts of the book. The broadsheet reviewer's opinion has been presented following a dialectical line of reasoning but also using Toulmin's categories: The Data which is the presentation of the argument, the Rebuttal that is the Counterargument and the final claim. The reviewer starts expressing what he missed in the book, then he seems to address the author when he mentions the subject matter and seizes the opportunity to

justify any flaws because of the wickedness of the subject matter. Eventually, the reader is depicted as grateful and criticism is mitigated.

**Example 110:** Readers may forgive these omissions, but another problem is that the book does not actually explain "the rise of the oligarchs.". There is room here for just the one, our Boris. (Hist24IND) BODY

FUNCTION: MITIGATING PREVIOUS CRITICISM  
 FOREGROUNDING THE VIEWPOINT OF A FLEXIBLE, OPEN  
 MINDED READER (EVALUATIVE)

In example 110, readers appear in the text as tolerant towards the author's flaw, thus mitigating potential criticism. However, the BRer is also making clear that he is not so tolerant towards the omission. Again, a rebuttal is predicted and promptly neutralized because the attempt is to bring the reader to the BRer's side of the argument offering further data after BUT, in Toulmin's words - the Backing - that reinforce the final claim of the author's limited perspective on the subject matter. The reader is brought along this line of argumentation till the end of the clause, where the name of the protagonist of the book is preceded by the possessive adjective 'our', which rhetorically positions the reader in the text as someone following and sharing the reviewer's line of argument.

**Example 112:** It is not a smooth, elegant or jargon-free read, but since 'Curing Queers' isn't a book aimed at the general reader, it would probably be unfair to expect it to be so. (Hist24G) CLOSE:

FUNCTION: TO MITIGATE PREVIOUS CRITICISM, IDENTIFYING  
 A SPECIALIZED READERSHIP, JUSTIFIES JARGON AND THE  
 COMPLEXITY OF READING IT (EVALUATIVE AND  
 INFORMATIVE)

In example 112, the reviewer invokes the target reader of the book as a mitigating strategy. The shortfalls of the book are only apparent because they are fully justified by a specialized readership that expects jargon and a challenging reading experience. The argument is based on the claim that the book is hard to read, this claim comes to be supported by a further evidence - what Toulmin calls Backing- namely the specialized target audience the book addresses. Again, a difference of opinion is the heart of argumentation as claimed by Van Eemeren et al (1999) with an implied reader who expects the book to be a smooth read and the broadsheet reviewer who explains that the target audience justifies what appears as a flaw. What appeared as a flaw - the complexity of the reading experience - is not in fact a flaw but a necessity, given the

specialized audience selected by the author of the book and endorsed by the broadsheet reviewer.

What distinguishes the subcategory A2 from the others is a direct appeal to the reader that can be conveyed with the word 'reader' or a more general form of address like 'anyone.' The writer pulls the reader into the argument for various reasons. The reader becomes the receiver of information about the appropriate readership for the book, for instance. The reader is also called into the text to share Praise and Criticism and to mitigate critique. Hence, interactional resources take on an evaluative function.

### **A.2. boosting solidarity through solidarity pronouns (the inclusive we/us)**

In this subset of extracts, the presence of the reader is not simply acknowledged as in set A.1. but a course of action is required from the reader through the use of directives. In fact, interactional resources make the reader an accomplice in sharing some kind of evaluation.

**Example 28:** Lutz's book slips down easily enough. The power of Charlotte's and Emily's novels, combined with the gothic pathos of their stories, means that we are always greedy to know more. But feeding an appetite is not quite the same as shedding light. There are novels that truly explore the relationship between people and things: Henry James wrote one, Bruce Chatwin another. (Bio29DT) BODY

FUNCTION: THE READER JOINS THE REVIEWER IN THE DESIRE FOR KNOWLEDGE THAT IS NOT SATISFIED. THIS COMMENT INTRODUCES CRITICISM, THROUGH THE USE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN, "WE", THE READER BECOMES AN ACCOMPLICE OF CRITICISM AND THUS THE AUTHOR'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CRITIQUE IS DILUTED (EVALUATIVE)

In example 28, the reviewer creates a shared knowledge with the reader who, like the reviewer, is suffering because the appeal for knowledge is not satisfied. Since not only the reviewer but also the reader is critical, the Face threatening power of criticism is diminished. The presence of the metaphor makes criticism both visually powerful and less face threatening because an element of inference is left to the reader. Toulmin's Warrant, that is how we move from data to claim, can be found in the broadsheet reviewer's statement that feeding an appetite doesn't mean shedding light. The interpretation of this metaphor is left entirely to the reader. This brings indirectness and abstraction to the critical act. The result is hedged

criticism, the shifting of criticism to the reader and the face tending of the author of the book.

**Example 30:** Clementine's last 15 years of widowhood were not especially cheerful – they are dispatched here in a brisk five pages – but Purnell's excellent book makes us fully realize what a mercy it was that Churchill, so indisputably dependent upon his wife's support, was the first of the two to go (BIO 30 DT CLOSE)

FUNCTION: THE READER IS SUMMONED TO SHARE A PRAISE OF THE BOOK THAT IS PROVIDING A NEW INSIGHT INTO THE SUBJECT MATTER. (EVALUATIVE)

In example 30, the reader is turned into an accomplice of praise. This makes the evaluation less subjective, more shareable and therefore readers will be more easily persuaded by the reviewer's viewpoint.

**Example 55:** While Elizabeth's first-person narrative, a memoir composed just before her death, is deftly handled, the alternating third-person account from Martha's perspective can seem prolix. But something of great worth and beauty gleams through the narrative and haunts the reader with its imaginative truth. (Fict 31G) BODY

FUNCTION: THE READER SHARES THE JOY OF WITNESSING THE IMAGINATIVE TRUTH OF THE NARRATIVE. THE READER SHARES PRAISE (EVALUATIVE)

The Praise and Criticism Pair precedes the mentioning of the reader in the text in example 55. One aspect of style is appreciated, while third person narration is criticized. The reader's presence in the text seems instrumental in ending with a note of Praise and mitigating the previous negative comment.

**Example 67:** In her other fiction, however – this is her ninth novel – her touch is less assured, with a tendency for her creations to add up to less than the sum of their parts. But what parts they are! *The Seed Collectors* also explores alternative realities, this time arising from botany. It is based on the notion that differences between fauna and flora are smaller than we think and that plants could unlock fundamental knowledge for us (Fict 41IND Body)

FUNCTION: THE REVIEWER SHARES KNOWLEDGE AND PRAISE WITH THE READER (EVALUATIVE)

Both in example 67 and in example 70, the reader is treated as the one who shares appreciation of the book with the reviewer.

**Example 70:** In this fragment we have not only a suggestion of Sara's

character – that of a girl accustomed to choosing the company of books over people – but also a bold declaration from the author Katarina Bivald; a statement that this is what a book should be, what she intends this very book in which you read these words, to be. (fict42Ind) OPENING

#### FUNCTION: SHARE THE PRAISE OF THE BOOK: POWER OF NARRATION (EVALUATIVE)

The analysis of this category revealed how it is precisely through the appeal to the reader into the text and sharing evaluative comments with them that reviewers try to establish a relationship of solidarity with the addressee. The polarity of the evaluation is positive, since the reader is called 4 out of 5 times to share praise and only once to share criticism.

#### **A.3. the use of 'you' and other directives to the reader calling for some course of action:**

An even more active role is designed for the reader in this subset of extracts where readers are involved in decoding the meaning of the book, encouraged to read and to share criticism.

**Example 53:** It's not that the comments aren't illuminating; they sometimes are, but they are often so complicatedly expressed that by the time you've deciphered them, you've also disengaged from the moment they were supposed to illuminate (Fict 30 G-Body)

#### FUNCTION: THE READER IS THERE TO SHARE THE REVIEWER'S DIFFICULTIES IN READING AND INTERPRETING THE BOOK (EVALUATIVE)

In example 53, the reader is pulled in the text to share the criticism of a style that appears as a hindrance to the understanding of the story and adds a frustrating element to the reading experience. The colloquial register chosen makes the judgement even more dialogic because the BRer seems to be talking to a compliant reader in a vis-à-vis conversation. In this instance, Van Eemeren et al's (1999) topic potential is chosen because the book is judged from the reader's perspective as shown by the repetition and the emphasis placed on the 'you' pronoun and the conversational tone of the writing.

**Example 69:** Through Lucy Barton, Strout has made a remarkable virtue of the novelist's trick - often missed - of telling enough but not too much. This is a glorious novel, deft, tender and true. Read it. (Fict41DT) CLOSE



FUNCTION: THE REVIEWER PRAISES THE BOOK AND  
ENCOURAGES THE READER TO READ IT(EVALUATIVE)

Example 69 is the only BUT clause in the BUT Database where the reviewer uses an imperative to urge the reader to read the book. It is a direct appeal to action that is preceded by a triplet of positive adjectives aimed at justifying the course of action suggested. This choice stands out in the BBC because BRs usually seek indirectness both in Praise and in Criticism using hedging strategies.

**Example 103:** These sections have a rich, literary quality, enlivened further by diary extracts and charming anecdotes, such as the message pinned to microphones: "Don't cough – you will deafen millions!." But these lights fade as the book progresses, and we enter the modern era of the BBC, a place of management-speak, where creativity is hobbled by bureaucracy, and resources are diverted to big, clunking names rather than to the cogs who made the BBC spark, whirr, and glow. (Hist18Ind)  
BODY

FUNCTION: THE READER FOREGROUNDS CRITICISM  
(EVALUATIVE)

In example 103, the reviewer brings the reader with him into the criticism he makes of the second part of the book. Criticism is expressed with the metaphor of fading light that conjures up, in the reader's mind, a move from a positive evaluation of the book to a negative one.

**Example 105:** There are very few scholars with Malcolm's linguistic skills and historical vision, which is one of the many reasons *Agents of Empire* is such an important book. It opens up new vistas of research into the hinterland of Renaissance Europe, moving the period's centre of gravity eastwards and away from Italy, precisely at a time when recent events in and around Turkey may prove to be decisive in the next phase of Mediterranean history. But beware: Malcolm's formidable scholarship takes few prisoners, and his extended digressions on the circulation of news, the history of the grain trade, piracy, galley warfare and espionage may test the patience of the casual reader. This is no beach read – unless you are heading for the Albanian Riviera. Who knew that 16th-century Albania could be so interesting? (Hist19DT)  
CLOSE

FUNCTION: THE READER FOREGROUNDS CRITICISM  
(THROUGH AN IMPERATIVE AND MODAL) BUT A DIRECT  
QUESTION IS USED TO FOREGROUND PRAISE, SO HERE  
CATEGORIES OVERLAP (EVALUATIVE)

Through the reader, in example 105, the reviewer criticizes the author's extended digressions. However, it is the casual reader whose patience will be tested, which means that the author is not the only one to

blame. He shares blame with the reader who did not put enough attention in the reading process. The question acts as a praise that is rhetorically asked to create the flair of shared, matter-of-fact knowledge. The use of 'beware' signals a U turn in the polarity of evaluation that is no longer positive but negative. However, negative comments are balanced with positive ones 'this is no beach read' but Malcom has a 'formidable scholarship'. The effect is diffused criticism and softened praise that make the evaluation sound unbiased and well-argued.

I found 16 occurrences in the corpus out of 23 extracts that host interactional resources aimed at involving the reader in the text to some extent. This overwhelming presence of interactional resources, deployed to make the reader a participant in the speech act, confirms the key role of interactional resources not only in academic reviews, as shown by the literature, but also in broadsheet reviews. Broadsheet reviews come across as dialogic texts where a great deal of the writer's effort is spent on negotiating positions in an argumentative process with the interlocutor, so the interpersonal element comes to the foreground.

In Table 1 on page 162, it is relevant to note the prominent role of the evaluative function with 14 instances out of 16 and the BRer's need to share evaluative comments, mainly Criticism, in 8 instances but also Praise, in 5 instances, with the reader. It seems that BRers are seeking the reader's approval in order to pass judgement on the book. They take every opportunity to predict and neutralize readers' possible rebuttals of the arguments underpinning their evaluative acts.

**Table 1: The dialogic nature of review writing**

REVIEW NUMBER	REVIEW CODE	EVALUATIVE OR INFORMATIVE FUNCTION	SUBCATEGORY	FUNCTION OF THE INTERACTIONAL RESOURCE
1	Example 56	evaluative	a.1.	Anticipating the reader's rebuttal of the BRer's opinion
2	Example 57	informative	a.1.	Foregrounding readers' expectations
3	Example 64	evaluative	a.1.	Sharing criticism and praise with the reader
4	Example 96	informative	a.1.	Suggesting readership for the book
5	Example 101	evaluative	a.1.	Mitigating previous criticism
6	Example 110	evaluative	a.1.	Mitigating previous criticism foregrounding the viewpoint of an open-minded reader
7	Example 112	Evaluative and informative	a.1.	Mitigating previous criticism, identifying a specialized readership to justify jargon and complex reading
8	Example 28	evaluative	a.2.	Introduce criticism with the support of the reader
9	Example 30	evaluative	a.2.	The reader shares Praise with the BRer
10	Example 55	evaluative	a.2.	The reader shares Praise with the BRer
11	Example 67	evaluative	a.2.	The reader shares Praise with the BRer
12	Example 70	evaluative	a.2.	The reader shares Praise with the BRer
13	Example 53	evaluative	a.3.	The reader shares the BR's difficulties in reading the book, he shares criticism
14	Example 69	Evaluative	a.3.	The BRer praises the book and encourages the reader to read it
15	Example 103	evaluative	a.3.	The reader foregrounds criticism
16	Example 105	evaluative	a.3.	The reader foregrounds criticism but a direct question is asked to foreground praise (categories overlap)

## B) Quotations: The author's voice

In the following extracts, I will list the functions of quotations in the corpus, specifying whether quotations provide an informative or an evaluative function. Finally, I will pinpoint the circumstances in which the author uses quotations and why.

**Example 32:** Certain themes are sounded insistently, implacably and rightly throughout Brecht . "the extravagantly gifted child.", his "extravagant intelligence.", "this hugely gifted boy.", "his extreme talent.". It may sound like a lot, like overkill, even, but it is only just, and anything less would have been remiss (BIO31TLS) BODY

FUNCTION: QUOTATIONS BACK UP PRAISE OF THE BOOK AND OF THE SUBJECT MATTER SINCE IT IS A BIOGRAPHY (EVALUATIVE)

In example 32, quotations are embedded, one after the other, to back up the Praise of the author's style. The modal 'may' expresses a possible rebuttal on the part of the reader that is promptly presented as unjustified. The reviewer takes on board a viewpoint that differs from his and uses it as the theme of the sentence. He uses quotations as Backing for his argument only to shift to the counter argument and present a positive judgement on the book. At this point, the counter argument has been so fully justified that the BRer feels confident enough to declare that what may seem an exaggeration is exactly what is needed.

**Example 38:** It is difficult to see how Woolf might have improved on his original. In the afterword he talks of "improvements", but in reality, these are minor. A couple of examples may suffice. In the opening chapter, Levi writes of the German deportation trains waiting outside Modena at Carpi station: "There were twelve goods wagons for six hundred and fifty men." In the new version, this becomes: "There were twelve cattle cars for six hundred and fifty of us"; "cattle cars." (vagoni, in Levi's Italian) is preferable to "goods wagons", but only just. Fict20TLS) BODY

FUNCTION: QUOTATIONS REINFORCE CRITICISM  
HIGHLIGHTING THE FLAWS OF THE BOOK, USING THE  
AUTHOR'S WORDS (EVALUATIVE)

Engaging in a dialogue with the editor of the book is a way of presenting the reviewer's claim. Quotations, in example 38, are used to back up the opening Criticism made to Woolf's work that is hedged

through the 'it + to be + adjective', which gives an impersonal flair to the critical comment. The examples quoted from the book act as support for the argumentative process - what Toulmin (1975) would call Backing. The author's words strengthen the initial claim that is rounded up by the words "but only just" where there is a little hedging that tends the author's Face.

**Example 74:** One can forgive the odd typo ("He died in his early 1950s"), but there are so many lazy clichés ("Ted Smith had never had it so good") and passages that belong in a Mills & Boon novel ("Stepping out of her skirt and petticoat and peeling off her stockings....")(Hist 01DT) OPENING

#### FUNCTION: QUOTATIONS LIST THE WEAKNESSES OF THE BOOK (EVALUATIVE)

In example 74, every critical comment is exemplified by a quotation in brackets that makes the Criticism appear as shareable and fully justified. It seems that the reviewer punctually backs up his claims in the attempt to persuade the reader his comments are not opinions but shareable facts. Quotations create what Van Eemeren et al (1999) call a common ground, which pushes the reader towards the acceptance of the reviewer's convictions.

**Example 107:** Landscapes of Communism is therefore a revelatory voyage into fantastical domains made more so by the fact that they were often enormous forms of propaganda: slave-built expressions of equality, non-functioning functionalism, or representations of futures that would never arrive. Sometimes the results achieved unexpected marvels, sometimes not. "Most people think this is crap," is a favourite Hatherley line (I paraphrase), "but actually it's not." But, being honest, he points out when it is. (Hist21G) BODY

#### FUNCTION: QUOTATIONS HIGHLIGHT FLAWS OF THE BOOK (EVALUATIVE)

In example 107, quotations are used to point out flaws of the book. Through them, the reviewer also acknowledges that he shares the same judgement as the author on a Specific aspect of the book. The reviewer acknowledges the author's critical esprit and the awareness of his own shortcomings. This acknowledgement makes criticism appear more justified and acceptable because it is the author himself that is critical towards part of his work. The ability to share the author's viewpoint is one of the strategies mentioned by the pragma-dialectical theory where the

reviewer takes the perspective of other participants, in this case the author of the book, to share common ground and persuade the reader of the soundness of their claim and, I would add, to tend the author's Face, because the reviewer is showing that he has not been more critical than the author himself thus making the act of criticism more justifiable.

**Example 79:** "This is a history, not a guidebook," he insists, but still he tells us which mornings his favourite villas are open, which 12th century winery remains in business and which fresco features "one of the most sinister greyhounds ever painted" (it's The Triumph of Death, now in the Regional Gallery of Palermo). (Hist04DT) BODY

#### QUOTATIONS HINT AT THE AUTHOR'S INCOHERENCE THAT RESULTS IN A WEAKNESS FOR THE BOOK (EVALUATIVE)

The reviewer, in example 79, uses quotations to highlight a lack of coherence in the author's behaviour that is not willing to write a guidebook but adds details, typical of a guidebook, in a History book. The author's own words provide evidence for the reviewer's Criticism. As in the example above, the reviewer presents his opinions in a factual way that is supported by the use of quotations.

**Example 80:** Sicily's political history is full of so much turbulence it's sometimes hard to keep track of the battles, murders and successions, but Norwich sketches personalities vividly: Emma Hamilton, for example, a glamorous former courtesan whose celebrated affair with Nelson began in Sicily; or Salvatore Giuliano, "Sicily's most notorious but... best loved bandit." (Hist04DT) CLOSE

#### QUOTATIONS BACK UP PRAISE (EVALUATIVE)

Quotations, in example 80, are instrumental in conveying Praise for the author's skill in depicting personalities in an effective way. In the BUT database, quotations are consistently used as an evaluative resource. This set of examples shows how an interactional resource like quotations, can be repeatedly and consistently chosen by reviewers to support an evaluative claim made about the book. Quotations often work as Backing in Toulmin's terms, further evidence offered to back the reviewer's evaluative claim. Quotations also allow BRers to bring in the text more voices, making the text dialogic and offering new perspectives on the judgement that comes to be shared by the author. This allows BRers to create common ground with authors and readers as envisaged by Van

Eemeren et al (1999). Out of 6 occurrences, four times reviewers used quotations to intensify Criticism, exposing the book's flaws. Quotations were used twice to back up Praise as shown in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: The Function of quotations in the BUT Database**

1	Example 32	evaluative	Back up Praise
2	Example 38	evaluative	Boost specific aspects of criticism
3	Example 74	evaluative	List specific weaknesses of the book
4	Example 107	evaluative	Express general flaws of the book
5	Example 79	evaluative	Signal author's lack of coherence
6	Example 80	evaluative	Back up Praise
T O T	6 examples	6 evaluative acts	2 BACK UP PRAISE 4 SIGNAL CRIT

### **CATEGORY C: Questions: interacting with the reader**

The presence of a question implies the presence of a reader who is there to answer it. Questions seem to guide the reader towards a certain interpretation that proceeds from the actual answer to the direct question, which often implies acknowledging a flaw of the book, and presently sharing the critique with the reviewer. Questions appear as a way of making the reader align with the reviewer's argument, and eventually, the evaluative claim made. Questions create common ground. They become a key argumentative move to avoid what Toulmin called Rebuttal (1975) because questions outline the reader as compliant towards the argumentation presented by the broadsheet reviewer.

**Example 47:** "It is easy to laugh at bourgeois happiness", remarks Jay, the narrator of *Intimacy*. "What other kinds are there?" It's a serious question, but it betrays a kind of realism that comes dangerously close to a lack of ideas. (Fict 26 TLS)  
CLOSE

FUNCTION: THE QUESTION HINTS AT A FLAW OF THE BOOK,  
NAMELY THE LACK OF IDEAS, LIMITED ORIGINALITY.  
(EVALUATIVE)

The interactional resource of quotation, in example 47, overlaps with a direct question. As the quotation above, the quotation in example 42 signals a flaw of the book. The use of a direct question, quoted from the book, provides the incipit for Criticism.

**Example 42:** This is part of the novel's exploration of forms of knowledge, which contains interesting but misdirected ideas: surely the top-down orthodoxies of the major religions do more to straitjacket spirituality than, say, poor old KFC? (Fict 23 DT) BODY

FUNCTION: GUIDE THE READER TO REFLECT ON A FLAW OF THE BOOK, NAMELY MISDIRECTED IDEAS (EVALUATIVE)

The question, in example 106, aims at guiding the reader through a certain line of argumentation that claims the author presents ideas the reviewer judges in a negative way.

**Example 106:** The book comes with an endorsement from Philip Pullman. This looks like a sales-boosting celebrity name-drop, and a gauche one at that – what would the author of *The Golden Compass* know about Comecon architecture? – but it becomes clear why. For this is an account of a Pullmanian parallel universe, both like and unlike the histories of 20th-century architecture told in the west. (Hist21G) BODY

FUNCTION: A RHETORICAL QUESTION THAT HINTS AT AN APPARENT FLAW OF THE BOOK, NAMELY THE MISMATCH BETWEEN THE ENDORSEMENT AND THE TOPIC OF THE BOOK THUS FOREGROUNDING CRITICISM (EVALUATIVE)

The question also makes a connection between the endorsement and the book that appeared unclear at the beginning, but it is clarified by the reading of the book. This adds a touch of negativity to the reviewer's judgement.



**Table 3: The functions of direct questions in the BUT Database**

1	Example 47	evaluative	Signal lack of originality
2	Example 42	evaluative	Hint at misdirected ideas, a flaw in the choice of content
3	Example 106	evaluative	General criticism
4	Example 104	evaluative	Boost Praise
T O T	4 examples	4 Evaluative acts	3 Signal crit. (2 Specific Crit. and 1 Gen. Crit.)  1 boosts Praise

It is relevant to note that all the questions in the Database are used to hint at a flaw of the book. They are rhetorical questions where the main function is not eliciting information but sharing a statement, in this case an evaluation, establishing common ground and bringing home the argument after taking in the silent acquiescence of the reader. The reviewer questions readers to conjure up their presence when critique is moved to the author. The reason may also be that the writer is sharing Criticism with the reader and hence, with it, the responsibility of negative judgement. However, there is an exception to the pattern direct question-critique, in review 19, placed in the subset above, and taken from the Daily Telegraph in the subgenre History, where a question ends the review and embodies praise.

Example 104: ...This is no beach read –unless you are heading for the Albanian Riviera. Who knew 16th century Albania could be so interesting?

**FUNCTION: THE QUESTION ENGAGES THE READER IN THE PRAISE OF THE BOOK**

The BRer opens with a hedged criticism which hints that the reading experience is far from light and easy. At this point, the reviewer links the idea of a challenging reading, embodied in the idiomatic expression ‘a beach read’, with the actual beach that is the setting of the book. He rounds up his argument sharing his praise with a proactive reader who is addressed with the pronoun ‘you’ and is there to comment on his question.

In Example 45, the reviewer uses the process of reading as the carrier of critique. This allows the reviewer to be honest about the book but, at

the same time, to shift the burden of being responsible for negative judgement onto the process of reading and away from him/herself:

**Example 45:** None of these books is entirely bad, but even a very charitable reading would have to call them patchy (Fict 26TLS) BODY

Like the reader, the reading process becomes an agent of critique that is personified, as shown by the choice of the verb “call”. The outcome is that the reviewer moves a criticism, but the responsibility for it falls on the reading of the reviewer. Both the reading process and the reader take on a proactive role in expressing criticism.

These distancing strategies, enacted through carefully crafted argumentation, allow reviewers to defend the opportunity of offering an honest opinion about the book and complying with genre expectations.

An analysis of the functions of interpersonal resources in Table 4 on page 170, highlights the leading role of evaluation for these resources. In 23 instances, the reviewer involves the reader in an evaluative act and, only 3 times, in an informative act. The distribution of the interactional resources is also interesting because their evaluative role is played mostly in the Body of the review that hosts interactional resources 15 times, while the Close hosts half of them, 8, and the Opening hosts only 2.

These data show how the Body consistently hosts evaluation, while Openings privilege information. The data also outline the use of interactional resources as a powerful rhetorical evaluative strategy where readers become accomplices in critique and come to share a common ground with readers within an argumentative discourse that is openly led by persuasive aims. This common ground, which is skilfully crafted by the reviewer using Rebuttals and Qualifiers as argumentative moves, shifts responsibility for negative evaluation both to the reviewer and to the reader. Solidarity is pursued and conflict avoided. Opinions are argued for and the reader is pulled in the text to support them.

Looking at the frequencies of the three categories explored, 64% of the times BRers use interactional resources to establish a positive rapport with the reader, 24% of the times, they choose quotations as an interactional resource and 12% of the times they use questions to put forward their argumentative, dialectical process before expressing evaluation. These data foreground the writer/reader relationship as a key preoccupation for BRs that select interactional resources mainly to create a good relationship with their addressee, as shown in Table 4 on page 170.

This thesis will show how interactional resources become an extremely valuable tool for reviewers who exploit them to achieve a divergent

purpose, first to avoid social conflict, and possibly, public offence and, secondly to keep faith with the promise intrinsic in the genre, namely providing a sincere judgement of the book. Broadsheet reviewers can fulfil this divergent aim because interactional resources are framed within an argumentative discourse that effectively justifies claims using both Toulmin's (1975) moves and the strategies explored by the pragma dialectical theorists, as shown in the analysis of the BBC reviews.

**Table 4: Interactional resources in the BUT Database**

REVIEW IN THE BUT DATABASE	CATEGORY	EVALUATIVE FUNCTION	INFORMATIVE FUNCTION	POSITION IN THE REVIEW
1. Fict33G	A.1	X		BODY
2. Fict33G	A.1		X	BODY
3. Fict40DT	A.1	X		CLOSE
4. Hist 14TLS	A.1		X	CLOSE
5. Hist17IND	A.1	X		BODY
6. Hist24IND	A.1	X		BODY
7. Hist24G	A.1	X	X	CLOSE
8. Bio29DT	A.2	X		BODY
9. Bio30DT	A.2	X		CLOSE
10. Fict31G	A.2	X		BODY
11. Fict41IND	A.2	X		BODY
12. Fict42IND	A.2	X		OPENING
13. Fict30G	A.3	X		BODY
14. Fict41DT	A.3	X		CLOSE
15. Hist18IND	A.3	X		BODY
16. Hist19DT	A.3	X		CLOSE
17. Bio31TLS	B	X		BODY
18. Fict20TLS	B	X		BODY
19. Hist01DT	B	X		OPENING
20. Hist21G	B	X		BODY
21. Hist04DT	B	X		BODY
22. Hist04DT	B	X		CLOSE
23. Fict26TLS	C	X		CLOSE
24. Fict23DT	C	X		BODY
25. Hist21G	C	X		BODY
TOTAL		23	3	

Legend for categories

CATEGORIES
A. (16 instances) A.1. acknowledge the reader, A.2. create a common ground A.3. use directives
B. quotations (6 instances)
C. direct questions (3 instances)

In a snapshot, here are the distributional patterns traced so far by the analysis:

**Table 5: Distributional Patterns of Interactional Resources**

Review section	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Opening	1 instance of A.2. and one of B	2 instances	8.7%
Body	3 instances of A.1., 3 instances of A.2., 2 instances of A.3., 4 instances of B 2 instances of C	14 instances	60.8%
Close	2 instances of A.1., 1 instance of A.2., 2 instances of A.3., 1 B, 1C	7 instances	30.4%
TOT		23	99.9%

#### **5.4. The hedging power of metaphor: diluting the strength of criticism through metaphors**

In this section, I will show how argumentation proceeds through metaphors that serve an important evaluative function but also reinforce the desire to avoid conflict and respect the Face of the participants in this argumentative speech act.

Metaphors had been a neglected object of linguistic research until the 1980s when G. Lakoff and Johnson published their influential book

"Metaphors we live by" and outlined a role for metaphors in our life that goes beyond the idea of metaphors as a mere linguistic tool.

In G. Lakoff and Johnson's (2003: 244) words, "Because we reason in terms of metaphor, the metaphors we use determine a great deal about how we live our lives." Not only do metaphors guide our life in certain directions, but they support our understanding and our perception of reality. They are instrumental in directing our listener's thinking process, in motivating and initiating social change.

Kovecses (2012) highlights the social, dialogic nature of metaphors, emphasizing the fact that we learn metaphors through participation within particular socio-cultural groups. Forest (2006:5) notes how metaphors, like stories, engage the reader and are extremely memorable because they are processed in the spatial part of the brain together with experiences, while facts are retrieved in the taxon memory with unrelated information. Taxon memories consist of lists, basic skills and learning through practice. They are resistant to change. They require an extrinsic motivation to learn and are more isolated than the spatial memory where connections are easily drawn, motivation is intrinsic, and changes are welcome.

Metaphors are powerful tools to connect with others and to evoke connections in the brain because decoding a metaphor implies an active, empowering role for the reader. As Forest (2006:6) argues "Recognizing and creatively processing an analogy is a way of personally embodying information as experience. Experiential learning or 'active processing of information' (Caine et alia 1991) contributes to the memorable nature of stories presented as metaphor to make a point."

Through metaphors, readers interpret, make connections with their interlocutors and with the images conjured by the metaphor. The indirect nature of information, presented by the metaphor, engages the reader in creative thinking. Cameron et al (2006:676) observe how metaphors are also used to convey attitude. "An important dimension of the dialogics of metaphor is its use to express affect and attitude along with ideational content."

In a research on students' evaluation, Kemp (1999:85) focuses on a specific aspect of attitude, judgment, and underlines the evaluative power of metaphors that helped students assess their course, bringing forward both positive and negative aspects of their experience, while, when they assessed their course without using metaphors, only negative aspects were foregrounded. Metaphors added balance to her students' feedback.

The literature reveals the dynamic, adaptive, social, directive power of metaphors and their potential for evaluation. It is therefore relevant to explore the following issues in the BUT Database:

- a) How do reviewers use metaphors in their evaluation of the book?
- b) How do metaphors impact the writer-reader relationship?

The analysis of the data suggests that reviewers tend to choose metaphors when they want to avoid a personal commitment to the evaluative utterance they make. In order to explore this phenomenon a little further, two categories of analysis were created namely CRITMETA and PRAIMETA (explained below) that report instances when reviewers exploit the abstract, non-committal nature of metaphor to convey their judgement.

Brown and Levinson (1987:280) describe metaphor, irony and indirect speech as "hedges on the illocutionary force of utterances." Given the potential Face threats that could be hosted in review texts, it is relevant to investigate how this tool was exploited by reviewers of the BBC.

Moreover, the use of metaphor is interesting as an evaluative strategy because it seems to act as a softener for criticism, where a negative comment is not expressed in a direct way, but it is mediated by the use of this rhetorical device that makes evaluation more abstract. This happens because metaphor is a logical connection that is not overtly stated but must be inferred by the reader. Hence, since *the reader* is making this connection, it becomes less Face-threatening for the author of the book that is being judged but also for reviewers that find a non-committal way of expressing their judgement. Metaphors are powerful argumentative tools because they outline analogies that have a strong impact on the reader and are effective in persuading the reader of the soundness of the broadsheet reviewer's line of argumentation.

As Fraser (1980:346) writes "An important aspect of the indirect performance of a speech act for mitigation is the following: as the specification of the intended act becomes less explicit, the active participation of the hearer in using both the contextual clues...as well as relevant conversational principles of interpretation is increased. But as the hearer increases his "work" to determine the speaker's intentions, he concomitantly increases his responsibility for the conclusions that follow."

This means that inferring turns the reader into an active accomplice in drawing the conclusions written by the reviewer. This can result to be a very effective negative politeness strategy with a hedging potential that apparently allows readers to draw their conclusions.

It can be argued that the inferring process Fraser (1980:346) refers to is a key cognitive process activated in the decoding of metaphors.

For the category CRITMETA, that comprises all the occurrences in the

BUT Database where metaphors were used to criticize, 5 references were coded while for the category PRAIMETA - that includes instances when metaphors were used to praise – only 1 reference was coded. I will now analyse the content of the categories to investigate how reviewers use metaphors as an evaluative tool. I will also explore the force of metaphor as an interactional resource that has an impact on the writer/reader relationship.

Starting with criticism, in Example 28, the book is described as a morsel that can be easily swallowed. Praise is hedged by the adverb 'enough' that softens the praise. The metaphor of reading as something edible where our appetite can be fed, something we are greedy for, is used to convey criticism. It pinpoints the idea that the author is only achieving a basic target, feeding an appetite, but she is missing the main target which is to shed light. Positive examples, that should be followed by the author, namely writers that manage to do what this writer failed to do, are mentioned, such as Henry James.

**CRITMETA Example 28:** Lutz's book slips down easily enough. The power of Charlotte's and Emily's novels, combined with the gothic pathos of their stories, means that we are always greedy to know more. But feeding an appetite is not quite the same as shedding light. There are novels that truly explore the relationship between people and things: Henry James wrote one, Bruce Chatwin another. (Bio29DT) BODY EXTR. 13 B

In example 41 that follows, the reviewer opens the clause with praise, quoting what the publisher wrote on the jacket to promote the book, namely-an appreciation on the quality of the writing. However, after but, the reviewer chooses a metaphor to highlight a weakness of the book, that is mitigated by the adverb 'sometimes'.

Criticism gains strength through the use of the metaphor, comparing the contents of the book to a crumbling structure that can collapse anytime.

**Example 41:** It's easy to see why the jacket praise dubs him "a writer of immense subtlety and craft", but the contents can sometimes resemble a palace built on a bog. (FICT21DT) CLOSE EXTR 15 F

The metaphor of light permeates example 103. Light is good, fading is bad. Diverting from the light is bad too. The author failed to follow the light and the result is poor writing.

**Example 103:** These sections have a rich, literary quality, enlivened further by diary extracts and charming anecdotes, such as the message pinned to microphones:

"Don't cough – you will deafen millions!" But these lights fade as the book progresses, and we enter the modern era of the BBC, a place of management-speak, where creativity is hobbled by bureaucracy, and resources are diverted to big, clunking names rather than to the cogs who made the BBC spark, whirr, and glow.(Hist18Ind) BODY EXTR 61 F

In review 104 below, the good things involved in being a scholar are foregrounded and fully explained while the negative ones, the drawbacks, are expressed in an indirect way, mitigated by metaphor and personification. Scholarship takes on a human character and becomes an entity that takes prisoners, namely extended digressions that are tiresome for the reader. Again, readers are evoked to assume a shared background with the reviewer, to increase solidarity and mitigate what Holmes (1984:349) calls "a negatively affective speech act" as criticism, through the abstract, non-committal nature of metaphor.

**Example 104:** There are very few scholars with Malcolm's linguistic skills and historical vision, which is one of the many reasons *Agents of Empire* is such an important book. It opens up new vistas of research into the hinterland of Renaissance Europe, moving the period's centre of gravity eastwards and away from Italy, precisely at a time when recent events in and around Turkey may prove to be decisive in the next phase of Mediterranean history. But beware: Malcolm's formidable scholarship takes few prisoners, and his extended digressions on the circulation of news, the history of the grain trade, piracy, galley warfare and espionage may test the patience of the casual reader. This is no beach read – unless you are heading for the Albanian Riviera. Who knew that 16th-century Albania could be so interesting (HIST 19DT) EXTR 63 H

In Example 67, Praise is conveyed through comparison with other books by the same author. We are told that in this novel, the author's touch is more assured, but Criticism is moved through metaphor to her other novels, where her characters were less than the sum of their parts, so a lack is hinted at through a metaphorical use of language.

**Example 67:** In her other fiction, however – this is her ninth novel – her touch is less assured, with a tendency for her creations to add up to less than the sum of their parts. But what parts they are! *The Seed Collectors* also explores alternative realities, this time arising from botany. It is based on the notion that differences between fauna and flora are smaller than we think and that plants could unlock fundamental knowledge for us. (Fict41IND) body EXTR 34 F

In Example 68, the book is compared to water, where the surface reveals calm but the depths foresee turmoil. This metaphor creates positive expectations in the reader, but it seems that the reviewer does not want to



commit himself to direct, straightforward praise of the book, perhaps not to sound overtly biased.

**Example 68:** ...Summarized in this way, Strout's novel sounds plain to the point of banality. But the stillness of its surface belies the roil of events and emotions that lurk in its depths.

Now I will focus on the points made above and discuss in turn each metaphor I mentioned in relation to:

- a) The function of metaphors;
- b) How they impact the reader.

I will add a third element which is the actual positioning of the metaphor in the text, in terms of evaluation strategies surrounding the metaphor within the BUT clause/s. In other words, I will attempt to answer the following question:

- c) What is the evaluative frame-the context- in which the metaphor occurs? Do metaphors collocate mainly with Praise, Criticism or both?

### Metaphor 1

- a) Reading is like eating, our appetite is fed but light isn't shed. Metaphor 1 contains metaphor 1a and 1b. The former compares reading to eating because reading feeds the mind, just as eating feeds the body. Both processes are envisaged as nourishment. The second metaphor signals a lack in the book because no light is shed on the relationship between people and things;
- b) Both the reviewer and the reader are victims of this lack as signalled by the inclusive pronoun 'we';
- c) The metaphors are preceded by Praise of the subject matter and followed by Criticism.

### Metaphor 2

- a) The contents of the book are crumbling to pieces like a palace built on a bog. The metaphor hints at a lack of stability in the organization of the book. Criticism is general and the indirect nature of the metaphor softens the Face threatening potential of global negative evaluation;
- b) Through the metaphor, the reader can see the flaw of the book very neatly because the metaphor is visually powerful, at the same time,

the metaphor shifts criticism away from the author;

- c) Praise of the writing style precedes; General Criticism of the book contents follows the metaphor.

### **Metaphor 3**

- a) Positive aspects of the book are compared to lights that fade as we proceed in the reading. The metaphor hints at a shift from light to darkness as the reading progresses;
- b) The reader is carried along in this shift from good to bad, as signalled by the inclusive pronoun 'we'. The glowing past is opposed to a boring present, both in the subject of the book, the BBC, and in the layout of the book
- c) Metaphor is preceded by initial Praise of Specific contents of the book and followed by criticism.

### **Metaphor 4**

- a) The function of Metaphor 4 is to shift criticism from the author to scholarship that becomes an agent. Scholarship is personified, so it can be blamed, and it becomes responsible for prolixity;
- b) The reader is the Target of blame because the digressions test his patience, since he is not a careful but a casual reader. Even if the criticism isn't general but specific, the reviewer feels the need to blame both scholarship and the reader for it, in order to dilute the power of criticism and save the author's Face;
- c) Praise of the Author precedes the metaphor and critique of a Specific aspect of the book and the reader follow.

### **Metaphor 5**

- a) The metaphor hints at a lack of characterization in previous novels by the same author, compared to the novel reviewed. Each creation is less than the sum of their parts. This acts as Praise for the book currently reviewed and Criticism for previous work;
- b) The reader is evoked in the text by the use of the inclusive pronoun 'us';
- c) The metaphor conveys critique of other books by the same author, but Praise of this book follows.

### Metaphor 6

- a) The metaphor suggests calm waters that convey an apparent banality, while a closer look reveals the turmoil of emotions present in the book. It conveys praise;
- b) The metaphor encourages readers to read for themselves;
- c) Critique precedes the metaphor and Praise is embodied in the metaphor.

In order to have an overview on the role of metaphor, how it impacts the reader and the way in which it is framed in surrounding discourse within the BUT Database, the following table will exemplify the function of metaphor, how it relates to the reader and the evaluative frame in which the metaphor occurs.

**Table 6: The role of metaphor in the BUT Database**

	function	reviewer/reader rapport	Evaluative frame
Metaphor 1 a and 1b	Hint at a flaw in the book	Are a way to share an evaluative comment with the reader	Before Criticism and after Praise
Metaphor 2	Hints at a flaw in the book	Visualizes the flaw for the reader	Before Criticism and after Praise
Metaphor 3	Hints at a flaw in the book	Is a way to share an evaluative comment with the reader	Before Criticism and after Praise
Metaphor 4	Shifts critique away from author	The reader becomes a target to blame	Before Criticism and after Praise
Metaphor 5	Hints at a flaw in the book	Is a way to share an evaluative comment with the reader	Praise follows
Metaphor 6	Conveys praise	Encourages the reader to read	Criticism follows

What is striking is the evaluative power of metaphor that tends to be a conduit for Criticism in 4 extracts out of 6 and, only once, is it a carrier of Praise, while in the other instance, it is a softener of Criticism. The other important element is the empowering force metaphors give to readers, who are evoked as active participants in the argument and are called to side with the reviewers' opinions and to support their evaluative stance. Metaphors are a way to share the argumentative process with the

reader. In the process, reviewers gradually change readers from listeners to agents of criticism, involving them with inclusive personal pronouns such as 'we' and 'us'.

More than one voice is present in the text. The overlapping of voices enriches the writing and makes it more dynamic and reader oriented, as argued by Bakhtin (1981) and Goffman (1981). Evaluation progresses through argumentation, positions shift, readers turn to agents of Criticism while reviewers step back, hiding behind metaphors.

In a nutshell, my contention is that reviewers exploit the power of metaphors to diverge the source of critique away from them and onto a third party. Hence, when metaphors soften critique, readers become the target of blame to shield the author. On the other hand, when the metaphor conveys praise, the reader is pulled in the text by the imperative 'read'. Metaphors bind readers' participation in the evaluative acts and fill in the reader's space that arguing through metaphor creates for the addressee.

A further issue to consider is what surrounds metaphors, the evaluative frame in which they are enveloped. What kind of evaluation is around them?

Four out of six metaphors come after praise to prepare the floor for criticism, while once they embody criticism and praise follows. The last metaphor conveys praise and criticism follows. Their main role seems to be seeking a balance between praise and criticism when an evaluative claim is made. Metaphors offer a positive feedback to the reader when there is a negative evaluation and become a tool for criticism when the reviewer praises the book. In staging evaluative argumentation, metaphors seem to play the role of counter arguments in argumentative discourse. They act as the conflicting voice, the counterpart, that makes the review dialectical, dialogic and rhetorically effective.

To conclude, metaphors have a dynamic, evaluative, solidarity and balance seeking role in the corpus. They offer the reviewer another voice that provides a shifting viewpoint and thus empowers the evaluative power of the writer, making the argumentative process more effective and appropriate, in the best tradition of argumentative discourse. Argumentation becomes a process of negotiation between diverging views on the subject matter, as envisaged by Weigand (2006:69), and metaphors are the tool to accomplish this process. As Tindale (2013:528) suggests "Metaphor and other rhetorical figures form an integral part of the arguer's toolbox. They are much more than stylistic adornments; indeed, they are fully argumentative." The analysis of the BUT database has shown the full potential of metaphors for negotiating positions and hedging criticism in evaluative processes in BRs.

### 5.5. Literature review: Discourse markers in the linguistic tradition

In the literature review about argumentation, in section 5.2., at the beginning of the chapter, it was evident that argumentative discourse places a huge emphasis on discourse markers, as shown in the work of Van Eemeren et alia (1984) and Cohen (1987). Discourse markers are used to bring readers into the text, to show them how argumentation proceeds and which argumentative moves are enacted in the text. In this section, I will start with an overview of the studies carried out on discourse markers in the linguistic tradition. After that, I will focus on one class of discourse markers in particular, contrastive markers, because they are relevant for the analysis of rhetorical strategies round the BUT node in the Database, as I will show in the following sections. When I refer to the BUT Node in the thesis, I mean the clauses that precede or follow the conjunct BUT where some sort of evaluation is expressed.

Levinson (1983: 87-88) was the first to identify one of the most salient features of discourse markers, namely, their connective function. Among these words, he listed "... but, therefore, in conclusion, to the contrary, still, however, anyway, well, besides, actually, all in all, so, after all, and so on." Levinson (1983:87-88) saw these words as semantically poor but crucial in linking parts of prior discourse with what followed them. Thus, a key syntactic role is assigned to connectors that are instrumental not only in conjoining Parts of Speech on the syntagmatic chain, but also in guiding the reader's interpretation of the text, offering both anaphoric and cataphoric clues. These markers are bound to be involved in anaphoric and cataphoric relationships because they look forward and backward, referring to various textual segments.

Along similar lines, Zwicky (1985:303-304) highlights their connecting function, "Discourse markers ALL have the latter, pragmatic functions [e.g. the role of relating the current utterance with a larger discourse] rather than the former, narrowly semantic, ones." [e.g. indicating sentence type]

In a similar way, Fraser and Malamud-Mokowski (1996:864) hint at the coherence discourse markers add to discourse in their connective role "They are expressions which signal a relationship across rather than within utterances and contribute to the coherence of the discourse. They are usually in initial position, although medial and final position are possible for many of them, and they signal how the utterance following, (U2), is to be interpreted, given the first utterance." (U1)

**Example 10:** All this is pleasantly conveyed, but it requires profound knowledge of texts, scholarship and landscape. (Bio 15TLS) CLOSE

For instance, in Example 10 above, taken from a Biography review of the BUT Database, strategically placed in a final position, BUT constrains the Praise of U1 and redirects readers' attention to possible obstacles readers will encounter in their reading experience.

Schiffrin (1987:234) notes the deictic role of discourse markers that index preceding or following text to the addressee. Schiffrin shows how discourse markers locate the utterance in various 'planes of talk'.

For the conjunct BUT three relevant planes are identified:

- (a) ideational structure: BUT can mark contrasting ideas;

In Example 87 BUT connects two contrasting ideas. In fact, the reviewer juxtaposes the author's claim in U1 with his viewpoint U2:

**Example 87:** Ryback claims that this was the first stage of the Holocaust, but it was something different; it was the first stage in the Nazi seizure of power. (Hist08G) CLOSE

- (b) action structure: BUT can mark contrastive speech acts;

In Example 45, taken from a fiction review in the BUT Database, placed in the Body of the review, the first speech act, U1, is a Hedged Praise whilst the second, U2, is Hedged Criticism. BUT acts as a bridge between two contrastive speech acts that have an opposite polarity in terms of evaluation.

Example 45: None of these books is entirely bad, but even a very charitable reading would have to call them patchy (Fict 26TLS) BODY

- a) Exchange structure, since BUT can be used to continue a turn.

A: I am not sure about this reference but

B: Shall I check it for you?

A: I'd be grateful.

This example is mine because in a written language turn taking is a problematic issue.

Interestingly enough, in this Database, BUT tends to mark turns on repeated occasions throughout the corpus. BUT becomes a pivotal point to shift from Praise to Criticism, from non-committal to overt judgement so there is a moment of turn taking as well, even though with a modality that differs from spoken discourse, where speakers take turns in the speech

acts. In this Database, it seems that reviewers use the BUT clause to signal different voices are at work. Each voice implies a shift in their attitude towards the utterance they make, the turn towards a different argumentative and evaluative move.

Fraser (1990: 387), in an examination of discourse markers from a pragmatic and discourse perspective, focuses on the relation between speakers' intention and discourse markers "discourse markers are a class of expressions, each of which signals how the speaker intends the basic message that follows to relate to the prior discourse. The relationship signalled may be one of parallelism (and), of result (so), of reorienting (anyway), or of dissonance (well), to name but a few."

In Example 74, that follows, the reviewer moves from an impersonal, sympathetic viewpoint on the book where flaws are hinted at with lightness, to an argumentative move where forgiveness gives way to Criticism. This happens through an argumentative process where the claim is backed up by evidence expressed in the form of listing. This evidence will direct the reader to the acceptance of certain evaluative claims as the review progresses. Evidence comes in the form of a straightforward acknowledgement of flaws that are promptly illustrated through quotations, juxtaposed with the reviewer's claims, using brackets:

**Example 74:** One can forgive the odd typo ("He died in his early 1950s."), but there are so many lazy clichés ("Ted Smith had never had it so good.") and passages that belong in a Mills & Boon novel ("Stepping out of her skirt and petticoat and peeling off her stockings...") (Hist 01DT) OPENING

According to Fraser (1990), BUT clearly marks the ways in which the speaker wants the message that follows BUT to relate to what comes before BUT, often signalling a shift from mild to overt criticism.

Looking at the literature on discourse markers, there seems to be an agreement among scholars that their function is pragmatic rather than semantic. In fact, in the literature, it is widely recognized that discourse markers do not contribute to the truth condition of the sentence, in the sense that their absence, in Brinton's (1996:267) words "renders the text neither ungrammatical nor unintelligible."

On the other hand, it is widely accepted that discourse markers do play an important role in leading the reader toward a specific interpretation and ruling out unintended interpretations, as pointed out by Brinton (1996:34), Brown and Yule (1983:106) and also by Blakemore (1987:105). Blakemore emphasizes the procedural rather than the representational meaning of discourse markers that have a guiding function in the reader's

or hearer's interpretation of discourse as "expressions that constrain the interpretation of the utterances that contain them by virtue of the inferential connections they express."

Blakemore is interested in the interpretation discourse markers activate through the 'inferential connections' they evoke. Blakemore works within the tradition of relevance theory that stems from the work of Grice and his conversational maxims. Even though her work is mainly concerned with spoken English, some of her insights may be useful for the analysis of the BUT Database. That is the reason why it is worth looking at her work in more detail.

A discourse marker can express an inferential connection that "arises out of the way that one proposition is interpreted as relevant with respect to another." (Blakemore, 1987: 124). In fact, in relevance theory, utterances are seen as the attempt on the speaker's side to create an utterance that is relevant for the hearer who will be able to decode it with the least effort possible. This stems from Grice's maxims that rule verbal exchanges in a pragmatic perspective. Grice (1989:39-40) believes that discourse markers convey a conventional implicature. An implicature can be defined as a proposition conveyed implicitly by an utterance. Such propositions are considered implicit because they are not part of what is 'said'; neither are they part of the truth-conditional content of the utterance which conveys them.

They are higher order speech acts (Grice 1989:362). Grice's strength was showing that non truth conditional expressions as discourse markers can be meaningful. Blakemore argues for the procedural meaning of these expressions. Discourse markers are valuable, not because they add content to an utterance, but because they constrain interpretation, helping readers rule out the wrong ones and guiding them towards the correct one. In more recent work, Blakemore (1996, 2000), among others, Wilson & Sperber (1993), Ifantidou-Trouki (1993), have recognized that these markers encode concepts, even though this is not their main function.

The procedural value of discourse markers has found ground also outside relevance theory in the work of Ducrot (1972, 1973, and 1984), (Anscombe and Ducrot: 1983) but also Hansen (1997:160) who writes "[discourse markers] are basically instructions on how to process their host utterance in a given context." In the example below, the reviewer starts with Praise of the author's work and then makes a U turn in the second utterance where BUT guides the reader into a diversion from the first utterance because praise gives way to criticism. The author's model is characterized as lacking an acknowledgement of complexity and countertrends. In the following clause, U3, a fact is thematized, namely the corruption of the Russian political class, while the second BUT brings



the reader on the road of further criticism because an important flaw of the book is foregrounded:

**Example 97:** Dawisha has done us all a service in her meticulous account of all the publicly available material on the various businesses and enterprises Putin and his associates have been involved with since the early stages of Putin's career. But what her model gains in elegance, it loses in obscuring complexity and countertrends. That Putin and his close colleagues have enriched themselves is now effectively proven; but the essential relationship between the accumulation of wealth and the operation of power is left unexplored. (Hist15TLS) BODY

At risk of oversimplifying what BUT is doing here, we can say that it is opening processing routes for the reader. It signposts a shift from Praise to Criticism, a turn from fact to an eclectic way of explaining facts on the author's side, that lacks sound argumentation. BUT seems to have not only a connecting function in making the reviewer's argument more coherent, but also a guiding function for readers who can follow where the reviewer is taking them.

BUT signposts the argumentative and evaluative route laid out in front of recipients of the text. BUT scaffolds argumentation because it signposts the developing stages of the argument and signals to the reader how the various Data, Backings and possible Rebuttals unfold within the text and converge towards a coherent claim that is presented in the concluding stage of the argumentative process.

Another salient feature of discourse markers explored in the literature, is their global nature. In other words, discourse markers seem to act not so much at local /sentence level but to connect discourse at global/paragraph level. This idea provides an interesting insight because a similar point can be made about evaluation. In other words, evaluation has what Halliday (1978) first, and Martin and White (2005:226) later, call a prosodic effect above the sentence, just like discourse markers, that are often the linguistic carriers of evaluation and work, like evaluation, globally.

Halliday (1978:66-67) refers to interpersonal meaning as "...strung throughout the clause as a continuous motif or colouring...the effect is cumulative...we shall refer to this kind of realization as 'prosodic', since the meaning is distributed like a prosody throughout a continuous stretch of discourse." Martin and White (2005:226) observe that "attitudinal values operate in combination to set up an evaluative prosody which resonates across an attitudinally loaded span of text." Hence, evaluation crosses the whole text, conveniently carried by discourse markers.

Lenk (1998:205) highlights the global nature of discourse markers and defines them as 'globally oriented'. In Lenk's view, markers such as:

“anyway”, “actually”, and “incidentally” perform ‘topical actions’. They close digressions, return to previous topic, shift topics, introducing a new topic, and inserting a subjective aside. In a way, they map how argument unfolds and how evaluation comes to be embedded in that argumentative process.

In Example 112 below BUT is used to perform the topical action of inserting an aside where the reviewer identifies the target reader for the book. The discourse marker acts at global level because it refers to prior discourse, fully justifying it. In other words, the book is aimed at a specialized audience, so it is difficult to read. BUT is also projected forward to anticipate false expectations readers may have on the book, namely, to be an easy read. BUT resolves possible rebuttals at paragraph level and beyond, because the positioning of the extract, at the end of the review, adds salience and makes the closing stand out.

**Example 112:** It is not a smooth, elegant or jargon-free read, but since ‘Curing Queers’ isn’t a book aimed at the general reader, it would probably be unfair to expect it to be so. (Hist24G) CLOSE

The BUT clause carries the justification for a weakness of the book. It acts as a possible rebuttal for the reader, putting forward the claim that placing a false expectation is unfair. As a result, this line of argument, shields the author from Criticism and envisages an appropriate readership for the book. For this reason, the BUT clause conveys an effective argumentative process, both from an informative and an evaluative viewpoint.

### 5.5.1. A specific class of discourse markers: contrastive markers

In this section, the specific literature about the role played by the conjunct BUT will be explored. This overview on the marker BUT will offer a repertoire of approaches researchers have had in the study of BUT within discourse. At the beginning, Fraser’s (1997) focus on the general nature of BUT will be reviewed with a specific emphasis on why this conjunct is particularly suitable for argumentative discourse. I will then shift from the writer to the reader’s viewpoint with R. Lakoff, (1971:67), Bell (1994), Blakemore (2000:472) who are more interested in how BUT can guide the reader’s interpretation of texts. My claim is that the conjunct BUT can fulfil a set of rhetorical functions that can be crucial to evaluation in broadsheet review texts offering a balanced, unbiased argumentation. BUT clauses become carriers of evaluation that is embedded in an argumentative structure. The role of BUT clauses within in the BUT

Database seems to be the hosting of effective and socially acceptable arguments. This claim will be substantiated by examples from the Database.

It is important to have an overview on linguistic studies on BUT in order to see how they can contribute to the analysis of BUT in the Database of broadsheet reviews. Grammatically speaking, BUT is a conjunction, and belongs to the class of contrastive markers. The literature review, however, will be mainly focused on functional studies of BUT because the current research is deeply rooted in the functional and discourse outlook on linguistic phenomena, as highlighted in previous chapters.

Fraser (1996), among others, studied the function of contrastive markers, such as “but”, “conversely”, and “nevertheless”, as markers signalling that the following utterance is, “either a denial or a contrast of some proposition associated with the preceding discourse.” (1996: 187)

Fraser classifies contrastive markers in three categories according to their intensity:

- (a) Those which signal a sharp contrast in message content (e.g. conversely, in contrast, on the contrary);
- (b) those which signal a sharp but unexpected contrast (e.g. all the same, still, instead);
- (c) Those signalling a contrast between “a previous claim or like message [...I and the claim in the current message.” (e.g. I may be wrong but, that said)

Quirk et al. (1985: 634-636), who refer to a set of conjuncts as contrastive, recognize four subdivisions: reformulatory (rather, more accurately, alternatively), replacive (again, on the other hand, better), antithetic (conversely, on the contrary, in comparison, but), and concessive (anyway, yet, all the same).

Quirk’s et alia subdivisions seem instrumental in the BR genre because reviewers use BUT and other adverbs in the BBC to clarify their claims, to juxtapose positive and negative comments within the Praise and Criticism Pair, to contrast ideas and to modulate evaluation in their arguments through concessive conjuncts. Fraser’s work (1997) is particularly relevant for the use of BUT in broadsheet reviews because Fraser focused on the analysis of the contrastive marker BUT and identified some features that can be summed up thus:

- a) It is a general contrastive in the sense that it can occur in a wide number of contexts with few constraints;
- b) It signals the weakest contrast, compared to other markers of the

same class;

Fraser reviewed previous studies about BUT and, in particular, R. Lakoff, (1971) and Blakemore (1987:124-141) who investigated the function of BUT and reached the conclusion that the most frequent functions BUT plays are two: denial of expectation and semantic contrast.

Fraser contributed to these studies, adding the idea that there aren't just specific functions related to the marker per se, rather it is the interaction between the marker and the context that redesigns and expands the full range of functions that the marker can take on. It is therefore the context, both linguistic and non-linguistic, that can enrich the potential of the marker in terms of functionality. In the BUT Database, when I refer to the non-linguistic context, I mean, for instance, genre constraints and readers' expectations.

Bell (1994) argues that the defining notion for most such markers should be one not of contrast or denial of expectations but of cancellation. Cancellation refers to the way in which aspects of information the addressee could derive from the prior utterance are perceived as non-operative, with respect to the speaker's intended meaning.

Blakemore (2000:472) seems to agree with this idea of cancellation "...but communicates (explicitly or implicitly) a proposition that contradicts and leads to the elimination of a proposition which the speaker believes is manifestly inferable from a mutually manifest phenomenon, which may be coded by communicative behaviour... or simply something in the physical environment."

R. Lakoff's (1971: 67) linked the use of BUT with the idea of 'denial of expectation' and used the following example to explain what a denied expectation looks like.

(1) John is a Republican but he's honest.

The first clause implies, leads the hearer to expect some conclusion, in this case "John is dishonest", that is promptly denied by the BUT clause. Iten (2000) sees BUT as an indicator of "denial of expectation" in the sense that it hints at contradiction and helps hearers or readers eliminate an assumption previously made. Hall (2004:200) finds this definition reductive and claims that, "But diverts the hearer from an inferential route that wasn't necessarily 'expected' but need only be one route that was open to him."

Hall (2004:201-202) shows how BUT can signal semantic opposition when two clauses hint at a contrast "This book is well written but that one not so much." [The example is mine].

In the last part of this chapter, I will look at how the key notions BUT takes on in the literature as a connector mainly of contrast, denial of

expectation, cancellation and objection, come to be embedded with rhetorical evaluative strategies, working at global level, hence contributing to the creation of that prosodic effect of colouring the clauses with evaluation Halliday (1978) and Martin and White (2005:226), referred to earlier on in the thesis within an argumentative framework.

The literature just reviewed has foregrounded certain elements that characterize BUT that will be briefly listed below. My claim is that these features qualify BUT for becoming a key node where rhetorical evaluative strategies tend to cluster in broadsheet reviewers. This happens for various reasons that will be illustrated by a series of points, where the characteristics of the conjunct will be highlighted and further substantiated with examples taken from the BUT Database.

- a) As Hall (2004) states, BUT makes a connection between a previous comment and a subsequent comment. It enhances the compact, concise and effective sequencing of ideas within clauses where the comments may be both positive and negative.

**Example 2:** For a brisk and reliable read on Michelangelo's life, with flashes of intuitive brilliance on the works, Gayford's book does what it sets out to achieve, but I hope he soon returns to what he does best: pursuing the fugitive fragment, rather than the epic colossus. (BIO11DT) CLOSE

In example 2 BUT is preceded by a comment that is a Praise of the book and a Hedged Praise, "flashes of intuitive brilliance", follows. There is a down-toning of positivity that reaches its climax after BUT, when the reviewer wishes the author turned to other subjects that are a better achievement for him. The BUT node is made of sentences, embedded, one into the other, that converge towards BUT. Here BUT acts as a tool for cohesiveness and a catalyst of positive and negative comments that are juxtaposed within a paragraph.

The juxtaposition of positive and negative evaluation reflects the argumentative nature of BUT clauses that can be framed within dialectical tradition of argumentation where both arguments and counterarguments are presented. In Toulmin's terms, a claim and possible rebuttals are shown. From a pragma-dialectical perspective a confrontation stage is outlined. BUT becomes the core of this argumentative process for the very role it fulfils in discourse: the enhancement of contrast and the denial of expectation. The strengths and weaknesses of the book are presented through the contrastive marker BUT that also hints at possible contradictions between prior and subsequent discourse. As argued by Hunston, (2001:26) contrast is embedded in evaluation and I would add in argumentation. Contrast is the outcome of the presentation of both sides of the argument. In the specific case of the broadsheet review, both the

good aspects and the bad aspects of the book are presented through argumentative moves that foreground what is appreciated and what is criticized and the reasons for doing so.

b) BUT often signals the weakest contrast (Fraser 1997) which means that it can be effective in its use together with hedging strategies;

**Example 52:** In theory that ought to qualify the book for the much-prized category of literary thriller, but I'm not sure it quite fulfils either aspect of that hybrid genre. (Fict30G) OPENING

In Example 52 BUT introduces a highly subjective comment that is critical while the beginning of the sentences appears as a fact and a praise. Since the criticism is subjective, it is hedged because it is only a personal viewpoint that has no truth value. This is an instance where BUT appears within a hedging strategy.

c) Both Bell (1994) and Itan (2000) argue that BUT can deny or cancel previous expectations. In terms of argumentative flow, a previous expectation may be the starting point for an argument that reviewers present, just to confute and put forward their own claim. It follows that BUT can be useful to move from argument to counter argument in creating an argumentative process that underpins the review.

**Example 10:** All this is pleasantly conveyed, but it requires profound knowledge of texts, scholarship and landscape. (Bio 15TLS) CLOSE

In example 10, the reader expects General praise to be substantiated in a more specific way continuing on a positive note. Instead, the occurrence of BUT cancels the previous positive expectation and a negative turn is taken where there is a mismatch between what readers can understand and what is expected by the author. This mismatch will make the reading frustrating, as it can be inferred between the lines.

For the time being, it is worth mentioning that the conjunct BUT is a versatile conjunct that enhances cohesiveness, conjoins contrast, hosts hedging and operates the cancellation of a previous expectation. Chapter 6 will detail point A of these preliminary points analysing the distribution of contrastive evaluation, both positive and negative, in the BUT clause. Chapter 7, instead, will focus on hedging strategies occurring near BUT exploring point B in more detail.

## 5.6. Conclusions

In this chapter, the key role played by the reader, in broadsheet reviews, comes across as highly dialogic. The focus of the chapter was on the use of interactional resources, exploited by reviewers to change potentially monologic texts into an interactional, shared texts. In particular, the role of quotations as a key tool to evaluate the work of authors was investigated. Quotations have been reported to be interactional tools used to assign the role of accomplice to the reader whenever the reviewer decides to make a critical comment, either on the book or on the author. The role of questions was also explored. Questions are both a means to guide the reader through the reviewer's line of argument and/ or a way to create the space for sharing an opinion, often critical, with the reader. Another strategy investigated as instrumental for evaluation in the BUT Database, is the use of metaphors. Metaphors were identified in the BUT Database in their role of hedges, softening the Face threatening power of criticism. This role is achieved, placing the metaphor in a strategic point of the text, namely, around the BUT clause. After that, I reviewed the role of discourse markers, in general, and the role of the conjunct BUT within the linguistic tradition. Oversimplifying, the literature identified BUT as a catalyst of contrast, a possible colligate for hedges and a conjunct that suggests a denial of expectation. These features of BUT make it the perfect conjunct to present arguments and counterarguments and to scaffold the argumentative process that underpins evaluation. The objective of this overview was to provide a sound theoretical background for the hypothesis I will make in the next chapter about recurring rhetorical evaluative strategies used by reviewers within the BUT Database to evaluate the books reviewed.

## **Chapter 6: A qualitative analysis of rhetorical evaluative strategies in the BUT node of the British Broadsheet Corpus**

### **6.1. Chapter overview: Rhetorical evaluative strategies round the BUT NODE: playing with distribution**

In this chapter, the rhetorical evaluative strategies round the BUT node will be explored. When I refer to the BUT Node, I mean the clauses occurring in the proximity of BUT. I will investigate how a pair of clauses joined by BUT, which I label for convenience sake BUT clauses, become a significant carrier of evaluation across the review text. I will also show how the Distribution of Praise and Criticism is a powerful tool to frame evaluation in strategic parts of the review text both at macro level, across the whole review, and at micro level, within the BUT clause/s. Eventually, the focus will be on how broadsheets reviewers, play with the Distribution of Praise and Criticism in the BUT clause, tuning the force of evaluation up or down either before or after the BUT clause.

The analysis of the BB corpus will outline how BRers consistently choose to place evaluative comments in certain parts of the text, mainly in the Body of the review, and how they manipulate the BUT node in order to locate Praise and Criticism in privileged spots around the BUT clauses. Apart from distribution, other rhetorical evaluative strategies will be highlighted, such as the strategic positioning of evaluation within the BUT clause/s and the use of intensification to grade the strength of criticism.

My claim is that it is possible to identify recurring distributional patterns of evaluation in the BUT clauses that are instrumental in complying with politeness, in general, and Face demands, in particular. In order to provide evidence for this claim, I will investigate five rhetorical strategies in the BUT Database that are used in order to place Praise and Criticism in strategic parts of the text. These strategies tend to cluster round the conjunct BUT.

The first strategy identified concerns the location of BUT clauses within the review text. The second strategy regards how Praise and Criticism are distributed in the BUT clauses. The third strategy is about the distribution of Criticism in the clauses before BUT while the fourth strategy pursues the analysis of Praise distribution before BUT. The fifth strategy explores the rise of the intensity of evaluation after BUT.



## 6.2. Evaluative strategy 1: The location of the BUT clause within the review text

The first rhetorical strategy concerns the review text as a whole that stretches above sentence level. The review text can be often identified as a number of paragraphs that come to three main parts, namely the Opening, the Body and the Close. Within this macro text, it is interesting to explore the location of each BUT clause. This stage of the coding tackled the following issues:

- Does the BUT clause consistently occur in one section of the review text?
- If so, which section is it?
- Does the subgenre of the review impact the location of the BUT clause? In what ways?

The hypothesis is that BRers locate the BUT clause, that is rich in evaluation in the least salient parts of the review text, that seem to be dedicated to evaluation rather than information and therefore need Face saving strategies in order to comply with politeness conventions such as avoiding direct, negative evaluation that could cause public offence to the author of the book reviewed. This hypothesis has been tested through the coding and the analysis of the coded data of the British Broadsheet Corpus.

The reason for carrying out this coding is to detect the exact location of the BUT clause within the BBC and to find recurring patterns in the distribution of evaluation within the broadsheet review text. To pursue this, the exact location of the BUT extract within the reviews in the corpus was identified in each review of the corpus. Each extract in the corpus was coded with the following three nodes in NVivo:

EXTRLOCOPEN            EXTRLOCBODY            EXTRLOCCLOSE

When the BUT extract was located at the beginning, it was coded in NVivo with the node EXTRLOCOPEN. When it was in the Body, it was coded EXTRLOCBODY, while when the BUT clause was at the end of the review, it was coded EXTRLOCCLOSE.

Identifying a privileged location for evaluation is important, in order to test the initial hypothesis that BRers choose the Body as the place in which to evaluate, because this is the least salient part of the review. This lack of salience becomes a strategy to soften criticism. By contrast, the Opening and the Close would foreground a potentially Face threatening act as defined by Brown and Levinson (1978) that is not appropriate, given the nature of the broadsheet review text. BRs aim at informing about editorial news in the publishing market and offering a balanced judgement

on the book, as argued in the previous chapters.

Table C.4., in Appendix C on page 348, illustrates the Distribution of the BUT extracts within the British Broadsheet Database. As shown in Table 1 below, in a total of 111 BUT extracts, that tend to carry evaluation rather than information, 71 clauses are hosted in the Body of the text. Closes host 30 BUT clauses and the Openings host only 11 BUT clauses. These data seem in line with the strategy of salience highlighted earlier. Closes have more than double the occurrences of BUT evaluative clauses, compared to Openings. The Body of the review has more than double the occurrences of the Closes of BUT evaluative clauses. These data identify the evaluative core of the BB Corpus: The Body of the review.

**Table 1: The distribution of the BUT CLAUSE within the BUT DATABASE**

SECTIONS OF THE REVIEW	TOTAL N=111 review extracts
OPENING	11 occurrences
BODY	70 occurrences
CLOSE	30 occurrences
TOTAL	111 occurrences

The location of the evaluative extracts has also been analysed in terms of subgenre distribution in the attempt to answer the question:

- Does the location of evaluation change according to the subgenres of the review?

The results of the correlation between subgenre and the location of evaluation are shown in Table 2:

**Table 2: The Distribution of the BUT clause across the three subgenres**

SECTIONS IN THE REVIEW	BIOGRAPHY n=33 review extracts	FICTION n= 39 review extracts	HISTORY N=39 review extracts	TOTAL N=111 review extracts
OPENING	4	4	3	11
BODY	19	25	26	70
CLOSE	10	10	10	30
	33	39	39	111

At a first glance, it appears that the subgenre has a minor impact on reviewers' choice because evaluation is quite evenly distributed across the three subgenres. However, the Frequency and the location of evaluation varies in different subgenres as we will see later in the chapter.

In line with the rhetorical analysis carried in the previous chapters, the Body has been confirmed as the privileged lieu for evaluation for the three subgenres, however Fiction, History and Biographers evaluate both in the Body (19) and in the Close (10).

Across the three subgenres, Openings are the least evaluative parts of the review with 11 BUT clauses out of 111 and a percentage of 9.8%, and, understandably so, because at the beginning, reviewers tend to fulfil the informative function of the text, putting off evaluation for subsequent parts of the review text. A balance between information and evaluation is sought, in order to operate efficiently and communicate effectively with the addressee. It follows that a neutral overture is more socially acceptable and pragmatically welcomed. Hence, information becomes the focus of most review Openings.

As BRers proceed in the writing, the proportion of informative content diminishes, and the evaluative content rises. At the beginning of the review, information is richer because reviewers offer the information necessary to understand what is to come. In doing so, reviewers also show the public they are expert readers of the book so, as the review proceeds, they can start arguing for their opinion, drawing examples of flaws and weaknesses from the book, and at times quoting authors to foreground their shortcomings. They have prepared the floor for evaluation. It is now acceptable to put forward more evaluative comments that are hosted in the Body. It is precisely in the Body that most of the evaluative strategies are at work across the whole corpus. There are 70 BUT clauses out of 111 with a percentage of 63%.

When the reviewer comes to the closing, a neutral tone is chosen. At times, Praise is foregrounded, mentioning the best parts of the book, other times the evaluation, thoroughly argued for in the Body, is reiterated in a punch line, so that it sticks in the reader's memory. In the Closes, there are 30 BUT clauses out of 111 with a percentage of 26.8%.

Overall, in the rhetorical organization of the text, what is foregrounded seems to be informational, while evaluation stays at the background in a sandwich structure where the core is evaluative and the surface informative. However, at times, when evaluation comes to the foreground, both positive and negative aspects of the book are juxtaposed in order to provide a more objective outlook on the book, as shown in the Closes below.

My contention is that in the Closes, the reviewer is looking for a way

to end the review and what is relevant to point out in the following extracts is the search for balance. There is an attempt to juxtapose Praise with Criticism or vice versa. The numbering of the extracts in this chapter, is consistent with their numbering in the BUT Database, included in Appendix C, Table C.3. on page 335.

**Example 63:** As you'd expect, this makes for some grim reading, but Leyshon always keeps a firm hand on the reins, allowing the reader to draw breath with moments of levity and respite. (Fict 40DT) CLOSE

**Example 99:** Putin's Kleptocracy is a courageous and scrupulously judicious investigation into the sinews of wealth and power in Vladimir Putin's Russia; but when it comes to shaping policy towards Russia, it is a deeply deceptive guide. (Hist15TL) CLOSE

**Example 10:** All this is pleasantly conveyed, but it requires profound knowledge of texts, scholarship and landscape. (Bio 15TLS) CLOSE

In example 10, Praise is softened after BUT where the details added hint at a scholarly target audience thereby shifting criticism from the book to an external readership. This strategy sets a hedging process in motion.

The following Opening in example 60 on page 196, instead, places the author in the literary context of the age, so it starts with information but ends with the Praise of the author's style. In all three examples, (63, 99 and 10), the reviewer moves from one polarity to another, as it happens in example 99 and 10 where the reviewer starts with Praise and ends with Criticism, or in example 63 where the shift is from Criticism to Praise. A sense of balance is conveyed by the juxtaposition of negative and positive adjectives such as 'grim, courageous, deceptive, judicious, profound' and adverbs as 'scrupulously, deeply, and pleasantly'. Interestingly enough, in all the examples, BUT is the pivotal evaluative point where the shift of polarity in evaluation occurs. The shift from one polarity to another also signals the exploration of both arguments and counterarguments. Both a positive and a negative judgement on the book are presented. BUT becomes a key point for the development of the argumentative process. In example 10 above, the initial claim is an overall praise of the author's perspective. What follows BUT is a critical claim of the complexity of the reading experience. This mixed judgement explores both positive and negative aspects of the book thus granting a sound line of argumentation.

**Example 60:** Taseer's wide and analytical perspective has something in common with contemporaries Amit Chaudhuri and Neel Mukherjee, but his style – at once highly intellectual and deeply poetic – is unique. (Fict 37Ind) OPENING

Focusing on the Body extracts, it can be argued that evaluation plays a central role. The author praises the author and the depiction of the subject matter in example 3. On the other hand, General Criticism is the focus of example 44 and Praise of example 77. Evaluation vibrates through all the three extracts. In these extracts BUT is framed within different polarities of evaluation that ground the evaluative process in an argumentative framework where the book is judged both in its strengths and its weaknesses in the best tradition of dialectical reasoning.

**Example 3:** When it comes to Brod, Stach is no objective chronicler but wittily, sparkingly biased, though his account does not lack empathy. (Bio12TLS) BODY

**Example 44:** The new arrival is a happy surprise and will of course be much loved but – although no one will say so in earshot – it is possibly a mistake. (Fict 24 TLS) BODY

**Example 77:** Norwich is an authoritative historian, but his writing is charmingly personal. (Hist0DT) BODY

To conclude this stage of analysis, the main claim I would like to make is that the BUT clause is mainly hosted in the Body of the review because of its evaluative nature. It seems that this choice, far from being casual, is a crafted Face-saving strategy because evaluation is removed from more salient parts of the text such as the Opening and the Close.

### **6.3. Evaluative strategy 2: From global to local: Choosing a strategic venue for Praise and Criticism and hedging devices in the BUT clause/s**

The second stage of the coding does not concern the review text as a whole. It regards the BUT extracts collected in the NVivo node called Linguistic Analysis. This node hosts all the extracts in the BUT Database where BUT is used to frame an evaluative comment. These sections of the text have a coding that starts with EXTR. The reason for a different code is to differentiate this micro coding from a more globally oriented coding that reports simply the review code, for instance BIO19DT. The focus,

here, is on rhetorical categories, occurring in the BUT clauses of the Database, that include evaluation in its polarity, Praise for positive and Criticism for negative, and their location within the BUT clause or clauses. The location in the coding is signalled by the adverb before or after. Hence the categories of analysis, called nodes in NVivo, are:

- a) PRAISEAFTERBUT includes all the occurrences of Praise on the right of BUT;
- b) PRAISEBEFOREBUT comprises all the instances of Praise on the left of BUT;
- c) CRITAFTERBUT comprises all the occurrences of Criticism on the right of BUT;
- d) CRITBEFOREBUT includes all the instances of Criticism on the left of BUT.

These nodes clearly indicate where the evaluative comment is placed by the reviewer in the BUT node. The analysis will answer the following questions:

- a) Does evaluation generally precede or follow BUT?
- b) Does the polarity of evaluation have an impact on whether evaluation occurs before or after BUT?
- c) Are there patterns in the Distribution of Praise and Criticism around the BUT node?

Since there were also occurrences of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism, four more nodes were devised named:

1. HEDGEDPRAIBeforeBUT
2. HEDGEDPRAIAfterBUT
3. HEDGEDCRITBeforeBUT
4. HEDGEDCRITAAfterBUT

in order to consider instances where Praise and Criticism were not straightforward but hedged. Within NVivo, these categories were labelled as Child Nodes of Parent Nodes called:

- a) PRAISE DISTRIBUTION
- b) CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION
- c) HEDGED PRAISE DISTRIBUTION
- d) HEDGED CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION.

The aim of this coding was to identify evaluative distributional patterns in

the Distribution of Praise and Criticism in the BUT node, also in their hedged versions. The coding suggests that the BUT node is the privileged location for clear-cut evaluation both positive and negative since hedges, which are quite frequent in the corpus in its entirety, tend to be fewer in the proximity of BUT with only 10 occurrences of Hedged Praise and 7 occurrences of Hedged Criticism against 53 occurrences of Praise and 55 occurrences of Criticism.

**Table 3: The Frequency and Distribution of analytical categories in the BUT Database**

Distribution of Analytical categories	Frequency
PRAISEAFTERBUT	30
PRAISEBEFOREBUT	37
HEDGEDPRAISEAFTERBUT	7
HEDGEDPRAISEBEFOREBUT	3
CRITAFTERBUT	39
CRITBEFOREBUT	20
HEDGEDCRITAFTERBUT	2
HEDGEDCRITBEFOREBUT	5
TOT	143

In this study, I will use G. Lakoff's (1972:195) definition of hedges "For me, some of the most interesting questions are raised by the study of words whose meanings implicitly involve fuzziness – words whose job is to make things more or less fuzzy – I will refer to such words as 'hedges'".

In example 19 that follows, the use of the subject 'I' at the end of the sentence acts as a hedge, because it makes the criticism of the author's choice of materials more personal and subjective, and therefore, less Face threatening. In example 110, the sequencing of fuzzy words such as 'sometimes', that does not specify when and the conjunct BUT make the assertion less peremptory. 'For some reason' and 'the kind of book', that do not explain what reason or which book, simply add ambiguity to the evaluative process, making criticism less forceful. The underlined hedges soften the final claim of the review that judges the book as 'breathless and lifeless'.

**Example 110:** It's all stirring, sometimes grotesque stuff but for some reason it doesn't lend itself to a book, or at least not to the kind of book that Ben Mezrich has written, which is breathless and lifeless at the same time (HIST24IND)

Looking at the frequency of hedges in these extracts, it results quite scarce. There were only 17 instances of Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism out of 128 evaluative instances of Praise and Criticism with a percentage of 13.2%. This supports the hypothesis that the section of the text where BUT is hosted acts as catalyst for reviewers' evaluative comments that – for some reason – can do without hedging. The reasons will be investigated later in the chapter.

The data also show that polarity affects the location of both hedged and unhedged evaluative comments. When criticism is hedged, its location is not so particularly relevant because hedged critical comments tend to be placed both before and after BUT even though there are 2 instances of hedged criticism before BUT and 5 instances of hedged criticism after BUT.

However, when reviewers praise, and decide to hedge their praise, the BUT node appears much more meaningful, because reviewers prefer to position their hedged praise after BUT (7 instances) rather than before (3 instances). Along similar lines, when reviewers criticize, they tend to position their critical comment after BUT almost double the times (35) compared to when they decide to foreground criticism before BUT (20). The first distributional evaluative pattern detected at micro level appears to be the following, as exemplified in the extracts below:

**Table 4: Evaluative strategy 2: A recurring evaluative pattern after BUT**

CLAUSE 1	BUT	CLAUSE 2
		HEDGED PRAISE
		CRITICISM

BUT appears to be a shifting point in evaluation because BRers wait until they reach BUT to amplify their negative evaluation and let it flow, relying on the ground of Praise and positivity they have prepared before BUT. Looking at the BRs using Toulmin's structural model, reviewers seem to offer the Data for the claim or a hedged claim before BUT while, after BUT, they present a stronger claim and a further Backing.

Here are some examples from the BBC that exemplify the strategic positioning of evaluation in the BUT clauses:

**Example 98:** Fourth, Dawisha's argument appears to operate in a geopolitical vacuum. (hedged criticism) One corollary of it is that foreign policy must also be shaped by the elite's narrow corporate interests, but this is far from demonstrated. (sharper criticism) (HIST 15TLS)



**Example 109:** Readers may forgive these omissions (hedged criticism), but another problem is that the book does not actually explain “the rise of the oligarchs.” There is room here for just the one, our Boris (overt criticism) (HIST24IND)

**Example 73:** One can forgive the odd typo (“He died in his early 1950s”) (hedged criticism), but there are so many clichés (“Ted Smith had never had it so good) and passages that belong in a Mills & Boon novel (“Stepping out of her skirt and petticoat and peeling off her stockings...”) (Hist 01DT) (overt criticism)

Reviewers move in their argumentation from a fuzzy, hedged evaluative claim that seems to gain momentum as the argument proceeds. In Example 98 on page 199, the reviewer states that the author of the book presents a weak argument and, towards the end of the BUT clause, the reviewer distances himself from the author’s argument, judging it in a critical way. In other words, he moves from hedged to sharp criticism.

In example 109, the same pattern soft/harsh criticism is used. Omissions become a lack of explanation and, eventually, a biased viewpoint. In Example 73, an impersonal 'one' shows sympathy towards flaws in the book, but the arguments take full wind when the reviewer decides to provide a list of weaknesses and to detail them with quotations. Criticism sharpens as the reader approaches the end of the BUT clause, where the reviewer reaches a conclusive stage in the argumentation.

#### 6.4. Evaluative strategy 3: A Prelude to Criticism before BUT

The coding of the BB corpus clearly shows that the clauses before BUT become a space where Criticism is introduced softly, hinted at gently and the ground is prepared for harsher criticism. This preparatory space often coincides with the introduction of an evaluative claim that becomes more clear-cut evaluation on the right of BUT, as highlighted by the following rhetorical categories, that explored the content of the clauses before BUT. What stands on the left of BUT is paving the way for a subsequent evaluation that is located on the right of BUT, as illustrated in the examples below.

**Table 5: The Distribution of Criticism Introduction in the BUT node**

CRITINTROBEFOREBUT	16
CRITINTROAFTERBUT	1
	TOT: 17

Authors use Praise, either hedged or unhedged, on the left of BUT in 40 instances. In 9 instances, they use Praise to introduce a 'captatio benevolentia', benevolent, kind, complimentary comments that allow

BRers to get away with the critical comments placed after BUT and, thus, avoid a possible rebuttal of their evaluative argument on the reader's part. These cases will be accounted for with the Node Praise Introduction later in the chapter.

I listed and highlighted nine nodes coded as CRITINTRO, in order to foreground the rhetorical strategies used by reviewers to evaluate the work of authors in the BBC that are presented in the following examples. BRers may opt for hedged criticism that is conveyed by parts of speech, such as adverbs, preceded by 'not' as in:

**Example 27:** “Deborah Lutz in *The Bronte Cabinet* doesn't altogether eschew chronology” (EXTR 12B) (BIO29DT)

BRers may also use the modal verb 'may' followed by the anticipation of readers' possible rebuttal as in Example 32 and Example 56.

**Example 32:** “It may sound like a lot, like overkill, even...” (EXTR 1B) (BIO31TLS)

**Example 56:** “This may cause a collective gasp of outrage from Banks's legions of fans” (EXTR 24 F) (FICT33G)

BRers use verbs such as “claim” and “announce” to signal that they are taking a distance from the utterance of the author of the book, thus hinting at a lack of agreement with the author as in Examples 86 and 87.

**Example 86:** Ryback claims that this was the first stage of the holocaust (EXTR44H) (HIST08G)

**Example 87:** Kertzer announces that the Catholic Church is generally portrayed as the courageous opponent of fascism (EXTR 45H) (HIST10G)

In Examples 73 and in Example 109, the impersonal pronoun 'one' and 'readers' are pulled in the text as the agents who forgive omissions and typographical errors. The reviewer shares the responsibility of pinpointing a lack onto readers or anyone. The interlocutor becomes an accomplice of critique and this allows the reviewer to further reinforce the bluntness of the criticism with the choice of the verb 'forgive'.

**Example 73:** “One can forgive the odd typo” (EXTR 50 H) (HIST01DT)

**Example 109:** “Readers may forgive these omissions” (EXTR 67H) (HIST24IND)

In a similar way, in Examples 107 and 78, the author's words, which hint at his own shortcomings, are quoted:

**Example 107:** "At the same time, as he acknowledges, his viewpoint is that of a tourist" (EXTR66H) (HIST21G)

**Example 78:** "This is a history, not a guidebook, he insists" (EXTR71H) (HIST04DT)

Quotations are used as a distancing tool and have been identified in Chapter 5, section 5.2.1., as a rhetorical strategy to soften the force of Criticism. It is as if the reviewer was using the author's words not theirs, to shift the responsibility of the critical comments away from them and onto the authors themselves. The outcome is that Criticism becomes less Face threatening and more acceptable, both for readers and for the author reviewed. This is a case where there is a lack of what Cherry (1998b) and Hyland (2001) call "writer mediation". When writers are present in an explicit way in a critical speech act, they use first person pronouns (I/me/my) to take full responsibility for a critical claim. Other times, they decide to take distance from critique and use reported criticism –critique made by other writers, or quotations, as in these instances.

This choice may ensure that readers will read the review further. The lack of these softeners, instead, may have the consequence that readers will stop reading the review, thus interrupting the communication with the reviewer. This is something that reviewers want to avoid because this means they have failed in their main target - to make their thoughts about the book known to the reading public of the broadsheet.

From a pragmatic viewpoint, BRers interact with readers by negotiating their position about the book. Myers (1989), among others, insisted on the dynamic nature of written texts where readers are bound to play a key role. It follows that reviewers should consider the possible reaction of the reader, as they are involved in the process of evaluating the book. Their evaluation should follow some politeness strategies that make their evaluative comments about the book reviewed viable to the reader.

BRers may opt for what Brown and Levinson (1987) call positive politeness strategies, that is the need to make the reader welcome and appreciated, but also negative politeness strategies - thus deciding not to limit readers' freedom of action or thought. Strongly harsh criticism may position the reviewer as the only authoritative voice, with the consequence of relegating the reader to a passive role where their own appreciation of the book is neglected. On the other hand, hedged criticism and a sound argumentation to establish the weaknesses of the book, together with a fair appreciation of the positive aspects of the publication, can create a common ground where politeness becomes the bridge to make criticism

acceptable and the review welcome.

#### 6.5. Evaluative strategy 4: Seize the floor and praise before BUT

In this section, I will focus on evaluative strategies used by BRers on the left of BUT that prepare the floor for subsequent evaluation in the clauses or clauses on the right of BUT. First, I will focus on positive evaluative strategies, and, in the following section, on negative evaluative strategies.

The analysis of the distributional pattern of Praise Introduction showed that reviewers introduce their Praise before BUT, rather than after, as indicated below:

**Table 6: The Distribution of Praise Introduction in the clause before BUT**

PRAISEINTROBEFOREBUT	8
PRAISEINTROAFTERBUT	1
	TOT: 9

The clause - that precedes the actual praise - acts as the location where praise is prepared, crafted and eventually delivered in the clause after BUT.

It is relevant to explore how this preparation is carried out by BRers who seem to play either with boosting devices as in Example 17, shown below, where “not simply a biography”, which is what the reader expects, paves the way for and raises the level of interest for what the reader does not expect “the compassionate map of a terra incognita”. Praise gains force as the reader reaches the end of the BUT clause that functions as a climax of Praise in the whole review. This may be because it is the last sentence of the review, a very salient part indeed, since argumentation is coming to a conclusion and some sort of evaluation is expected.

**Example 17:** It is then, that Becoming Richard Pryor reveals itself to be not simply a biography, but the compassionate map of a terra incognita. (Bio 23Ind)  
CLOSE EXTR05B

In Example 71 below, the clause that precedes BUT, is used to amplify the Praise, hinting at what is difficult, a tangible obstacle that may have jeopardized the success of the book, but has been brilliantly

overcome by the author.

This also happens in example 103 where the setting of the story, Albania, would not promise anything exciting. However, the skill of the author, is to change this land into a place of wonders- 'in a magisterial account', as uttered in the BUT clause that follows. In Example 79, the complex history of Sicily may have been a hindrance to success for any author but the author in question, 'Norwich sketches personalities vividly' - we are told in the following clause.

**Example 71:** Suffering and resilience are difficult things to witness, but this powerful, politically engaged novel does so with a transformative literary grace. (EXTR 37F) (fict43IND)

**Example 103:** Albania might not seem the most promising place from which to write a history of the Mediterranean but, as Malcolm argues in this magisterial account, it is the forgotten frontier where East and West, Muslims and Christians, Italians and Turks met, clashed, sometimes fought, but more often than not tried to accommodate each other. (EXTR 62H) (HIST19DT)

**Example 79:** Sicily's political history is full of so much turbulence it's sometimes hard to keep track of the battles, murders and successions, but Norwich sketches personalities vividly: Emma Hamilton, for example, a glamorous former courtesan whose celebrated affair with Nelson began in Sicily; or Salvatore Giuliano, "Sicily's most notorious but... best loved bandit"(EXTR 72H)(HIST04DT)

It is as if the reviewers were presenting the difficulties encountered by the authors and the overcoming of these obstacles as an indirect way of praising the book. They add further Backings in their argumentative process that guide the reader towards their final evaluative claim about the book.

In Example 89 that follows, the clause before BUT seems to be used as an opportunity to counter argue for possible comments about the banality of the topic chosen. The reviewer is handling possible rebuttals readers may have. So, what the reviewer does, is to take on board possible critical comments, acknowledging 'some of this is familiar territory'. However, this is only a prelude to state the novelty of the book in the BUT clause, where the reviewer uses both a string of positive adjectives and quotations from the book to bring home their point and reach what Van Eemeren et al (1999) call the concluding stage of the argument, as shown in the example below:

**Example 89:** Some of this is familiar territory but what is new, and riveting, is how fascists and churchmen alike were forced into intellectual contortions as they struggled to justify the new laws. "Racism" was good. "Exaggerated racism" was bad. "Antisemitism" was good, as long as it was Italian. "German antisemitism" was another thing entirely. (EXTR 47 H) (HIST10G)

The examples above support the hypothesis that the BUT clause is a pivotal point within the text where evaluation is often hosted. What these data also suggest is that, at times, reviewers tend to open their review with Praise. This is what the reader expects, but then the authors use BUT to signal the unexpected and, right at the end, they put the negative comment.

It also happens, though, that judgement, especially if it is negative, must be mitigated by an introduction. This is the section where the reviewer is answering possible rebuttals that the reader may have, or they may be justifying and strongly arguing for their position. BRers negotiate with the reader so that the negative evaluation becomes more acceptable because it has been carefully prepared and brilliantly argued for beforehand. Once again, argumentation scaffolds evaluation.

BUT scaffolds the argumentation process because it acts as a demarking line for an evaluative argumentative move, that has been gradually introduced before BUT, properly argued for with evidence and skilfully concluded with a precise, unambiguous evaluation that occurs after BUT. At other times a position, conflicting with the reviewer's, is granted the appropriate space in the clause before BUT, where either supporting evidence to an argument or a possible counterargument are voiced. Hence multiple voicing is ensured, the risk of biased evaluation is overcome and, a communicatively dynamic text, is produced.

The distributional pattern identified in the corpus above is illustrated in Table 7:

**Table 7: The Distributional pattern in the clause before BUT**

PRAISE INTRODUCTION OR CRITICISM INTRODUCTION		BUT	EVALUATION

## 6.6. Evaluative strategy 5: Seize the floor and rise the tone after BUT

Having established that evaluation is more widespread after BUT, where the argumentative stage is progressing towards a conclusion, I will now analyse evaluative strategies occurring on the left of BUT that aim at introducing Criticism. In order to explore how criticism is expressed in this clause, a category of analysis labelled CRITINTRO was created.

The node has 16 occurrences that are shown below:

In Example 27, the author uses an emphatic *do* to boost a weakness in the author's narrative style, namely the overabundance of details that impacts the plot in a negative way:

**Example 27:** Deborah Lutz in *The Brontë Cabinet* doesn't altogether eschew chronology, but her fix on stuff over story does obscure the drama of the siblings dying and books being born. (EXTR 12B) (Bio 29DT) BODY

Hedged Criticism stands on the left of BUT and stronger Criticism stands on the right where the use of the emphatic 'do' underlines a flout of the book, namely neglecting the importance of plot and foregrounding an abundance of details, which, in the reviewer's opinion, is a loss.

In the following extract, Example 32, instead, the initial Criticism, aimed at the author's apparent redundancy in the choice of themes, is followed by Praise that stands on the right of BUT in the attempt to avoid the reader's possible rebuttal. The list of examples could put the reader off the reading and the BRer seriously takes on board this possibility in the counter argument with the statement "It may sound like a lot". However, after BUT, the BRer asserts that the praise is justified.

**Example 32:** Certain themes are sounded insistently, implacably and rightly throughout: Brecht "the extravagantly gifted child", his "extravagant intelligence", "this hugely gifted boy", "his extreme talent." It may sound like a lot, like overkill, even, but it is only just, and anything less would have been remiss (EXTR1B) (BIO31TLS) BODY

In Example 56, Criticism frames the BUT node, it embraces it in a sandwich structure where BUT is in the middle and Criticism envelops it. However critical comments are hedged through rhetorical questions, the use of the passive to avoid subjectivity and an anticipation of the unease that the reviewer's negative comments could cause to the author's fans. All this is paving the way for the harsher criticism that follows BUT and reaches its climax in the last sentence, where characters are depicted as boring.

**Example 56:** And there's the same old nagging question: is this actually a good book? This may cause a collective gasp of outrage from Banks's legions of fans, *but then I would say that the reasons I have trouble with some aspects of Bank's writing are the very reasons why he has legions of fans in the first place; and these can be summarized as guilelessness, and the lack of gap between idea and expression.* It's not quite artlessness, more like a lack of cunning literary artifice. Banks's attention is all in the nuts and bolts of construction, and his characters, once established, never surprise, except in unsurprising ways. (EXTR 24 F)(Fict33G) BODY

In Examples 57 again, the BUT clause is framed by Criticism, since a critical view is put forward both before and after BUT. The reviewer explains why sounding apologetic is what is expected, given the circumstances. The author of the book is dying of cancer just like his main character. However, the reviewer feels it is his duty to be honest about the book because this is what the reader expects. Hence, he criticizes the bitterness of the character and reveals his relief when a different narrative voice takes the scene.

**Example 57:** Shortly before he completed the first draft of this novel, Iain Banks discovered that he had cancer; with horrible irony, the central character is dying of the same disease. So, while *The Quarry* may not have been conceived of as a valedictory novel, it is now always going to be treated as one. This means that any criticism is mildly muted, and the significance of its position in the Banksian oeuvre enhanced. This is fair enough, honourable and decent even, but it's still a novel, and readers still want to know what to expect. You can expect much of what Banks has delivered before, but with added rage. Guy, in acute pain and distress at the humiliations visited upon him by his disease, rants against the dying of the light, and is very far indeed from being a noble sufferer. (It is a critical no-no among sophisticates to say "I didn't like the character(s)", *but frankly, a little of Guy goes a long way, and there's a lot of him here*). The narrative voice belonging to Kit, Guy's son is a pleasant relief from this, if a familiar trope: Kit is well up there on the Asperger's spectrum, although the condition is only named once, and then in semi-dismissive passing. Basically, it's a literary device allowing us to look at things closely but entertainingly askew (EXTR 25 F) (FICT33G) BODY

In example 70, Criticism opens the clause that ends with Praise. Interestingly enough, Criticism starts from what is expected, the common ground Van Eemeren et al (1999) refer to in their pragma-dialectical theory - that is to say - filling the book with allusions on how stories work is irritating. The author avoids subjectivity and presents this claim not as their viewpoint BUT as a given fact. To soften the Criticism further, the reviewer goes against this claim and decides to hedge Praise with the adverb 'surprisingly'.

**Example 70:** The text is littered with allusions to how stories work, comments of Terry Pratchett, Jane Austen, Harper Lee and Mark Twain, reminders that this too is a story, insinuations that therefore this is the pattern it too shall follow. It would be all too easy for such a meta technique to be gauche and irritating, but surprisingly it's not. (EXTR 36 F) (Fict 42Ind) BODY



In example 72, the reviewer praises a Specific aspect of the book - the way women are portrayed both before and after BUT. However, after BUT, Praise is boosted since women are defined as the driving force of the narrative.

**Example 72:** The novel provides an intimate close-up of the women of Gaza and of the everyday heroism amid relentless loss. There are men in this novel, of course, beloved husbands, exiled fathers, jailed sons, but it is the sustaining power of sisters, mothers, wives and daughters that carries the narrative. EXTR 38F (fict43Ind) BODY

Example 59 starts with a juxtaposition of two positive comments: The Praise of the translator of the book and the appreciation of an aspect of the book the reviewer particularly liked 'passages of focus domesticity'. The last part of the review hints at a comparison between the stories and settings evoked by the book and the films of two British directors. However, the use of the verb *sneer* – attributed to the main character of the story - anticipates the possible critical comment of the author or the reader on the reviewer's comparison. A possible rebuttal is anticipated and thus neutralized.

**Example 59:** If *Encircling* delivers vocal virtuosity – carried into English with equal dexterity by Barbara Haveland – it gains most traction from passages of close-focus domesticity. Jon may sneer at the films of Mike Leigh and Ken Loach, but visitors to Tiller's Namsos may feel that their spirits hover not too far away. (EXTR 39 F) (fict36Ind) CLOSE

In Example 67, the reviewer offers a flat summary of the story - something that should be avoided by any reviewer so as not to spoil the pleasure of reading the book. To make up for this, he finishes the BUT clause, stating that despite the gloomy summary, strong emotions vibrate in the book. Again, the pattern, 'Criticism before BUT' and 'Praise after BUT' is at work.

**Example 67:** This slender story (the book clocks in at just under 200 pages) unfolds over a five-day period and is set almost entirely within the four walls of Lucy's hospital room, which contain little more than a bed, a chair and "a view of the Chrysler Building, with its geometric brilliance of lights." At the behest of her husband (a vague, offstage presence, "busy running the household and also busy with his job") Lucy's mother has flown out from the family home in rural Illinois to sit with her daughter while she battles her fever. The pair have been more or less estranged since Lucy's marriage, and the crisis allows them to reconnect - *but* there are no dramatic showdowns or tearful reconciliations. Rather, they rebuild their relationship obliquely,

via conversations that meander through the outskirts of their shared history. At the end of the five days, Lucy's mother takes her leave. Lucy recovers, and goes home. Summarised in this way, Strout's novel sounds plain to the point of banality. But the stillness of the surface belies the roil of events and emotions that lurk in its depths. (EXTR 41 F) (Fict41DT) BODY

In Example 86, the reviewer uses the verb 'claim' to take distance from the author's opinion. Presently, the BRer expresses a different opinion in a straightforward assertion that represents a counter argument. Softer criticism prepares the ground for bitter criticism.

**Example 86:** Ryback claims that this was the first stage of the Holocaust, but it was something different, it was the first stage in the Nazi seizure of power. (EXTR 44 H) (Hist08G) CLOSE

In Example 87, the BRer distances himself from the author's claim through a hedged criticism of a specific content that is further reinforced after BUT where a direct statement highlights the clear position of the reviewer towards the author's viewpoint. The extract finishes with stronger criticism.

**Example 87:** Kertzer announces that the Catholic church is generally portrayed as the courageous opponent of fascism, but this is an exaggeration. (HIST10G) BODY, EXTR 45H

Example 73 below opens with a list of flaws in the book that are substantiated by quotations. Before BUT, the impersonal "one" and the modal "can" hedge criticism that takes force after BUT, where a more direct sentence mentions a significant number of clichés. The final part of the extract strongly reiterates the reviewer's surprise for the award given to this book that is depicted as "clumsily written". The adverb chosen "clumsily" expresses an overtly negative judgement given by the BRer. As in example 87, in example 73 we move from hedged to overt criticism.

Example 73: One can forgive the odd typo ("He died in his early 1950s"), but there are so many lazy clichés ("Ted Smith had never had it so good") and passages that belong in a Mills & Boon novel ("Stepping out of her skirt and petticoat and peeling off her stockings...") that it is hard to comprehend how such a clumsily written book can have scooped the William Hill Sports Book of the Year award, one of the most valuable on offer. (Hist 01DT) OPENING, EXTR 50H

In example 98, the reviewer uses the verb 'appear' to take distance from the author's argument. In the clause that follows BUT, a stronger and more assertive criticism of the author's argument is stated. Example 98 starts and finishes with Criticism that gains strength after the BUT clause. The pattern 'mild criticism followed by strong criticism' is at work here, too. The use of the verb 'appear' signals a distance from the author's argument as they are put forward in the book. This distance becomes wider in the last sentence, where the reviewer brings home the point that the author has not shown enough evidence to support her argument.

**Example 98:** Fourth, Dawisha's argument appears to operate in a geopolitical vacuum. One corollary of that is that foreign policy must also be shaped by the élite's narrow corporate interests, but this is far from demonstrated. (EXTR 58 H) (Hist15TLS) BODY

Example 107 opens by reporting a shortcoming of the book, that is signalled by the author himself. This fact allows the reviewer to take his Criticism further, so after BUT, the use of the adverb 'still' and the adverb 'always' pave the way for showcasing the biggest weakness of the book, that is presently stated, the risk of being 'political picturesque'.

**Example 107:** At the same time, as he acknowledges, his viewpoint is often that of a tourist. He doesn't want to be like the 1930s English intellectuals who were suckered by stage-managed visits to model factories and collective farms, but Hatherley's approach to this subject is still that of the roving eye, the educated wanderer gathering impressions. There is a danger not always avoided of the political picturesque of blurring what buildings look like with what they do. A hymn to the Moscow metro, for example, does not deal convincingly with the atrocious cruelties of its construction. (Extr 66H) (Hist21G) BODY

In Example 109, the clause opens with Hedged Criticism because omissions are forgiven by readers. Hence the BRer takes the opportunity to involve readers in Criticism, making them their accomplices in the expression of a negative evaluation of the book. After BUT, a more direct Criticism is moved. The reviewer reports a flaw of the book, namely a lack of information about something, mentioned in the book but not thoroughly dealt with - that is to say how the oligarchs came to power. The focus of the book is, instead, just on Boris.

**Example 109:** Readers may forgive these omissions, but another problem is that the book does not actually explain "the rise of the oligarchs." There is room here for just the one, our Boris. (EXTR 67 H) (Hist24IND) BODY

Across the corpus, quotations become a powerful tool in the

reviewers' hands to highlight flaws and shortcomings of the book. In Example 78 that follows, the author's words are turned against him because the reviewer gives evidence from the book that proves the book is a guidebook - exactly what his author didn't want it to be in the first place.

**Example 78:**“ ‘This is a history, not a guidebook’ he insists, but still he tells us which mornings his favourite villas are open, which 12<sup>th</sup> century winery remains in business and which fresco features “one of the most sinister greyhounds ever painted”(it's The Triumph of Death, now in the Regional Gallery of Palermo) ( EXTR 71 H) (Hist04DT) BODY

In some examples above, in particular example 73, quotations have been used to detail the flaws of the book while in example 89, they worked as a backup for the reviewer's argument. They justified the Praise of the book. Even though the polarity may change, and quotations can be used both for Praise and for Criticism, it is relevant to point out that BRers use the author's words as a support for their own evaluative act be it positive or negative.

Example 101 starts pointing at a lack. The author overlooked an important aspect - the distribution of women's magazines to Women's Army Corps. After BUT the reviewer shows that the author's statement lacks evidence. Softer Criticism gives way to stronger one. The pattern 'soft criticism followed by BUT and overt criticism' occurs here too.

**Example 101:** She comments briefly, too, on the distribution of special magazine sets of female-oriented periodicals such as Ladies' Home Journal to women serving in the Women's Army Corps (WACs) and the Navy parallel Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVEs). But she then deploys that fact only to claim (without support) that the lack of letters from servicewomen to the Council meant that the ASE enterprise “saw no need to provide portable paperbacks to women.” (EXTR 73H) (Hist17TLS) BODY

In example 87 that follows, the BRer takes distance from the author's viewpoint as suggested by the choice of the verb “announces” and, after BUT, he clearly states his opinion and his disagreement with the Kertzer's reading of historical events.

**Example 87:** Kertzer announces that the Catholic church is generally portrayed as the courageous opponent of fascism, but this is an exaggeration. (hist10G) BODY

In example 73, the reviewer uses quotations to highlight the weaknesses of the book with a condescending tone, conveyed by the choice of the impersonal pronoun “one”, which is probably aimed at

capturing also the reader as an agent of forgiveness, and the choice of the verb “forgive”. After BUT, however, criticism boosts because the flaws are not only trivial typos but clichés that are qualified as “lazy” to enhance the author’s lack of commitment to the quality of his book.

**Example 73:** One can forgive the odd typo (“He died in his early 1950s”), but there are so many lazy clichés (“Ted Smith had never had it so good”) and passages that belong in a Mills & Boon novel (“Stepping out of her skirt and petticoat and peeling off her stockings...”)(Hist 01DT) OPENING

As mentioned at the beginning of the section, there are 16 occurrences of Criticism introduction before BUT and only one after BUT, that is reported below:

**Example 48:** This text within a text is a device Barry has employed before to great effect, *but, despite the familiar technique, the narrative agency is a departure*. To date, Barry's novels have been narrated by good people, vulnerable people, people who are trammelled by others, *but* Jack is largely culpable for the damage that befalls those close to him. (Fict 27G) BODY EXTR 28 F

In Example 48, the reviewer prefers to open with Praise of the author’s earlier work, showing his status as expert reader of Barry’s literary production. Praising other books, however, may be also a way of criticizing the current book he is reviewing. It can be argued that even if looking at the surface structure of the sentence, Criticism occurs after BUT, what happens is that criticism is indirectly introduced through the Praise of earlier work. It is then reinforced after BUT with a direct comment that the technique has been used successfully elsewhere. There is a change in the choice of the narrative voice, that is not for the better.

**Table 8: Grading criticism in the BUT clauses: Raising the tone**

Clause 1	BUT	Clause 2
Hedged criticism		Overt criticism
Mitigating strategies at work		Straightforward evaluation

It is now relevant to look at all the patterns in the distribution of Praise, Hedged Praise, Hedged Criticism Boosted Praise and Overt Criticism found in the BUT Database in order to identify the most frequent ones. At this stage, I will try to answer the question:

What is the most recurring distributional pattern in the evaluative categories of BUT Database of the BBC?

**Table 9: The Distribution of patterns of Praise, Hedged Praise, Hedged Criticism, Boosted praise and Overt criticism around the BUT clause/s**

EXTRACT SEQUENCE	EXAMPLE NUMBER	EXTRACT NUMBER	PATTERN BEFORE <i>BUT</i>	PATTERN AFTER <i>BUT</i>
1	27	EXTRACT N.12B	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
2	32	EXTRACT N.1B	Hedged praise	Praise
3	56	EXTRACT N. 24 F	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
4	57	EXTRACT N. 25 F	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
5	70	EXTRACT 36 F	Hedged criticism	Praise
6	72	EXTRACT 38 F	Hedged praise	Boosted praise
7	59	EXTRACT 39 F	Praise	Hedged criticism
8	67	EXTRACT 41 F	Hedged criticism	Praise
9	86	EXTRACT 44H	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
10	87	EXTRACT 45H	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
11	73	EXTRACT 50 H	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
12	98	EXTRACT 58 H	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
13	107	EXTRACT 66 H	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
14	109	EXTRACT 67H	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism
15	78	EXTRACT 71 H	Hedged criticism	Hedged criticism
16	101	EXTRACT 73 H	Hedged criticism	Overt criticism

I will now group and highlight the most frequent patterns before BUT in Table 10 and the most frequent patterns after BUT in Table 11.

Table 10 shows that what precedes BUT is mainly Hedged Criticism with 13 occurrences and Hedged Praise with 2. Praise has only 1 occurrence:

**Table 10: The Frequency of evaluative strategies before BUT**

The clause before BUT	The conjunction BUT	The clause after BUT	Total of evaluative strategies
PRAISE	BUT	Clause 2	1
HEDGED PRAISE	BUT	Clause 2	2
HEDGED CRITICISM	BUT	Clause 2	13

The distributional pattern before BUT encompasses mainly Hedged Praise with 2 instances and Hedged Criticism with 13 instances where the need to hedge criticism naturally outnumbers the need to hedge Praise, given the social constraints of the genre and the Face-saving strategies that are at work in the broadsheet review genre. Instead, the distributional pattern after BUT, reported in Table 11, shows reviewers turning up the volume of their evaluative claims with 10 instances of Overt Criticism, 3 of Praise, 1 of Boosted Praise and only 2 of Hedged Criticism.

**Table 11: The Frequency of evaluative strategies after BUT**

The clause before BUT	The conjunction BUT	The clause after BUT	Total of evaluative strategies
Clause 1	BUT	PRAISE	3
Clause 1	BUT	BOOSTED PRAISE	1
Clause 1	BUT	HEDGED CRITICISM	2
Clause 1	BUT	OVERT CRITICISM	10

Comparing the two tables, what follows BUT is Overt Criticism with 10 occurrences out of 15. While Hedged Criticism is consistently located on the left of BUT, with 13 instances, Overt Criticism follows the conjunct BUT with 10 occurrences.

Praise tends to be more Hedged before BUT with 2 instances, while it appears to be more straightforward after BUT, with 3 occurrences of Praise and 1 of Boosted Praise. Criticism after BUT is hedged only twice, thus reinforcing the hypothesis that, before BUT, BRers mitigate the tone of evaluation and they raise it after BUT. In fact, both Praise and Criticism are much more hedged before BUT with 15 occurrences (13 for criticism and 2 for praise), which complies with the mitigation strategy just

mentioned. It seems that before BUT reviewers are involved in building consensus with the reader. They avoid being categorical, leaving room for a conflicting opinion. After BUT instead, their statements become more assertive because they are closing an evaluative claim that wouldn't sound convincing if tentativeness and hedging were part of the conclusive stage of the claim. The stages of the argumentative process seem to impact the distribution of evaluative comments. In the opening stage where the claim has not been given proper Backing, reviewers are more cautious while once the argumentative stage has come to a concluding stage, rebuttals have been neutralized, the Warrant has been presented, claims gain strength and the judgement on the book becomes more direct.

What is relevant is that the conjunctive BUT, which usually embodies contrast, marks both a stance transition from whispering into shouting, metaphorically speaking, and a turn in the argument that is introduced before BUT and draws to a close after BUT, where the reader is alerted to the reviewer's conclusion. Contrast breathes between the lines because BUT conveys a change both in the force of evaluation and in the unfolding of the argument.

If I consider the impact of the subgenre on evaluative strategy 5, the toning up of evaluation after BUT, it appears that in the clause after BUT, History reviewers seem more prone to use Overt Criticism with 7 occurrences and only one Hedged Criticism, so they appear more straightforward in their Criticism. Fiction reviewers, instead, use Praise 3 times, Overt Criticism twice and Hedged Criticism only once. Biographers use this pattern less often, only twice. Once they use Praise and the other Overt Criticism.

On the other hand, in evaluative strategy 3 that identified the clause before BUT as a prelude to evaluation, subgenre seems to be a less powerful discriminating tool because, across the three subgenres, Hedged Criticism appears the most conventional choice to introduce Criticism that is consistently selected by BRers with 1 instance out of 2 in History, 4 occurrences out of 6 in Fiction and 8 instances out of 8 in History.

## 6.7. Conclusions

The macro analysis carried out in this chapter identified the Body of the review text as the recipient of most of the reviewers' evaluative comments across the three subgenres. This location of evaluation in the Body has been labelled evaluative strategy one in the BUT Database. The second evaluative strategy found is the choice to place criticism and hedged praise after BUT, where evaluative comments tend to cluster.

The micro analysis done on the BUT extracts coded in the Database



revealed three more evaluative strategies at work round the BUT clause/s:

- a) Evaluative strategy 3: Criticism is introduced before BUT in a soft, hedged way;
- b) Evaluative strategy 4: Praise occurs before BUT as a ‘captatio benevolentia’ to prepare the floor for subsequent criticism;
- c) Evaluative strategy 5: harsher critique occurs in the clauses after BUT, where evaluation is expected as the conclusion of an argumentative process.

Given these evaluative strategies at work in the BB Corpus, it follows that the claims made in the chapter about recurring Distributional patterns in the BUT Clause can be summed up thus:

- a) Evaluation is generally located after BUT;
- b) Praise is quite evenly distributed in the BUT Clause with 29 instances before BUT and 27 after BUT;
- c) Criticism, on the other hand, is mainly located after BUT with 35 occurrences while, before BUT, there are only 20 occurrences;
- d) Criticism permeates the BUT Clause with a recurring pattern that starts with Criticism Introduction before BUT and ends with Overt Criticism after BUT.

In a nutshell, it can be argued that broadsheet reviewers craft texts in order to place mitigating strategies, such as hedges, before BUT where the floor is prepared both for Praise and for Criticism in an introductory stage of the argumentative process. On the right of BUT, Praise may be openly expressed, and Criticism is presented in a more direct way, as a conclusive step of the argumentative process. The reviewer introduces the claim for his evaluation before BUT where the premises for evaluation are presented. After BUT, argumentation comes to be fully developed and conclusions start to be drawn. At this stage, reviewers disclose the positive or negative opinion about the book they want to convey to the reader.

My contention is that this crafting of the BUT Clause, far from being casual, acts itself as a Face-tending strategy because it allows reviewers to be more straightforward about their evaluation of the book. Reviewers have skilfully used the clause before BUT as a space to present both sides of an argument, to balance strong and weak points of the book, to exemplify the author’s flaws and back them up with quotations from the book. These mitigating strategies make the actual evaluative process that occurs after BUT more acceptable and less Face- threatening for the addressees of the review text. Through mitigation, reviewers anticipate reader’s rebuttals and make their argumentation more readily acceptable for the interlocutor. Evaluation becomes more direct as the argumentative

process reaches the concluding stage. Well-argued judgement offers reviewers the possibility to be honest about the book and to provide a balanced judgement of both strengths and weaknesses of the book.

On many occasions in the analysis of the BBC reviews, reviewers listed a series of positive aspects of the book before presenting a final fatal flaw or a series of flaws, enacting what Taboada and Gomez-Gonzales (2012) call ‘vernacular argumentation’. My claim is that this way of proceeding, through vernacular argumentation, is instrumental in carrying the argument forward until a concluding stage is reached. The flaw, the negative judgement of the book, presented in the final stage of the argument, rests on well-grounded claims that have been fully justified to the reader. In this way, rebuttal is prevented, and the path towards acceptance of the claim has been carefully prepared.

In the first part of Chapter 7, I will look at one negative politeness strategy: hedges. Their frequency, distributional patterns and subgenre distribution will be investigated. The recurring linguistic realizations chosen for hedges will be explored and their evaluative function will be foregrounded.

In the second part of the chapter, I will concentrate on a positive politeness strategy: The Praise and Criticism Pair. The Frequency and evaluative function of the Pair will be highlighted. The Target of the Pair will be shown. Eventually, a comparison between the Target of evaluation in the BUT Database and the Target of evaluation in the British Broadsheet Corpus will be put forward in order to foreground the recurring evaluative patterns in the BUT Database.



## **Chapter 7: The use of hedges and of the Praise and Criticism Pair as rhetorical evaluative strategies in the BUT node of the BUT Database**

### **7.1. Hedging in broadsheet reviews**

In this section, I will explain why hedges are a salient resource in the BR genre and therefore worth investigating in the BR corpus, but before doing so, against convention, I will review the literature on hedges that is relevant for the present study.

In his comparative study of hedges in English and Japanese, Itakura (2013:133) explains why he chose reviews to explore hedges “Book reviews were chosen as the baseline data set as they present an interesting case for research on hedging because the genre is explicitly evaluative and interpersonal.”

Itakura identifies evaluation and the interpersonal function of language as key features of the genre. Regarding academic book reviews, he emphasizes how hedging is used to negotiate interpersonal relationships and maintain membership in the academic community.

Rizimilioti (2006) analyses hedging devices in biology, literary criticism and archaeology research articles and discusses the links between different frequencies of hedging and the nature of each academic discipline. In a similar way, Hyland (2004b) suggests that there is a connection between the choice of hedging devices and the specific academic sub-discipline.

Hedges are particularly relevant in the BR genre because evaluation and, in particular, Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism, are at the heart of the review text. Reviewers are mainly involved in the need to strike a balance between conveying judgements and, at the same time, maintaining harmonious relationships with the book's author and with other readers.

In his study, Itakura (2013:144) shows that hedges are not affected by the polarity of evaluation, “Praise in book reviews may therefore be hedged to protect review writers' negative face as they may wish to limit their commitment to their proposed evaluation so as to avoid potential impositions on their own views in the form of the other readers' criticism and disagreements with their evaluation.”

However, review writers may hedge Praise to protect their positive Face. That is, as a positive evaluation of the reviewed book may not be shared by other readers, review writers might decide to soften their Praise so as to avoid disagreements and maintain harmonious relationships with other academics. Itakura comes to the conclusion that Praise in book

reviews is therefore similar to Criticism. In Itakura's (2013:145) words "While they are opposed in terms of providing positive or negative evaluation, praise and criticism are similar to the extent that both are publicly put forward i.e. face threatening. Hedging therefore enables review writers to protect their face for both praise and criticism. However, criticism obviously poses a more serious face threat to addressees, so hedges are likely to be more frequent in hedging criticism."

In this chapter, I will use examples drawn from the BUT Database, where reviewers deploy hedging devices, both for Praise and for Criticism. In both polarities, positive and negative, evaluation calls for softening strategies because Face tending is a priority for reviewers and judging publicly requires the enacting of Face-saving strategies as argued by Itakura (2013) and substantiated by the extracts taken from the BUT Database.

## **7.2. Hedges: a negative politeness strategy**

In this section, I will report about studies on hedges that are particularly relevant for the present research. I will also investigate the use of hedges in a small number of reviews of the BB Corpus in order to make preliminary hypotheses on their possible role in the corpus.

As mentioned earlier, hedges have been defined by Lakoff (1972:195) as "words whose job is to make things more or less fuzzy." Hedges have been mainly studied in conversation where they are twice as frequent as in written discourse. In relation to writing, Skelton (1988) and Prince et al (1982) have defined hedges as devices that qualify the writer's expression. The term has now widened its meaning and hedges have been defined as modifiers of the speaker's commitment to the truth-value of the proposition and also as politeness strategies in particular, a negative politeness strategy with the function of avoiding disagreement (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

In scientific discourse, hedges have been seen as a way for researchers to express tentative claims, blurring the agent responsible for the truth value of the statements made, as highlighted by Markkanen and Schroder (1997:6). More recently, researchers have become aware of the multiple functions hedges take on and their dependency on the context in which they occur. In Clemen's (1997:237) words "Hedges are determined by context, the colloquial situation and the speaker's/writer's intention, plus the background knowledge of the interlocutors. Hedging cannot be deduced only from the combination of the individual clausal elements plus the relevant illocution. Hedges function in a particular context."

The literature shows how hedges come to fulfil a wide range of

functions. They signal a distance between the speaker and what is said (Prince et al: 1982; Rounds:1982), they convey purposive vagueness in writing (Stubbs:1986; Myers:1989; Channell:1994) but hedges are also used as metadiscourse markers to direct readers as to how they should evaluate propositions. According to Itakura (2013:132), hedges have the function of "reducing the force of the proposition by qualifying the proposition as opinion rather than fact."

Hyland (1996:432-434) investigated the functions of hedging in scientific discourse and showed how hedges allow scientists to present their research claims with accuracy and caution but hedges also ease acceptance from readers of the writer's knowledge claims.

In scientific discourse, hedges help scientists make their claims more acceptable, not too categorical. They play what Hyland (1996:434) calls "a critical role in gaining ratification for claims from a powerful peer group by allowing writers to present statements with appropriate accuracy, caution, and humility."

Myers (1989:12) has also emphasized the value of hedges as a politeness strategy in scientific writing "hedging is a politeness strategy when it marks a claim, or any other statement, as being provisional, pending acceptance in the literature, acceptance by the community - in other words, acceptance by readers."

To group the key functions played by hedges, I will use three main categories drawn mainly from Hyland's (1996) work:

- a) Hedges as caution boosters:
- b) Hedges as responsibility shifters;
- c) Hedges as dialogue openers.

I will now explain these categories in turn.

#### **a) Hedges as caution boosters**

Hedges help writers to make their claims more acceptable to the readership. In scientific discourse, the acceptance of claims by the scientific community is a key step in scientific advancement. However, claims are not always certain, and hedges provide the necessary caution to state uncertain scientific claims.

#### **b) Hedges as responsibility shifters**

Hedges help writers to "avoid personal responsibility for statements in order to protect their reputation and limit the damage which may result from categorical commitments" in case a statement will be proved wrong, for instance. They blur the relationship between the writer and a

proposition using modal devices, the passive, existential subjects such as 'it' or 'there' or 'abstract rhetors' which “attribute judgement to the text or the findings” such as “The model implies...”. These hedges are defined by Hyland (1996:439) as 'writer-oriented' hedges. Their aim is to hedge the writer's personal commitment. They occur in a “context which conceals the writer's viewpoint and avoids personal responsibility for propositional truth.” Through impersonal forms, the pronoun 'one', 'there' subjects and nominalizations, the author takes distance from the claims made and anticipates negative reactions to these claims in order to avoid possible rebuttals.

### **b) Hedges as dialogue openers**

Another function of hedges is to offer the reader deference in the hope of establishing a positive relationship with the reader. Here is an example of how hedges are used in the BUT Database:

#### **Example 109:** (Hist24IND) BODY

Readers may forgive these omissions, but another problem is that the book does not actually explain "the rise of the oligarchs." There is room here for just the one, our Boris.

In example 109 of the BUT Database, the reviewer is trying to carry forward a critical act, namely the omission of an important aspect of the story told. The reviewer accomplishes this act by pulling in the reader as a forgiving agent that, despite his desire to forgive, cannot help considering, as the reviewer does, this lack as a serious omission. The reviewer draws for the reader the role of the accomplice of criticism, despite his forgiving inclination. The outcome is that the reader is flattered, the critical argumentation has been brought home and the responsibility for the claim, far from appearing the reviewer's whim, comes across as a fact, for which no one can be blamed.

This interpersonal function of hedges is very important, not only for scientific discourse but also for broadsheet reviews. Hyland (1995) argues that categorical assertions do not leave room for dialogue and are face threatening to others. Moreover, they relegate the reader to a passive role because no feedback is expected. An unhedged claim does not leave space for alternatives and debate, while hedging ensures that a proposition is presented as a personal opinion and, therefore, it is appealing for readers, who are involved in a dialogue where their opinion is valued and their disagreement is taken into account as a possibility.

Hyland (1996:439) identifies 'reader-oriented hedges' through their use. In this category of hedges, “... the writer acknowledges personal

responsibility for the validity of propositional content or invites reader involvement.” I will now exemplify the use of reader-oriented hedges in one of the reviews of the But Database:

### **Example 96: (Hist15TLS) BODY**

Dawisha has done us all a service in her meticulous account of all the publicly available material on the various businesses and enterprises Putin and his associates have been involved with since the early stages of Putin’s career. But what her model gains in elegance, it loses in obscuring complexity and countertrends. That Putin and his close colleagues have enriched themselves is now effectively proven; but the essential relationship between the accumulation of wealth and the operation of power is left unexplored.

In Example 96, the reader is pulled in the text by the use of the object pronoun 'us'. This pronoun brings the reviewer and the reader together, while the author is the one who is left alone. The use of the positive adjective ‘meticulous’ foregrounds an initial Praise that is followed by a series of declarative sentences which outline the book as superficial. The BUT clause hosts the main Criticism, that is presented as a fact, since the flaw of the book is thematized and works as the subject of the clause. Moreover, the initial 'us' seeks the reader’s involvement for the Criticism that is to follow.

Reader-oriented hedges confirm the importance writers give to the interactional effects of their statements and their efforts in managing potential disagreement and avoiding conflict through the use of personalization, cogitative verbs, and ‘you’ pronouns to address the reader. Directives such as 'I' and 'we', for instance, signal an overt acceptance of personal responsibility and thus mitigate the expression of a proposition. As Myers (1989:14) writes “Reference to the writer's direct involvement in the research is therefore a conscious strategy to subtly hedge the generalizability of a claim and mark a position as an individual interpretation...the hedge signals a personal opinion, allowing the reader to choose the more persuasive explanation.”

I will start by exploring the initial claim that hedges are mainly used as a negative politeness strategy, aimed at protecting the interlocutor’s Face. In this chapter, I will show how reviewers exploit hedges as a mitigation strategy to soften the Face-threatening potential of Criticism of the book reviewed.

Hedges appear as the means to safeguard the recipients of Criticism. When I refer to the addressee of the review text, I mean not only the reader but also the author of the book. The presence of the author in the text is bound to impact broadsheet reviewers’ writing in terms of Face demands,



because being too negative means offending publicly the Face of the author and this is not expected in this genre of text. My claim is that because of Face demands linked to the genre BR, hedges will be consistently used.

Hedges are particularly suitable for protecting the interlocutor's Face because they make statements sound as though they were assumptions, personal viewpoints rather than matter of fact statements, that could appear as inappropriate in this textual genre. Broadsheet reviews deal not with facts but with opinions. Consequently, a hedged textual voice seems much more appropriate than an assertive one. Hedges express the reviewers' effort to ground their opinions in a sound line of argumentation, where strong and weak points of the book are presented and a balanced outlook on the publication is offered.

The opinionated nature of the broadsheet genre requires the crafting of texts, that should sound neither overtly critical, because the conventions of the genre do not permit this, nor too patronizing in the confidence with which judgements of the book are put forward, because this attitude would be perceived as Face-threatening.

From this perspective, a cautious and tentative approach, further substantiated by cogent argumentation, seems the most appropriate strategy to employ in order to safeguard both the occasional reader of the review and the author of the book, who is one of the potential readers.

My assumption is that BRs craft reviews in order to reduce the interpersonal Face threatening potential of broadsheet review texts. They take the necessary steps to avoid offending the author's public image or offering judgements that can be easily dismissed as biased and groundless.

In this chapter, I will analyse examples from the BUT Database in order to show how reviewers mitigate Criticism through hedging.

In the BUT Database, hedges are often used to soften claims within a sound argumentative discourse that seeks to outline:

- (a) a certain role for the reader in the BR text;
- (b) a well-defined role for reviewers towards the utterances of the text they produce.

In order to provide a view on the use of hedges in the BUT Database, I will use Hyland's (1996) categorization of hedges.

- a) hedges as caution boosters, hereafter labelled category A;
- b) hedges as responsibility shifters, hereafter labelled category B;
- c) hedges as dialogue openers, hereafter labelled category C.

The analysis of the BUT Database revealed that it is sometimes difficult to provide a clear-cut category categorization of hedges because, as G. Lakoff (1972:195) pointed out, fuzziness is one of the main features of hedges. Moreover, the literature review in Chapter 2 has shown that evaluation is also a complex, hard to pin down concept. It follows that the use of more flexible analytical tools will be more fruitful in pursuing the analysis of hedging categories.

Bearing in mind these characteristics of hedges and evaluation, in the coding of BR texts, Hyland's categories were not used as restrictive, self-contained entities but as flexible categories, where category A and B could overlap in certain reviews, for instance. This coding procedure granted a richer description, presenting a nuanced view of evaluation that is more appropriate to the nature of the present study.

### **7.3. Methodology and data sampling**

In this section, I will clarify the methodology chosen for the analysis of hedges in the BUT Database and the procedures followed for data sampling. In order to proceed with the analysis of hedges, I chose to focus on the BUT Database rather than on the whole BBC for two reasons:

- 1) The BUT Database is smaller than the BBC and more manageable for a fine-grained analysis like the present one that requires a manual coding of the data;
- 2) The BUT Database has been identified as the evaluative core of the BBC and will therefore be more relevant to the analysis, in terms of evaluative instances and hedging strategies.

My claim is that evaluation and hedges go hand in hand in the sense that the more evaluative the clause is, the more hedged it will be. This claim will be tested against the clauses that make up the BUT Database in the following sections.

To proceed with this analysis, I organized a small database where I collected all the occurrences of the hedges in the BUT Database. The hedges were not initially sampled as individual words, but in their context of use because this holistic perspective allows the researcher to proceed with the analysis in a more effective manner, exploring their evaluative function at a glance. Only when the first analysis of the functions had been completed, was a refined categorization of hedges compiled to offer a snapshot of reviewers' lexical choices in terms of hedging strategies. If the hedging strategy was not confined to a few lexical items but concerned a longer unit of text, it was clearly stated in the analysis and the context of use of the hedge was reported in its entirety.

Each hedge occurring in the BUT Database was listed in the Database together with the genre of the review, the Distribution of the hedge in the review text, the Target of hedging and their evaluative purpose. It is relevant to focus on the Target of hedges because this will reveal reviewers' main preoccupations to tend to Face demands. In other words, if the most hedged parts of the review concern judgment on the Author, it follows that reviewers want to be indirect and soft in their evaluation of the author's work. There seems to be a correlation between the reviewers' use of hedging and their need to tend to Face demands and maintain a non-conflictual relationship with the reader.

Each review was also classified according to Hyland's categories. The classification of hedges is included in Appendix C, Table C.5. on page 352.

The objective of this data analysis is to:

- a) Test Hyland's categories in a different genre of non-academic texts, broadsheet reviews, highlighting the Frequency and function of hedges in the BUT Database;
- b) Detect possible patterns of hedges, both in terms of Opening/Body/Close Distribution and subgenre Distribution within the BR text;
- c) Explore linguistic realizations used for hedging purposes in the BUT Database;
- d) Analyse the function of adverbial hedges, their typology and their polarity in the BUT Database;
- e) Investigate the preferred Target of hedging that correlates. with reviewers' worries about Face demands.

To provide an example of how the BUT Database was coded in terms of hedging strategies, I chose one instance for each subgenre: Biography, Fiction and History in order to illustrate the coding process.

In BIO15TLS on page 227, hedging is expressed through the adverb 'often', the adjective 'occasional' and the modal verb 'should'. The function of these hedges can be exemplified by Hyland's categories B and C because the reviewer is identifying readers in the text as the recipients who enjoy style, mainly to shift the responsibility of subsequent criticism with them, but also to involve readers in a discourse that becomes a dialogue, which has been labelled as category C. It implies that readers, like the reviewer, will enjoy Lancel's style but cannot help noticing occasional weaknesses and flaws in the editing process of the book that appears sloppy. What the reviewer is doing here, is creating a common ground

with the reader, thus allowing interlocutors to sympathize with his viewpoint and become accomplices of criticism.

Table 1, below, shows an example of how categories instead of being self-contained, tend to overlap. The extract in Table 1 occurs in the Body of the text and the target of hedging is the Criticism of a sloppy editing process. Hedges here soften praise when 'often' hints at the fact that readers can enjoy Lancel's style only at times, not always. The clause after BUT, that expresses criticism, uses hedges to limit weaknesses to occasional ones and to present a must - asking an expert to check the translation- as a suggestion rather than as a vital necessity. Softening makes the suggestion more acceptable and easily shared by readers.

**Table 1: Hedging devices in BIO15TLS**

Hedging category	Hedges	Review code	Subgenre	Hedge distribution	Target	Polarity
B/C	The translation <u>often</u> allows the reader to enjoy Lancel's style but it has <u>occasional</u> weaknesses and <u>should have been checked</u> by a classicist	BIO15TLS	BIO	BODY	Specific aspects of the book: editing and publishing process	Hedged praise(often) Hedged criticism (occasional/ should have been)

FICT30G, shown in Table 2, is a good example of a case where Hyland's categories overlap because the text appears as an embedding of contrasts that make the evaluative process more balanced, as both positive and negative aspects are considered. This balance makes the text also socially acceptable, since the reviewer's voice is based on a sound line of argumentation that turns criticism into something shareable. Again, this section is hosted in the Body of the text and aims at hedging criticism of the style of the book.

Both Praise and Criticism are hedged. The reviewer hints at the fact that comments are sometimes illuminating but the style chosen to convey them is often so complex that you have difficulties in understanding them. This use of 'you' is interesting because it is precisely through a direct address to the reader that the hedging process is enacted. It is not only the reviewer who is struggling with the style of the book, but also readers who cannot help sympathizing with the reviewer's difficulties and sharing their viewpoint. Hence, hedges boost caution, they contribute to the sharing of responsibility for criticism. They open the text to the reader that is involved in an ideal dialogue with the reviewer.

**Table 2: Hedging devices in FICT30G**

Hedging category	Hedges	Review code	genre	Hedge distribution	Target	Polarity
A/B/C	<u>It's not</u> that the comments <u>aren't illuminating</u> ; they <u>sometimes</u> are, but they are often <u>so complicatedly expressed</u> that by the time you've deciphered them, you've also disengaged from the moment they <u>were supposed</u> to illuminate.	FICT30G	FICTION	BODY	style	Hedged praise, hedged criticism, boost criticism.

In review HIST06DT, hedging is conveyed by the quantifier 'pretty' that softens Praise in the quotations used by the author. The adverbs 'sadly' and 'much' hedge Criticism of the handling of these quotations that is not particularly successful while 'simply' boosts criticism of material handling because it stresses the lack of effort in turning the materials into something more original.

These examples have shown how the use of Hyland's three categories foreground the main roles hedges can have in BR texts of the BBC.

**Table 3: Hedging devices in HIST06DT**

Hedging category	Hedges	Review code	genre	Hedge distribution	Target	Polarity
A	Some of those quotes are <u>pretty good</u> . She has unearthed a lovely nugget from Thackeray... <u>But sadly</u> , there isn't much of <u>an attempt</u> to work those interviews and quotes into a readable narrative; they <u>are simply piled on top of each other</u> .	HIST06DT	HISTORY	BODY	Handling of the subject, style	Hedged Praise, hedged criticism

## 7.4. Data analysis

The BUT Database has been coded, as shown in Tables 1, 2 and 3 in terms of relevant analytical categories, for instance:

- what or who is the Target of the hedge-is it the Author, Style, Specific Aspects of the book?
- in which section of the text do hedges occur-is it in the Opening, in the Body or in the Close?
- what is the polarity of the hedge-does it hedge Praise or

## Criticism?

In the following section, I will report the results of the coding of the BUT Database and highlight:

- a) The Frequency and function of hedges in the BUT Database according to Hyland's categories;
- b) The Distributional patterns of hedges in the BUT Database;
- c) The subgenre Distribution of hedges;
- d) The linguistic realizations of hedges.

### **7.4.1. The frequency and function of hedges in the BUT Database**

In this section, I will trace the frequency and function of hedges in the Database following Hyland's categories. I will calculate instances of the categories occurring in the BRs and make some considerations on their role.

The most prominent function for hedges in the BUT Database is to enhance caution with 41 occurrences out of a total of 60. Hedges have been used as dialogue openers in 11 instances out 60 and as responsibility shifters in 8 instances out of 60.

In percentage terms, function A, hedges as caution boosters, has 68.3 %, function B, hedges as responsibility shifters, has 13.3% and function C, hedges as dialogue openers, has 18.3%.

What these data are suggesting is that the main concern of reviewers is to present their claims with caution. In order to do so, they use hedges.

Only 11 times out of 60, BRers use hedges to present their arguments as an interactive process where the reader is involved. On many of these occasions, there was a change in the register that became more colloquial and less formal. There was a converging effort, on the reviewer's part, to use informal language with the intention of addressing the reader as a friendly accomplice and, at the same time, using hedges to share common ground with readers to seek their alliance.

In 8 instances out of 60, BRers used hedges to shift the responsibility of Criticism from themselves to an external source, that could be the reader or the author of the book, who was extensively quoted to support the reviewer's claim, as shown in the previous chapter.

In a nutshell, the main preoccupation of broadsheet reviewers seems to enhance caution in evaluative acts. Secondly, they are worried about shifting responsibility for criticism to an external source and, thirdly, they use hedges as a means to leave the channel of communication with the reader open.

Interestingly enough, throughout the corpus, these three functions overlap. They cannot be perceived as closed, unilateral categories. In some reviews, two functions were present and in a few reviews all the three functions were used.

#### 7.4.2. The distributional patterns of hedges in the BUT Database

I will now report on the findings about how hedges are distributed in the broadsheet review texts of the Database. I will make some claims about Distributional patterns, that far from being casually arranged, seem carefully planned by reviewers in order to make their texts more efficient to pursue the communicative function of the text, that is offer a well-argued and socially acceptable opinion on a new publication.

In terms of Distributional patterns within the review texts, the presence of hedges can be mapped thus:

**Table 4: Hedge Distribution in the BUT Database**

Text section	Opening	Body	Close
Word number per section	3/478 words	35/4324 words	14/1381 words
Number of hedges	3/52 hedges	35/52 hedges	14/52 hedges
Percentage of hedges	$100:52 \times 3 =$ 5.7%	$100:52 \times 35 =$ 67.3%	$100:52 \times 14 =$ 26.9%

Table 4 shows that hedges are heavily used in the Body of the review. It should be acknowledged however, that the Body sections of the review texts within the BBC are much longer than Openings and Closings. That is why, when data are presented in the thesis, also a normed version of the data is offered to show that, despite the different text lengths, the points made are still valid. A normed version of Table 4 is shown in Table 5.

**Table 5: A normed version of the results**

Total number of words Opening	Total number of words Body	Total number of words Close	Word total in the BUT DATABASE
478	4324	1381	6201
$478:6201=0,077$ $\times 100=7.7\%$	$4324:6201=0.69 \times 100=$ <b>69.7 %</b>	$1381:6201=0.22 \times 100=$ <b>22.2 %</b>	

Even the normed version of the results shows that the number of words does not have a significant impact on the percentages as shown in Table 6, even though there is a difference of 1% in the percentage of evaluative acts for Openings, 16% in the percentage for evaluative acts in the Body and more than 6% in the percentage of evaluative acts for the closes.

**Table 6: Comparing normed and non-normed results**

	Non-normed version	Normed version
Opening	7.1%	5.7%
Body	83.3%	67.3%
Close	33.3%	26.9%

Despite these minor differences, it can be seen that even the normed results are in line with the claim, made in Chapter 6, that the Body is the evaluative core of the review text even though there is a difference of 16% in the figures of the Body between the Non-Normed version and the Normed version. Since evaluation implies judgement of the book or some aspects of it, it is likely that evaluative parts of the text host a lot of hedging.

Evaluation is subjective. It cannot be imposed on the reader in a matter of fact style. It must be conveyed within an argumentative process where positions are tentative at first, then substantiated by a cogent line of argumentation, and finally presented in a cautious, not patronizing way. That is why hedges are likely to be used where evaluation occurs. They change the tone into a negotiating, rather than a patronizing one and leave space for the interlocutor's position, avoiding direct and overtly negative judgement. Hedges also tend to both positive and negative politeness strategies, as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987). Readers feel appreciated and not imposed on, because judgement of the book is not imposed but shared, argued and negotiated.



Hedges cater for fuzziness, ambiguity and cautious positioning of the writer towards their utterances. Therefore, they are precious for BRers, especially in what has been identified as the privileged locus for evaluation: The Body.

What is equally relevant, is that Closes are highly hedged, too. This can be explained within the perspective of texts as communicatively dynamic. In the perspective of written communication as a dynamic, dialogic process, as suggested by Bakhtin (1981) and Bhatia (1993), there are some sections in a text which are more salient than others, for instance, Closes. The close is a salient section of the text because the review comes at the end. It summarises the essence of the review, what readers tend to remember more. It is also the last opportunity for reviewers to express their opinion and reiterate their judgement about the book reviewed.

On the other hand, the low presence of hedges in Openings can be explained with reference to the informative rather than evaluative nature of the Opening of BRs. As mentioned earlier, the opening section is where the reviewer provides information about the book and the author. The BRer places the book within the publishing context of that specific genre. Reviewers are taking the floor to inform. Evaluation comes later when the necessary background information to begin an argumentative process has been introduced. That is the reason why Body and Closing appear as more appropriate sections in which to host both evaluation and hedges.

#### **7.4.3. The subgenre distribution of hedges in the BUT Database**

In terms of subgenre distribution of hedges, there are minor differences. Both Fiction and History reviewers use hedges in 18 instances out of 52, while biographers use hedges in 15 instances. It seems that subgenre does not have a significant impact on the use of hedges.

#### **7.4.4. The linguistic realizations of hedges**

In this section, linguistic categories appearing in the text with the function of hedges have been organized in relevant analytical categories. In terms of language used to hedge, the following categories have been detected:

- a) Negative forms that sound more polite than positive ones, as claimed by Holmes (1984:358). These categories have been divided into four subcategories and classified according to the colligational patterns of the negation:
  - a.1. In the first group there are negations that colligate with

adverbs, followed by adjectives, nouns or verbs;

a.2. The second group comprises negations that colligate with nouns or adjectives;

a.3. The third subgroup includes a negation preceded by a verb and followed by a noun, an adverb an adjective or a verb;

a.4. The fourth subgroup is made of utterances, where the negation is preceded by an adverb and placed in an unmarked position, to boost emphasis on the negation;

b) Modals that signal the utterance as a personal viewpoint and not as a truth. Modals can express possibility or ability as in the case of *can*, *could*, *may* and *might*. They refer to necessity as with the modals: *must*, *should*, *had better*, *have got*, *need to*. They may hint at prediction and are identified with the future *will*, *shall*, *going to*, but also *would* and *be supposed to*.

c) Adverbs colligating with either adjectives or nouns that qualify the ADJ or ADV as boosting praise or hedging criticism. In both cases, offering a nuanced and not direct evaluation.

The data have been grouped in the BUT Database according to the categories above, showing hedges in their context of use, within a clause or a sentence.

**Table 7: Category A - Negative forms as a booster of politeness and a softener of critical claims:**

A.1.NEGATION/ADVERB followed by ADJ OR NOUN OR VERB
BIO11DT: It isn't <u>always</u> accurate in some of its incidental detail
BIO26G: Lahr starts in 1945, with The Glass Menagerie, but <u>never fully</u> explains Williams's childhood
HIST08G: Ryback tells a good story. But his book is <u>not without</u> problems
HIST12IND: A conversational book that <u>never</u> delves <u>too deeply</u> into any topic but ready with relevant comment on almost everything
HIST21G: There is a danger <u>not always</u> avoided of the political picturesque: of blurring what buildings look like with what they do
BIO04DT: ...but by the end these extended riffs become like overly long drum solos – impressive, <u>but not obviously</u> useful

A.2.NEGATION/NOUN OR ADJ
FICT30G: <u>It's not</u> that the comments <u>aren't illuminating</u> ; they sometimes are,
FICT26TLS: <u>None of</u> these books is <u>entirely bad</u> , but even a very charitable reading would have to call them patchy

A.3. VERB+NEGATION followed by NOUN, ADV, ADJ OR VERB
BIO12TLS: ... though his account <u>does not lack empathy</u> .
BIO29DT: Deborah Lutz in <i>The Brontë Cabinet</i> <u>doesn't altogether</u> eschew chronology
HIST01DT: Overall, <i>Doped</i> <u>cannot be said to</u> rank as a good story well told;
HIST06DT: <u>But sadly, there isn't much of an attempt</u> to work those interviews and quotes into a readable narrative;
HIST15TLS: But the various elements identified by Dawisha <u>do not necessarily cohere</u> to create a dominant force
HIST21G: ... A hymn to the Moscow metro, for example, <u>does not deal convincingly</u> with the atrocious cruelties of its construction.
HIST24TLS: Readers may forgive these omissions, but another problem is that the book <u>does not actually explain</u> "the rise of the oligarchs."

A.4. ADVERB+NOT
BIO27G: Desmond is <u>certainly not</u> the most dangerous man in this lineage, or the maddest
HIST24IND: The sources do not lend themselves to a book or <u>at least not to the kind of book</u> that Ben Mezrich has written

## CATEGORY B: MODALS

In the second category, modals were grouped. That is, all the utterances that comprised either a modal verb or an epistemic verb like *seem*, that expresses a degree of probability but does not belong to the morphological category modal verbs.

Various researchers have identified modality as a verbal system that expresses the speaker's or writer's attitude towards their utterance. Moving through modality can be instrumental for reviewers to express their judgement about the book, taking advantage of the various degrees of certainty or possibility modals offer. That is why it is worth focusing the analysis on the role of modals as hedges within the BUT Database.

The position of modals acts in the realm of possibility, obligation or ability. Modality is defined by Keifer (1994:2516a) as "The speaker's

cognitive, emotive or volitive attitude toward a state of affair." The modals in the BUT Database can be seen to be a rich resource for conveying evaluation that can have various degrees of commitment. Through modals, reviewers exploit the possibility of moving from what is less likely with 'may and might' to what is more probable with 'can' to a certainty with 'must' when used for inference, for example. Modals allow reviewers to soften their judgement or boost it, as required by their line of argumentation.

Karkkainen (1987:151) compares modality to the illocutionary force of utterances and draws the conclusion that the definition of illocutionary force as "The communicative purpose with which a sentence is used to perform a speech act may as well suit modality".

It follows that BRers may choose modality to perform a speech act where the choice of the modals signals to the reader the reviewers' degree of force of the judgement expressed. In the Biography examples below, Bio19G and Bio27 G, 'appear' and 'may' contribute to reducing the certainty of the proposition and adding its probability. The result is that criticism is hedged. In the History review, Hist24TLS, the modal 'may' opens up the possibility that readers will not be too strict when they judge the author's omissions. Again, the modal or epistemic verb has a hedging power.

BIO19G: As Colls points out, he arrived there shortly after the town had suffered the threat of a miners' strike but doesn't appear to have noticed.

BIO27G: But he may well turn out to be the most repellent.

HIST24TLS: Readers may forgive these omissions.

Another relevant perspective on modals is offered by Kratzer (1991), who argues that modals per se have a rather skeletal meaning that is enriched by the context in which they occur. It is therefore relevant to look at modals in the BUT Database, not as isolated linguistic items but within the context of the clause or the paragraph. That is why modals have been reported in the context of the clause where they occur.

There are 25 occurrences of modals in the BUT database. Modals are mostly used to offer a negative comment on the book. Their role in the critical act is to hedge the force of criticism.

In example 1, the criticism of the author's work that is general is hedged through the use of 'would' and 'not' and the booster 'such a' before the adjective 'Herculean' that puts the challenge under a magnifying glass and emphasizes how difficult the handling of the subject matter was. This partly justifies the author's lacks.

**Example 1:** Ultimately, Gayford is overwhelmed by his task, but it is hard to imagine who would not be when faced with such a Herculean challenge. (BIO11DT)  
CLOSE

Even example 9 draws attention to flaws in the editing process, that seem quite harsh, however the hedging that occurs through generalization “Reading this very French work in English has its problems”, the readers’ lack of knowledge “you need some acquaintance with theology and French literary classics”, the sloppy editorial process emphasized by the adjective ‘occasional’ and the modal ‘should have been checked’. All these claims act as justification for the Author because criticism is shifted outside the Author’s responsibility:

**Example 9:** Reading this very French work in English has its problems. You need some acquaintance with theology and with French literary classics (“Augustine was no Rastignac”). The translation often allows the reader to enjoy Lancel’s style, but it has occasional weaknesses, and should have been checked by a classicist. (Bio15TLS) BODY

Overall, the polarity of evaluation in modals is largely negative, with 20 negative instances where negative does not simply refer to the use of ‘not’, but also to the use of adjectives with a negative connotation such as example 110, where the coupling of two negative adjectives ‘breathless’ and ‘lifeless’ outlines the evaluation of the review as critical:

**Example 110:** It’s all stirring, sometimes grotesque stuff but for some reason it doesn’t lend itself to a book, or at least not to the kind of book that Ben Mezrich has written, which is breathless and lifeless at the same time. (Hist24Ind) BODY

In Example 7, instead, the Author is criticized through the use of a negative modal and the criticism is backed up by the quotation that follows.

**Example 7:** Again, when he is speaking of the marvellous Faber Book of Reportage, he compiled in 1987, he can’t resist pushing his point too far: “All knowledge of the past that isn’t just supposition derives from people who can say ‘I was there’.”

In example 103, Criticism is conveyed by the epistemic verb ‘seem’ and the modal ‘might’ that act as a prelude to criticism before BUT. There is an evaluative turn into Praise after BUT where the book is judged ‘a magisterial account’.

**Example 103:** Albania might not seem the most promising place from which to write a history of the Mediterranean but, as Malcolm argues in this magisterial account, it is the forgotten frontier where East and West, Muslims and Christians, Italians and Turks met, clashed, sometimes fought, but more often than

not tried to accommodate each other. (Hist19DT) BODY

There are only three positive instances and three instances where the Praise and Criticism Pair is hedged, resulting in the embedding of one positive and one negative instance within the BUT Clause. Example 104 is one of these examples.

However, even the use of modals in the positive polarity can effectively convey criticism, as in example 23 where the hedging and the negative occur in the clause before BUT with the colligation of the adverb 'certainly' with the negation 'not'. There seems to be a hedging, necessary to make the clause after BUT more acceptable to the reader, since Criticism has been diluted beforehand and is further softened by the modal 'may' and the adverb 'well'. Surprisingly enough, this is one of the few reviews in the BBC where the reiteration of the superlative form of the adjective has been used to evaluate some aspects of the book.

**Example 23:** Desmond is certainly not the most dangerous man in this lineage, or the maddest, but he may well turn out to be the most repellent. (BIO27G) CLOSE

Example 27 also highlights the use of positive modals as a means to exemplify the difficulty of the reading experience that can become a burden.

**Example 27:** "Thing theory" is on the march. What began as a branch of literary criticism has become a fashion in biography: out with the ancestors and in with the chamber pots. I don't suppose the birth-to-death approach to "life-writing" has vanished forever, but for the moment we may have to wade through a scholarly sourcing of the wood from which first the cradle and then the coffin were fashioned.

It is relevant to note that reviewers use epistemic hedges to hint at a lack in the author's way of dealing with the subject matter or with the choice of materials, as shown in the examples above.

In terms of Target of modals, both the Author's flaws (7) and Specific aspects of content (7) are criticized through hedging modals in 14 instances. Pitfalls in the Style are hedged with modals in 7 instances, as in example 27 above, while General content is hedged through modals only in 3 instances, as in examples 1 and 110 on page 237. The more personal the comments get, the more hedged they need to be and a direct criticism to the author is very personal indeed.

In terms of affecting either the writer/utterance relationship or the

writer/reader relationship, the use of modals seems to have a greater impact on the content of the book. BRers use modals to express a hedged judgement on the content of the book as they do in example 32, where quotations are followed by Praise of the choice of themes made by the Author. Here Praise is conveyed by modals.

**Example 32:** Certain themes are sounded insistently, implacably and rightly throughout: Brecht “the extravagantly gifted child”, his “extravagant intelligence”, “this hugely gifted boy”, “his extreme talent.” It may sound like a lot, like overkill, even, but it is only just, and anything less would have been remiss. (BIO31TLS)

In 20 instances out of 31, modals aim at exemplifying the reviewer’s evaluation of some aspects of the book that are judged in a negative way.

Negativity is softened through hedges to tend to the interlocutors’ Face needs. In 6 instances, reviewers exploit hedges, both to appeal to the reader and pull them into the evaluative process in order to offer a soft evaluation of the content of the book. In 11 instances, BRers use hedges to involve the reader in the evaluative process of judging the book, as in Example 57 that follows.

**Example 56:** This may cause a collective gasp of outrage from Banks's legions of fans, but then I would say that the reasons I have trouble with some aspects of Banks's writing are the very reasons why he has legions of fans in the first place; and these can be summarized as guilelessness, and the lack of a gap between idea and expression.( FICT33G)

Readers are evoked in the text to anticipate possible rebuttals when the reviewer’s personal opinion is foregrounded in Example 32 and 56 on above to defend the author’s choice to repeat themes incessantly, which the reviewer defends. In Example 56, the reviewer dissents from the appreciation of the author’s fans of a style, the reviewer does not like. In both cases, anticipating readers’ rebuttals is a way of acknowledging a different position from the one expressed by the reviewer. The outcome is showing a balanced and reader-oriented judgement on the book that takes on board dissenting opinions. This makes evaluation more acceptable for the interlocutor.

In Examples 36, 55 and 104, readers become the unwilling victims of the author’s tedious style. Preposterous similes, prolix style and extended digressions respectively, are obstacles to the enjoyment of the reading experience in the reviewer’s opinion. Reviewers seem willing to share these difficulties with a sympathetic reader.



**Example 36:** ...Figurative language is meant to make you feel closer to experience, but Toltz seems more interested in drawing attention to his own skill with words. The effect is alienating. (FICT04DT)

**Example 55:** While Elizabeth's first-person narrative, a memoir composed just before her death, is deftly handled, the alternating third-person account from Martha's perspective can seem prolix (FICT31G)

**Example 104:** ...But beware: Malcolm's formidable scholarship takes few prisoners, and his extended digressions on the circulation of news, the history of the grain trade, piracy, galley warfare and espionage may test the patience of the casual reader. (HIST19DT)

In Example 109, instead, readers are outlined as sympathetic because they are willing to forgive the author's omission. In doing so, the reviewer envisages a tolerant attitude towards a weak point of the book, thus resorting to a Face tending strategy that is bound to please the author of the book, comply with genre and readers' expectations of a review that should not be overtly negative but balanced.

**Example 109:** Readers may forgive these omissions...(HIST24TLS)

In all the instances above, modals allow reviewers to foreground the reader in their evaluative acts and to embed hedges in stretches of text that go beyond sentence level and often cluster round the conjunct BUT.

Modals qualify as perfect candidates to convey evaluative content and become a key aspect of rhetorical evaluative strategies within the BR genre. It can be argued that the speaker and the discourse-oriented nature of modals, noted by Coates (1983:49), contributes to the expression of hedged evaluation. Moreover, the performative and context dependent nature of hedges, also highlighted by Coates (1983:49), fulfils the reviewer's need to perform an evaluative act and to ground it in a context-dependent line of argumentation. Evaluative comments are hedged by modals and framed in an argument where claims are presented in a specific context that promptly backs up the claims and changes them into a cogent argumentative process, mainly aimed at persuading the readers of the reviewers' judgement without threatening the interlocutor's Face.

My claim is that reviewers will express their opinion about the book and exploit modals in order to clarify their attitude toward the utterances

written. They will use modality to interact with readers, pulling them in the text, as in review Fict40DT that starts 'As you'd expect'. BRers will also give readers directives through the use of modals combined with 'you' pronouns to address them directly. At the beginning of the thesis, I argued for the social, interactional nature of writing in this genre of text. The conspicuous presence of modals is further evidence of the dialogic feature of BRs.

### **C) ADVERBS**

The use of adverbs as hedges will now be investigated. Their use is quite conspicuous in the BUT Database. There are 39 different adverbs that occur often more than once in 20 BUT clauses. I will start with a list of adverbs chosen to hedge and identify the kind of adverbs used: Are they adverbs of time, place, degree or manner? Then, I will attempt to detect any colligational patterns. Finally, I will explore their target of hedging.

**Table 8: CATEGORY C-The use of Adverbs as Hedges**

1.BIO14G: Books ...play an <u>unusually</u> large part. <u>But perhaps</u> a lot of Carey's life has been like this
2.BIO14G: <u>Best of all</u> , <u>perhaps</u> , are the <u>few</u> spare <u>but</u> generous passages about his father
3.BIO15TLS The translation <u>often</u> allows the reader to enjoy Lancel's style, but it has occasional weaknesses
4.BIO29DT: Lutz's book slips down <u>easily enough</u>
5. FICT26TLS: <u>None</u> of these books is <u>entirely</u> bad, but <u>even</u> a very charitable reading would have to call them patchy
6. FICT26TLS: It is easy to laugh at bourgeois happiness", remarks Jay, the narrator of <i>Intimacy</i> . "What other kinds are there?" It's a serious question, but it betrays <u>a kind of</u> realism that comes <u>dangerously</u> close to a lack of ideas.
7.FICT24TLS: The new arrival is a happy surprise and will <u>of course</u> be much loved but – <u>although</u> no one will say <u>so</u> in earshot – it is <u>possibly</u> a mistake.
8. FICT33G: This means that any criticism is <u>mildly</u> muted, and the significance of its position in the Banksian oeuvre enhanced. <u>This is fair enough</u> , honourable and decent <u>even</u> ; but it's <u>still</u> a novel, and readers <u>still</u> want to know what to expect.
9. FICT40TLS: The reader marvels at its balance, its sinuousness, as each fresh wave hits. .... The understanding evolves, <u>if slowly</u> .
10. FICT04DT: Steve Toltz's first novel, A Fraction of the Whole, was a funny and poignant family saga that was shortlisted for the 2008 Man Booker and the Guardian First Book Award. His second novel, Quicksand, is just as energetic and crackling with a fevered inventiveness, and his writing is, <u>in places</u> , <u>still</u> funny. But, unlike A Fraction of the Whole, this is <u>in the end</u> a <u>curiously</u> unpleasing book
11. HIST01D: But it is <u>certainly</u> a good story.
12. HIST06DT: Some of those quotes are <u>pretty good</u> . She has unearthed a lovely nugget from Thackeray... they <u>are simply</u> piled on top of each other.
13.HIST17IND: The result of this easy-going affability <u>sometimes</u> means that the power and terror of the story is lost
14.HIST14TLS: <u>But</u> these are minor criticisms of an <u>otherwise</u> excellent compendium, which is likely to be a huge help to anyone who wishes to set about mining the <u>many</u> rich seams of police history.
15. HIST21G: <u>Sometimes</u> the results achieved unexpected marvels, <u>sometimes not</u> . "Most people think this is crap," is a favourite Hatherley line (I paraphrase), "but actually it's not." But, being honest, he points out when it is
16.HIST07DT: There is a lot of dialogue, which is <u>always</u> suspicious in a history book, but David has researched this <u>well</u> : he interviewed 20 of the participants and has made good use of <u>recently</u> declassified documents from archives in Germany, Israel, the United States and the UK
17. HST04DT: Sicily's political history is full of so much turbulence it's <u>sometimes</u> hard to keep track of the battles, murders and successions, but Norwich sketches personalities <u>vividly</u>
18.HIST24TLS: Readers may forgive these omissions, but another problem is that the book does <u>not actually</u> explain "the rise of the oligarchs." There is room <u>here</u> for <u>just</u> the one, our Boris
19.HIST24IND: It's all stirring, <u>sometimes</u> grotesque stuff but <u>for some reason</u> it doesn't lend itself to a book, <u>or at least</u> not to the <u>kind of book</u> that Ben Mezrich has written, which is breathless and lifeless <u>at the same time</u>
20.HIST07DT: <u>Perhaps a more</u> subtle achievement is the way he evokes the atmosphere of 1976 - not the rose-tinted version, but the version that also includes the anxieties and uncertainties of the time

As far as the use of BUT in the Database is concerned, I will present only the quantitative data here, since the qualitative analysis is part of other chapters in the thesis. I will show the results in Table 9 below:

**Table 9: Instances of BUT in the BUT Database per subgenre**

Subgenres	Instances of Praise	%	Instances of Criticism	%	Neutral instances	Percentages
Bio	16/111	14.2%	16/111	14.2%	1/111	0.8%
Fiction	17/111	15.1%	23/111	21.4%	0/111	0
History	20/111	17.8%	16/111	14.2%	2/111	1.7%
TOT	53/111	47.3%	55/111	50%	3/111	2.6%

Table 9 shows how BUT becomes a cluster of Praise, mainly for History broadsheet reviewers, while it is a catalyst of Criticism, mainly for Fiction reviewers. It is relevant to note that Bio reviewers use BUT for both polarities, with approximately the same number of occurrences. The instances where BUT is not connected with some evaluative acts are really scarce, just 3 with a percentage of 2.6% which confirms BUT as an evaluative hub in broadsheet reviews, with a percentage of 97.3% of evaluation occurring in the proximity of BUT.

At this point, it is crucial to stress that both in instances of Praise and in instances of Criticism, BUT seems to have a hedging role that can be summarized with the juxtaposition of positive and negative comments that hedge both Praise and Criticism making the evaluative comments in the proximity of BUT less biased and more shareable.

#### **7.4.5. Lexical choices and the function of adverbial hedges**

Generally speaking, the main function of adverbial hedges in the BUT Database is to add caution to an otherwise dangerously critical comment. This happens in 17 out of 20 instances of the Database. In 4 instances, adverbs are used to pull the readers in the text and share responsibility for Criticism with them. Only in one instance, are adverbs used to open dialogue with the reader. Interestingly enough, at times, adverbs act as boosters for positive comments and hedges of negative opinions on the book. It is the case of HIST01DT 'certainly a good story' or FICT04DT where there is a string of two adverbs that prepare the reader for the adjective 'unpleasing': "...this is in the end a curiously unpleasing book." The first adverb suggests that the reviewer is coming to the conclusive stage of the argument, while the second adverb softens the strength of the adjective 'unpleasing' adding a touch of curiosity to the

judgement of being unpleasant.

It is also relevant to organize adverbs according to their polarity, in order to outline their evaluative potential in the corpus. Some adverbs are self-explanatory like 'slowly' while others need to be put in their context of use in order to see which polarity they convey. In Table 10, the lexical choices of broadsheet reviewers in terms of adverbial hedges are listed and their occurrences are shown in brackets.

**Table 10: Lexical choices in terms of adverbial hedges**

Unusually	Perhaps (3)	few	often	easily enough	none
Entirely	Even (2)	a kind of	dangerously	of course	although
Possibly	Any	mildly	fair enough	still (4)	slowly
in places (2)		Just (2)	in the end	curiously	certainly
Pretty	simply	otherwise	always	vividly	actually
for some reason	at least	the kind of book	at the same time	a more	so much
Here	recently	many	well		

To explore what kind of adverbs have been selected and highlight their function, their context of use has been analysed. In Table 11, the adverbs used as hedging devices in the BUT Database have been classified according to 4 main categories:

- a) Adverbs of time
- b) Adverbs of place
- c) Adverbs of degree
- d) Adverbs of manner

The number of their occurrences has been shown in brackets. Since evaluation is the main objective of reviewers in the BUT Database, most of the adverbs outline manner- how the book reviewed has been judged

by the reviewer - but also degree because reviewers aim at a nuanced rather than at a blunt evaluation. These adverbs allow them to play with intensification, grading their comments to suit their evaluative purposes. These adverbs work as hedges. Their main function is either to downtone Criticism or to boost Praise.

**Table 11: Adverbs arranged in a typology grid**

ADVERBS OF TIME	ADVERBS OF PLACE	ADVERBS OF DEGREE	ADVERBS OF MANNER
in the end	Here	Certainly	Curiously
Recently	in places	Pretty	Dangerously
Often	In places	for some reason	If slowly
Unusually			Vividly
Always		a more	easily enough
Sometimes		at the same time	Well
Sometimes		None	Mildly
Sometimes		Not entirely	fair enough
		Possibly	Simply
		a kind of	
		of course,	
		Few	
		Perhaps (3)	
		Not actually-	
		any	
		at least-	
		Some	
		Just (2)	
		Many	
		Even (2)	
		Still (4)	
		Otherwise	
		Although-	

In Table 12, instead, the focus is on the polarity of evaluation.

The mathematical symbol + indicates that the adverb has been used to offer a positive evaluation while the symbol – signals that the evaluation

conveyed by the adverb is negative.

**Table 12: The polarity of evaluation in the BUT Database**

Positive adverbs	Negative adverbs
Sometimes+	in the end -
Many+	Here-
Otherwise+	Sometimes -
Perhaps+	at least-
Some+	Not actually-
In places+	Perhaps-
in places+	Perhaps-
Few+	Sometimes-
Often+	Always-
Recently+	Unusually-
of course, +	in the end -
Not entirely+	a kind of -
None+	Possibly-
a more+	at the same time-
fair enough+	Simply-
Well+	Mildly-
easily enough+	If slowly-
Vividly+	Dangerously-
Pretty+	Curiously-
Certainly+	for some reason
Even+	Just-
Still+,	Even-
Still+	Although-
Still+	
Still+	
25	23

Table 12 indicates that adverbs are quite evenly distributed in their function of carriers of evaluation, with 25 adverbs conveying a positive evaluation, while 23 adverbs aim at hedging criticism, making it more acceptable for the reader. The almost even positive and negative occurrences of adverbs comply with the view of balanced evaluation as the objective to be pursued by BRers. It is relevant to point out that adverbs contribute to the shaping of a dialectical evaluation of the book, where both weak points and strong points of the book are envisaged, as in the reviews that follow:

**Example 82:** There is a lot of dialogue, which is always suspicious in a history book, but David has researched this well. (HIST07DT)

**Example 44:** The new arrival is a happy surprise and will of course be much loved but – although no one will say so in earshot – it is possibly a mistake. (FICT24TLS)

A balanced evaluation of the book is what readers expect, as shown in the previous chapters. Balance is a sign of objectivity and lack of bias and is therefore welcome in opinionated texts like broadsheet reviews.

It is also worth pointing out, that almost all the adverbs conveying criticism, have the function of hedging the force of criticism, thus avoiding a one – sided, overtly negative outlook on the book. These adverbs offer ambiguity, tentativeness, as is the case with 'perhaps', which gives the evaluative comments a touch of probability and not the status of truth-value.

**Example 5:** Books .... play an unusually large part. But perhaps a lot of Carey's life has been like this. (BIO14G)

Adverbs limit negativity, for instance when 'sometimes' is used to outline what works in the book and what does not work:

“Sometimes the results achieved unexpected marvels sometimes not” (BIO14G)

Restricting criticism to some instances makes the statement lose part of its Face threatening potential because only some aspects of the book are presented as negative.

In Fict33G, adverbs also become a means to present the readers' viewpoint on the book and interweave a dialogue with them.

**Example 57:** This means that any criticism is mildly muted, and the significance of its position in the Banksian oeuvre enhanced. This is fair enough, honourable and decent even; but it's still a novel, and readers still want to know what to expect. (FICT33G)

The use of the colloquial 'fair enough' and the reiteration of 'still'



present the flow of the reviewer's argument, giving force to its dialectical power. An inference is drawn at the beginning of the paragraph, "This may cause a collective gasp of outrage." The acceptance of a counter argument, a different position, is exemplified by the expression "This is fair enough" and by the two positive adjectives 'honourable' and 'decent', reinforced by the adverb 'even'.

The reviewer's argument starts with the BUT CLAUSE and gains strength, bringing to the foreground not only the needs of the author of the book, who was terminally ill, but also of the readers. Their expectations are forcefully voiced. Hence the two positions are presented and dialectics, in the sense of dealing with both sides of an argument, has been granted.

Dialectics is, according to Maybee, (2018:1) "a term used to describe a method of philosophical argument that involves some sort of contradictory process between opposing sides". Greek philosophers, like Plato were involved in an argument that looked like as a back-and-forth dialogue or debate. In many of the reviews of the BBC, there seems to be an ongoing debate between the broadsheet reviewer and the reader.

In example 57 of the BUT Database, for instance, the reviewer proceeds, exemplifying two opposing positions, namely:

Position one: The author was terminally ill, so criticism of the book cannot be too harsh.

Position 2: Readers want to know what to expect in the book, which means that reviews have to be honest and not influenced by the author's illness.

Both positions are accepted, and a balanced review of the book is the aim to pursue according to this reviewer. As readers, we are guided through the argument and are willing to accept the conclusions reached rightly because both sides of the argument have been shown and the review comes across as objective and balanced. These are two qualities highly appreciated in this textual genre, as argued earlier on in the thesis.

#### **7.4.6. The preferred target of hedging in the BUT Database**

I will now focus on the most recurring targets of hedging in the But Database. I will present BRers' choices and postulate some hypothesis about the reasons underpinning reviewers' targets in hedging. BRers hedge their evaluative comments, especially when they discuss how authors handle the subject matter. BRers opt for tentative evaluative comments when authors present their perspective in telling about the life of a celebrity in a Biography, or when they judge how historians chose to account for historical events, or the way novelists present their story. The author's choices could be easily criticized by reviewers because they are

subjective. However, direct Criticism is always avoided. BRers opt for caution through hedging because the purpose of the review is not only to evaluate a cultural product, but also to maintain a sympathetic, non-conflictual relationship with the audience, so it can be argued that Face tending becomes a must.

Not only the author's choices but also BRers' choices are highly personal and subjective. They need Face tending because they can be easily criticized. What is evaluated is not a fact but a personal slant, how authors decided to work on their editorial product. The rich presence of hedges within this analytical category is a sign that reviewers are willing to offer their judgment on authorial choices. They do so embedding hedges in their comments, in order to sound polite and not too offensive towards their interlocutor. My claim is that Style and Author come to be highly hedged for the same reason: tending the interlocutor's Face. General Content is more hedged than Specific Content because general criticism is more Face threatening than specific content that confines negativity to one or a few aspects of the book.

**Table 13: The target of hedging in the BUT Database**

Handling of the subject matter	14
Style	10
Author	8
General content	6
Specific content	3
Comparative Value	1

Table 13, above, exemplifies the Target of hedging in the But Database. The table shows that BRers are mainly concerned with hedging, not only formal aspects of the book, such as Handling of the Subject matter and Style, but also personal aspects, such as Author and General Content, are foregrounded.

It is quite evident why personal aspects need hedging. Being critical about the Author is quite a personal comment and could be highly Face threatening. It could result in a public offence that may be detrimental for the author's career. Style and the Handling of the subject matter are formal, but also personal aspects because the way the author decides to handle the subject matter is a personal choice and so is the style used. General content as a target is Face threatening as argued by Hyland (2004b: 48) because it implies a global criticism of the book. It can be concluded that the choice of hedged targets in the BUT Database, far from being casual, fulfils interpersonal needs and social conventions that the

thesis showed to be of paramount importance in the genre Broadsheet Reviews.

### **7.5. The Praise and Criticism Pair: a positive politeness strategy**

In the second part of the chapter, I will move from a negative politeness strategy – hedges – to a positive politeness strategy – the Praise and Criticism Pair. I will look at how the Praise and Criticism Pair is used as a positive politeness strategy in the BUT Database. Some examples from the Database will be provided to exemplify the hypotheses postulated and to offer a view on the role played by this evaluative rhetorical strategy.

I will analyse some examples from the BUT Database, both in terms of the Target of the Pair – who or what is evaluated, and also in terms of Distribution of the Pair in the three sections of the review text: Opening, Body and Close and across the three subgenres: Biography, Fiction and History.

This analysis will offer some insights into the way broadsheet reviewers use the Pair as a key rhetorical strategy both within the framework of politeness theory, illustrated earlier in Chapter 2 and within the framework of writing as social practice highlighted in Chapter 1.

The aim of the analysis is to let the most salient features of the Pair emerge to outline its role as an evaluative resource within the BUT corpus. In particular, the following aspects will be explored:

- a) How the Pair is framed within the text. I will attempt to answer the following questions:
  - a.1. Does the Pair occur at clause level or is it spread across the paragraph?
  - a.2. Are there recurring Distributional patterns of the Pair?
  - a.3. Is it more often used in the Body than in the Opening, for instance?
- b) How frequent is the Pair?
- c) Are there subgenre differences in the unfolding of the evaluative Pair in the review text?
- d) What are the recurring Targets of the Pair in the BUT Database?

### **7.5.1. The Frequency, Distributional patterns and evaluative Targets of the Praise and Criticism Pair**

In this section, I will investigate how the Pair is embedded in the review text. Occurrences of the Pair, both at clause level and at paragraph level, will be analysed. When I refer to clause level, I mean that the Pair is embedded in a BR that unfolds within maximum 5 lines, while when I refer to paragraph, I mean the Pair is framed in a text that is longer than 5 lines.

The literature existing on the Praise and Criticism Pair will be reviewed. I will analyse how the Pair interacts with hedging strategies in order to dilute the potential of Face threatening acts and make the review socially acceptable. Some evaluative acts that are carried out through the use of the Pair will be highlighted and the use the Pair in the three subgenres: Biography, Fiction and History will be foregrounded. Finally, I will show key distributional patterns of the Pair in the BBC and I will postulate some preliminary hypotheses about the function of the Pair.

To clarify the terminology used, when I refer to the Praise and Criticism Pair, I mean evaluative acts where broadsheet reviewers juxtapose a positive comment of the book (Praise) with a negative evaluation of the book reviewed (Criticism). The Pair may be placed within five words, in a very short span, or expand across the paragraph, so Praise may be presented on line 1 of the review, while Criticism appears on line 8, for example.

I will now briefly review the existing literature on the Praise and Criticism Pair hereafter abbreviated P and C Pair, to map a starting point for the analysis and build on the work other researchers have carried out on this rhetorical evaluative strategy. Belcher (1995:147) identifies the P and C Pair as a frequent one in the review. As Belcher notes " It appears, in fact, that the more damning the intended criticism, the more extravagant the prefatory praise will be."

Gea Valor (2001:150) studies the use of politeness strategies to soften and redress Face Threatening Acts in reviews and identifies juxtaposing Praise and Criticism as one of the most frequent strategies. The positive, face-enhancing information conveyed by the compliment contributes to setting up a favourable context for the specific FTAs performed in the review text." Hyland (2004b:55), in his study of interactions in book reviews, listed the Pair as a key strategy to mitigate criticism where the adjacency of praise and criticism "serves to create a more balanced comment, slightly softening the negativity of the evaluation."

The Pair appears to be a mitigation strategy that tends to positive Face because, as Brown and Levinson argued (1987:62:101), it allows to take on board our wish to be respected and approved of. My hypothesis is that it does so because criticism is framed in an aura of praise and this dilutes the Face threatening force of the utterance. In a potentially conflictual genre such as the broadsheet review, for the reasons illustrated in the first chapter of the thesis, reviewers may want to use a rhetorical device, like the P and C Pair, that enables them to create a protected, sheltered area where arguments can blossom and opinions flourish without running the risk of offending the readers' or the author's Face.

This may be one of the reasons why the Pair seems quite a recurring device occurring in the BB Corpus. It takes on a hedging function. It is used as an almost routine move by reviewers who open the clause with praise to mitigate subsequent criticism.

In the examples that follow, the incipit is positive in both sentences. The reviewer thematizes positivity while the comment of the sentence signals a change of tone and a move to a more negative evaluation.

**Example 37:** There are a few moving moments, but overall Quicksand is an underdeveloped novel, and too pleased with itself to be satisfying. (Fict04DT (CLOSE))

The reviewer of example 37 closes the review with a positive comment on the book where the emotional response of the reading is foregrounded, but the reader has already been given a clue about which evaluative turn the text is to take because the positive adjective 'moving' is preceded by the quantifier 'a few' that implies the reader was moved only on a few occasions, not always.

The clauses that follow the conjunct BUT tend to give full voice to a negative opinion on the book that is labelled as a mediocre attempt where a patronizing attitude makes things even worse. The outcome is the reader's dissatisfaction. Hedges, framed within the Praise and Criticism Pair, are used to boost caution and avoid sounding too derogatory but also to shift responsibility onto the novel rather than the reviewer. This is achieved by foregrounding the novel, and not the author, as the target of criticism.

The Pair also occurs in the Closings of the review where reviewers use praise in order to protect the positive Face of the book's author and to strengthen solidarity. However, Criticism may follow to reinforce a negative outlook on the book that has been stated more than once throughout the review.

This is the case of two of the review extracts that follow. In the Biography review, BIO11DT, the reviewer has been arguing that the author does not give his best in this kind of writing and should turn to other accomplishments. In the History review, HIST07TLS, the reviewer has been quite clear about the lack of need for another biography on Queen Elizabeth.

In both cases, the closing is a way to restate a position that has been underpinning the whole review text. Despite the reviewers' critical position, a lot of effort is made to leave room for positivity. The Biography reviewer opts for an empathic attitude towards the author, sharing with him the difficult challenge he met, while the History reviewer acknowledges the basics for a Biography are in the book and shifts the blame of criticism to a demanding reader rather than pointing openly to an inadequate author.

**Example 1:** Ultimately, Gayford is overwhelmed by his task, but it is hard to imagine who would not be when faced with such a Herculean challenge (BIO11DT (CLOSE))

Hedging devices, in the Biography review, BIO11DT; are not bound to the choice of certain words such as: the adjective 'hard', the impersonal structure 'it is adjective infinitive', the adverb 'such' and the adjective 'Herculean'. Hedging also embraces the rhetorical attempt to amplify the difficulty of the work undertaken by the author - the writing of Michelangelo's biography - that becomes a leitmotiv crossing the whole review and not only its closing.

As mentioned earlier, the Pair can be framed in discourse in various ways. The P and C Pair works both at sentence and at clause/paragraph level. In other words, reviewers may choose to be blunter and juxtapose a positive and a negative comment within the span of a clause or they may decide to put layers of argumentation that separate positive and negative evaluation, Praise and Criticism. This requires a more careful reader, who can follow the evaluative patterns across layers of texts.

In the examples that follow, the Fiction reviewer opts for a clause level P and C Pair while the History reviewer embeds the pair in a longer unit of text.

**Example 58:** But this enormously enjoyable, if frequently ridiculous, evocation of the extraordinary artist gallops gloriously to the end. (Fict 35 Ind) (CLOSE)

**Example 99:** *Putin's Kleptocracy* is a courageous and scrupulously judicious investigation into the sinews of wealth and power in Vladimir Putin's Russia; but when it comes to shaping policy towards Russia, it is a deeply deceptive guide. (Hist15TLS) (CLOSE)

In example 58 on page 253, the adjective 'enjoyable' embodies praise, while 'ridiculous' hints at criticism. The two adjectives are juxtaposed and separated only by the hedges 'if frequently'. In example 99, instead, the evaluative span is bigger because it spreads over the paragraph. The author evaluates positively one aspect of the book, the analysis of the 'sinews of wealth and power', through the use of the adjectives 'courageous' and 'scrupulous'. He shows less appreciation for another aspect of the book, that is criticized though the use of the adverb 'deeply' and the adjective 'deceptive' that intensify criticism. The reader may find the first example easier to decode and may be blunter in terms of evaluation, while the second requires more interpretative effort to read through the layers of the text and, perhaps, more indirectness is sought in the evaluative process.

In terms of frequency, the data suggest that the Pair has a high frequency in the BUT Database, since it comes to be one of the most chosen rhetorical strategies selected by reviewers to convey evaluative comments about the book. In the BUT Database BUT occurs in 110 instances. In 53 of these 110 occurrences, there is one or more occurrences of the Pair, which means that the Pair had a conspicuous presence in the BUT Database with a percentage of more than 48%.

**TABLE 14: Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BUT Database**

OPENING	BODY	CLOSE	TOT
4	34	15	53

As shown in Table 14A, the Pair is quite evenly distributed, both at clause level and at paragraph level. Within these instances, 30 times the P and C Pair occurs at clause level while 23 times the pair occurs at paragraph level.

**TABLE 14.A. Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BUT Database at paragraph level and at clause level**

	OPENING	BODY	CLOSE	TOT
PARAGRAPH	1	18	4	23
CLAUSE	3	16	11	30
TOT	4	34	15	53

The Pair is also evenly distributed across subgenres, as shown in Table 14B with 16 instances in Biography BRs, 22 instances in Fiction and 15 in History BRs.

**TABLE 14 B: Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BUT Database per subgenre**

BIO	FICT	HIST
16	22	15

I will now move from Frequency to Distribution and explore the recurring Distributional patterns of the Pair to see whether it is more often used in the Opening, in the Body or in the Close. Table 15 exemplifies the Distributional patterns traced in the BUT Database across the three Subgenres. The Pair is more frequent in the Body with 34 instances and in Closes with 15 instances. My contention is that the Pair is chosen in evaluative rather than informative parts of the review, so the distributional results are in line with the evaluative patterns explored so far.

**TABLE 15: The Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BUT Database across the three Subgenres**

Review Subgenre	Opening	Body	Close	TOT
BIO	2	9	5	16
FICTION	1	17	4	22
HISTORY	1	8	6	15
TOT	4	34	15	53

Looking at specific differences at subgenre level, as shown in Table 15, it can be argued that belonging to a subgenre does not seem to have an impact on the unfolding of the Pair. The differences between Biography and History reviewers is only one instance while, for Fiction reviewers, it is 7 instances. These data reinforce the claim that the Pair is homogeneously used by broadsheet reviewers across the three subgenres.

It is also relevant to point out that Fiction reviewers use the Pair in the Body double the times of the other two subgenres, I would claim in



the attempt to scaffold their arguments in a Face tending manner. Moreover, the conspicuous presence of the Pair in the Close also seems to signal the BRer's concern to leave the reader with a balanced judgement on the book reviewed.

At this stage, it is relevant to outline the Target of the Pair. I will investigate whether there are privileged Targets and whether Targets change according to the polarity of evaluation. For instance, does Style tend to be praised while Specific Aspects of the book are often criticized? If so why? Can some hypotheses be postulated?

The coding revealed that, at times, there can be more than one Target. The Pair can evaluate positively one aspect of the book and negatively another, as in Example 14, where some flaws in the actual writing of the book are highlighted but the soundness of the argumentative process is recognized:

**Example 14:** It isn't always accurate in some of its incidental detail, but it is convincing in its claims that many of the reading public's assumptions about Orwell are woefully misguided (BIO 19DT)

Table 16 shows the Frequency of the Pair in the five analytical categories identified in the BUT Database without specifying the polarity of evaluation. This table shows that the main Targets of reviewers are Specific Aspects of the book and Handling the Subject Matter with 25 instances. General aspects of the book have 19 instances while Style has 18 instances. In the BUT Database, the Author is evaluated only in 12 instances as shown in Table 16.

**TABLE 16: TARGET NODES IN THE PRAISE AND CRITICISM PAIR OF THE BUT DATABASE**

TARGET NODES	PRAISE PART	CRITICISM PART	TOT
SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE BOOK	<u>8</u> +13	<u>17</u> +11	<u>25</u> +24=49
HANDLING OF THE SUBJECT MATTER	<u>1</u> +1	<u>2</u> +3	<u>3</u> +4=7
STYLE	<u>1</u> +8	<u>1</u> +8	<u>2</u> +16=18
GENERAL CONTENT	<u>8</u> +6	<u>1</u> +4	<u>9</u> +10=19
AUTHOR	<u>3</u> +3	<u>5</u> +1	<u>8</u> +4=12
___THROUGH QUOTATIONS	0	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
---THROUGH COMP VALUE	<u>1</u> +3	1	<u>1</u> +4=5
TOT	<u>22</u> +35=57	<u>28</u> +29=57	<u>50</u> +64=114

**LEGENDA:**

UNDERLINED FIGURES STAND FOR THE CRITICISM AND PRAISE PAIR 37.1%

PLAIN FIGURES STAND FOR THE PRAISE AND CRITICISM PAIR 62.8%

Table 16 shows that BRs mainly choose the sequence PRAISE CRITICISM to evaluate. This happens in 62.8% of the cases while the sequence CRITICISM PRAISE - where a negative judgement on the book precedes a positive one - occurs only in 37.1% of the cases.

The reason, I would argue, is politeness constrained and reveals the attempt to open with Praise and offer this opening as a 'captatio benevolentia' to establish a positive rapport with the reader. It is also relevant to note that it is mainly in pointing out the negativity of specific aspects of the book that Criticism is foregrounded in the Pair. It can be argued that confining negativity to something specific is already hedging the force of criticism that is why BRs feel it is acceptable, in politeness terms, to foreground criticism positioning it in a prominent, thematic position when they opt for the Criticism and Praise Pair.

My claim is that since the BUT Database, is the evaluative core of the BBC, reviewers tend to avoid a direct judgement of the author. This would be Face threatening and inappropriate for the politeness conventions of the broadsheet genre identified earlier on in the thesis. It is more socially acceptable to evaluate Specific Aspects of the book that can be criticized with cogent argumentation and evidence from the text. The more specific the criticism, the less threatening it is for the author of the book and for interpersonal relationships with readers, as argued by Hyland (2004b:48). Specificity delimits criticism and leaves room for the Praise part of the Pair that highlights strong points of the book. Style and the Handling of the subject matter are a personal issue, more based on opinion than on facts. Subjectivity and personal taste are a way to reduce the strength of Criticism because readers may like what the reviewer did not like, following their personal taste.

The analytical category General Aspects of the book is Face threatening because Criticism targets the book as a whole. However, this threat can be hedged by the Praise part of the Pair that foregrounds the positive aspects of the book softening negativity. Table 17 provides a more detailed description of evaluative categories specifying whether the evaluation of the analytical category is positive or negative.

**TABLE 17: SUBGENRE DIFFERENCES IN THE TARGET NODES OF THE BUT DATABASE**

Target Nodes	Bio Praise	Bio Crit	Fiction Praise	Fiction Crit	Hist Praise	Hist Crit	TOT
Specific Aspects of the book	3	5	6	10	12	13	49
Handling of the Subject Matter	2	5	0	0	0	0	7
Style	1	1	7	6	0	0	15
General Content	7	0	3	4	4	1	19
Author	4	4	1	1	1	1	12
____Through Quot	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
____Through Comp Value	0	0	4	1	0	0	5
Reading Experience	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
TOT	17	17	22	23	17	15	111

It is also relevant to point out how subgenre impacts these analytical categories. As shown in Table 17 above, History BRers are more inclined to focus on Specific Aspects of the book with 25 instances while Fiction BRers have 16 instances and Bio BRers only 8. Not only do History BRers evaluate more, almost three times more than Bio and double than Fiction ones but the polarity if evaluation is balanced with 12 instances of Praise of the Specific Aspects of the book and 13 instances of Criticism of Specific Content.

Fiction BRers are more critical with 10 negative and 6 positive evaluative acts and so are Bio ones with 5 positive and 3 negative acts. The data also show that Fiction reviewers are more focused on evaluating General Aspects of the book in a balanced way with 7 instances, 4 critical acts and 3 praises. History BRers, instead, have 5 instances with 4 acts of Praise and 1 of Criticism. Bio have 7 instances of Praise which means they never criticize the book in its entirety.

Fiction BRers appear more dialectical in expressing their judgement embodying both Praise and Criticism in their arguments while History BRers seem more preoccupied with Face needs and categorically avoid FTAs in the judgement of General Content that has a high Face Threatening potential. Bio BRers do the same avoiding any Face Threatening Act that criticism could bring about. Another category that is consistently evaluated is Style. It is relevant to highlight that it is

mainly Fiction BRers who comment on Style with 13 instances for Fiction, only 2 for Bio and 0 for History.

Understandably for Fiction writers, Style is not a corollary element but a key one. On the other hand, Biography Authors are mainly evaluated in their handling of the Subject Matter with 7 instances for Biography. At times, Bio BRers evaluate not only how authors craft and write a Biography but the subject of the Biography itself. They seem more interested in conveying to the reader what they think about, for example Brecht, and how much they love this playwright, rather than commenting on the Biography they are reviewing. For the category Author, Bio BRers evaluate the Author in 8 instances, 4 positive and 4 negative ones while both History and Fiction only have 2 instances. BIO BRers offer a balanced judgement on the Author while Fiction and History BRers prefer to dilute evaluation on less personal aspects such as the Content of the book or Style.

Looking at the overall evaluative presence in the three subgenres, Fiction reviewers are the most prone to evaluate with 45 instances, 22 positive and 23 negative while Bio have 34 instances, 17 Praise and 17 Criticism, and History have 33 instances with 17 acts of Praise and 15 of Criticism. These data reinforce the claim that the Pair is the privileged locus for balanced evaluation. The prominent frequency of the Pair within the BUT Database - the evaluative core of the corpus - confirms the Face and Politeness constrained nature of evaluation in the BB Corpus.

Focusing for a moment on Methodology matters, in Table 17 above, the Praise and Criticism Pair has been organized not as it originally occurs in the BUT Database but according to the chosen target of evaluation. This means that the Praise part of the pair has been divided from the Criticism part of the Pair and listed according to the Target of each part in order to provide a clearer and more cogent view of evaluative targets.

If we compare the Target of Criticism and Praise, when reviewers are overtly negative, they refer to Specific Aspects of the book, such as: a biased line of argumentation, the inability to focus on key themes of the book or the lack of interesting themes in the book. At times, the topic is presented as banal. In some reviews, the book comes across as full of digressions and hard to understand or badly edited.

When BRers want to criticize, they focus on a specific aspect of the book because, as argued by Hyland (2004b:48), this limits the social Face damage they are perpetrating to the author. A specific criticism is more socially acceptable for readers as well. It is far less Face threatening than a general criticism that could present the book as a complete failure and

cause an economic damage to the publishing house, for instance. It follows that instances of general criticism are considerably fewer than specific ones and total only 9 while specific criticism totals 57.

When BRrs praise, they appreciate the perspective chosen to present key facts of the book, the way resources have been researched and used but also a witty, flowing, authentic narrative voice and an original and effective style. On a few occasions, (14) the book is praised in its entirety, without a further clarification of which aspect of the book has been appreciated. When the Author is praised, it is mainly for their style and the original use of language.

It is also relevant to point out how subgenre impacts these analytical categories as shown in Table 17. History reviewers are more inclined to focus on Specific aspects of the book in their book reviewing with 25 instances while Fiction and Biography reviewers have only 16 and 8 instances. Fiction reviewers are more focused on evaluating General Aspects of the book with 7 instances, while History have 5 instances and Bio reviews have 7 instances of Praise while they never criticize the book in its entirety.

Another category that is consistently evaluated is Style. It is relevant to highlight that it is mainly Fiction reviewers that comment on the style, with 15 instances for Fiction, and only 2, for Biography and 1 for History.

Understandably, for Fiction writers, Style is not a corollary element but a key one. On the other hand, Biography authors are mainly evaluated in how they handle the Subject matter with 7 instances for Biography. For the last category, Author, Bio reviewers evaluate the Author in 8 instances- 4 positive and 4 negative- in the BUT Database while both History and Fiction have 2 instances.

The overall lower evaluative presence of History writers is interesting because Non-Fiction subgenres are supposed to be focused on facts and rigour rather than being based on the BRer's idiosyncrasies in judging the book.

## **7.6. The Target of evaluation: comparing the whole corpus with the BUT Database**

It is now interesting to move away from the BUT Database and focus on the BBC corpus in order to postulate hypotheses about how the evaluative focus of the Database impacts reviewers' choices in terms of who or what to target in their judgement of the book. The Target of Criticism and Praise before and after BUT will be highlighted, the

instances of Praise will be isolated from the instances of Criticism. Finally, the results of the analysis of the Target of evaluation in the whole corpus and in the BUT Database will be compared. The following issues will be discussed:

- Is the Target of evaluation consistent throughout the corpus or does it change in the evaluative core of the corpus, around the BUT node?
- Which aspects of the book are judged around the BUT clause, the Author, the Style, General or Specific aspects of content?
- How is evaluation conveyed? Through comparison with other books, as the category Comparability signals, or through quotations from the book, as suggested by the category Through Quotations?
- If the recipients of Criticism and Praise around the BUT node do change, compared to other parts of the corpus, which conclusions could be drawn?

Table 18 groups the Target categories for Criticism round the BUT Node while Table 18 highlights the Target categories for Praise. Dividing the polarity of the categories allows a contrastive analysis of the use reviewers make of these categories.

**Table 18: Target categories for Criticism round the BUT Node**

CRITICISM	BEFORE BUT	AFTER BUT	TOT
CRITCONTSPE	9	19	28
CRITAUTHOR	3	3	6
CRITTHROUGHQUOT	2	0	2
CRITSTYLE	2	5	7
CRITCOMPVALUE	1	0	1
CRITGENERAL	1	4	5
CRITREADINGEXPERIENCE	0	1	1
CRITSUBJECTMATTER	2	3	5
TOT	20	35	55

**TABLE 19: Target categories for Praise round the BUT Node**

PRAISE	BEFORE BUT	AFTER BUT	TOT
PRAISECONTSPE	12	9	21
PRAISEAUTHOR	1	5	6
PRAISETHROUGHQUOT	0	0	0
PRAISESTYLE	5	3	8
PRAISECOMPVALUE	4	0	4
PRAISEGENERAL	6	8	14
PRAISEREADINGEXPERIENCE	1	0	1
PRAISESUBJECTMATTER	0	2	2
TOT	29	27	56

It is relevant to point out that the frequency of evaluation before and after BUT is not quantitatively but qualitatively different. In terms of quantity there are 48 evaluative acts before BUT and 63 after BUT. The more interesting datum shown by Table 18 and 19 is that BRers criticize both General and Specific Aspects of Content and Style after BUT while they praise the same categories before BUT. Since these are the most frequently occurring categories, we can see a pattern of use in this choice that is consistent with the analysis carried out in Chapter 6 section 6.6. where it was shown how BRers move from hedged evaluation before BUT to overt evaluation after BUT. This intensification of the evaluative acts occurs precisely in the key categories of Specific, General Content and Style that this analysis has proved to be the most frequently chosen by BRers round the BUT Node in both the positive and the negative polarity. For a more detailed look at the coding process for the Pair within the BUT Node, see Appendix C, Tables C6, C6.1 and C6.2 from page 361 to page 368.

What is striking is the low presence of General criticism round the BUT node. In fact, the focus of Criticism is General only 5 times while, in all the other instances, one Specific aspect of the book is criticized.

On the other hand, opting for Specific criticism in academic reviews was done in Hyland's view (2004b:48) "in order to raise questions and contribute to the knowledge creating/knowledge examining domain of the journal." In the broadsheet review genre, the reason seems more interpersonally constrained than ideationally oriented to say it in Hallidayan terms. BRers choose to criticize details because this is more socially acceptable for the audience that comprises not only the reader, who may have a different opinion from them and may feel intruded upon

by harsh criticism, but also the author of the book that is evaluated publicly. Another reason for privileging a specific aspect to criticize is that the specificity of the critique or of the praise makes the argumentation more cogent and coherent which is of key importance for BRers.

What this study revealed is that the category Critauthor, which hints at a direct critique of the author's work, is not carefully avoided as one may expect. It has 6 occurrences out of 55 that is a meaningful figure. In percentage terms, 10.9%.

My claim is that this is possible because well-crafted argumentation sustains a balanced way of unfolding properly hedged criticism and this allows reviewers to be quite critical towards authors, too. In example 21 below, the reviewer judges the author as subjective, unable to have a distanced outlook on his subject matter. Criticism is quite strong but tempered by the presence of hedges, such as the modal 'may' and the use of 'we' that involve the reader in the critical act. Responsibility comes to be shared and the reviewer's opinion is presented as common sense. All these textual choices are evidence of strategies used by reviewers to hedge Criticism and to make it more acceptable to the readership.

**Example 21:** This may sound like quibbling, but such blinkered Freudian judgmentalism precludes an objective view of Williams's life. His plays already tender the emotional valences of his world: we need critical neutrality, not a validation of his more overwrought ideas. (BIO26G)

In Example 46, the careful anticipation of Praise before Criticism allows the reviewer to avoid both what Toulmin (1975) called rebuttal, and to express critical comments more directly because the Praise part of the Pair softens subsequent Criticism. Acknowledging the worth of the author - through a general praise of his work - offers a counterargument for his claim that is aimed at a negative judgement of the book. Balance, expressed in terms of praise and criticism of the book, prevents a possible rebuttal of his claim by the reader.

**Example 46:** Kureishi knows how to write some sharp psychology and perhaps every novel he's published has a memorable portrait of a father in it. But he's prone to cliché and wish fulfilment. (Fict26TLS)

The occurrence of Praise of Specific aspects of the book round the BUT node, with 21 occurrences out of 56, may sound like what Johnson and Roen (1992:50) call pro forma compliments "those that writers use simply to avoid being only negative, to say something positive without



providing an undeserved or insincere positive evaluation." However, in the context of broadsheet reviews, BRs seem more focused on offering readers a balanced, appropriately argued outlook on the publication. This may as well justify the presence of both Criticism and Praise of Specific content with 28 and 21 instances respectively. It is as if reviewers were attempting to be fair and intellectually honest, highlighting both positive and negative aspects of the book, in order to provide the balanced reading of the work their audience expects because of the conventions of the genre broadsheet review.

Praising a peculiar aspect of the book fits well with a sound argumentative process where subjectivity is avoided because the reviewer praises something specific and grounds the Praise within a coherent argument. General Praise, on the other hand, would appear unjustified, biased and intellectually dishonest which contrasts with the expectation of balance and honesty embedded in the review genre that doesn't have the same promotional flavour of blurbs as illustrated by Gea Valor (2005).

Like Hyland's (2004b:52) results, where positive evaluations "...comprised over half of all evaluations and functioned to express solidarity and positive assessment and to mitigate Criticism", in the BUT corpus, Praise overruns Criticism but just for an instance. There are 56 instances of Praise versus 55 instances of Criticism. The BUT node thus constitutes an ideal location for balanced evaluation for the broadsheet reviewers featured in the BB corpus. This is a counter trend, compared to the rest of the corpus, where positive evaluation is more markedly frequent than the negative one with 345 instances for Praise and 148 for Criticism. The reason may well be that the BUT clauses are not only the privileged place for evaluation but the argumentative core of the review where evaluation proceeds thorough argumentative moves. These moves validate evaluative claims that foreground both positive and negative aspects of the book reviewed.

Looking at the Table 20, it is possible to compare in more detail the target of evaluation in the whole corpus and what or who is evaluated round the BUT node:

**Table 20: Target for Praise, Criticism, Hedged Praise and Hedged Criticism in the British Broadsheet Corpus**

	General content	Specific content	author	narrative style and language	comparative value	reading experience	through quotations	Subject matter	TOT of occurrences for each category
PRAISE	71	61	101	25	26	8	25	28	345
CRITICISM	13	42	33	19	10	7	18	6	148
HEDGED PRAISE	7	5	8	2	3	0	0	0	25
HEDGED CRITICISM	16	36	13	2	2	3	7	1	80
TOT	107	144	155	48	41	18	50	35	598

In terms of which aspects of the book are privileged by reviewers in the BUT node versus the whole corpus, it seems that, while in the BB corpus as a whole, reviewers focus on a wider range of aspects that include, for example, the reviewer's interest in the Subject matter of the book, (coded as 'subject matter'), or also the obstacles or pleasant surprises reviewers encountered in the actual process of reading the book (coded as 'reading experience').

Around the BUT node, reviewers are more selective in terms of categories they choose to evaluate. They mostly concentrate on content, mainly Specific content, General Content, Style and Author. Within content, reviewers privilege Specific aspects of the book. While in the entire corpus, General content is an important presence with 107 evaluative instances while Specific content has 144 evaluative instances. Around the BUT node, instead, the gap is wider because General Criticism occurs only 5 times, Specific Criticism occurs 28 times, General Praise occurs 14 times and Specific Praise has 21 occurrences. This confirms the hypothesis that focusing on Specific aspects of the book is conducive both to sound, well-grounded argumentation but also to a softer critique that acts as a Face-saving strategy.

The almost unhedged nature of evaluation round the BUT node, in particular after BUT, is another important point to ponder. In the whole corpus, Hedged Criticism has 80 instances and Criticism 148 instances, so the trend is to exploit the softening power of hedges quite consistently across the BB corpus. However, after BUT, reviewers opt for blunt criticism, choosing hedging only twice and overt criticism in 9 instances.

Hedged criticism, instead, is chosen in the clause before BUT, where hedges are introduced to support evidence for an evaluative claim that occurs after BUT. These hedges act as a preparatory stage where the reviewer is opening up his argument to the reader and to conflicting

positions selecting a fuzzy, ambiguous evaluation that is filled with blunter evaluative comments in the final stage of their argument that coincides with a more clear-cut evaluation, where hedges are not appropriate. In the BUT node, even Hedged Praise, that has a minor role in the corpus with 25 occurrences against 345 instances of actual Praise, is avoided after BUT and used only twice before BUT.

## 7.7. Conclusions

Chapter 7 focused on two key evaluative rhetorical strategies used by reviewers in the BUT Database, namely hedges and the Praise and Criticism Pair. The analysis of the BUT Database revealed that the linguistic component of hedges in the corpus is mainly made up of negative forms, adverbs and modals.

Negative forms are combined in a rich number of ways. They can colligate with adverbs, adjectives, nouns and verbs. Negations usually precede these parts of speech, but they can also follow them to amplify hedging strategies. Negations are extremely versatile in their use and this ensures a flowing style to the hedged review text.

Modal verbs often colligate with personal pronouns especially 'I', 'we' and 'you' to give a subjective flavour to the evaluative comments, but also to involve the reader in the evaluative process.

Since adverbs play a key role as a hedging strategy, the function of adverbial hedges has been analysed. In the BUT Database, the main function of hedges is to add caution to potentially Face threatening judgements on the book. In terms of adverb types, the most frequent are adverbs of manner and of degree because these categories of adverbs can qualify evaluation in more refined and nuanced ways. The former can characterize the qualities and shortcomings of the book, while the latter works on a cline that has boosting and softening at its extremes and allows reviewers to play with the intensity of linguistic evaluative resources. Interestingly enough, the polarity of adverbs is balanced with an almost even number of adverbs used for positive and negative comments.

BUT has been foregrounded as one of the most frequent adverbs with a key role in both polarities and a prominent hedging function, mainly expressed through the juxtaposition of Praise and Criticism.

The Pair has a high frequency in the BUT Database. It is a privileged rhetorical strategy, chosen by reviewers, to evaluate the book. The Pair is mainly placed in the Body of the Review and the most frequent targets of the Pair are Specific Aspects of the book (49), General Content (19), Style (18) and Author (12). The balanced polarity of adverbs,

together with the features of the Pair, where Praise is contrasted with Criticism, add objectivity to reviewers' comments. The outcome is contributing to the creation of well-argued broadsheet reviews and enhancing the Face tending strategies underpinning broadsheet texts in the BBC.

In the last section, a comparison has been drawn between the evaluative Target of the BUT Database and the BBC. I would like to conclude with the answers to the questions raised at the beginning of this section, about which aspects of the book are evaluated round BUT and across the BB Corpus.

The conclusion that could be drawn from the data is a shift in the evaluative Target within the BUT node. It seems that reviewers tend to privilege the evaluation of the Author and Specific content, General Content and Style round the BUT node, while in the whole corpus their gamut of categories is wider. My contention is that this choice is not casual, but it is constrained by the communicative needs of the writer, who is attempting to bring home a grounded argument. The soundness of the argument opens up the possibility of intellectual honesty and social acceptability. Specificity makes the argument coherent and Face saving. Personalizing criticism through the author's blame, makes critical judgements opinion-based, softer and more easily acceptable.

The choice of overt Criticism, that is more consistent round BUT as compared to the rest of the corpus, may sound Face threatening. However, my claim is that a crafted staging of Criticism, softened in an opening phase where evaluation is fuzzier and gradually introduced before BUT, prepares the reader for more explicit evaluation. Evaluative comments gain strength and assertiveness at the end of the BUT clause where evidence has been presented and claims have been accounted for, hence they appear as justified and acceptable to readers.

At this stage, it is possible to map a recurring pattern of use in the occurrence of evaluation within argumentation in BUT clauses. The review starts with hedged evaluation before BUT where argumentation is in its introductory stage. An increase in assertiveness in presenting the claims is achieved after BUT, once possible rebuttals have been neutralized. Further Backing has been added to support claims, the reviewer has qualified their claims as possible rather than probable, readers have been shown what Toulmin calls Warrant – that is how BRers move from Data to Claim. At this point, reviewers are reaching what Van Eemeren and al (1999) call the concluding stage of the argument and claims can be presented without using hedging strategies.

In the following chapter that is the last chapter of the thesis, I will contextualize the present study in linguistic studies and ponder on which

areas of research could benefit from this study. I will reflect on the contribution of the study to evaluative studies in general, and discipline related rhetorical evaluative strategies in the book review genre. I will report about the findings related to evaluative patterns in the data and contrast them with studies on academic reviews. I will also comment on the limits of my research and possible further inputs to continue the research in a fruitful way.

## **Chapter 8: Drawing conclusions and implications of the thesis**

### **8.0 Chapter overview**

In the final chapter, the current study will be framed into the wider context of linguistic studies and the possible contribution to certain areas of research will be highlighted. The implications for the studies of politeness, critical discourse analysis, pragmatics and media studies will be illustrated.

In section 8.3, this research will be contrasted with existing evaluation studies on book reviews. General findings will be presented and the conclusions of the study about recurring rhetorical evaluative patterns in broadsheet reviews will be briefly summarized.

At the end of the chapter, both the limitations and the contribution of the thesis will be discussed.

### **8.1. Contextualizing the present study in Linguistics**

The current research stems from an awareness that reviews are a neglected genre in linguistic studies, even though broadsheet review texts offer rich stimuli for linguistic research, as shown by the literature review presented in Chapter 2. To my knowledge, there is no study that specifically addresses the evaluative strategies of Praise and Criticism in BRs.

The current research has shown that this lack of interest is unjustified because BRs can offer a fertile ground for linguistic research, given the conflicting functions the text must accomplish both to inform about a new publication and to provide a balanced review of the book.

The thesis moved from the need to investigate evaluative rhetorical strategies in broadsheet reviews. The main reason for the choice of this research area was not only a personal interest in genre writing and in evaluation, but also the conviction of the value of qualitative analysis of small, dedicated corpora.

I am fully aware that the BBC is a small-scale corpus and that corpus linguistics usually handles much bigger corpora, however as Hyland (1995:40) states, there is a huge need in linguistics to work on specialized corpora to analyse complex linguistic phenomena such as hedges, for instance. These studies will offer new insights into how language is shaped by its contexts of use, the intentions of the participants in the speech act and the social expectations linked to a certain genre of text.

This thesis aims at offering a bird's eye view on BRs as extremely rich and sophisticated written texts in terms of the interpersonal and evaluative resources at work in these specific texts. From the very beginning of the research, the literature highlighted a gap in the research on the genre broadsheet review, compared to more popular genres such as the experimental research article (Hunston:1989) the academic book review article (Hyland: 2004a, Diani: 2007), editorials (Bolivar: 1994), the newspaper article, (Bell: 1991), blurbs (Gea Valor: 2005), Economics academic book reviews (Giannoni: 2006).

In retrospect, the lack of literature, specifically focused on broadsheet reviews, meant that the research was somehow contaminated but also enriched by other disciplines and research areas, such as philosophy of language with Austin and Searle's (1969) speech acts, genre studies, Halliday's (1978) systemic view on linguistic communication seen as the interaction between the author and the reader in the text, Bhatia's (2004) work on writing as a social practice and Martin's (2005) Appraisal Theory.

Crossing boundaries has been a fruitful process in this research because drawing on various perspectives on linguistic phenomena in the research process has been both challenging and stimulating. A multidisciplinary perspective has provided a rich framework where this research could flourish. Bhatia's (2004) work on writing has been instrumental in the analysis of BRs as a dialogic act that becomes a highly interactive and sophisticated process where readers are envisaged by writers and their role is outlined by the argumentative moves of the texts.

Sinclair's (1981:71) studies on the process of text production as a negotiation between writers and readers, his focus on interactional strategies embedded in the text, were an inspiring starting point to explore how review writing is carefully crafted and skilfully manipulated to achieve certain pragmatic purposes. This 'modus operandi' places writing in the dynamic world of communication where social relationships of solidarity and respect for the writer's and the readers' Face are of paramount importance. Hence, the necessity of a pragmatic outlook on the data that has been chosen, using Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory on Face.

It was also useful to link the social demands of the review text with the conventions of the genre. In Chapter 1, section 1.2, it was noted that, historically, reviews stem from pamphlets and broadsides that were a means used by the public to take a critical stance towards laws passed by the State. They were people's response, so the dialogic nature of this genre of text dates to the sixteenth century. The roots of the genre are evident in the argumentative nature of BR where positions are argued and shared

with readers.

The literature review outlined BRs as rich texts in terms of genre constraints and pragmatic and discourse features. The thesis has shown how BRs can be framed within the broader category of journalistic discourse but, unlike newspaper articles, they are not based on facts, but on opinion and judgement of books. Like editorials, evaluation is embedded in this genre of text and its Frequency, Distribution and Target have been an important focus of the present research.

Given the fine granularity of the research, the BB Corpus compiled at the beginning of the study turned out to be a huge corpus to manage. In the coding, the most interesting part, in terms of evaluation, were the clauses that clustered round BUT. This called for a change in the direction of the research that became more specific and focused on clauses that gathered round the BUT Database.

The opportunity to isolate these clauses into a smaller, more manageable database permitted more refined and fine-grained analysis. This was a key step forward in the research process.

It can be argued that identifying the Distribution of evaluative rhetorical strategies within the BUT Database is a contribution to the studies of the distribution of evaluation that date back to Labov. To offer a brief overview on studies concerned with evaluative distributional patterns, Labov (1972:369) placed Evaluation immediately before Resolution in his work of narratives. Winter (1977, 1982, 1994) identifies Evaluation as final element in the Situation - Problem - Response - Evaluation pattern and so do Hoey in his work on written discourse (1979, 1983) and Bolivar (1985:346-7) in her research about editorials. The current research has shown that in the specific textual genre Broadsheet Reviews, Evaluation tends to be in the Body of the review and, in a fewer instances, in the Closes.

## **8.2. Contributions and implications for the study of politeness, critical discourse analysis, pragmatics and media studies**

In this section, I will try to answer the following question:

To which areas of studies could the current research be beneficial?

The thesis investigated patterns of use in evaluative rhetorical strategies that can contribute to the current debate on politeness and impoliteness Culpeper (1996, 2001). Culpeper (1996:357-8) notes how the use of jargon may be read as a lack of politeness just as much as the denial of common ground. He mainly analyses the language of the courtroom and the army. To my mind, also BRs present instances where the absence of politeness may have Face damaging implications that have



been deliberately chosen by reviewers to substantiate their claim and bring forward their argument. For example, when authors are praised for their previous work in the BBC, the lack of Praise for the reviewed book acts as indirect Criticism and may be perceived as an act of impoliteness. It would be interesting to analyse how instances of impoliteness are balanced with Face saving strategies in this genre of text.

The current research has also shown the prominent role Face saving strategies play in the crafting of review texts. It illustrated how reviewers play with the Distribution or the Target of evaluation, in order to soften Criticism or foreground a certain line of argumentation, thus contributing to pragmatic studies on Face in a neglected genre of text.

The present study has to do with pragmatics because, as I explained earlier, broadsheet reviews are seen in the light of writing as social action, whereas Austin (1962) maintained words, and I would add texts, are used 'to get things done'.

In the specific case of broadsheet reviews, interesting issues to explore were:

- a) what social actions are accomplished through language in BR texts;
- b) how evaluation and information overlap within broadsheet review texts;
- c) which rhetorical evaluative strategies and linguistic realizations are selected to evaluate a book.

Moreover, research in broadsheet reviews appears particularly important from a CDA viewpoint because of the wide range of social functions BRs fulfil in our communities. They are a way of disseminating knowledge, sharing ideas on a given topic, evaluating cultural products, creating consensus or dissent, orienting readers' choice, deciding which books deserve public debate and pushing readers' choices in a certain direction. Through BRs, members of a given community are informed about new publications and about the views of the experts concerning the publication. Reviews also contribute to the promotion and selling of cultural products.

Thus, another area of interest for the results of the current research could be Critical Discourse Analysis defined by van Dijk (1995) as an area of linguistics that deals with dominance relations by élite groups and institutions as they are enacted by text and talk. CDA investigates the relations between power and discourse and any strategies of manipulation aimed at the 'manufacture of consent' or at influencing the minds, and

indirectly the actions, of people in the interest of the élites. It is likely that BRs, published in prestigious newspapers, such as the broadsheets chosen for the current investigation, may become a privileged means to manipulate readers' choices and push the editorial market in certain directions.

If this is the case, the study of rhetorical devices and linguistic resources in BRs will reveal how broadsheet reviewers try to influence readers' choices and manufacture opinionated texts, with the intent of promoting certain cultural products rather than others. Can we see the writing of a review in the *Guardian* as a marketing strategy enacted by publishing houses and aimed at targeting the broadsheets' implied reader: middle class, educated, willing to spend their time reading and therefore highly appealing to publishers? Could broadsheet reviews be seen as a selling commodity just as the ads placed on the following page?

Bondi and Del Lungo Camiciotti (1995:173) make a similar argument about newspaper discourse that far from being a neutral way of expressing ideas, tends to comply with dominant attitudes in society in the attempt to persuade the reader to buy commodities such as newspapers.

If this is the case, not only advertising and news discourse, but also future studies of BRs, will reveal subtle attempts to convince the reader to buy the book using language in a manipulative way, as highlighted by Critical Discourse analysts. A future research could explore the role of persuasion in BRs.

Politeness and impoliteness theories have also been connected by Cameron (2003), R. Lakoff (2005) and Sifianou (2013) among others, to the issue of globalization as a driving force towards informality and impoliteness, due to the influence of the American culture that values intimacy and informality more than respect and formality. R. Lakoff (2005) maintains that informality is rising as the result of the key role of the Internet as a means to communicate, media competition rating, audience and the rise of positive politeness. Cameron (2003:27) argues that "the scripted situations, the simulated friendliness and the relentless positive politeness coming from the English-speaking world may eventually displace established local norms in service contexts."

The main concerns of these researchers regard spoken language and service encounters where the conversational, intimate tone of American multinationals, such as McDonald's, is being imposed on cultures such as the Hungarian for instance, where the ways of interaction with clients though in Hungarian, mirrors the easy going, informal American style. There is a thought underpinning this choice that negative politeness has been increasingly associated with distance and hierarchy, whereas positive politeness is associated with an egalitarian, solidarity ethos, as argued by

Wheeler (1994). If this trend continues and impacts also on written language, will BRers be more informal and less concerned with politeness issues and Face demands? The answer to this question is beyond the scope of this thesis but could be explored by a future study on this issue.

I will now detail how this research can impact other areas of linguistic studies, such as media studies.

My claim is that the findings of this research could be interesting for specific areas of writing, such as journalism. The awareness of how rhetorical evaluative strategies are enacted in review texts could be useful to teach novice media writers how to write broadsheet reviews.

In the following section, I will highlight how the present study contrasts with similar studies on the evaluative resources of Praise and Criticism in book reviews.

### **8.3. Evaluation studies: Comparing the current study with similar studies: Staging evaluation in academic and broadsheets reviews**

The focus of this section is an overview of the staging of Praise and Criticism in BRs. I will compare the staging of Praise and Criticism in academic review literature with what was found in the analysis of the British Broadsheet Corpus. The objective is to outline the peculiarities of BRs in the distribution of positive and negative evaluative acts.

In the tables below, the results of the current study are compared with Motta Roth's (1998) and Hyland's (2004b) studies.

**Table 1: The Frequency of Praise and Criticism in Motta Roth (1998)**

Praise	44 recommendations of the book
Criticism	14 negative evaluation

**Table 2: The Distribution of Praise and Criticism in Hyland (2004b)**

	Opening	Close
Praise	58%	64%
Criticism	20%	3%

**Table 3: The Frequency and percentage of analytical categories in Ierace's BBC (2013-2016)**

Evaluation	Occurrences	Percentage
Praise	345	49.2%
Hedged Praise	25	3.5%
Criticism	148	21.1%
Hedged criticism	80	11.4%
The praise and criticism pair	102	14.6%
TOT	700	100%

**Table 4: The distribution of analytical categories in Ierace's BBC (2013-2016)**

	Opening evaluative acts	Percentage	Body evaluative acts	Percentage	Close evaluative acts	Percentage	TOT Evaluative Acts
Praise	53	5.3%	212	30.2%	80	11.4%	345
Hedged Praise	5	0.7%	12	1.8%	8	1.2%	25
Criticism	8	1.2%	120	18.2%	20	3%	148
Hedged Criticism	7	1%	59	8.9%	14	2.1%	80
Praise and criticism	15	8.9%	62	9.4%	25	3.7%	102
TOT	88	13.3%	434	65.9%	136	20.6%	700

Both academic and broadsheet reviewers seem more inclined to praise. In his academic reviews, Hyland (2004b) found a huge amount of Praise, too. Praise was placed either at the beginning or at the end. Half of the evaluation in 160 reviews were Praise and functioned to express solidarity and positive assessment and to mitigate Criticism.

In Hyland's (2004b) study, the reviewer's decision to start with Praise was an almost routine move but it also worked as a basis for a Criticism. Hyland puts forward the hypothesis that foregrounding Praise at the beginning of the review, may be a strategy to fulfil a specific interpersonal function of establishing a rapport with the audience and mitigating the Criticism that is to follow.

Unlike academic reviews, the Opening of the BBC broadsheet review is not usually evaluative but informative. As shown in Table 4,

Praise accounts for 5.3% which is the highest evaluative non-hedged percentage in the Corpus, while Criticism is just 1.2%. The Praise and Criticism Pair has a relevant presence in the Opening with 8.9% that is a significant percentage compared to the Body that has 9.4%. As mentioned, the beginning of a BR is expected to offer the reader background information about the book, that is the scaffolding round which reviewers create evaluative patterns. However, when reviewers choose to evaluate in the Opening. They do so with the Praise and Criticism Pair because it offers a balanced, Face-saving strategy to pass judgement on the book or to offer the reader a prelude, a foretaste of what the reviewer thinks about the book. Judgement is hinted at or presented in the form of a headline, while the presentation of an evaluative and argumentative pattern seems to occur later in the review, namely in the Body that has 30.2% of Praise and 18.2% of Criticism.

What emerges from the BBC data is that BRers tend to place their evaluation either in the Body or at the end of the review. At the end, in the most salient part of the text, reviewers choose to use Hedged Criticism and Hedged Praise, with a percentage of 2.1% and 10.4% respectively. My contention is that the need to hedge is instrumental at the end of the review where the judgement on the book must be clearly restated in a balanced, non-conflictual way, because this is what is expected in this genre of text.

The presence of Praise is prominent both at the end of academic and of BRs. In the attempt to detect the reasons for the strategic positioning of Praise in academic reviews, Hyland (2004b:53) postulates that: "Praise here (*at the end*) is used to demonstrate the solidarity of the reviewers with the community of which they are members and for whom they write, acknowledging the reputation of colleagues and their previous contributions to a shared endeavour." As in academic reviews, choosing to frame Criticism within Praise, at the end of the review, is a way to acknowledge the author's positive Face concerns and repair the adverse effects of earlier Criticism.

The current research has shown broadsheet and academic reviewers also differ in the choice of strategies chosen to shift the responsibility for Criticism away from themselves. Broadsheet reviewers seem to use the reader as the agent of Criticism, while academic reviewers opt for very specific critical comments of the book reviewed, because General criticism would be too Face-threatening.

It can be claimed that whenever BRers in the BB corpus criticize books, they pull the reader into the text. There seems to be a tendency to locate Criticism within the context of the reading experience. BRers may hint at unfulfilled expectations. They may qualify the reading experience

as irritating. A way to explain this tendency might be the desire to shift the responsibility of their Criticism onto an implied reader, to mitigate the force of their Criticism.

In Chapter 5, this juxtaposition between critical comments and the reading process has been detailed. I looked at some examples from the BB corpus of how the reader or the reading experience are perceived by the reviewer. This analysis offered some insights into the discussion of the possible roles of the reader in this genre of text.

I will now compare the Targets of Hyland's academic corpus with those of the British Broadsheet Corpus to highlight shared features and differences.

**Table 5: The target of analytical categories for Praise in Ierace BBC (2013-2016)**

Praise of the author	29.3%
Praise of General Content	20.6%
Praise of Specific Content	17.7%
Praise of Style	7.2%
Praise Through Quotations	7.2%,
Praise of the Reading experience	2.3%

**Table 6: The Target of analytical categories for Criticism in Ierace BBC (2013-2016)**

Target	Percentage
Critcontspecific	28.4%
Critauthor	22.3%
Critstylelang	12.8%
Crithroughquot	12.7%
Critgencont	8.8%
Critcompvalue	6.7%
Critsubjmatter	4.0%
Critreadexper	4.7%
TOT Evaluative acts	100%

Here are the percentages of Hyland's (2004b:47) study:

**Table 7: Hyland's (2004b) analytical evaluative categories in percentages**

	Praise	Criticism
General content	50.0	33.8
Specific content	10.7	44.9
Style	9.3	9.2
Readership	15.3	3.2
Text	6.2	5.9
Author	6.7	0.1
Publishing quality	1.8	3.1

In Hyland's study, the most frequent opening move was to offer global praise for the book, using a restricted range of adjectives, such as "*interesting, comprehensive, significant and excellent*". The next most favoured opening strategy was to offer direct credit to the author, rather than to the volume itself.

In the BB Corpus, General Criticism is avoided with only 8.8% while General Praise is recurring feature of broadsheet review writing with 20.6%. Like academic reviewers, broadsheet reviewers tend to give more credit to the author than to the book. The Author is praised with a percentage of 29.3%, the highest of the analytical categories identified for this study. However, in the present study, the appreciation of the book has been declined in various categories, such as Style, Reading experience, Praise through Quotations. Therefore, it is more difficult to compare with Hyland's categories that were more focused on General and Specific Content.

In terms of Criticism, instead, Specific Content of the book receives more Criticism than the Author with 28.4% versus 22.3% respectively. Style is highly criticized with 12.8% while Criticism of General Content is quite scarce.

Both Praise and Criticism seem to address very specific issues and are usually backed up by quotations from the book. In the case of Criticism, the category Through Quotations has a percentage of 12.7% and, in the case of Praise, it has a percentage of 7.2%. However, quotations tend to occur more often to back up Criticism rather than for Praise, as if BRers needed some evidence from the book, they would like to share with the reader to substantiate their critical claims.

This study showed that the most frequent targets of the Praise and Criticism Pair are 'Specific Aspects of the book', 'General Aspects of the book' and the 'Author' while there are a very few instances of the other

analytical categories. In a way, it seems that reviewers who select the Pair as a mitigating strategy for Criticism, feel freer to evaluate key but thorny aspects of the book, such as the author's skill and the content of the book, declined in its General and Specific aspects as shown in Table 8.

**Table 8: The Targets of the Praise and Criticism Pair in Ierace's BBC (2013-2016)**

	instances	Percentage
Specific aspects of the book	42/102	41.2%
General aspects of the book	26/102	25.4%
Author	18/102	17.6%

Some points can be made about the percentage of *Praise of General content* that is quite high at 50.0, compared to the percentage of *General criticism* that is markedly lower, at 33.8. The reasons for this disparity have been explained earlier, when the dangers of General criticism were highlighted as a Face threatening act to be avoided in this public, interactional genre, embedded in genre and politeness constraints.

The data about *Author* are worth mentioning, because in Hyland's academic reviews, the author is hardly ever the target of Criticism and very rarely the target of Praise. This datum contrasts with the results of the BBC where the Author is the most frequent category of Praise with 29.9% and the second category criticized with 22.3%.

The reasons for harsher criticism towards the author of BRs, compared to academic ones, can be found in the different target audience more unknown, anonymous and heterogeneous in the case of BR and narrower, more homogenous and intimate in the case of academic reviews. Academics share a passion for the study of a discipline. They gather in a community that meets regularly at conferences. They appear as authors in the same journals and are engaged in written dialogues through papers and peer reviews.

In the BBC, Style was praised in a percentage of 7.2% and criticized in a percentage of 12.8%, while in Hyland's study there is little difference between Praise 9.3 and Criticism 9.2. It seems that broadsheet reviewers were more critical towards the author's' style and this may be explained with subgenre expectations.

It is likely that in subgenres like Fiction, Biography and History,



writers are expected to show a quality of Style that places more demands than academic writing. In other words, a novel may be judged as good or bad, depending on the style chosen by the author while an academic is not required to invent an original, creative, impactful style but simply to follow the conventions of academic writing.

The last category to consider, *Readership*, is explained by Hyland (2004b:47) as "Value or relevance for a particular readership, purpose or discipline." Academic reviewers must evaluate whether the book is a valid publication for its intended readership, students if it is a textbook, experienced researchers if it is a more advanced study of a specific topic.

In the BBC, the category of readership is not present as such. A similar category in the BBC may be Reading experience, but this category comprises reviewers' comments about their personal reading experience of the book reviewed, so it differs from Hyland's category, therefore a comparison would not be fruitful.

I will now move to the General findings of the current research, because further discussions of the choice of categories and of the organization of their coding were made in Chapter 3, where a detailed description of the analytical categories chosen for the research was presented.

#### **8.4. General Findings: The main features of Broadsheet reviews**

The thesis showed that BRs are highly opinionated texts. They are not a means to report facts. BRers present their opinion about the book and argue for their claims in a sound way, using various strategies that aim at manipulating the force of criticism through what Martin (1986:243) called Amplification. Amplification mirrors writers' attitude since it reflects "the degree of pitch movement, loudness, extended prosodic realizations of attitude and modality, intensification and superlatives, repetition and so on."

Since the present study deals with written texts, my claim is that Amplification comes to be expressed not only by the use of hedges, but it also involves more holistic rhetorical resources that run over paragraph level and concern the use of metaphor and quotations as shifters of criticism to external sources, as illustrated in Chapter 5 and the strategic distribution of evaluation in BUT clauses, as shown in chapter 6.

The thesis investigated the reasons why BRs come across as interpersonally challenging texts. The literature review showed that the main claim to be made concerns readers' expectations about the text, that are shaped by what reviews have been like in a historical, diachronic perspective. In other words, review writing is a craft that has been refined by expert members of the writing community, as maintained by Bhatia

(2004).

My claim is that politeness has been the main target BRers have pursued, together with the safeguarding of Face, in Brown and Levinson's meaning of the term. It follows that reviews in the BBC have been identified as highly dialogic texts where the voice of the reviewer seeks the consensus of the reader and strives to create a review text that can be acceptable, both to the amateur public and to the author, especially when a negative opinion of the book is foregrounded in the BR.

In a nutshell, my claim is that meeting expectations is what politeness is about. These expectations are not only individual, but class oriented. BRs are published in an editorial context, the broadsheet that has a specific audience with certain expectations and opinions, as shown in chapter 2. The British press outlines audiences for their publications and the content of their broadsheet has, in certain ways, to be approved by the reading public. Having said that, BRs are not blurbs, their main function is not promotional but informational, as argued by Gea Valor's (2005) study.

BRs are supposed to inform the reader about the contents of the book or rather about what the reviewer thought about the book. Hence, reviewers are torn between the need to fulfil two contrasting functions. The first is mainly factual, offering background information about the book that allows readers to understand their opinion, the second mainly aesthetic and evaluative-did they like the book or dislike it? On what grounds is judgement expressed? These textual features of BRs turn them into argumentative texts, where argumentation is the means to achieve a sound and unbiased evaluation of the book reviewed.

In order to craft an effective and socially acceptable argumentative process, this thesis has shown that several strategies have been enacted both at rhetorical and linguistic level. At rhetorical level, politeness principles and the safeguarding of Face are key aspects to consider when analysing BRs from a rhetorical viewpoint. Hedging and the use of both metaphors and quotations have been identified as prominent strategies to soften criticism and avoid Face threatening acts. A bottom-up approach to the data disclosed some recurring features of the BR, such as the key role played by evaluation and the space it takes up in the text, repeated patterns in the distribution of Praise and Criticism that tend to occupy the Body of the review, a high frequency of the occurrence of the Praise and Criticism Pair and the use of quotations to back up the reviewer's Criticism, for instance.

### 8.5. Patterns of evaluation in broadsheet reviews

The research questions that were posed after the preliminary study in chapter 4 section 4.1. were as follows:

- a) Is there evidence that book reviewers choose to locate evaluation within parts of the BR text?
- b) Do evaluation strategies change according to the subgenre of reviews book reviewers are evaluating?
- c) Do book reviewers tend to judge the book in a straightforward, direct way or do they privilege hedged evaluation?
- d) Who or what do book reviewers judge when they write a BR?
- e) Which interactional strategies would book reviewers choose in order to involve the reader in the text and in the judgement, they are expressing about the book reviewed?
- f) What argumentation strategies do book reviewers use to persuade readers about the rightness of their claims?

I will now summarize the findings:

- (a) The analysis of the BBC showed how BRs are extremely well-crafted texts where nothing is left to chance but the unfolding of evaluative strategies in the texts follows rhetorical needs namely to conclude the argumentative process in an effective way and to do so tending to the Face of the addressees. It follows that negative polarity, Criticism, is less frequent than positive evaluation because it is Face Threatening. Praise has a percentage of 49.3% in the BBC while Criticism has a percentage of 21.1%. In terms of evaluative distributional patterns, the current research has shown that the rhetorical distribution of the categories rather than being fortuitous, occurs in specific sections of the text that are communicatively salient. The rhetorical distribution of evaluative analytical categories is carefully planned by reviewers who chose the Body as a privileged *locus* for evaluation with 470 instances out of 700 with a percentage of 67%. In the Body, Praise (225) is more frequent than Criticism (117). In percentage terms, Praise has a frequency of 32.1% in the Body, while Criticism has a percentage of 16.7%. Praise occurs twice as often compared to Criticism. Closes are more evaluative than Openings, with 137 instances of evaluation with a percentage of 19.6% while

Openings host only 93 instances of evaluation with a percentage of 13.2%. In terms of the polarity of evaluative distributional patterns, Praise is mainly hosted in Openings (56 instances) and Closes (64 instances) with a percentage of 8% for Praise in Openings and 9.1% for Praise in Closes. Criticism, instead, is carefully avoided at the beginning of the review text, both in its unhedged and in its hedged version, with 9 and 7 instances respectively and a percentage of 1.2% for Criticism and 1% for hedged Criticism. Hedging Criticism allows reviewers to be blunter in their critical acts and that is why 'Criticism of General Aspects of the book', that is more Face-threatening, usually occurs in the Pair or in the Hedged Criticism Nodes.

- (b) This research has shown that evaluation strategies do not change dramatically according to the subgenre of the review even if there is a tendency for Fiction Brers to be more critical than Bio and History reviewers while Bio reviewers seem the most inclined to praise;
- (c) In the BBC, BRers seem to choose either hedges or the Praise and Criticism Pair when they evaluate a book. As far as hedging is concerned, reviewers feel the need to hedge their negative comments twice as much as they do when they praise. Hedged criticism has a percentage of 11.4% while Hedged praise is one third compared to Criticism with 3.6%. The Praise and Criticism Pair seems to play a relevant role also in the BBC, with a percentage of 14.5% of instances of frequency. The choice of hedging criticism and using the Pair are foregrounded by this study as two key Face tending strategies. The analysis of the BUT Database showed that Praise and Criticism Pair comes across as an effective tool to carry out argumentation in the review text. The Pair is effective from a rhetorical perspective because it is instrumental in the development and the shaping of an argument where both the strengths and weaknesses of the book are highlighted. Through the Pair, claims, even Face threatening ones, are put forward and the reviewers' opinion is justified. The Pair is also strategically used for socio-pragmatic reasons, because balancing Praise with Criticism avoids Face threatening Acts that could be inappropriate in the broadsheet genre. Reviewers opt for the Pair also within

the BUT Node because it allows them to conjoin contrasting evaluative acts that have both positive and negative polarity. In the BBC, the Pair has a Frequency of 15% and it is evenly distributed across the three subgenres with 31 evaluative acts of the Pair in Biography, 33 in Fiction and 38 in History. The Pair is mainly located in the Body with 59 instances and in the Close with 31 instances. The main Targets of the Pair are Specific Content with 42 instances, General Content with 25 instances and the Author with 19 instances.

The Pair is not only quantitatively but also qualitatively relevant because it hosts balanced evaluation that is presented in the form of contrast, as argued by Hunston (2001:26) and thus performs a pragmatically instrumental function that is softening criticism and creating a positive relationship with the audience. However, in certain parts of the review texts namely in the clauses that cluster round BUT, evaluation seems to be more direct as explained in point f.

- d) When broadsheet reviewers judge a book, in terms of Target, the findings of the Preliminary Study were confirmed by the coding and analysis of the BB Corpus. The Author and Specific Content are the main targets for Broadsheet reviewers of the BB Corpus. Recurring Targets of the analytical evaluative categories in the BBC are: Author (155), Specific Content (144), General Content (107), Evaluation through Quotations (50), Style (48), Comparative Value (41) while in the BUT Node the Target is more limited to four categories namely: Specific Content (49), General Content (19), Style (18), Author (12). In the BUT node, what is evaluated is mainly the Author, Style, General Content and Specific Aspects of the book. It can be argued that this choice is not fortuitous, but it is constrained by the communicative needs of the writer who is attempting to bring home a grounded argument. My contention is that the soundness of the argument opens the possibility of intellectual honesty and social acceptability. Specificity makes the argument coherent and Face saving. The choice of overt criticism, instead, may sound Face threatening. However, my claim is that a crafted staging of critique, softened in an opening phase where evaluation is fuzzier and gradually introduced before BUT, prepares the reader for blunter evaluation. Evaluative comments gain strength and assertiveness at the end of the BUT clause, where evidence has been presented and claims have been accounted for by a strong line of argumentation. This may be the reason why both more direct, unhedged Criticism and Criticism of General Content occur more in

the BUT Node than in the rest of the BBC;

- e) Broadsheet reviews have been described as highly dialogic and heteroglossic texts where the audience has been foregrounded as a key element in the writing of BRs. My claim is that BRs seem to be crafted envisaging the possible rebuttals of the reader. The reader's presence in the text has three different levels of granularity that range from passive to active as shown in Chapter 5, section 5.3.1.:
  - a.1.The reader is mentioned and assigned a role;
  - a.2.The reader is outlined as a friendly and supportive presence;
  - a.3.The reader is called to perform some action through directives or imperatives such as "Read the book".

Since the reader plays a prominent role, rhetorical strategies are consistently used to safeguard the Face of the interlocutor. Chapter five focused on interactional resources, such as quotations and metaphors that are used to hide the agent of Criticism and transfer responsibility for Criticism on abstract language, or on the Author of the book that is quoted to support the reviewer's claims. Other rhetorical strategies, such as questions and hedges, are exploited to guide readers through the argumentative process and make them accomplices in the presentation of claims. Hyland (1996:436) noted how readers can always refute a claim. That is why all statements require ratification. Since readers are guarantors of the negability of claims, they are given an active and constitutive role in how writers construct claims. For this reason, "mitigation is central to academic writing, as hedging signals the writer's anticipation of the opposition to a proposition." I would add not only academic but also broadsheet review writing. Chapter 7 shows how Distribution can become a means to hedge Criticism and foreground Praise, enacting a Face-saving mechanism that is beneficial to establish non-conflictual relationships with the reader. As argued by Hunston (2001:10) "hedging is a politeness device, a strategy in the maintenance of relations between writer and reader." My final claim is that the need to hedge Criticism underpins the crafting and unfolding of the broadsheet review text where criticism is often placed in the concluding stage of the argument where critical claims have been argued in a sound way as shown in chapter 7. Privileged strategies to soften claims in the BBC have been identified in hedges and the Praise and Criticism Pair;

- f) It was found that evaluation and argumentation are intertwined in this genre of text. Evaluative moves such as creating a common

ground occur within an argumentative process that safeguards the acceptability of the evaluation expressed. In other words, criticism is acceptable because it has been argued thoroughly and the reader has been persuaded of the rightness of the critical act through a sound argumentation that scaffolds the criticism. As argued by Hunston (2000:9) and Winter (in Huddleston et al 1968:570) conjunct as ‘and’ and ‘but’ ...assume common ground between reader and writer in terms of what is expected and what is unexpected at any given point in discourse.” This thesis has shown that BUT Clauses play a key role in the BBC and are foregrounded as a part of the text where evaluation tends to cluster in the form of contrast within a sound argumentative frame, adhering to the philosophical dialectical tradition. Chapter 6 has shown the BUT Node as privileged lieu for evaluation that is framed within a Praise–Criticism polarity. The focus was on how evaluation is distributed within the BUT node and how distributional patterns can be instrumental in conveying evaluative comments in a socially acceptable way that tends to Face needs through an argumentative process. To this purpose, criticism is often placed on the right of BUT while the left of BUT is a place to prepare readers for criticism either through praise or resorting to softer criticism. Another argumentative strategy that aims at negative politeness, as defined Brown and Levinson’s (1987) in the BUT Database, was the use of hedges as a mitigating strategy to foster a non- conflictual relationship with the reader, who thanks to tentative, cautious arguments presented by BRers, felt dynamic presences in the review texts rather than passive receptacles of the reviewer’s opinions. The key positive politeness strategy used in the BUT Node is the Praise and Criticism Pair for the enormous potential it has of offering a balanced, unbiased opinion that suits both the coda of the dialectical, argumentative process presented by reviewers and the social need to present judgement, especially negative, in a cautious and Face saving way, in order not to offend the author or readers. The thesis has shown as the praise part of the Pair softens subsequent criticism, making it more socially acceptable and offering the chance of more direct evaluative acts.

## 8.6. Limitations and Final Remarks

The specificity of the study means that the patterns of use detected may occur only in BRs of the specific subgenres chosen. It will be necessary, therefore, to carry out a larger scale study, where other genres such as science reviews or economics reviews are compared with the subgenres under scrutiny in this study, to see whether the findings are similar or

totally different. Moreover, the reviews that were analysed, were published in British Broadsheets. Italian, French, German or Spanish broadsheets, for instance, may have different rhetorical, culture-bound, evaluative strategies at work. A cross cultural study could find this out. This study would delve into the culture specific nature of written genres.

It is also possible that BRs do not only differ from academic, but also from tabloid reviews, which means that further research into the specificity of tabloids reviews would be helpful. Tabloid journalists seem not so interested in reviewing books, when they do, is their approach to writing as dialogic, hedges focused and argumentative, as is the case in broadsheet reviews?

I am fully aware that the current research is only a starting point to the analysis of broadsheet review texts that are of key importance in the publishing world because they can decide the success or the failure of an editorial product, also given the expectations readers have on broadsheets as the voice of the intelligentsia, as shown in Chapter 2 section 2.4.

The wealth of studies on academic writing and discourse is interesting, but it accounts for a very limited, though influential section of the writing world. The current study has a look at what happens outside Academia, in the world of review writing for the general public, in the attempt to address the balance between interest in academic writing and writing for the general public.

A specific focus on CDA was not the main interest of the current study, but a detailed analysis of linguistic realizations and rhetorical strategies, aimed at manipulating the reader through an argumentative process could foreground this aspect of BRs.

It would be also useful, from a pedagogical perspective, to carry out an action research project into how the awareness of evaluative rhetorical patterns, the object of this thesis, could help media studies students to support and develop their writing skills in BR writing. This study could offer practical examples of teaching modules for genre writing. The results of the analysis of performance in a control group and a focus group could be useful to measure the importance of becoming skilled writers, able to craft sophisticated texts, aimed at establishing solidarity with readers, while expressing an honest opinion about the book reviewed.

This study is also crucial to encourage not only good argumentative skills in writing but also critical skills in reading in a digital world where younger generations read fewer and fewer books and become what Bernstein (1971) called 'linguistically deprived' teenagers with a poor linguistic repertoire and limited abilities to grasp challenging texts.

Critical reading means empowerment.



It sets in motion refined, articulate cognitive processes. Reading skills are crucial in becoming linguistically rich and culturally aware human beings. Offering an insight into argumentative and rhetorical strategies underpinning BRs is a small but significant step towards this broader aim of raising linguistically rich generations that at present are running the risk of confining their literacy to the digital world rather than expanding it to their world and language knowledge with a serious threat to the full development of their cognitive potential.

Finally, this study may offer another example of highly specialized evaluative discourse where the participants and their interpersonal rapport is bound to impact both rhetorical and linguistic choices in the crafting of BR texts, foregrounding a social, dialogic dimension of writing that is becoming more and more relevant in linguistic studies.

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## **Appendices and Tables**

### **APPENDIX A**

Table A.1.: Reviews included in the main study of the BBC  
(Chapter 4)

Table A.1.1. Biography reviews in the BBC

Table A.1.2. Fiction reviews in the BBC

Table A.1.3. History reviews in the BBC

TABLE A.2. OVERALL CLASSIFICATION SHEET OF THE BBC

### **APPENDIX B**

Table B.1.: Number of words in the Opening, Body and Close of the  
BBC (subgenre-based) (Chapter 4)

Table B.1.1. Biography reviews IN THE BBC

Table B.1.2. Fiction reviews IN THE BBC

Table B.1.3. History reviews IN THE BBC

### **APPENDIX C**

Table C.1.: Distributional evaluative patterns of the Preliminary study  
across subgenres (Chapter 3)

Table C.2.: Evaluative Patterns in terms of Target in the Preliminary  
Study (Chapter 3)

Table C.3.: The BUT Database of the BBC (Chapter 4)

Table C.4.: The distribution of BUT extracts in the BUT Database  
(Chapter 4)

Table C.5.: The classification of hedges in the BUT Database: Adverbial  
Hedges (Chapter 7)

Table C.6.: The Target of evaluation in the BUT Database (Chapter 7)

Table C.6.1. The Praise and Criticism Pair in the BUT Database  
(Chapter 7)

Table C.6.2. The Frequency of the Target Nodes in the Pair of the BUT  
Database (Chapter 7)

### **APPENDIX D**

Evaluation in the BUT Database (Chapter 7)

List of Tables in the Thesis per Chapter



## APPENDIX A

Table A.1: Reviews included in the British Broadsheet Corpus (72 reviews) (Chapter 4)

**a) Distribution of reviews per subgenre:** 24 reviews for Biography, 24 reviews for Fiction and 24 reviews for History.

**b) Distribution of reviews per broadsheet:**

19 reviews for The Daily Telegraph

18 reviews for the TLS

17 reviews for The Guardian

18 reviews for The Independent

**Table A.1.1. BIOGRAPHY REVIEWS IN THE BBC**

REVIEW 1	BIO11DT
REVIEW 2	BIO12TLS
REVIEW 3	BIO13DT
REVIEW 4	BIO14G
REVIEW 5	BIO15TLS
REVIEW 6	BIO16DT
REVIEW 7	BIO18DT
REVIEW 8	BIO19G
REVIEW 9	BIO21G
REVIEW 10	BIO22IND
REVIEW 11	BIO22TLS
REVIEW 12	BIO23IND
REVIEW 13	BIO24IND
REVIEW 14	BIO25G
REVIEW 15	BIO26G
REVIEW 16	BIO27DT
REVIEW 17	BIO27G
REVIEW 18	BIO27IND
REVIEW 19	BIO28IND
REVIEW 20	BIO29TLS

REVIEW 21	BIO29DT
REVIEW 22	BIO29IND
REVIEW 23	BIO31TLS
REVIEW 24	BIO32TLS

**TABLE A.1.2. FICTION REVIEWS IN THE BBC CORPUS**

REVIEW 1	FICT04DT
REVIEW 2	FICT20TLS
REVIEW 3	FICT21DT
REVIEW 4	FICT23DT
REVIEW 5	FICT24TLS
REVIEW 6	FICT26TLS
REVIEW 7	FICT27G
REVIEW 8	FICT28G
REVIEW 9	FICT30G
REVIEW 10	FICT31G
REVIEW 11	FICT 33G
REVIEW 12	FICT35G
REVIEW 13	FICT35IND
REVIEW 14	FICT36IND
REVIEW 15	FICT37IND
REVIEW 16	FICT38DT
REVIEW 17	FICT38TLS
REVIEW 18	FICT39TLS
REVIEW 19	FICT40TLS
REVIEW 20	FICT40DT
REVIEW 21	FICT41IND
REVIEW 22	FICT41DT
REVIEW 23	FICT42IND
REVIEW 24	FICT43IND

**TABLE A.1.3. HISTORY REVIEWS IN THE BBC**

REVIEW 1	HIST01DT
REVIEW 2	HIST02DT
REVIEW 3	HIST03DT
REVIEW 4	HIST04DT
REVIEW 5	HIST05TLS
REVIEW 6	HIST06DT
REVIEW 7	HIST07DT
REVIEW 8	HIST07TLS
REVIEW 9	HIST08G
REVIEW 10	HIST10G
REVIEW 11	HIST11IND
REVIEW 12	HIST12IND
REVIEW 13	HIST13IND
REVIEW 14	HIST14TLS
REVIEW 15	HIST15TLS
REVIEW 16	HIST16TLS
REVIEW 17	HIST17IND
REVIEW 18	HIST17TLS
REVIEW 19	HIST18IND
REVIEW 20	HIST19DT
REVIEW 21	HIST21G
REVIEW 22	HIST22G
REVIEW 23	HIST24G
REVIEW 24	HIST24IND

**TABLE A.2. OVERALL CLASSIFICATION SHEET OF THE BBC**

Review code	Date of publication	Genre	Name of the reviewer	Newspaper	Title of the review	Title of the book	length of the review	name of the author
Bio12TLS	29/4/14	Bio	Carolyn Duttinger	TLS	Franz Kafka's badly healed wounds	Die fruhen Jahren	2705	Reiner Stach
Bio14G	27/2/2014	Bio	Stefan Collin	The Guardian	The John Carey puzzle	The Unexpected Professor: An Oxford Life in Books	2567	Stefan Collini
Bio16DT	16/3/15	Bio	Tim Bouverie	Daily Telegraph	Universal Man: The Seven Lives of John Maynard Keynes	Universal Man; The Seven Lives of John Maynard Keynes	823	Richard Davenport-Hines
BIO18DT	27/4/13	Bio	Anne Applebaum	Daily Telegraph	Charles Moore's Biography: Review by Anne Applebaum	Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography	1623	Charles Moore
BIO29IND	13/6/15	Bio	Oliver Poole	The Independent	Stalin's Daughter: the extraordinary and tumultuous life of Svetlana Alliluyeva	The Life and Death of David Kelly	3148	Rosemary Sullivan
Bio21G	14/6/15	Bio	Alan Johnson	The Guardian	Minister, Author, bon viveur	A Well-Rounded Life	1579	Jonh Campbell
BIO22Ind	15/6/15	Bio	Oliver Poole	The Independent	Elizabeth: Renaissance Prince	The fresh prince of Tudor England	553	Lisa Hilton
BIO22TLS	16/6/15	Bio	Jessie Childs	The Guardian	Colonel Blood, Father of all treasons	On the Move	768	Robert Hutchinson
Bio23IND	17/6/15	Bio	Bonnie Greer	The Independent	Magisterial biography of a comic genius	Becoming Richard Pryor	1196	Scott Saul
Bio24Ind	18/6/15	Bio	anon	The Independent	Parliament: The	Parliamen	518	Chris

				ent	Biography II by Chris Bryant: a history of Members' indiscretion s	t		Bryant
Bio25G	19/6/15	Bio	Barbara Ellen	The Guardian	Shop girl review Mary Porta's breezy memoir	Shop girl	665	Mary Porta
Bio26G	20/6/15	Bio	Sara Churchw ell	The Guardian	Tennessee William review-John Lahr's "compulsive ly readable" biography	Sex and Madness: the troubled playwright who released US? theatre from its puritanical straitjacke t	1648	John Lahr
Bio27DT	21/6/15	Bio	Francesc a Wade	Daily Telegrap h	Dangerous Liaisons among the Bloomsbury set	Bloomsbu ry's Outsider: A Life of David Garnett	945	Sara Knight
BIO27G	22/6/15	Bio	Desmond Richard	The Guardian	An impression of candour	An Impressio n of Candour	1380	Richard Desmond
BIO27IND	23/6/15	Bio	Piers Brendon	The Independ ent	New Biography strives for balance but exposes weaknesses	Charles: The Heart of a King	899	Catherine Mayer
BIO28IND	24/6/15	Bio	Keith Kahn- Harris	The Independ ent	Goebbels	Goebbels	722	Peter Longerich
BIO29TLS	25/6/15	Bio	Costica Bradatan	TLS	Dada Life	Tata Dada: The real life and celestial adventure s of Tristan Tzara	1947	Marius Hentea



BIO31TLS	26/6/15	Bio	Michael Hoffman	TLS	Rescuing Brecht	Bertolt Brecht: A literary Life	4407	Michael Hofman
BIO32TLS	27/6/15	Bio	Stuart Kelly	TLS	Enter John Aubrey	John Aubrey: My Own Life	2980	Stuart Kelly
BIO13DT	14/6/15	Bio	Miranda Seymour	Daily Telegraph	First Lady: The Life and Wars of Clementine Churchill	The Life and Wars of Clementine Churchill	4814	Sonia Purnell
BIO11DT	29/6/15	Bio	Jerry Brotton	TLS	Michelangelo	Michelangelo: an epic Life	976	Martin Gayford
BIO19G	30/6/15	Bio	D.J. Taylor	Guardian	The whiff of gunpowder: IS the key to Orwell his Englishness	George Orwell: English Rebel	1221	Robert Colls
BIO29DT	1/7/15	Bio	C. Fitz Herbert	Daily Telegraph	The Bronte Cabinet	The Bronte Cabinet	957	Deborah Lutz
BIO15TLS	2/7/15	Bio	Jillian Clark	TLS	Then and Now	Then and Now	595	Sir Lancel
FICT04DT	3/7/15	Fict	Jon Day	Daily Telegraph	Alienating	Quicksand	725	Steve Toltz
FICT21DT	9/3/15	Fict	Anthony Cummins	Daily Telegraph	On Such a Full Sea	Chang-Rae Lee is the latest novelist to try his hand at dystopian fiction	770	Chang-Rae Lee
FICT23DT	5/7/15	Fiction	David Annaud	Daily Telegraph	A Highly Unlikely Scenario	A Well-Rounded Life	401	Rachael Cantor
FICT24TLS	6/7/15	Fiction	Elizabeth J. Howard	TLS	No More Cazalet secrets	All Change	1247	Elizabeth Jane Howard
FICT26TLS	7/7/15	Fiction	Ben Jeffrey	TLS	Hanif Kureishi's Shifting Registers	The Last Word	1885	Hanif Kureishi
Fict27G	8/7/15	Fiction	Claire	The	Through the eyes of the	The Temporar	1249	Sebastian

			Kilroy	Guardian	bad guy	y Gentlema n		Barry
fict28G	9/7/15	Fiction	Robin Y. Kasab	The Guardian	The Meursault Investigation by Kamel Daoud review-an instant classic	The Meursault Investigation	900	Kamel Daoud
FICT30G	10/7/15	Fiction	James Lasdun	TLS	The legacy of Tiananmen: James Lasdun on Yiyun's Fable about protests and guilt	Kinder Than Solitude	910	Yiyun Li
Fict31G	11/7/15	Fiction	Stevie Davis	The Guardian	This woman's life	The Legacy of Elizabeth Pringle	641	Kirsty Wark
Fict35IND	12/7/15	Fiction	James Kidd	The Independent	The surrealist painter led a life strange enough for fiction	Leonora: A Novel	573	Elena Poniatowska
Fict36IND	13/7/15	Fiction	Boyd Tonkin	The Independent	Hard Hitting realism from the anti-knausgaard	Encircling	404	Carl Frode Tiller
Fict37IND	14/7/15	Fiction	Amanda Hopkinson	The Independent	The way Things were by Aatish Taseer	The Way Things Were	397	Aatish Taseer
FICT38DT	15/7/15	Fiction	Lucy Daniel	Daily Telegraph	A wry grasp of modern foibles	The Parrots	387	Alexandra Shulman
FICT38TLS	16/7/15	Fiction	Kathryn Sutherland	TLS	Reading well with Caryl Phillips	The Lost Child	1179	Caryl Phillips
FICT39TLS	17/7/15	Fiction	Michael Hoffman	TLS	The lost Lowry	In Ballast to the White Sea	1448	Patrick McCarthy and Chris Ackerley
FICT41IND	18/7/15	Fiction	Peter Carty	The Independent	Blooming marvellous	The Seed Collection	454	Scarlett Thomas
FICT33G	19/7/15	Fiction	Nicholas	The	Iain Bank's book is so	The	753	Iain Banks

			Lizard	Guardian	damned likable	Quarry		
FICT43IND	20/7/15	Fiction	Marchie Orford	The Independent	Powerful Plea for Palestine	The Blue Between Sky and Water	476	Susan Abulhawa
FICT40DT	21/7/15	Fiction	Elena Seymenliyska	Daily Telegraph	Nowhere to hide	Memoirs of a Dipper	725	Nell Leyshan
FICT20TLS	22/7/15	Fiction	Ian Thompson	TLS	The ethics of Primo Levi	The complete works of Primo Levi	2314	Ann Goldstein
FICT 42 IND	23/7/15	Fiction	Hope Whitmore	The Independent	Finding solace from home	The readers of Broken Wheel	547	Katarina Bivald
FICT41DT	24/7/15	Fiction	Sarah Crown	Daily Telegraph	My name is Lucy Barton	My name is Lucy Barton	700	Elizabeth Strout
FICT40TLS	25/7/15	Fiction	Gwendoline Riley	TLS	Elizabeth Harrower's watchful brilliance	In Certain Circles	1684	Elizabeth Harrower
Fict35G	26/7/15	Fiction	Linda Buckley-Archer	The Guardian	The Lie Tree by Francis Harding	The Lie Tree	561	Francis Harding
HIST01DT	27/7/15	History	David Robson	Daily Telegraph	The William Hill-winning tale of a sixties race-fixing ring is let down by plodding prose	Doped	792	Jamie Reid
Hist02DT	28/7/15	History	Ben Wilson	Daily Telegraph	Britain Against Napoleon	Britain Against Napoleon: The organization of Victory 1793-1815	830	Roger Knight
Hist03DT	29/7/15	History	Virginia Rounding	Daily Telegraph	An impressive history of a persecuted religious	God's Traitors: Terror and Faith	695	Jessie Child

					minority in England ready to die and kill for their faith	in Elizabethan England		
Hist04TLS	28/8/13	History	Ritchie Robertson	TLS	Metropolis Berlin 1880-1940	When Berlin bombed	2483	Ian Whyte and David Frisby
HIST04DT	30/7/15	History	Francesca Wade	TLS	Sicily	Sicily	574	John Julius Norwich
HIST05TLS	31/7/15	History	Jerry Treglown	TLS	After the Generalissimo	Franco's crypt: Spanish culture and memory	1919	Jeremy Treglown
HIST06DT	1/8/15	History	Harry Mount	Daily Telegraph	Exotic England: the making of a curious nation	Exotic England	860	Yasmin Alibhai Brown
HIST07DT	2/8/15	History	Keith Lowe	Daily Telegraph	Operation Thunderbolt	Operation Thunderbolt	833	Saul David
HIST07TLS	3/8/15	History	Helen Hackett	TLS	Royal Pillow Talk	Elizabeth's Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court	1570	Anne Whitelock
Hist08G	4/8/15	History	Richard J. Evans	The Guardian	Hitler's first victims	Hitler's first victims: And One Man's Race for Justice by Timothy W. Ryback	1315	Timothy Ryback
Hist10G	5/8/15	History	Lucy Hughes Hallet	The Guardian	I offer my life to your o Duce	The Pope and Mussolini: The secret history of Pius XI and	1357	David Kretzer

						the Rise of Fascism in Europe		
HIST11IND	6/8/15	History	Michele Roberts	The Independent	Perfect wives in ideal homes	Perfect wives in ideal homes	1067	Virginia Nicholson
Hist12IND	7/8/15	History	Brian Sewell	The Independent	An Italy of pasta and pizza but none of Mamma's rabbit	The Italians	862	John Hopper
Hist13IND	8/8/15	History	Daniel Hahn	The Independent	History retold, word by word	Swansong 1945	507	Walter Kempowski
Hist14TLS	9/8/15	History	Sarah Wise	TLS	Sound the Sirens	The Making of the Modern Police	1584	Paul Lawrence
HIST15TLS	10/8/15	History	Richard Sakwa	TLS	Putin's Kleptocracy	Is Russia really a kleptocracy?	2008	Karen Dawisha
Hist16TLS	11/8/15	History	Peter Stothard	TLS	Remembering Parthenope: The reception of classical Naples from antiquity to present		1350	Noel Malcom
HIST17IND	12/8/15	History	James Runcie	The Independent	Judas: The Troubling History of the Renegade Apostle	Judas: The Troubling History of the Renegade Apostle	605	Peter Stanford
HIST17TLS	13/8/15	History	George Bornstein	TLS	A literary War	When Books went to War	1463	Molly Guptill Manning
HIST18IND	14/8/15	History	Julie McDowall	The Independent	This new noise: The Extraordinary Birth and Troubled Life of the	This new noise: The Extraordinary Birth and Troubled	565	Charlotte Higgins

					BBC	Life of the BBC		
HIST19DT	15/8/15	History	Jerry Brotton	Daily Telegraph	Agents of Empire	Agents of Empire	1476	Noel Malcom
HIST21G	16/8/15	History	Rowan Moore	The Guardian	Flights of fancy in an age of revolution	Landscapes of Communism	1007	Owen Hatherley
Hist22G	17/8/15	History	John Gallagher	The Guardian	Agents of the Empire- a dazzling history of the 16th century Mediterranean	Agents of the Empire	1281	Noel Malcom
Hist24G	18/8/15	History	Sarah Wise	The Guardian	A powerful study of how aversion therapy was used to 'treat' homosexuality exposes a nasty episode in recent British history	Curing Queers: Mental Nurses and Their Patients	1307	Tommy Dickinson
Hist24Ind	19/8/15	History	Marcus Tanner	The Independent	Once Upon a Time in Russia: The Rise of the Oligarchs and the Greatest Wealth in History	Once Upon a Time in Russia: The Rise of the Oligarchs and the Greatest Wealth in History	602	Ben Mezrich



## Appendix B

**TABLE B.1.: Number of words in the Opening, Body and Close of the BBC (subgenre based)**

### B.1.1. BIOGRAPHY REVIEWS

Review number	Review Subgenre	Review opening	Review Body	Review close	TOT
Review 1	BIO11DT	173	731	72	976
Review 2	BIO12TLS	95	2480	130	2705
Review 3	BIO13DT	200	593	70	863
Review 4	BIO14G	140	2269	158	2567
Review 5	BIO15TLS	78	437	80	595
Review 6	BIO16DT	129	595	99	823
Review 7	BIO18DT	228	1316	79	1623
Review 8	BIO19G	152	924	115	1191
Review 9	BIO21G	136	1342	101	1579
Review 10	BIO22IND	129	595	99	823
Review 11	BIO22TLS	163	513	92	768
Review 12	BIO23IND	41	1100	55	1196
Review 13	BIO24IND	100	364	54	518
Review 14	BIO25G	131	448	86	665
Review 15	BIO26G	218	1345	85	1648
Review 16	BIO27DT	75	734	136	945
Review 17	BIO27G	184	1069	127	1380
Review 18	BIO27IND	346	433	120	899
Review 19	BIO28G	94	656	72	822
Review 20	BIO29TLS	194	1694	59	1947
Review 21	BIO29DT	233	636	88	957
Review 22	BIO29IND	91	1789	78	1958
Review 23	BIO31TLS	225	4095	94	4414
Review 24	BIO32TLS	137	2699	144	2980
TOT		3692	28857	2293	34842



### B.1.2. FICTION REVIEWS IN THE BBC CORPUS

		OPENING	BODY	CLOSE	TOT
REVIEW 1	FICT04DT	123	481	111	715
REVIEW 2	FICT20TLS	172	1918	224	2314
REVIEW 3	FICT21DT	136	495	134	765
REVIEW 4	FICT23DT	131	231	39	401
REVIEW 5	FICT24TLS	198	936	113	1247
REVIEW 6	FICT26TLS	216	1499	170	1885
REVIEW 7	FICT27G	255	829	165	1249
REVIEW 8	FICT28G	128	676	96	900
REVIEW 9	FICT30G	77	706	133	916
REVIEW 10	FICT31G	114	414	113	641
REVIEW 11	FICT 33G	84	604	65	753
REVIEW 12	FICT35G	107	346	108	561
REVIEW 13	FICT35IND	99	380	94	573
REVIEW 14	FICT36IND	82	238	84	404
REVIEW 15	FICT37IND	78	292	27	397
REVIEW 16	FICT38DT	126	213	48	387
REVIEW 17	FICT38TLS	131	975	73	1179
REVIEW 18	FICT39TLS	177	1207	64	1448
REVIEW 19	FICT40TLS	310	1151	223	1684
REVIEW 20	FICT40DT	117	256	129	502
REVIEW 21	FICT41IND	147	241	66	454
REVIEW 22	FICT41DT	138	494	68	700
REVIEW 23	FICT42IND	96	373	78	547
REVIEW 24	FICT43IND	104	298	74	476
TOT		3346	15253	2499	21098

### B.1.3. HISTORY REVIEWS IN THE BBC

Review number	Review code	OPENING	BODY	CLOSE	TOT
REVIEW 1	HIST01DT	150	528	114	792
REVIEW 2	HIST02DT	131	613	86	830
REVIEW 3	HIST03DT	173	985	123	1281
REVIEW 4	HIST04TLS	109	294	171	574
REVIEW 5	HIST05TLS	189	1528	202	1919
REVIEW 6	HIST06DT	228	528	104	860
REVIEW 7	HIST07DT	135	640	58	833

REVIEW 8	HIST07TLS	218	1292	60	1570
REVIEW 9	HIST09G	193	1059	63	1315
REVIEW 10	HIST10G	144	1087	126	1357
REVIEW 11	HIST11IND	156	840	71	1067
REVIEW 12	HIST12IND	143	556	163	862
REVIEW 13	HIST13IND	113	346	48	507
REVIEW 14	HIST14TLS	174	1327	83	1584
REVIEW 15	HIST15TLS	48	526	31	605
REVIEW 16	HIST16TLS	187	1096	67	1350
REVIEW 17	HIST17IND	48	526	31	605
REVIEW 18	HIST17TLS	177	1224	62	1463
REVIEW 19	HIST18IND	118	364	83	565
REVIEW 20	HIST19DT	123	1295	58	1476
REVIEW 21	HIST21G	141	799	67	1007
REVIEW 22	HIST22G	173	985	123	1281
REVIEW 23	HIST24G	224	896	187	1307
REVIEW 24	HIST24IND	96	404	102	602
TOT		3591	19738	2283	25612

**Total number of words in the BBC: 81.552**



**Appendix C: Table C.1: Distributional evaluative Patterns in the Preliminary Study across subgenres (CHAPTER 3)**

TABLE 1A PRAISE DISTRIBUTION Biography												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
Bio 11DT	1	173	5.8	8	731	10.9	1	72	13.9	976	10	10.2
Bio31TLS	0	218	0.0	15	4095	3.7	0	94	0.0	4407	15	3.4
BIO23IND	2	41	48.8	5	1100	4.5	0	55	0.0	1196	7	5.9
BIO27G	0	218	0.0	3	1345	2.2	0	85	0.0	1648	3	1.8
TOTAL	3	650	4.6	31	7271	4.3	1	306	3.3	8227	35	4.3
TABLE 1B PRAISE DISTRIBUTION Fiction												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
Fict21DT	0	136	0.0	1	495	2.0	1	134	7.5	765	2	2.6
FICT26TLS	1	216	4.6	2	1499	1.3	0	170	0.0	1885	3	1.6
FICT27G	1	255	3.9	2	829	2.4	0	165	0.0	1249	3	2.4
FICT35IND	0	99	0.0	1	380	2.6	0	94	0.0	573	1	1.7
TOTAL	2	706	2.8	6	3203	1.9	1	563	1.8	4472	9	2.0
TABLE 1C PRAISE DISTRIBUTION History												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
HIST01DT	0	150	0.0	2	528	3.8	0	114	0.0	792	2	2.5
HIST12IND	0	156	0.0	1	840	1.2	1	71	14.1	1067	2	1.9
HIST04TLS	1	164	6.1	2	2198	0.9	0	121	0.0	2483	3	1.2
HIST09G	1	166	6.0	2	661	3.0	0	63	0.0	890	3	3.4
TOTAL	2	636	3.1	7	4227	1.7	1	369	2.7	5232	10	1.9
TABLE 1D PRAISE SUMMARY TABLE DISTRIBUTION ACROSS SUBGENRES												
	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS

BIO	3	650	4.6	31	7271	4.3	1	306	3.3	8227	35	4.3
FCT	2	706	2.8	6	3203	1.9	1	563	1.8	4472	9	2.0
HIST	2	636	3.1	6	4227	1.4	2	369	5.4	5232	10	1.9
TOTAL	7	1992	3.5	43	14701	2.9	4	1238	3.2	17931	54	3.0

TABLE 2A CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION BIOGRAPHY

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
Bio 11DT	0	173	0.0	2	731	2.7	0	72	0.0	976	2	2.0
Bio31TLS	0	218	0.0	0	4095	0.0	0	94	0.0	4407	0	0.0
BIO23IND	0	41	0.0	0	1100	0.0	0	55	0.0	1196	0	0.0
BIO26G	0	218	0.0	5	1345	3.7	0	85	0.0	1648	5	3.0
TOTAL	0	650	0.0	7	7271	1.0	0	306	0.0	8227	7	0.9

TABLE 2B CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION Fiction

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
FICT21DT	0	136	0.0	2	495	4.0	0	134	0.0	765	2	2.6
FICT26TLS	0	216	0.0	7	1499	4.7	2	170	11.8	1885	9	4.8
FICT27G	0	255	0.0	0	829	0.0	0	165	0.0	1249	0	0.0
FICT35IND	1	99	10.1	0	380	0.0	0	94	0.0	573	1	1.7
TOTAL	1	706	1.4	9	3203	2.8	2	563	3.6	4472	12	2.7

TABLE 2C CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION History

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
HIST01DT	1	150	6.7	1	528	1.9	0	114	0.0	792	2	0.3
HIST04TLS	0	156	0.0	1	840	1.2	1	71	14.1	1067	2	0.2
HIST09G	0	164	0.0	0	2198	0.0	0	121	0.0	2483	0	0.0
HIST12IND	0	166	0.0	2	661	3.0	0	63	0.0	890	2	0.2
TOTAL	1	636	1.6	4	4227	0.9	1	369	2.7	5232	6	0.1

TABLE 2D SUMMARY TABLE CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION ACROSS SUBGENRES

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
BIO	0	650	0.0	7	7271	1.0	0	306	0.0	8227	7	0.9
FCT	1	706	1.4	9	3203	2.8	2	563	3.6	4472	12	2.7
HIST	1	636	1.6	4	4227	0.9	1	369	2.7	5232	6	1.1
TOTAL	2	1992	1.0	20	14701	1.4	3	1238	2.4	17931	25	1.4

TABLE 3A PRAISE AND CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION BIOGRAPHY

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
Bio 11DT	0	173	0.0	2	731	2.7	1	72	13.9	976	3	0.3
Bio31TLS	0	218	0.0	0	4095	0.0	0	94	0.0	4407	0	0.0
BIO23IND	1	41	24.4	0	1100	0.0	0	55	0.0	1196	1	0.1
BIO26G	2	218	9.2	1	1345	0.7	0	85	0.0	1648	3	0.2
TOTAL	3	650	4.6	3	7271	0.4	1	306	3.3	8227	7	0.1

TABLE 3B PRAISE AND CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION Fiction

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
FICT21DT	0	136	0.0	0	495	0.0	1	134	7.5	765	1	1.3
FICT26TLS	1	216	4.6	3	1499	2.0	0	170	0.0	1885	4	2.1
FICT27G	1	255	3.9	1	829	1.2	1	165	6.1	1249	3	2.4
FICT35IND	0	99	0.0	2	380	5.3	0	94	0.0	573	2	3.5
TOTAL	2	706	2.8	6	3203	1.9	2	563	3.6	4472	10	2.2

TABLE3C PRAISE AND CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION History

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
HIST01DT	1	150	6.7	2	528	3.8	0	114	0.0	792	3	3.8
HIST12IND	1	156	6.4	2	840	2.4	1	71	14.1	1067	4	3.7

HIST04TLS	0	164	0.0	1	2198	0.5	0	121	0.0	2483	1	0.4
HIST09G	1	166	6.0	0	661	0.0	0	63	0.0	890	1	1.1
TOTAL	3	636	4.7	5	4227	1.2	1	369	2.7	5232	9	1.7

TABLE 3D SUMMARY TABLE: PRAISE AND CRITICISM ACROSS SUBGENRES

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
BIO	3	650	4.6	3	7271	0.4	1	306	3.3	8227	7	0.9
FICT	2	706	2.8	6	3203	1.9	2	563	3.6	4472	10	2.2
HIST	3	636	4.7	5	4227	1.2	1	369	2.7	5232	9	1.7
TOTAL	8	1992	4.0	14	14701	1.0	4	1238	3.2	17931	26	1.5

TABLE 4A HEDGED PRAISE DISTRIBUTION BIOGRAPHY

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
Bio 11DT	0	173	0.0	0	731	0.0	0	72	0.0	976	0	0.0
Bio31TLS	0	218	0.0	1	4095	0.2	0	94	0.0	4407	1	0.2
BIO23IND	1	41	24.4	0	1100	0.0	0	55	0.0	1196	1	0.8
BIO26G	0	218	0.0	0	1345	0.0	0	85	0.0	1648	0	0.0
TOTAL	1	650	1.5	1	7271	0.1	0	306	0.0	8227	2	0.2

TABLE 4B HEDGED PRAISE DISTRIBUTION Fiction

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WORDS
FICT21DT	0	136	0.0	2	495	4.0	1	134	7.5	765	3	3.9
FICT26TLS	2	216	9.3	1	1499	0.7	0	170	0.0	1885	3	1.6
FICT27G	1	255	3.9	1	829	1.2	0	165	0.0	1249	2	1.6
FICT35IND	0	99	0.0	0	380	0.0	0	94	0.0	573	0	0.0
TOTAL	3	706	4.2	4	3203	1.2	1	563	1.8	4472	8	1.8

TABLE 4C HEDGED PRAISE DISTRIBUTION History

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evaluative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000
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												WOR DS
HIST01DT	0	150	0.0	0	528	0.0	1	114	8.8	792	1	1.3
HIST12IND	1	156	6.4	0	840	0.0	0	71	0.0	1067	1	0.9
HIST04TLS	0	164	0.0	0	2198	0.0	0	121	0.0	2483	0	0.0
HIST09G	0	166	0.0	0	661	0.0	0	63	0.0	890	0	0.0
TOTAL	1	636	1.6	0	4227	0.0	1	369	2.7	5232	2	0.4

SUMMARY TABLE 4D HEDGED PRAISE DISTRIBUTION ACROSS SUBGENRES

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WOR DS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evalu ative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WOR DS
BIO	1	650	1.5	1	7271	0.1	0	306	0.0	8227	2	0.2
FCT	1	706	1.4	4	3203	1.2	1	563	1.8	4472	6	1.3
HIST	1	636	1.6	1	4227	0.2	0	369	0.0	5232	2	0.4
TOTAL	3	1992	1.5	6	14701	0.4	1	1238	0.8	17931	10	0.6

TABLE 5A HEDGED CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION BIOGRAPH

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evalu ative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WOR DS
Bio 11DT	0	173	0.0	0	731	0.0	0	72	0.0	976	0	0.0
Bio31TLS	0	218	0.0	1	4095	0.2	0	94	0.0	4407	1	0.2
BIO23IND	0	41	0.0	0	1100	0.0	0	55	0.0	1196	0	0.0
BIO26G	0	218	0.0	0	1345	0.0	0	85	0.0	1648	0	0.0
TOTAL	0	650	0.0	1	7271	0.1	0	306	0.0	8227	1	0.1

TABLE 5B HEDGED CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION Fiction

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evalu ative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WOR DS
FICT21DT	0	136	0.0	3	495	6.1	1	134	7.5	765	4	5.2
FICT26TLS	0	216	0.0	2	1499	1.3	2	170	11.8	1885	4	2.1
FICT27G	0	255	0.0	3	829	3.6	1	165	6.1	1249	4	3.2
FICT35IND	0	99	0.0	0	380	0.0	0	94	0.0	573	0	0.0
TOTAL	0	706	0.0	8	3203	2.5	4	563	7.1	4472	12	2.7



TABLE 5C HEDGED CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION History

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evalu ative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WOR DS
HIST01DT	0	150	0.0	0	528	0.0	0	114	0.0	792	0	0.0
HIST12IND	0	156	0.0	2	840	2.4	1	71	14.1	1067	3	2.8
HIST04TLS	0	164	0.0	2	2198	0.9	1	121	8.3	2483	3	1.2
HIST09G	0	166	0.0	0	661	0.0	1	63	15.9	890	1	1.1
TOTAL	0	636	0.0	4	4227	0.9	3	369	8.1	5232	7	1.3

SUMMARY TABLE 5D HEDGED CRITICISM DISTRIBUTION ACROSS SUBGENRES

	Opening		PER 1000 WORDS	Body		PER 1000 WORDS	Close		PER 1000	Word total	Evalu ative acts	OVER ALL PER 1000 WOR DS
BIO	0	650	0.0	1	7271	0.1	0	306	0.0	8227	1	0.1
FICT	0	706	0.0	8	3203	2.5	4	563	7.1	4472	12	2.7
HIST	0	636	0.0	4	4227	0.9	3	369	8.1	5232	7	1.3
TOTAL	0	1992	0.0	13	14701	0.9	7	1238	5.7	17931	20	1.1

**Table C2: Evaluative Patterns in terms of Target in the Preliminary Study across subgenres (Chapter 3)**

	TABLE 12A: THE TARGET OF PRAISE IN BIOGRAPHY										
	general praise conten t	specifi c praise conten t	praise author	praise style	praise compa rative	praise readin g experi ence	praise thr quot	praise subjec t matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
Bio 11DT	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	10	976	10,25
Bio31TLS	0	0	6	0	0	1	2	0	9	4407	2,04
BIO23IND	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1196	2,51
BIO26G	3	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	1648	4,25
TOTAL	5	7	13	0	0	1	3	0	29	7031	
	TABLE 12B: THE TARGET OF PRAISE IN FICTION										
	general praise conten t	specifi c praise conten t	praise author	praise style	praise compa rative	praise readin g experi ence	praise thr quot	praise subjec t matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
FICT21DT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	765	0,00
FICT26TLS	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1885	1,06
FICT27G	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1249	1,60
FICT35IND	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	573	1,75
TOTAL	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	5	3223	
	TABLE 12 C: THE TARGET OF PRAISE IN HISTORY										
	general praise conten t	specifi c praise conten t	praise author	praise style	praise compa rative	praise readin g experi ence	praise thr quot	praise subjec t matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
HIST01DT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	792	0,00
HIST04TLS	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1067	1,87
HIST09G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2483	0,00
HIST12IND	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	890	1,12
TOTAL	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	2749	
	SUMMARY TABLE 12 D: THE TARGET OF PRAISE ACROSS SUBGENRES										
	general praise conten t	specifi c praise conten t	praise author	praise style	praise compa rative	praise readin g experi ence	praise thr quot	praise subjec t matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
BIO	5	7	13	0	2	1	2	9	39	8227	4,74
FICT	1	2	3	0	1	0	0	1	8	4472	1,79
HIST	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	1	7	5232	1,34
TOTAL	6	11	19	0	4	1	2	11	54	13459	



	TABLE 14 A: THE TARGET OF PRAISE AND CRITICISM IN BIOGRAPHY										
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise comparative	praise reading experience	praise thru quot	praise subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000
Bio 11DT	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	976	3,07
Bio31TLS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4407	0,00
BIO23IND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1196	0,00
BIO26G	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1648	1,82
TOTAL	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	6	7031	
	TABLE 14 B: THE TARGET OF PRAISE AND CRITICISM IN FICTION										
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise comparative	praise reading experience	praise thru quot	praise subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000
FICT21DT	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	6	765	7,84
FICT26TLS	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	5	1885	2,65
FICT27G	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1249	2,40
FICT35IND	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	573	3,49
TOTAL	5	4	2	1	0	2	2	0	16	3223	
	TABLE 14 C: THE TARGET OF PRAISE AND CRITICISM IN HISTORY										
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise comparative	praise reading experience	praise thru quot	praise subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000
HIST01DT	2	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	6	792	7,58
HIST12IND	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	7	1067	6,56
HIST04TLS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2483	0,00
HIST09G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	890	0,00
TOTAL	6	3	3	0	0	1	0	0	13	2749	
	SUMMARY TABLE 14 D THE TARGET OF PRAISE AND CRITICISM ACROSS SUBGENRES										
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise comparative	praise reading experience	praise thru quot	praise subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000
BIO	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	8227	0,73

FICT	4	4	3	0	0	1	1	0	13	4472	2,91
HIST	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	7	5232	1,34
TOTAL	10	8	6	0	0	1	1	0	26	13459	
	TABLE 15 A: THE TARGET OF HEDGED PRAISE IN BIOGRAPHY										
	general hedged praise content	specific hedged praise content	Hedged praise author	Hedged praise style	Hedged praise comparative	Hedged praise reading experience	Hedged praise through quot	hedged praise subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000
Bio 11DT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	976	0,00
Bio31TLS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4407	0,23
BIO23IND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1196	0,00
BIO26G	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1648	0,61
TOTAL	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7031	
	TABLE 15 B: THE TARGET OF HEDGED PRAISE IN FICTION										
	general hedged praise content	specific hedged praise content	Hedged praise author	hedged praise style	Hedged praise comparative	Hedged praise reading experience	Hedged praise through quot	hedged praise subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000
FICT21DT	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	765	6,54
FICT26TLS	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	1885	3,18
FICT27G	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	5	1249	4,00
FICT35IND	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	573	3,49
TOTAL	12	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	18	3223	
	TABLE 15 C: THE TARGET OF HEDGED PRAISE IN HISTORY										
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise comparative	praise reading experience	praise through quot	hedged praise subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000
HIST01DT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	792	0,00
HIST12IND	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1067	1,87
HIST09G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2483	0,00
HIST04TLS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	890	0,00
TOTAL	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2749	
	TABLE 15 D: SUMMARY TARGET OF HEDGED PRAISE ACROSS SUBGENRES										
	general praise content	specific praise content	praise author	praise style	praise comparative	praise reading experience	praise through quot	hedged praise subject matter	total occurrences	number of words	Per 1000

BIO	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8227	0,12
FICT	4	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	8	4472	1,79
HIST	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5232	0,19
TOTAL	6	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	10	13459	
	TABLE 16 A: THE TARGET OF HEDGED CRITICISM IN BIOGRAPHY										
	gener al crit cont ent	specifi c crit conten t	Crit author	Crit style	crit compa rative	crit readin g experi ence	crit thr quot	hedged criticis m subjec t matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
Bio 11DT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	976	2,05
Bio31TLS	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	4407	0,23
BIO23IND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1196	0,00
BIO26G	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1648	0,61
TOTAL	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	4	7031	
	TABLE 16 B: THE TARGET OF HEDGED CRITICISM IN FICTION										
	gener al crit cont ent	specifi c crit conten t	Crit author	Crit style	crit compa rative	crit readin g experi ence	crit thr quot	hedged criticis m subjec t matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
FICT21DT	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	765	6,54
FICT26TLS	1	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	8	1885	4,24
FICT27G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1249	0,00
FICT35IND	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	573	1,75
TOTAL	3	5	4	1	0	0	1	0	14	3223	
	TABLE 16 C: THE TARGET OF HEDGED CRITICISM IN HISTORY										
	gener al crit cont ent	specifi c crit conten t	Crit author	crit style	crit compa rative	Crit readin g experi ence	Crit thr quot	hedged criticis m subjec t matter	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000
HIST01DT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	792	0,00
HIST12IND	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1067	4,69
HIST04TLS	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	2483	1,21
HIST09G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	890	0,00
TOTAL	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	8	2749	
	SUMMARY TABLE 16 D: THE TARGET OF HEDGED CRITICISM ACROSS SUBGENRES										
	gener al crit cont ent	specifi c crit conten t	Crit author	Crit style	crit compa rative	Crit readin g experi	Crit thr quot	hedged criticis m subjec	total occurr ences	number of words	Per 1000

						ence		t matter			
BIO	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8227	0,36
FICT	4	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	10	4472	2,24
HIST	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	7	5232	1,34
TOTAL	7	7	2	2	0	0	1	1	20	13459	

**TABLE C3: THE BUT DATABASE OF THE BBC (Chapter 4)**  
**111 EVALUATIVE OCCURRENCES OF BUT**  
**BIOGRAPHY**

- 1) Ultimately, Gayford is overwhelmed by his task, but it is hard to imagine who would not be when faced with such a Herculean challenge. (BIO11DT)  
CLOSE
- 2) For a brisk and reliable read on Michelangelo's life, with flashes of intuitive brilliance on the works, Gayford's book does what it sets out to achieve, but I hope he soon returns to what he does best: pursuing the fugitive fragment, rather than the epic colossus. (BIO11DT) CLOSE
- 3) When it comes to Brod, Stach is no objective chronicler but wittily, sparkingly biased, though his account does not lack empathy. (Bio12TLS)  
BODY
- 4) For all its erudition, however, this remains a deeply intimate biography, which follows its protagonist in an empathetic, but never invasive, way. (Bio12TLS) CLOSE
- 5) This, then, is his autobiography, but one in which books - books he read, books he wrote, books he admired, books he reviewed - play an unusually large part. But perhaps a lot of Carey's life has been like this - or, at least, experienced through these categories BIO14G(BODY)
- 6) Best of all, perhaps, are the few spare but generous passages about his father, a man who in the early 1930s fell from more than comfortable wealth to a somewhat straitened existence as an accountant, yet who remained upright and embittered. (BIO14G) BODY
- 7) Again, when he is speaking of the marvellous Faber Book of Reportage, he compiled in 1987, he can't resist pushing his point too far: "All knowledge of the past that isn't just supposition derives from people who can say 'I was there'." Well, first-hand reporting is indeed a valuable kind of source, though also sometimes problematic, but this wilfully disregards the complex way in which historical understanding is built up in favour of a blokeish insistence that if it's not eyewitness testimony then it's a load of hooey. (BIO14G)  
BODY
- 8) In spring 2001 some leading Augustinian scholars were invited to celebrate "le grand philosophe algerien". The green carpet was rolled out for them, and armed guards watched over their visits to inaccessible sites. Augustine's birthplace, Tagaste, is now Souk Ahras, his cathedral town of Hippo Regius is Annaba, and post-colonial Algeria is claiming its own. Serge Lancel resists any suggestion that Augustine was typically "African", but this splendidly full biography rests on decades of engagement with Roman Africa. (BIO15TLS) OPENING
- 9) Reading this very French work in English has its problems. You need some acquaintance with theology and with French literary classics ("Augustine was



- no Rastignac"). The translation often allows the reader to enjoy Lancel's style, but it has occasional weaknesses, and should have been checked by a classicist. (Bio15TLS) BODY
- 10) All this is pleasantly conveyed, but it requires profound knowledge of texts, scholarship and landscape. (Bio 15TLS) CLOSE
- 11) For Davenport-Hines, this is entirely deliberate. As Keynes wrote, "the worst of economics is that it really is a technical and complicated subject", unsuited to a general readership. But for Davenport-Hines there is also a more profound reason, which becomes apparent through this highly enjoyable series of portraits: Keynes's economics were not created out of a theoretical or mathematical firmament but were the product of his wider life. (BIO 16DT) BODY
- 12) Robert Colls is a professor of cultural **history**, and in this capacity author of *Identity of England* (2002), but he doesn't write like an academic, and some of his voluminous endnotes carry a whiff of gunpowder, or at any rate the hint of a very unacademic asperity. (BIO19G) OPENING
- 13) As Colls points out, he arrived there shortly after the town had suffered the threat of a miners' strike, but doesn't appear to have noticed. He takes no interest in Labour party **history**, knows nothing of institutions such as Socialist Sunday Schools and Leagues of Youth that were at work rallying the local community, and shuts his eyes to "the more gregarious and entertaining aspects of life in an industrial town". Football, the variety hall and the Boys Brigade might just as well not have existed. (BIO19G) BODY
- 14) It isn't always accurate in some of its incidental detail, but is convincing in its claims that many of the reading public's assumptions about Orwell are woefully misguided and that the development of his political views was far more complicated a process than it may look from the outside. (BIO19G) BODY
- 15) Deceived with Kindness; Knights's biography is an attempt to rehabilitate Bunny's reputation: it is a sympathetic, thorough and witty portrait of a flawed but lovable man. (Bio 19 G)CLOSE
- 16) These were violent times, as this riveting book reveals, but it is hard to square this assessment with the fate of Talbot Edwards. The septuagenarian custodian of the royal regalia struggled to pay his medical bills and never saw a penny from the Crown. (BIO22TLS) CLOSE
- 17) It is then, that *Becoming Richard Pryor* reveals itself to be not simply a biography, but the compassionate map of a terra incognita. (Bio 23Ind) CLOSE
- 18) There is no mention anywhere of Thomas Hansard, the printer who launched the first official record of Parliament's proceedings, but there is, oddly, a comprehensive list of MPs in the current Parliament who are "out" gays, and a complete rundown of the hometowns of all the bishops of Bath and Wells from 1727 to 1854 – none of whom deigned to live anywhere near their congregations.(Bio 24Ind)BODY

- 19) A trained historian would have made a different choice of material, I suspect, but there again, anyone who writes for a living might have balked at embarking on such a vast project. (BIO24IND) CLOSE
- 20) It is more surprising that a biographer in 2014 should agree. Williams called his mother “a moderately controlled hysteric”. Lahr adds: “... like many hysterics, she had trouble with her body; she was frigid”. But Williams also referred to Edwina’s “monolithic puritanism”, implying that her fears were those of her culture: Lahr never suggests that she, too, might have been a casualty of her upbringing. He casually refers to the “castrating wildfulness” of one female friend and tells us that Williams’s “evolution into genital sexuality – so essential for male adulthood – had been woefully postponed”. (Bio 26G) BODY
- 21) This may sound like quibbling, but such blinkered Freudian judgmentalism precludes an objective view of Williams’s life. His plays already tender the emotional valences of his world: we need critical neutrality, not a validation of his more overwrought ideas. (Bio 26G) BODY
- 22) Lahr starts in 1945, with *The Glass Menagerie*, but never fully explains Williams’s childhood. Gaps and repetitions ensue, along with confusing sequences that tell us of Williams’s emotional reactions to events we haven’t yet encountered. The story of Rose’s lobotomy, so central to Williams’s emotional life, and thus to his art, is related in a piecemeal way that will surely confuse readers unfamiliar with it. Williams’s own serious nervous breakdown at the age of 24 is dispensed with in a sentence. (Bio26G) BODY
- 23) Desmond is certainly not the most dangerous man in this lineage, or the maddest, but he may well turn out to be the most repellent. (BIO27G) CLOSE
- 24) New biography strives for balance but exposes weaknesses (Bio27IND) OPENING
- 25) Mayer's book is respectful, sympathetic and surprisingly positive but does not omit uncomfortable facts or polite criticisms (Bio27IND) OPENING
- 26) Neither Licence nor *Knights* properly explains the triangle of Vanessa Bell, her husband Clive and Grant, her long-term collaborator and lover, but Vanessa gave her blessing to Duncan and Bunny’s affair, telling Bunny that “she was in love with Duncan but couldn’t feel jealous of a man. (Bio27DT) BODY
- 27) “Thing theory” is on the march. What began as a branch of literary criticism has become a fashion in biography: out with the ancestors and in with the chamber pots. I don’t suppose the birth-to-death approach to “life-writing” has vanished forever, but for the moment we may have to wade through a scholarly sourcing of the wood from which first the cradle and then the coffin were fashioned. Deborah Lutz in *The Brontë Cabinet* doesn’t altogether eschew chronology, but her fix on stuff over story does obscure the drama of the siblings dying and books being born. (Bio 29DT) BODY
- 28) Lutz’s book slips down easily enough. The power of Charlotte’s and Emily’s novels, combined with the gothic pathos of their stories, means that we are always greedy to know more. But feeding an appetite is not quite the

same as shedding light. There are novels that truly explore the relationship between people and things: Henry James wrote one, Bruce Chatwin another.. (Bio29DT) BODY

- 29) Interesting, but in the case of the Brontë sisters the suspicion occurs that we are only being invited to think about their samplers because there is nothing new to say about more direct biographical material (BIO29DT) BODY
- 30) Clementine's last 15 years of widowhood were not especially cheerful – they are dispatched here in a brisk five pages – but Purnell's excellent book makes us fully realise what a mercy it was that Churchill, so indisputably dependent upon his wife's support, was the first of the two to go. (BIO30DT) CLOSE
- 31) But Stephen Parker's *Bertolt Brecht: A literary life* is that rare thing, not only the biography of a genius, but itself a biography of genius. (Bio31TLS) BODY
- 32) Certain themes are sounded insistently, implacably and rightly throughout: Brecht "the extravagantly gifted child", his "extravagant intelligence", "this hugely gifted boy", "his extreme talent". It may sound like a lot, like overkill, even, but it is only just, and anything less would have been remiss (BIO31TLS) BODY
- 33) Parker calls him eclectic, unsystematic and intellectually "bordering on the promiscuous". Brecht is not always on the right side of every argument, but he is always on the more thoughtful, heretical, interesting side. (Bio31TLS) BODY

## FICTION REVIEWS

- 34) Steve Toltz's first novel, **A Fraction of the Whole**, was a funny and poignant family saga that was shortlisted for the 2008 Man Booker and the Guardian First Book Award. His second novel, *Quicksand*, is just as energetic and crackling with a fevered inventiveness, and his writing is, in places, still funny. But, unlike *A Fraction of the Whole*, this is in the end a curiously unpleasing book. (fict04DT) OPENING
- 35) A series of increasingly preposterous similes, images or ideas are thrown at the reader in the hope that one or more might stick. The first few times Toltz launches into his technique it feels lively and inventive, but by the end these extended riffs become like overly long drum solos – impressive, but not obviously useful. (FICT04DT) BODY
- 36) There's a lyrical absurdity and masculine swagger to the prose that makes it faintly reminiscent of early **Amis**, the Amis of *The Rachel Papers* and *Dead Babies*, but Toltz isn't as confident with his material as Amis was, even at his most provocative. Figurative language is meant to make you feel closer to experience, but Toltz seems more interested in drawing attention to his own skill with words. The effect is alienating." (FICT04DT) CLOSE
- 37) It's difficult to make an underdeveloped person into a well-developed character," thinks Liam at one point. There are a few moving moments, but

overall Quicksand is an underdeveloped novel, and too pleased with itself to be satisfying. (FICT04DT) CLOSE

- 38) It is difficult to see how Woolf might have improved on his original. In the afterword he talks of “improvements”, but in reality, these are minor. A couple of examples may suffice. In the opening chapter, Levi writes of the German deportation trains waiting outside Modena at Carpi station: “There were twelve goods wagons for six hundred and fifty men”. In the new version, this becomes: “There were twelve cattle cars for six hundred and fifty of us”; “cattle cars” (vagoni, in Levi’s Italian) is preferable to “goods wagons”, but only just (Fict20TLS) BODY
- 39) In the Complete Works Levi portrays himself variously as courageous, cowardly, prophetic or naive, but usually well balanced; in reality he was not at all well balanced. Levi and his books are not one and the same FICT20 TLS (CLOSE)
- 40) Lee narrates in the first-person plural, which reflects how life in B-Mor diminishes personal identity. He frames Fan’s story as an unstable folk tale from B-Mor’s collective memory, but since any doubt added is only cosmetic, he may as well have stuck to the third person (FICT21DT) BODY
- 41) It’s easy to see why the jacket praise dubs him “a writer of immense subtlety and craft”, but the contents can sometimes resemble a palace built on a bog. (FICT21DT) CLOSE
- 42) This is part of the novel’s exploration of forms of knowledge, which contains interesting but misdirected ideas: surely the top-down orthodoxies of the major religions do more to straitjacket spirituality than, say, poor old KFC? (Fict 23 DT) BODY
- 43) Ordinarily, the great pleasure of such novels is the world-building, in which the author invents a new universe while playfully commenting on our own. And what Cantor does of this is great, her impish prose and dry wit perfectly suited to the task. But too quickly the novel’s madcap plot kicks in and Leonard is on the run with Sally, one of a band of devotees of medieval genius Roger Bacon, who have realised his dream of a Wikipedia-like Brazen Head that can answer any question (Fict23DT) BODY
- 44) The new arrival is a happy surprise and will of course be much loved but – although no one will say so in earshot – it is possibly a mistake. (Fict 24 TLS) BODY
- 45) None of these books is entirely bad, but even a very charitable reading would have to call them patchy (Fict 26TLS) BODY
- 46) Kureishi knows how to write some sharp psychology and perhaps every novel he’s published has a memorable portrait of a father in it. But he’s prone to cliché and wish fulfilment (Fict 26 TLS) BODY
- 47) “It is easy to laugh at bourgeois happiness”, remarks Jay, the narrator of *Intimacy*. “What other kinds are there?” It’s a serious question, but it betrays a kind of realism that comes dangerously close to a lack of ideas. (Fict 26 TLS) CLOSE

- 48) This text within a text is a device Barry has employed before to great effect, but, despite the familiar technique, the narrative agency is a departure. (Fict27G) BODY
- 49) The states of goodness that his previous narrators maintained in the face of startling iniquity were beginning to strain belief, but then, Barry's writing is inspired by his family, so it is natural to write with tenderness. The Temporary Gentleman, however, is narrated by the bad guy. Jack is a drinker, a gambler, an absent father, a neglectful husband, a gunrunner and, at the end, a coward, afraid to return home. (Fict27G) BODY
- 50) The hallmark heightened lyricism and stylised idiom of old is still there, but it is tamped down by Jack's rueful voice. (Fict 27G) (BODY)
- 51) This text within a text is a device Barry has employed before to great effect, but, despite the familiar technique, the narrative agency is a departure. To date, Barry's novels have been narrated by good people, vulnerable people, people who are trammelled by others, but Jack is largely culpable for the damage that befalls those close to him. (fict 27G) BODY
- 52) In theory that ought to qualify the book for the much-prized category of literary thriller, but I'm not sure it quite fulfils either aspect of that hybrid genre. (Fict30G) OPENING
- 53) It's not that the comments aren't illuminating; they sometimes are, but they are often so complicatedly expressed that by the time you've deciphered them, you've also disengaged from the moment they were supposed to illuminate (FICT30G) BODY
- 54) Li's past work has shown that she is capable of writing powerfully, but in much of this book she indulges a habit of moralising authorial commentary that clogs the flow of individual scenes and casts an aura of ponderous solemnity over the action. (FICT30G) BODY
- 55) While Elizabeth's first-person narrative, a memoir composed just before her death, is deftly handled, the alternating third-person account from Martha's perspective can seem prolix. But something of great worth and beauty gleams through the narrative and haunts the reader with its imaginative truth. (Fict 31G) BODY
- 56) And there's the same old nagging question: is this actually a good book? This may cause a collective gasp of outrage from Banks's legions of fans, but then I would say that the reasons I have trouble with some aspects of Banks's writing are the very reasons why he has legions of fans in the first place; and these can be summarised as guilelessness, and the lack of a gap between idea and expression.(Fict33G) BODY
- 57) This means that any criticism is mildly muted, and the significance of its position in the Banksian oeuvre enhanced. This is fair enough, honourable and decent even; but it's still a novel, and readers still want to know what to expect. (FICT33G) BODY
- 58) But this enormously enjoyable, if frequently ridiculous, evocation of the extraordinary artist gallops gloriously to the end.8. (FICT35IND) CLOSE

- 59) If *Encircling* delivers vocal virtuosity – carried into English with equal dexterity by Barbara Haveland – it gains most traction from passages of close-focus domesticity. Jon may sneer at the films of Mike Leigh and Ken Loach, but visitors to Tiller's Namsos may feel that their spirits hover not too far away. (fict36Ind) CLOSE
- 60) Taseer's wide and analytical perspective has something in common with contemporaries Amit Chaudhuri and Neel Mukherjee, but his style – at once highly intellectual and deeply poetic – is unique. (Fict 37Ind) OPENING
- 61) The plot becomes less plausible as it continues, but Shulman maintains a wry grasp of modern foibles; mega-basements, the perils of plastic surgery and Instagram, with impeccable journalistic currency. (fict 38DT) CLOSE
- 62) A shift of focus to things that were never central in any of Lowry's previously published books, but which he knew probably better than anything in them: England in the 1920s and 30s, Liverpool where he hailed from, Cambridge where he went to school and university; it is the only book by the patrifugal Lowry with a father character in it, and an odd pally type Tarnmoor senior is, up to his neck in difficulties of his own, and yet donnish and anxious with his younger son.(FICT39TLS)BODY
- 63) As you'd expect, this makes for some grim reading, but Leyshon always keeps a firm hand on the reins, allowing the reader to draw breath with moments of levity and respite. (Fict 40DT) CLOSE
- 64) *In Certain Circles* is available now for the first time. It's true that it doesn't carry the charge of Harrower's previous novels, which are white-knuckle affairs, laying bare the machinations of psychological tyranny. This story, covering forty years in the lives of four friends in Sydney, is told in a different register. The voice is cooler; sarcastic, even, at times ("if one thing didn't ruin your life, something else did", thinks one exhausted woman. What to add?). But it doesn't feel coerced or artificial. (FICT40TLS) BODY
- 65) The reader marvels at its balance, its sinuousness, as each fresh wave hits. The novels are various, set in diverse social milieux, told in the first or third person, exploring different configurations of couples, families, friends, but all peer into the same abyss: pressing to understand subjugation. The understanding evolves, if slowly. (FICT40TLS) BODY
- 66) In her other fiction, however – this is her ninth novel – her touch is less assured, with a tendency for her creations to add up to less than the sum of their parts. But what parts they are! *The Seed Collectors* also explores alternative realities, this time arising from botany. It is based on the notion that differences between fauna and flora are smaller than we think and that plants could unlock fundamental knowledge for us. (FICT41IND) BODY
- 67) This slender story (the book clocks in at just under 200 pages) unfolds over a five-day period and is set almost entirely within the four walls of Lucy's hospital room, which contain little more than a bed, a chair and "a view of the Chrysler Building, with its geometric brilliance of lights". At the behest of her husband (a vague, offstage presence, "busy running the household and also busy with his job") Lucy's mother has flown out from the family home in rural

Illinois to sit with her daughter while she battles her fever. The pair have been more or less estranged since Lucy's marriage, and the crisis allows them to reconnect - but there are no dramatic showdowns or tearful reconciliations. Rather, they rebuild their relationship obliquely, via conversations that meander through the outskirts of their shared history. At the end of the five days, Lucy's mother takes her leave. Lucy recovers, and goes home. Summarised in this way, Strout's novel sounds plain to the point of banality. But the stillness of its surface belies the roil of events and emotions that lurk in its depths. (Fict41DT) BODY

68) Through Lucy Barton, Strout has made a remarkable virtue of the novelist's trick - often missed - of telling enough but not too much. This is a glorious novel, deft, tender and true. Read it. (Fict41DT) CLOSE

69) In this fragment we have not only a suggestion of Sara's character – that of a girl accustomed to choosing the company of books over people – but also a bold declaration from the author Katarina Bivald; a statement that this is what a book should be, what she intends this very book in which you read these words, to be. (fict42Ind) OPENING

70) The text is littered with allusions to how stories work, comments of Terry Pratchett, Jane Austen, Harper Lee and Mark Twain, reminders that this too is a story, insinuations that therefore this is the pattern it too shall follow. It would be all too easy for such a meta technique to be gauche and irritating, but surprisingly it's not. (fict 42Ind) BODY

71) Suffering and resilience are difficult things to witness, but this powerful, politically engaged novel does so with a transformative literary grace. (fict43IND) BODY

72) The novel provides an intimate close-up of the women of Gaza and of the everyday heroism amid relentless loss. There are men in this novel, of course, beloved husbands, exiled fathers, jailed sons, but it is the sustaining power of sisters, mothers, wives and daughters that carries the narrative. (fict43Ind) BODY

## HISTORY REVIEWS

73) One can forgive the odd typo ("He died in his early 1950s"), but there are so many lazy clichés ("Ted Smith had never had it so good") and passages that belong in a Mills & Boon novel ("Stepping out of her skirt and petticoat and peeling off her stockings...") (Hist 01DT) OPENING

74) The guts of the book – highly readable, but likely to upset animal-lovers – is the painstaking reconstruction of how Roper the Doper and his accomplices set about their nefarious trade. (Hist01DT) BODY

75) Overall, doped cannot be said to rank as a good story well told; Reid's prose is simply not up to scratch. But it is certainly a good story. (Hist01DT) CLOSE

76) This is a book which examines military operations, finance, logistics and intelligence. It is an enormous canvas, yet Knight manages not only to

convey the magnitude of the war but make this an absorbing book and an essential addition to the history of the Napoleonic Wars. (Hist02DT) BODY

- 77) Norwich is an authoritative historian, but his writing is charmingly personal. (Hist04DT) BODY
- 78) "This is a history, not a guidebook," he insists, but still he tells us which mornings his favourite villas are open, which 12th century winery remains in business and which fresco features "one of the most sinister greyhounds ever painted" (it's *The Triumph of Death*, now in the Regional Gallery of Palermo). (Hist04DT) BODY
- 79) Sicily's political history is full of so much turbulence it's sometimes hard to keep track of the battles, murders and successions, but Norwich sketches personalities vividly: Emma Hamilton, for example, a glamorous former courtesan whose celebrated affair with Nelson began in Sicily; or Salvatore Giuliano, "Sicily's most notorious but... best loved bandit". (Hist04DT) CLOSE
- 80) Yasmin Alibhai-Brown's basic theory is sound enough. England is a small country, but its inhabitants have always been unusually curious about the rest of the world. That curiosity has had its dark colonial side, but it has also made England exceptionally absorbent of foreign influences in its food, language and culture. (Hist06DT) OPENING
- 81) Some of those quotes are pretty good. She has unearthed a lovely nugget from Thackeray, in the first-known English ode to curry, a wonderfully terrible poem: "What next my dextrous little girl will do/ She pops the meat into the savoury stew, / With curry powder tablespoons three." But sadly, there isn't much of an attempt to work those interviews and quotes into a readable narrative; they are simply piled on top of each other. (Hist06DT) BODY
- 82) There is a lot of dialogue, which is always suspicious in a history book, but David has researched this well: he interviewed 20 of the participants and has made good use of recently declassified documents from archives in Germany, Israel, the United States and the UK. (HIST07DT) CLOSE
- 83) Perhaps a more subtle achievement is the way he evokes the atmosphere of 1976 - not the rose-tinted version, but the version that also includes the anxieties and uncertainties of the time. Many of these anxieties have come back to haunt us today. David's book is a good reminder that our own War on Terror has deep roots. (Hist07DT) CLOSE
- 84) Princess Cecilia of Sweden is in England from September 1565 to April 1566, a period described as "more than a year". Lady Douglas Howard is on one page the wife of Sir Edward Stafford, but on the next page his mother. Elizabeth Southwell dies in 1602, then is disconcertingly present at the Queen's deathbed in 1603 (actually a different Elizabeth Southwell, but this is not explained). (HIST07TLS) BODY
- 85) Ryback tells a good story. But his book is not without problems. He presents Hartinger as a lone campaigner for justice, a man who risked his life by standing up to Nazi violence. But he was in fact only one of many prosecutors who began proceedings against Nazi thugs while Hitler was slowly



gathering the reins of power. (HIST08G) BODY

- 86) Ryback claims that this was the first stage of the Holocaust, but it was something different; it was the first stage in the Nazi seizure of power. (HIST08G) CLOSE

- 87) Kertzer announces that the Catholic church is generally portrayed as the courageous opponent of fascism, but this is an exaggeration. (HIST10G) BODY

- 88) There is a counter-tradition, John Cornwell's fine book, *Hitler's Pope*, on Pius XII (who succeeded Pius XI in 1939) exposed the Vatican's culpable passivity in the face of the wartime persecution of Italian Jews. But Kertzer describes something more fundamental than a church leader's strategic decision to protect his own flock rather than to speak up in defence of others. His argument, presented not as polemic but as gripping storytelling, is that much of fascist ideology was inspired by Catholic tradition - the authoritarianism, the intolerance of opposition and the profound suspicion of the Jews. (Hist10G) BODY

- 89) Some of this is familiar territory, but what is new, and riveting, is how fascists and churchmen alike were forced into intellectual contortions as they struggled to justify the new laws. "Racism" was good. "Exaggerated racism" was bad. "Antisemitism" was good, as long as it was Italian. "German antisemitism" was another thing entirely. (hist10G) BODY

- 90) A conversational book that never delves too deeply into any topic but ready with relevant comment on almost everything (Hist12Ind) OPENING

- 91) My old books were severely didactic (how times have changed), but this is a friendly book, first cousin to such talks on BBC radio as *From Our Own Correspondent*, ranging in a single chapter from Mussolini playing Potemkin when tidying Rome for Hitler's visit in 1938 (to which I can add that his weeding the Colosseum did it more damage than 2,000 years of exposure to marauders and the elements), to finocchio, perjury, opera as an expression of nationhood, to cheating in exams and half a dozen other matters.(HIST12Ind) BODY

- 92) John Hooper thus inevitably comes to no serious conclusion but has, as a journalist, written an amusing and engrossing account of a thoroughly irresponsible nation. (Hist12Ind) CLOSE

- 93) Each little extract is a revelation - as often as not, what's revealed is something domestic, even banal, but it feels like a revelation, nonetheless. (Hist13Ind) BODY

- 94) While some are deliberately crafted pieces of prose (the transcripts of formal speeches, or the carefully turned words of great writers), many more are artless (the letters, recollections, or diaries of ordinary people), and no less potent or evocative for that. But, of course, it's their cumulative effect that makes the book so remarkable, because even if the quoted extracts are not all artful, their selection and meticulously considered arrangement certainly is. (Hist13Ind) BODY

- 95) Also missing is the role that the Thames River Police (a reformed and dynamic small specialist force, formed as early as 1798) may – or may not – have had as a model for Peel’s New Police. And a consideration of the policing, or lack of it, of upper-class hoodlums on the rampage in the West End after a hard night’s drinking would have been welcome, too. But these are minor criticisms of an otherwise excellent compendium, which is likely to be a huge help to anyone who wishes to set about mining the many rich seams of police history. (Hist14TLS) CLOSE
- 96) Dawisha has done us all a service in her meticulous account of all the publicly available material on the various businesses and enterprises Putin and his associates have been involved with since the early stages of Putin’s career. But what her model gains in elegance, it loses in obscuring complexity and countertrends. That Putin and his close colleagues have enriched themselves is now effectively proven; but the essential relationship between the accumulation of wealth and the operation of power is left unexplored. (Hist15TLS) BODY
- 97) Dawisha has provided powerful evidence of the convergence of former Party resources and the elements of what in other contexts is called the “deep state”: in this case the coming together of former and active security officials with the power system. But the various elements identified by Dawisha do not necessarily cohere to create a dominant force. (Hist15TLS) BODY
- 98) Fourth, Dawisha’s argument appears to operate in a geopolitical vacuum. One corollary of it is that foreign policy must also be shaped by the elite’s narrow corporate interests, but this is far from demonstrated. (Hist15TLS) BODY
- 99) Putin’s Kleptocracy is a courageous and scrupulously judicious investigation into the sinews of wealth and power in Vladimir Putin’s Russia; but when it comes to shaping policy towards Russia, it is a deeply deceptive guide. (Hist15TLS) CLOSE
- 100) The result of this easy-going affability sometimes means that the power and terror of the story is lost. I could have done with more of Stanford’s own opinion and a more dramatic sense of implication and argument. But I suppose that if your subject matter is, in Pope Leo I’s words, “the wickedest and unhappiest man that ever lived”, then the reader should perhaps be grateful for small mercies. (Hist17Ind) BODY
- 101) She comments briefly, too, on the distribution of special magazine sets of female-oriented periodicals such as Ladies’ Home Journal to women serving in the Women’s Army Corps (WACs) and the Navy’s parallel Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVEs). But she then deploys that fact only to claim (without support) that the lack of letters from servicewomen to the Council meant that the ASE enterprise “saw no need to provide portable paperbacks to women”. (Hist17TLS) BODY
- 102) These sections have a rich, literary quality, enlivened further by diary extracts and charming anecdotes, such as the message pinned to microphones: “Don’t cough – you will deafen millions!” But these lights fade as the book progresses, and we enter the modern era of the BBC, a place of management-

speak, where creativity is hobbled by bureaucracy, and resources are diverted to big, clunking names rather than to the cogs who made the BBC spark, whirr, and glow. (Hist18Ind) BODY

103) Albania might not seem the most promising place from which to write a history of the Mediterranean but, as Malcolm argues in this magisterial account, it is the forgotten frontier where East and West, Muslims and Christians, Italians and Turks met, clashed, sometimes fought, but more often than not tried to accommodate each other. (Hist19DT) BODY

104) There are very few scholars with Malcolm's linguistic skills and historical vision, which is one of the many reasons *Agents of Empire* is such an important book. It opens up new vistas of research into the hinterland of Renaissance Europe, moving the period's centre of gravity eastwards and away from Italy, precisely at a time when recent events in and around Turkey may prove to be decisive in the next phase of Mediterranean history. But beware: Malcolm's formidable scholarship takes few prisoners, and his extended digressions on the circulation of news, the history of the grain trade, piracy, galley warfare and espionage may test the patience of the casual reader. This is no beach read – unless you are heading for the Albanian Riviera. Who knew that 16th-century Albania could be so interesting? (Hist19DT) CLOSE

105) The book comes with an endorsement from Philip Pullman. This looks like a sales-boosting celebrity name-drop, and a gauche one at that – what would the author of *The Golden Compass* know about Comecon architecture? – but it becomes clear why. For this is an account of a Pullmanian parallel universe, both like and unlike the histories of 20th-century architecture told in the west. (Hist21G) BODY

106) *Landscapes of Communism* is therefore a revelatory voyage into fantastical domains made more so by the fact that they were often enormous forms of propaganda: slave-built expressions of equality, non-functioning functionalism, or representations of futures that would never arrive. Sometimes the results achieved unexpected marvels, sometimes not. "Most people think this is crap," is a favourite Hatherley line (I paraphrase), "but actually it's not." But, being honest, he points out when it is. (Hist21G) BODY

107) At the same time, as he acknowledges, his viewpoint is often that of a tourist. He doesn't want to be like the 1930s English intellectuals who were suckered by stage-managed visits to model factories and collective farms, but Hatherley's approach to his subject is still that of the roving eye, the educated wanderer gathering impressions. There is a danger not always avoided of the political picturesque: of blurring what buildings look like with what they do. A hymn to the Moscow metro, for example, does not deal convincingly with the atrocious cruelties of its construction. (Hist21G) BODY

108) The outlines of these places might be familiar – vast factory-built housing estates, TV towers, the grandiose palaces and boulevards built by Stalin and Ceausescu, the brave constructivist experiments of the early years of the Russian revolution – but Hatherley fills in these vague forms and reveals their complexities. He also introduces such lesser-known types as a Bulgarian beach resort shaped like ziggurats, or the modern-baroque churches in Poland that were authorised by the regime as part of their compromise with the power

of Catholicism. It is an epic work. Comrade Stakhanov would have saluted.  
(HIST21G) BODY

109) Readers may forgive these omissions, but another problem is that the book does not actually explain "the rise of the oligarchs". There is room here for just the one, our Boris. (Hist24IND) BODY

110) It's all stirring, sometimes grotesque stuff but for some reason it doesn't lend itself to a book, or at least not to the kind of book that Ben Mezrich has written, which is breathless and lifeless at the same time (Hist24Ind) BODY

111) It is not a smooth, elegant or jargon-free read, but since 'Curing Queers' isn't a book aimed at the general reader, it would probably be unfair to expect it to be so. (Hist24G) CLOSE

**Table C4: The distribution of BUT extracts in the BUT Database**

Review Number	Review text	Position of the BUT Clause	Subgenre
1	BIO11DT	CLOSE	BIO
2	BIO11DT	CLOSE	BIO
3	BIO12TLS	BODY	BIO
4	BIO12TLS	CLOSE	BIO
5	BIO14G	BODY	BIO
6	BIO14G	BODY	BIO
7	BIO14G	BODY	BIO
8	BIO15TLS	OPENING	BIO
9	BIO15TLS	BODY	BIO
10	BIO15TLS	CLOSE	BIO
11	BIO16DT	BODY	BIO
12	BIO19G	OPENING	BIO
13	BIO19G	BODY	BIO
14	BIO19G	BODY	BIO
15	BIO19G	CLOSE	BIO
16	BIO22TLS	CLOSE	BIO
17	BIO23IND	CLOSE	BIO
18	BIO24IND	BODY	BIO
19	BIO24IND	CLOSE	BIO
20	BIO26G	BODY	BIO
21	BIO26G	BODY	BIO
22	BIO26G	BODY	BIO
23	BIO27G	CLOSE	BIO
24	BIO27IND	OPENING	BIO
25	BIO27IND	OPENING	BIO
26	BIO27DT	BODY	BIO
27	BIO29DT	BODY	BIO
28	BIO29DT	BODY	BIO
29	BIO29DT	BODY	BIO
30	BIO30DT	CLOSE	BIO
31	BIO31TLS	BODY	BIO
32	BIO31TLS	BODY	BIO

33	BIO31TLS	BODY	BIO
34	FICT04DT	OPENING	FICT
35	FICT04DT	BODY	FICT
36	FICT04DT	CLOSE	FICT
37	FICT04DT	CLOSE	FICT
38	FICT20TLS	BODY	FICT
39	FICT20TLS	CLOSE	FICT
40	FICT21DT	BODY	FICT
41	FICT21DT	CLOSE	FICT
42	FICT23DT	BODY	FICT
43	FICT23DT	BODY	FICT
44	FICT24TLS	BODY	FICT
45	FICT26TLS	BODY	FICT
46	FICT26TLS	BODY	FICT
47	FICT26TLS	CLOSE	FICT
48	FICT27G	BODY	FICT
49	FICT27G	BODY	FICT
50	FICT27G	BODY	FICT
51	FICT27G	BODY	FICT
52	FICT30G	OPENING	FICT
53	FICT30G	BODY	FICT
54	FICT30G	BODY	FICT
55	FICT31G	BODY	FICT
56	FICT33G	BODY	FICT
57	FICT33G	BODY	FICT
58	FICT35IND	CLOSE	FICT
59	FICT36IND	CLOSE	FICT
60	FICT37IND	OPENING	FICT
61	FICT38DT	CLOSE	FICT
62	FICT39TLS	BODY	FICT
63	FICT40DT	CLOSE	FICT
64	FICT40TLS	BODY	FICT
65	FICT40TLS	BODY	FICT
66	FICT41IND	BODY	FICT
67	FICT41DT	BODY	FICT
68	FICT41DT	CLOSE	FICT

69	FICT42IND	OPENING	FICT
70	FICT42IND	BODY	FICT
71	FICT43IND	BODY	FICT
72	FICT43IND	BODY	FICT
73	HIST01DT	OPENING	HIST
74	HIST01DT	BODY	HIST
75	HIST01DT	CLOSE	HIST
76	HIST02DT	BODY	HIST
77	HIST04DT	BODY	HIST
78	HIST04DT	BODY	HIST
79	HIST04DT	CLOSE	HIST
80	HIST06DT	OPENING	HIST
81	HIST06DT	BODY	HIST
82	HIST07DT	CLOSE	HIST
83	HIST07DT	CLOSE	HIST
84	HIST07TLS	BODY	HIST
85	HIST08G	BODY	HIST
86	HIST08G	CLOSE	HIST
87	HIST10G	BODY	HIST
88	HIST10G	BODY	HIST
89	HIST10G	BODY	HIST
90	HIST12IND	OPENING	HIST
91	HIST12IND	BODY	HIST
92	HIST12IND	CLOSE	HIST
93	HIST13IND	BODY	HIST
94	HIST13IND	BODY	HIST
95	HIST14TLS	CLOSE	HIST
96	HIST15TLS	BODY	HIST
97	HIST15TLS	BODY	HIST
98	HIST15TLS	BODY	HIST
99	HIST15TLS	CLOSE	HIST
100	HIST17 IND	BODY	HIST
101	HIST17 TLS	BODY	HIST
102	HIST18IND	BODY	HIST
103	HIST19DT	BODY	HIST
104	HIST19DT	CLOSE	HIST

105	HIST21G	BODY	HIST
106	HIST21G	BODY	HIST
107	HIST21G	BODY	HIST
108	HIST21G	BODY	HIST
109	HIST24IND	BODY	HIST
110	HIST24IND	BODY	HIST
111	HIST24G	CLOSE	HIST



**Table C.5: The classification of hedges in the BUT Database:  
Adverbial Hedges (Chapter 7)**

Hedging category	hedges	Review code	Genre	Hegde distribution	Target	Evaluative purpose
A	It <u>isn't always accurate</u> in some of its incidental detail	BIO11DT	BIO	BODY	Handling of the subject matter	Hedge criticism
A	Books .... <u>play an unusually large part</u> . <u>But perhaps</u> a lot of Carey's life has been like this	BIO14G	BIO	BODY	Handling of the subject matter	Hedge Criticism
A	<u>Best of all, perhaps,</u> are the few spare but generous passages about his father	BIO14G	BIO	BODY	Handling of the subject matter	Hedge Praise
A	<u>Again,</u> when he is speaking of the marvellous Faber Book... <u>he can't resist pushing his point too far</u> (quotations follow) Well, first-hand reporting is <u>indeed a valuable kind of source,</u> <u>though also sometimes problematic</u>	BIO14G	BIO	BODY	Handling of the subject matter	Hedge Criticism
B/C	The translation <u>often allows the reader to enjoy</u> Lancel's style, but it <u>has occasional weaknesses and should have been checked by</u> a classicist	BIO15TLS	BIO	BODY	Specific aspects of content: Publishing process	Hedge praise (often) Hedge criticism
A	As Colls points out, he arrived there shortly after the town had suffered the threat of a miners' strike but <u>doesn't appear to have noticed</u> . He takes no interest in Labour party <b>history</b> , <u>knows nothing</u> of institutions such as Socialist Sunday Schools and Leagues of Youth that were at work rallying the local community, <u>and shuts his eyes to</u> "the more gregarious and entertaining aspects of life in an industrial town". Football, the variety hall and the Boys Brigade <u>might just as</u>	BIO19G	BIO	BODY	The author	Hedge criticism

	<u>well not</u> have existed.					
A	A trained historian <u>would have made</u> a different choice of material, <u>I suspect, but there again,</u> anyone who writes for a living <u>might have balked at embarking on such a vast project.</u>	BIO24IND	CLOSE		author	Hedge criticism
A	This <u>may sound like quibbling,</u> but such blinkered Freudian judgmentalism precludes an objective view of Williams's life	BIO26G	BIO	BODY	Handling of subject matter	Hedge criticism
A	Lahr starts in 1945, with <u>The Glass Menagerie,</u> <u>but never fully explains</u> Williams's childhood	BIO26G	BIO	BODY	Handling of subject matter	Hedge criticism
A	Desmond is <u>certainly not</u> the most dangerous man in this lineage, or the maddest, <u>but he may well turn out to be the most repellent.</u>	BIO27G	BIO	CLOSE	The subject matter	Hedge criticism
A	When it comes to Brod, Stach is <u>no objective chronicler</u> but <u>wittily, sparkingly biased,</u> though his account <u>does not lack empathy.</u>	BIO12TLS	BIO	BODY	The author	Hedge criticism
A	<u>Certain themes are sounded insistently, implacably and rightly throughout:</u> Brecht "the extravagantly gifted child", his "extravagant intelligence", "this hugely gifted boy", "his extreme talent". <u>It may sound like a lot, like overkill, even, but it is only just, and anything less would have been remiss</u>	BIO31TLS	BIO	BODY	Handling of subject matter	Hedge praise
A	Deborah Lutz in <u>The Brontë Cabinet</u> <u>doesn't altogether</u> eschew chronology, but her fix on stuff over story <u>does obscure the drama</u> of the siblings dying and books being born.	BIO29DT	BIO	BODY	author	Hedge criticism, boost criticism
A	Lutz's book <u>slips down easily enough</u>	BIO29DT	BIO	BODY	author	Hedge criticism

A	Figurative language is meant to make you feel closer to experience, but Toltz <u>seems more interested in drawing attention to his own skill with words</u> . The effect is alienating	FICT04DT	FICT	CLOSE	author	Hedge criticism
A	A series of <u>increasingly preposterous</u> similes, images or ideas <u>are thrown at the reader in the hope that one or more might stick</u> . The first few times Toltz launches into his technique it feels lively and inventive, but <u>by the end these extended riffs become like overly long drum solos – impressive, but not obviously useful</u>	BIO04DT	BIO	BODY	style	Hedge criticism
A	<u>It is difficult to see how Woolf might have improved on his original</u> . In the afterword he talks of “improvements”, <u>but in reality, these are minor</u>	FICT20TLS	FICTION	BODY	Handling of the subject	Hedge criticism
A	It's easy to see why the jacket praise dubs him “a writer of immense subtlety and craft”, but the contents <u>can sometimes resemble a palace built on a bog</u> .	FICT21DT	FICTION	CLOSE	Author and general content	Hedge criticism
A	Lee narrates in the first-person plural, which reflects how life in B-Mor diminishes personal identity. He frames Fan's story as an unstable folk tale from B-Mor's collective memory, <u>but since any doubt added is only cosmetic, he may as well have stuck to the third person</u> .	FICT21DT	FICTION	BODY	author	Boost criticism
A/B/C	It's <u>not</u> that the comments <u>aren't illuminating</u> ; they <u>sometimes</u> are, but they are often <u>so complicatedly expressed</u> that by the time you've deciphered them, you've also disengaged from the moment they <u>were supposed</u> to illuminate.	FICT30G	FICTION	BODY	style	Hedge praise, hedge criticism
A	Depending on the author's sensibility, the structure can	FICT30G	FICTION	OPENING	Style and general	Hedge criticism

	be a way of building pure suspense, or of revealing unexpected psychological depths in the cast of characters. Li, pictured, who has been justly showered with awards for her previous three books, <u>seems to be aiming for both</u> in theory that <u>ought</u> to qualify the book for the much-prized category of literary thriller, but <u>I'm not sure it quite fulfils either aspect of that hybrid genre.</u>				content	
A	<u>None</u> of these books is <u>entirely bad</u> , but even a <u>very charitable reading would have to call them patchy</u>	FICT26TLS	FICTION	BODY	General content	Hedge criticism
A	It is easy to laugh at bourgeois happiness", remarks Jay, the narrator of <i>Intimacy</i> . "What other kinds are there?" It's a serious question, but it betrays a kind of realism that <u>comes dangerously close to a lack of ideas.</u>	FICT26TLS	FICTION	CLOSE	Specific aspects of content	Hedge criticism
A/C	The new arrival is a happy surprise and will of course be much loved but – <u>although no one will say so in earshot – it is possibly a mistake.</u>	FICT24TLS	FICT	BODY	Criticism of general content	Hedge criticism
A	While Elizabeth's first-person narrative, a memoir composed just before her death, is deftly handled, the alternating third-person account from Martha's perspective <u>can seem prolix</u>	FICT31G	FICT	BODY	Style	Hedge criticism
A/B/C	<u>This may cause a collective gasp of outrage</u> from Banks's legions of fans, but <u>then I would say</u> that the reasons I have trouble with some aspects of Banks's writing are the very reasons why he has legions of fans in the first place; and these can be summarised as guilelessness, and the lack of a gap between idea and expression.	FICT33G	FICT	BODY	Style	Hedge criticism
B	This means that any criticism <u>is mildly muted</u> ,	FICT33G	FICT	BODY	Comparative Value:	Hedge criticism

	and the significance of its position in the Banksian oeuvre enhanced. <u>This is fair enough</u> , honourable and decent <u>even</u> ; but it's <u>still</u> a novel, and readers <u>still</u> want to <u>know</u> what to expect.				How the book was reviewed by others	
A	The states of goodness that his previous narrators maintained in the face of startling iniquity <u>were beginning to strain belief</u> , but then, Barry's writing is inspired by his family, so it is natural to write with tenderness	FICT27G	FICTION	BODY	Style	Hedge criticism
A	The hallmark heightened lyricism and stylised idiom of old is <u>still</u> there, but <u>it is tamped down</u> by Jack's rueful voice.	FICT27G	FICTION	BODY	Narrative Style	Hedge Praise hedge criticism
B/C	<u>As you'd expect</u> , this makes for some grim reading, but Leyshon always keeps a firm hand on the reins, allowing the reader to draw breath with moments of levity and respite.	FICT40DT	FICTION	CLOSE	Specific aspects of content	Hedge criticism
C	The reader marvels at its balance, its sinuousness, as each fresh wave hits. .... The understanding evolves, <u>if slowly</u> .	FICT40TLS	FICTION	BODY	Style	Hedge criticism
A	The text <u>is</u> littered with allusions to how stories work, comments of Terry Pratchett, Jane Austen, Harper Lee and Mark Twain, <u>reminders</u> that this <u>too</u> is a story, <u>insinuations that therefore this is the pattern it too shall follow</u> . <u>It would be all too easy</u> for such a meta technique to be gauche and irritating, <u>but surprisingly it's not</u> .	FICT42IND	FICTION	BODY	Style	Hedge criticism
A	Steve Toltz's first novel, <b>A Fraction of the Whole</b> , was a funny and poignant family saga that was shortlisted for the 2008 Man Booker and the Guardian First Book Award. His second novel, Quicksand, is just as	FICT04DT	FICTION	OPENING	General content of the book	Hedge praise Hedge criticism

	energetic and crackling with a fevered inventiveness, and his <u>writing is, in places, still funny</u> . But, unlike A Fraction of the Whole, this is in the end <u>a curiously unpleasing book</u> .					
A	Ryback tells a good story. But his book is <u>not without problems</u> .	HIST08G	HISTORY	BODY	General content of the book	Hedge criticism
A	Overall, doped <u>cannot be said to rank</u> as a good story well told; Reid's prose is <u>simply not up to scratch</u> . But it is <u>certainly</u> a good story.	HIST01DT	HISTORY	CLOSE	Style	Hedge criticism Boost praise
A	Some of those quotes are <u>pretty good</u> . She has unearthed a lovely nugget from Thackeray... <u>But sadly, there isn't much of an attempt</u> to work those interviews and quotes into a readable narrative; they <u>are simply piled on top of each other</u> .	HIST06DT	HISTORY	BODY	Handling of the subject	Hedge Praise, hedge criticism
A	A conversational book that <u>never delves too deeply</u> into any topic <u>but ready with relevant comment on almost everything</u>	HIST12IND	HISTORY	OPENING	Handling of the subject	Hedge criticism, boost praise
A	John Hooper thus inevitably comes <u>to no serious conclusion</u> but has, as a journalist, written an amusing and engrossing account of a thoroughly irresponsible nation.	HIST12IND	HISTORY	CLOSE	Handling of the subject	Hedge criticism
A	<u>Also missing</u> is the role that the Thames River Police (a reformed and dynamic small specialist force, formed as early as 1798) may – or may not – have had as a model for Peel's New Police. And a consideration of the policing, or lack of it, of upper-class hoodlums on the rampage in the West End after a hard night's drinking would have been welcome, too. <u>But these are minor criticisms of an otherwise excellent compendium, which is likely to be a huge help to anyone who wishes to set</u>	HIST14TLS	HISTORY	CLOSE	Specific aspects of the book	Hedge criticism, hedge praise

	about mining the many rich seams of police history.					
A	Dawisha has provided powerful evidence of the convergence of former Party resources and the elements of what in other contexts is called the “deep state”: in this case the coming together of former and active security officials with the power system. But the various elements identified by Dawisha <u>do not necessarily cohere</u> to create a dominant force	HIST15TL	HISTORY	BODY	Handling of the subject	Hedge criticism
A/C	The result of this easy-going affability <u>sometimes means</u> that the power and terror of the story is lost. <u>I could have done with more of Stanford's own opinion and a more dramatic sense of implication and argument.</u> But I suppose that if your subject matter is, in Pope Leo I's words, "the wickedest and unhappiest man that ever lived", then the reader <u>should perhaps be grateful</u> for small mercies.	HIST17IND	HISTORY	BODY	Handling of the subject matter	Hedge criticism
B/C	There are very few scholars with Malcolm's linguistic skills and historical vision, which is one of the many reasons Agents of Empire is such an important book. It opens up new vistas of research into the hinterland of Renaissance Europe, moving the period's centre of gravity eastwards and away from Italy, precisely at a time when recent events in and around Turkey may prove to be decisive in the next phase of Mediterranean history. <u>But beware: Malcolm's formidable scholarship takes few prisoners, and his extended digressions on the circulation of news, the history of the grain trade, piracy, galley warfare and espionage may test the patience of the casual reader. This is no beach read</u> – unless you are	HIST19DT	HISTORY	CLOSE	Specific aspects of the book	Hedge criticism

	heading for the Albanian Riviera. Who knew that 16th-century Albania could be so interesting?					
A/C	<u>Sometimes</u> the results achieved unexpected marvels, <u>sometimes not</u> . "Most people think this is crap," is a favourite Hatherley line (I paraphrase), "but actually it's not." But, being honest, he points out when it is	HIST21G	HISTORY	BODY	Specific aspects of the book	Hedge criticism
	There is a danger <u>not always avoided</u> of the political picturesque: of blurring what buildings look like with what they do. A hymn to the Moscow metro, <u>for example, does not deal convincingly with the atrocious cruelties of its construction</u> .	HIST21G	HISTORY	BODY	Specific aspects of the book	Hedge criticism
B/C	Readers <u>may forgive these omissions</u> , but another problem is that <u>the book does not actually explain "the rise of the oligarchs"</u> . There is room here for <u>just the one, our Boris</u> .	HIST24TLS	HISTORY	BODY	Specific aspects of the book	Hedge criticism
A	It's all stirring, <u>sometimes grotesque stuff but for some reason</u> it doesn't lend itself to a book, or at least not to the kind of book that Ben Mezrich has written, <u>which is breathless and lifeless at the same time</u>	HIST24IND	HISTORY	BODY	Specific aspects of the book	Hedge criticism
B/C	It is <u>not a smooth, elegant or jargon-free read</u> , but since 'Curing Queers' isn't a book aimed at the general reader, <u>it would probably be unfair to expect it to be so</u> .	HIST24G	HISTORY	CLOSE	The reading experience	Hedge criticism
A	There is a lot of dialogue, <u>which is always suspicious in a history book</u> , but David has researched this well: he interviewed 20 of the participants and has made good use of recently declassified documents from archives in Germany, Israel, the United States and the UK.	HIST07DT	HISTORY	CLOSE	Specific aspects of the book	boost criticism
A	<u>Perhaps a more subtle achievement</u> is the way he	HIST07DT	HISTORY	CLOSE	Specific aspects of	Hedge



	evokes the atmosphere of 1976 - not the rose-tinted version, but the version that also includes the anxieties and uncertainties of the time. Many of these anxieties have come back to haunt us today. David's book is a good reminder that our own War on Terror has deep roots.				the book	praise
A	Sicily's political history is full of so much turbulence it's <u>sometimes hard to keep track</u> of the battles, murders and successions, but <u>Norwich sketches personalities vividly</u>	HIST04DT	HISTORY	CLOSE	Specific aspects of the book	Hedge criticism, boost praise
A	<u>She comments briefly, too,</u> on the distribution of special magazine sets of female-oriented periodicals such as <i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> to women serving in the Women's Army Corps (WACs) and the Navy's parallel Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVEs). <u>But she then deploys that fact only to claim (without support)</u> that the lack of letters from servicewomen to the Council meant that the ASE enterprise "saw no need to provide portable paperbacks to women".	HIST17TLS	HISTORY	BODY	Specific aspects of the book	Hedge praise Hedge criticism

**Table C6: The Target of Evaluation in the Praise and Criticism or Criticism and Praise Pair of the BUT Database (Chapter 7)**

Target Node	Praise	Criticism	TOT
STYLE	14	10	24
SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE BOOK	9	15	24
GENERAL ASPECTS	7	7	14
SUBJECT MATTER	6	7	13
AUTHOR	5	2	7
			82

**TABLE C.6.1. THE PRAISE AND CRITICISM PAIR IN THE BUT DATABASE**

REVIEW NUMBER	REVIEW CODE	THE TARGET OF THE PRAISE PART	THE TARGET OF THE CRITICISM PART	DISTRIBUTION	PARAGRAPH (P) OR SENTENCE (S)?
1	BIO11DT	PRAISE 2 SYMPATHY FOR THE AUTHOR OVERWHELMED BY THE TASK	CRIT 1 AUTHOR	CLOSE	P
2	BIO11DT	GENERAL PRAISE	CRIT AUTHOR	CLOSE	P
3	BIO12TLS	PRAISE 2 AUTHOR	CRIT 1 AUTHOR	BODY	S
5	BIO14G	PRAISE 2 CHOICE OF PERSPECTIVE IS JUSTIFIED	CRIT 1 HANDLING SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P
6	BIO14G	PRAISE SPECIFIC PASSAGES IN THE BOOK SPECIFIC CONTENT	CRIT 1 HANDLING OF SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	S

8	BIO 15 TLS	PRAISE OF GENERAL ASPECTS	CRIT SPECIFIC ASPECT	OPENING	S
9	BIO 15 TLS	PRAISE SPECIFIC ASPECT	CRIT SPEC ASPECT	BODY	S
10	BIO15TLS	GENERAL CONTENT PRAISE	CRIT SPEC ASP	CLOSE	S
11	BIO 16 DT	PRAISE 2 GENER CONT	CRIT1 THROUGH QUOT	BODY	P
12	BIO 19G	APPARENT PRAISE STYLE, AUTHOR	CRIT STYLE	OPENING	S
13	BIO19G	PRAISE AUTHOR	CRIT SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P
14	BIO19G	PRAISE SPEC ASP	CRIT1 SPEC ASP	BODY	S
16	BIO 22 TLS	PRAISE GENERL CONT	CRIT OF SUBJ MATTER	CLOSE	S
28	BIO29DT	PRAISE GENERAL CONT	HEDGED CRIT OF HANDLING OF THE SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P
30	BIO30DT	PRAISE 2 GENRAL PRAISE	CRIT1 SPE CONT	CLOSE	S
33	BIO31TLS	PRAISE 2 SUBJECT MATTER	CRIT 1 OF AUTHOR THROUGH QUOT1	BODY	S
35	FICT04DT	PRAISE STYLE	CRIT STYLE	OPENING	P
37	FICT04DT	PRAISE SPECIFIC CONTENT	CRIT GENERAL CONT	CLOSE	S

42	FICT23DT	PRAISE GEN CONT	CRIT GENE AND SPECIFIC CONT	BODY	S
43	FICT 23 DT	PRAISE STYLE	CRIT SPE CONT	BODY	P
44	FICT24TLS	PRAISE GEN CONT	CRIT GEN CONT	BODY	S
45	FICT26TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT GEN CONT	BODY	S
46	FICT26TLS	PRAISE AUTHOR	CRIT AUTHOR	BODY	S
48	FICT27G	PRAISE COMPAR VALUE	CRIT STYLE	BODY	S
50	FICT27G	PRAISE STYLE	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	S
51	FICT27G	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	S
52	FICT30G	PRAISE COMP VALUE	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	S
53	FICT30G	HEDGED PRAISE STYLE	CRIT STYLE	BODY	S
54	FICT30G	PRAISE COMP VALUE	CRIT STYLE	BODY	S
55	FICT31G	PRAISE STYLE	CRIT STYLE- PRAISE STYLE	BODY	P
57	FICT33G	PRAISE READING EXPERIENCE	CRIT READING EXPERIENCE	BODY	S
58	FICT35IND	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPE CONT	CLOSE	S

61	FICT38DT	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
63	FICT40DT	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE GENER CONT	CLOSE	S
64	FICT40TLS	CRIT COMP VALUE	PRAISE COMP VALUE	BODY	P
65	FICT40TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT STYLE	BODY	P
67	FICT41DT	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P
70	FICT42IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE STYLE	BODY	P
75	HIST01DT	CRIT STYLE	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
81	HIST06DT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
82	HIST07DT	CRITSPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
85	HIST08G	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
89	HIST10G	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P
90	HIST12IND	CRIT GEN CONT	PRAISE GEN CONT	OPENING	S
92	HIST12IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE GEN CONT	CLOSE	S
94	HIST13IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P

95	HIST14TLS	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE GEN CONT	CLOSE	P
96	HIST15TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
97	HIST15TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
99	HIST15TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	CLOSE	
102	HIST18IND	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
104	HIST19 DT	PRAISE SPEC CONT AND AUTHOR	CRIT AUTHOR AND SPEC CONT  PRAISE GEN CONT	CLOSE	P
106	HIST21 G	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P

**TABLE 6.2 THE FREQUENCY OF THE TARGET NODES IN THE PRAISE AND CRITICISM PAIR OF THE BUT DATABASE**

Target Node	Praise	Criticism
Specific Aspects of the Book	<b>BIO14G PRAISE SPECIFIC CONTENT</b> BIO15TLS PRAISE SPECIFIC ASPECT <b>BIO19G PRAISE SPEC ASP</b> <b>FICT04DT PRAISE SPECIFIC CONTENT</b> FICT26TL PRAISE SPEC CONT FICT27G PRAISE SPEC CONT FICT35IND PRAISE SPEC CONT <b>FICT38DT PRAISE SPECIFIC CONTENT</b> <b>FICT40TLS PRAISE SPEC CONT</b> <b>HIST01DTPRAISE SPEC CONT</b> HIST06DT PRAISE SPEC CONT <b>HIST07DT PRAISE SPEC CONT</b> HIST08GPRAISE SPEC CONT <b>HIST10G PRAISE SPEC CONT</b> <b>HIST13IND PRAISE SPEC CONT</b> HIST15TLS PRAISE SPEC CONT HIST15TLS PRAISE SPEC CONT HIST15TLS PRAISE SPEC CONT HIST18IND PRAISE SPEC CONT HIST19DT PRAISE SPEC CONT HIST21G PRISE SPEC CONT	<b>BIO15TLS CRIT SPECIFIC CONT</b> BIO 15 TLS CRIT SPEC CONT BIO15TLS CRIT SPEC CONT <b>BIO19G CRIT1 SPEC CONT</b> <b>BIO30DT CRIT1 SPEC CONT</b> FICT23DT CRIT SPECIFIC CONT FICT 23 DT CRIT SPE CONT FICT27G CRIT SPEC CONT FICT27G CRIT SPEC CONT FICT30G CRIT SPEC CONT FICT35IND CRIT SPEC CONT <b>FICT38DT CRIT1 SPEC CONT</b> <b>FICT40DT CRIT1 SPEC CONT</b> <b>FICT40TLS CRIT SPEC 1 CONT</b> <b>FICT42INDCRIT SPEC 1 CONT</b> HIST06DT CRIT SPEC CONT <b>HISTO7DT CRIT SPEC 1 CONT</b> HIST08DT CRIT SPEC CONT <b>HIST10G CRIT SPEC CONT</b> <b>HIST12IND CRIT SPEC CONT</b> <b>HIST13IND CRIT SPEC CONT</b> <b>HIST14TLS CRIT SPEC CONT</b> HIST15TLS CRIT SPEC CONT HIST15TLS CRIT SPEC CONT HIST15TLS CRIT SPEC CONT HIST18IND CRIT SPEC CONT HIST19DT CRIT SPEC CONT HIST21G CRIT SPEC CONT
Handling of the Subject Matter	<b>BIO14G PRAISE HANDLING OF THE SUBJECT MATTER</b> <b>BIO31TLS PRAISE 2 SUBJECT MATTER</b>	<b>BIO14G CRIT 1</b> HANDLING SUBJECT MATTER <b>BIO14G CRIT 1</b> HANDLING OF SUBJECT MATTER BIO19G CRIT SUBJECT MATTER BIO 22 TLS CRIT OF SUBJ MATTER

		BIO29DT HEDGED CRIT OF HANDLING OF THE SUBJECT MATTER
<b>Style</b>	BIO 19G PRAISE STYLE, FICT04DT PRAISE STYLE FICT 23 DT PRAISE STYLE FICT27G PRAISE STYLE FICT30G HEDGED PRAISE STYLE FICT30G HEDGED PRAISE STYLE FICT31G PRAISE STYLE FICT31G PRAISE STYLE FICT42INDPRAISE STYLE	BIO 19G CRIT STYLE FICT04DT CRIT STYLE FICT27G CRIT STYLE FICT30G CRIT STYLE FICT30G CRIT STYLE FICT30G CRIT STYLE FICT31G CRIT STYLE FICT40TLS CRIT STYLE HIST01DT CRIT STYLE
<b>General Aspects of the Book</b>	<b>BIO11DT GENERAL PRAISE</b> BIO15TLS PRAISE OF GENERAL ASPECTS BIO15TLS GENERAL CONTENT PRAISE <b>BIO 16 DT PRAISE 2 GENER CONT</b> BIO 22 TLS PRAISE GENER CONT BIO29DT PRAISE GENERAL ASPECT <b>BIO30DT PRAISE 2 GENERAL PRAISE</b> FICT23DT PRAISE GEN CONT FICT24TLS PRAISE GEN CONT <b>FICT40DT PRAISE GENERAL CONT</b> <b>HIST12IND PRAISE GENE CONT</b> <b>HIST12IND PRAISE GENE CONT</b> <b>HIST14TLSPRAISE GEN CONT</b> <b>HIST19DT PRAISE GEN CONT</b>	FICT04DT CRIT GENERAL CONT FICT23DT CRIT GENER CONT FICT24TLS CRIT GEN CONT FICT26TL CRIT GEN CONT <b>HIST12IND CRIT GENE CON</b>



<b>Author</b>	<u>BIO 11 DT SYMPATHY FOR THE AUTHOR OVERWHELMED BY THE TASK</u> <u>BIO12TLS PRAI2 AUTHOR</u> <u>BIO 19G PRAISE AUTHOR</u> <u>BIO19G PRAISE AUTHOR</u> <u>FICT26TLS PRAISE AUTHOR</u> <u>HIST19DT PRAISE AUTHOR</u>	<u>BIO11DT CRIT 1 AUTHOR</u> <u>BIO11DT CRIT AUTHOR</u> <u>BIO12TLS CRIT 1 AUTHOR</u> <u>BIO31TLS CRIT 1 OF AUTHOR THROUGH QUOT1</u> <u>FICT26TLS CRIT AUTHOR</u> <u>HIST19DT CRIT AUTHOR</u>
<b>____Through Quotations</b>		<u>BIO 16 DT CRIT1 THROUGH QUOT</u> <u>BIO31TLS CRIT 1 OF AUTHOR THROUGH QUOT1</u>
<b>_____Through Comp Value</b>	<u>FICT27G PRAISE COMPAR VALUE</u> <u>FICT30G PRAISE COMP VALUE</u> <u>FICT30G PRAISE COMP VALUE</u> <u>FICT40TLS PRAISE COMP VALUE</u>	<u>FICT40TLS CRIT COMP VALUE</u>
<b>Reading Experience</b>	<u>FICT33G PRAISE READING EXPERIENCE</u>	<u>FICT33G CRIT READING EXPERIENCE</u>

**LEGENDA: UNDERLINED FIGURES THE CRITICISM AND PRAISE PAIR 37.1%**

**PLAIN FIGURES THE PRAISE AND CRITICISM PAIR 62.8%**

## APPENDIX D: EVALUATION IN THE BUT DATABASE

REVIEW NUMBER	REVIEW CODE	THE TARGET OF THE PRAISE PART	THE TARGET OF THE CRITICISM PART	DISTRIBUTION	PARAGRAPH (P) OR SENTENCE (S)?
1	BIO 11DT	PRAI 2 SYMPATHY FOR THE AUTHOR OVERWHELMED BY THE TASK	CRIT 1 AUTHOR	CLOSE	P
2	BIO11DT	GENERAL PRAISE	AUTHOR	CLOSE	P
3	BIO12TLS	PRAI2 AUTHOR	CRIT 1 AUTHOR	BODY	S
4	BIO12TLS	PRAISE GENERAL CONTENT	PRAISE GENERAL CONTENT	CLOSE	S
5	BIO14 G	PRAISE 2 CHOICE OF PERSPECTIVE IS JUSTIFIED	CRIT 1 HANDLING SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P
6	BIO14G	PRAISE SPECIFIC PASSAGES IN THE BOOK SPECIFIC CONTENT	CRIT 1 HANDLING OF SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	S
7	BIO 14 G	CRIT 2 JUSTIFY CRITICISM OF SPECIFIC ASPECTS	CRIT 1 SPECIFIC ASPECTS	BODY	P
8	BIO 15 TLS	PRAISE OF GENERAL ASPECTS	CRIT SPECIFIC ASPECT	OPENING	S
9	BIO 15 TLS	PRAISE SPECIFIC ASPECT	CRIT SPEC ASPECT	BODY	S
10	BIO15TLS	GENERAL CONTENT PRAISE	CRIT SPEC ASP	CLOSE	S
11	BIO 16 DT	PRAISE 2 GENER CONT	CRIT1 THROUGH QUOT	BODY	P
12	BIO 19G	APPARENT PRAISE STYLE, AUTHOR	CRIT STYLE	OPENING	S
13	BIO19G	PRAISE AUTHOR	CRIT SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P

14	BIO19G	PRAISE SPEC ASP	CRIT1 SPEC ASP	BODY	S
15	BIO 19G	PRAISE GEN CONT	PRAI AND CRIT SUBJECT MATTER	CLOSE	S
16	BIO 22 TLS	PRAISE GENER CONT	CRIT OF SUBJ MATTER	CLOSE	S
17	BIO 23IND	PRAISE GENE	BOOSTED GENR PRAISE	CLOSE	S
18	BIO24IND	CRIT SPECIFIC ASPECT	OVERT CRIT SPECIFIC ASPECT	BODY	S
19	BIO24 IND	CRIT AUTHOR	OVERT CRIT AUTHOT	CLOSE	S
20	BIO26G	CRIT AUTHOR CIT THROUGH QUOT	BOOSTED CRIT AUTHOR CIT THROUGH QUOT	BODY	P
21	BIO 26G	PREPARES THE FLOOR FOR AVOIDING REBUTTAL	CRIT THE HANDLING OF SUBJECT MATTER, CRIT AUTHOR	BODY	P
22	BIO 26G	CRIT OF HANDLING OF SUBJECT MATTER	BOOSTED CRIT OF HANDLING OF SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P
23	BIO27G	HEDGED CRIT OF SPECIF ASPECT	OVERT CRIT OF SPECIFI ASPECT	CLOSE	S
24	BIO 27 IND	HEDGED PRAISE OF SPECIFIC ASPECT	PRAISE OF HANDLING THE SUBJECT MATTER	OPENING	S
25	BIO 27IND	PRAISE GENERAL ASPECTS	PRAISE HANDLING OF THE SUBJECT MATTER	OPENING	S
26	BIO27DT		CRIT 1 AUTHOR	BODY	P
27	BIO 29DT	HEDGED CRITI OF THE HANDLING OF SUBJ MATTER	CRIT OF THE HANDLING OF SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P
28	BIO29DT	PRAISE GENERAL ASPECT	HEDGED CRIT OF HANDLING OF THE SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P

29	BIO 29DT	HEDGED CRIT SPECIFI ASP	BOOSTED CRIT SPEC ASPE	BODY	S
30	BIO30DT	PRAISE 2 GENRAL PRAISE	CRIT1 SPE ASPE	CLOSE	S
31	BIO31TLS	PRAISE GENERAL	BOOSTED PRAI GENE	BODY	S
32	BIO 31TLS	PRAISE THROUGH QUOTATION	BOOST PRAISE	BODY	S
33	BIO31TLS	PRAISE 2 SUBJECT MATTER	CRIT 1OF AUTHOR THROUGH QUOT1	BODY	S
34	FICT04DT	CRIT THROUGH COMP 1	OVERT CRIT OF GENER CONT	OPENING	P
35	FICT04DT	PRAISE STYLE	CRIT STYLE	OPENING	P
36	FICT04DT	CRIT STYLE 1	OVERT CRIT STYLE	CLOSE	P
37	FICT04DT	PRAISE SPECIFIC CONTENT	CRIT GENERAL CONT	CLOSE	S
38	FICT20TLS	CRIT THROUGH QUOT	CRIT THROUGH QUOT	BODY	P
39	FICT20TLS	CRIT OF THE SUBJ MATTER	CRIT OF THE SUBJ MATTER	CLOSE	P
40	FICT21DT	CRIT STYLE	BOOSTED CRIT STYLE	BODY	P
41	FICT21DT	PRAISE THROUGH QUOT	PRAISE GEN CONT	CLOSE	S
42	FICT23DT	PRAISE GEN CONT	CRIT GENE AND SPECIFIC CONT	BODY	S
43	FICT 23 DT	PRAISE STYLE	CRIT SPE CONT	BODY	P
44	FICT24TLS	PRAISE GEN CONT	CRIT GEN CONT	BODY	S
45	FICT26TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT GEN CONT	BODY	S

46	FICT26TLS	PRAISE AUTHOR	CRIT AUTHOR	BODY	S
47	FICT26TLS	CRIT THROUGH QUOTATIONS	CRIT GEN CONT	CLOSE	S
48	FICT27G	PRAISE COMPAR VALUE	CRIT STYLE	BODY	S
49	FICT27G	CRIT COMP VALUE	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
50	FICT27G	PRAISE STYLE	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	S
51	FICT27G	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	S
52	FICT30G	PRAISE COMP VALUE	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	S
53	FICT30G	HEDGED PRAISE STYLE	CRIT STYLE	BODY	S
54	FICT30G	PRAISE COMP VALUE	CRIT STYLE	BODY	S
55	FICT31 G	PRAISE STYLE	CRIT STYLE-PRAISE STYLE	BODY	P
56	FICT33G	CRIT INTRO STYLE	CRIT STYLE	BODY	P
57	FICT33G	PRAISE READING EXPERIENCE	CRIT READING EXPERIENCE	BODY	S
58	FICT35IND	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPE CONT	CLOSE	S
59	FICT36 IND	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE COMP VALUE	CLOSE	S

60	FICT37IND	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BOOSTED PRAISE STYLE	OPENING	S
61	FICT38DT	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
62	FICT39TLS	PRAISE COMP VALUE	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P
63	FICT40DT	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE GENER CONT	CLOSE	S
64	FICT40TLS	CRIT COMP VALUE	PRAISE COMP VALUE	BODY	P
65	FICT40TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT STYLE	BODY	P
66	FICT41IND	PRAISE COMP VALUE	PRAISE GEN CONT	BODY	P
67	FICT41DT	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P
68	FICT41DT	PRAISE STYLE	PRAISE GEN CONT	CLOSE	S
69	FICT42IND	PRAISE STYLE	PRAISE STYLE	OPENING	S
70	FICT42IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE STYLE	BODY	P
71	FICT43IND	OUTLINES A DIFFICULTY	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	S
72	FICT43IND	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P
73	HIST01DT	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT THROUGH QUOTATIONS	OPENING	P
74	HIST01DT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	S

75	HIST01DT	CRIT STYLE	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
76	HIST02DT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE GEN CONT	BODY	P
77	HIST04DT	PRAISE AUTHOR	PRAISE STYLE	BODY	S
78	HIST04DT	CRIT THROUGH QUOT	CRIT THROUGH QUOT	BODY	P
79	HIST04DT	ANTICIPATES DIFFICULTY	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
80	HIST06DT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	OPENING	S
81	HIST06DT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
82	HIST07DT	CRITSPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
83	HIST07DT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CLOSE	P
84	HIST07TLS	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
85	HIST08G	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
86	HIST08G	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
87	HIST10G	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	CLOSE	S
88	HIST10G	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P
89	HIST10G	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P

90	HIST12IND	CRIT GEN CONT	PRAISE GEN CONT	OPENING	S
91	HIST12IND	PRAISE COMP VALUE	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P
92	HIST12IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE GEN CONT	CLOSE	S
93	HIST13IND	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	S
94	HIST13IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE SPEC CONT	BODY	P
95	HIST14TLS	CRIT SPEC CONT	PRAISE GEN CONT	CLOSE	P
96	HIST15TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
97	HIST15TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
98	HIST15TLS	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
99	HIST15TLS	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	CLOSE	
100	HIST17IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT SUBJECT MATTER	BODY	P
101	HIST17TLS	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
102	HIST18IND	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
103	HIST19DT	PREPARES GROUND FOR PRAISE	PRAISE GEN CONT	BODY	S
104	HIST19DT	PRAISE SPEC CONT AND AUTHOR	CRIT AUTHOR AND SPEC CONT PRAISE GEN	CLOSE	P



			CONT		
105	HIST 21G	PREPARES THE GROUND FOR CRIT	CRIT GEN CONT	BODY	P
106	HIST21G	PRAISE SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
107	HIST21G	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	P
108	HIST21G	PRAISE SPEC CONT	PRAISE GEN CONT	BODY	P
109	HIST24IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT SPEC CONT	BODY	S
110	HIST24IND	CRIT SPEC CONT	CRIT GEN CONT	BODY	S
111	HIST24G	CRIT SPEC CONT	JUSTIFICATION OF CRIT	CLOSE	S

## LIST OF TABLES IN THE THESIS PER CHAPTER

### CHAPTER 3

Table 1: Macro and Micro categories coded in NVivo	p. 68
Table 2: BROADSHEET reviews included in the Preliminary Study	p. 69
Table 3: Examples of rhetorical strategies analysed in the Preliminary Study	p. 70
Table 4: Examples of rhetorical evaluative categories using hedging as coded in the Preliminary Study	p. 73
Table 5: Examples of the Parent Node Praise and its Child Nodes in the Preliminary Study	p. 75
Table 6: Evaluative Acts of Praise in the Preliminary study	p. 78
Table 7: Evaluative acts of Praise Per Cent	p. 79
Table 8: Evaluative Acts of Criticism in the Preliminary Study	p. 80
Table 9: Evaluative Acts of Criticism Per Cent	p. 81
Table 10: The Distribution of Praise per subgenre in the Preliminary Study	p. 82
Table 11: The Distribution of Criticism per subgenre in the Preliminary study	p. 82
Table 12: The frequency of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the Preliminary Study	p. 84
Table 13: The Distribution of the Praise and Criticism Pair per subgenre in the Preliminary study	p. 84
Table 14: Evaluative Acts of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the Preliminary Study	p. 84-5
Table 15: Evaluative Acts of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the Preliminary Study in per cent	p. 86
Table 16: The Frequency of the Hedged Praise in the Preliminary Study	p. 87
Table 17: The Frequency of Hedged Criticism in the Preliminary Study	p. 87
Table 18: The Frequency of the Hedged Praise in the Preliminary Study per subgenre	p. 88
Table 19: The Frequency of the Hedged Criticism in the Preliminary Study per subgenre	p. 88
Table 20: The Distribution of Hedged Praise per subgenre in the	

Preliminary Study in instances and percentages	p. 88
Table 21: The Distribution of Hedged Criticism per subgenre in the Preliminary Study in instances and percentages	p. 89
Table 22: Evaluative acts of Hedged Praise in the Preliminary Study	p. 89
Table 22 a: Evaluative acts for Hedged Praise per cent	p. 90
Table 23: Evaluative acts of Hedged Criticism in the Preliminary Study	p. 90-1
Table 23 a: Evaluative acts for Hedged Criticism per cent	p. 91
Table 24: The Target of Praise in the BB Preliminary Study	p. 94
Table 25: The Target of Praise across subgenres per 1000 words	p. 95
Table 26: The Target of Criticism in the BB Preliminary Study	p. 96
Table 27: The Target of Criticism across subgenres per 1000 words	p. 97
Table 28: The Target of the Praise and Criticism Pair in the BB Preliminary Study	p. 98
Table 29: The Target of the Praise and Criticism Pair across subgenres per 1000 words	p. 99
Table 30: The Target of Hedged Praise across subgenres	p. 100
Table 31: The Target of Hedged Praise across subgenres per 1000 words	p. 101
Table 32: The Target of Hedged Criticism across subgenres	p. 101
Table 33: The Target of Hedged Criticism across subgenres per 1000 words	p. 102
Table 34: Patterns in the Data	p. 104
Table 35: Evaluative Patterns from a subgenre perspective	p. 105
Table 36: Patterns in the Preliminary Study: The Target of Evaluation	p. 112

## CHAPTER 4

Table 1: The overall classification sheet compiled in the BBC	p. 121
Table 2: The Frequency and Distribution of analytical categories	p. 123
Table 3: Normed results for the Frequency and Distribution of the analytical categories in the BBC	p. 125
Table 4: Evaluative acts in the review sections	p. 125
Table 5: The Target of Praise in the BBC	p. 127
Table 6: The Target of Hedged Praise in the BBC	p. 128
Table 7: The Target of Criticism in the BBC	p. 129
Table 8: The Target of Hedged Criticism in the BBC	p. 130
Table 9: The Distribution and Frequency of the Pair in the BBC across	

subgenres	p. 130
Table 10: The Frequency of the Pair in the BBC	p. 131
Table 11: The Target of the Pair in the BBC as distributed in Child Nodes	p. 132
Table 12: The Frequency and Distribution of Praise across genres in the BBC	p. 133
Table 13: The Frequency and Distribution of Hedged Praise across genres	p. 134
Table 14: Frequency and Distributional patterns of Criticism across subgenres in the BBC	p. 134
Table 15: Frequency and Distributional patterns of hedged criticism across subgenres in the BBC	p. 135

## CHAPTER 5

Table 1: The dialogic nature of review writing	p. 162
Table 2: The Function of quotations in the BUT Database	p. 166
Table 3: The functions of direct questions in the BUT Database	p. 168
Table 4: Interactional resources in the BUT Database	p. 170
Table 5: Distributional Patterns of interactional resources	p. 171
Table 6: The role of metaphor in the BUT Database	p. 178

## CHAPTER 6

Table 1: The distribution of the BUT clause within the But Database	p. 193
Table 2: The distribution of the BUT clause across the three subgenres	p. 193
Table 3: The frequency and distribution of analytical categories in the BUT Database	p. 198
Table 4: Evaluative strategy 2: A recurring evaluative pattern after BUT	p. 199
Table 5: The distribution of Criticism introduction in the BUT Node	p. 200
Table 6: The distribution of Praise introduction in the clause before BUT	p. 203
Table 7: The Distributional pattern in the clause before BUT	p. 205
Table 8: Grading Criticism in the But Clauses: Rising the tone	p. 212
Table 9: The Distribution of patterns of Praise, Hedged Praise, Criticism, Hedged Criticism, Boosted Praise and Overt Criticism around the BUT clauses/s	p. 213
Table 10: The Frequency of evaluative strategies before BUT	p. 214

Table 11: The Frequency of evaluative strategies after BUT	p. 214
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## CHAPTER 7

Table 1: Hedging devices in BIO15TLS	p. 227
Table 2: Hedging devices in FICT30G	p. 228
Table 3: Hedging devices in HIST06DT	p. 228
Table 4: Hedge distribution in the BUT Database	p. 230
Table 5: A normed version of results	p. 231
Table 6: Comparing normed and non-normed results	p. 231
Table 7: Category A: Negative forms as a booster of politeness and a softener of critical claims	p. 234
Table 8: Category C: the use of adverbs as hedges	p. 242
Table 9: Instances of BUT in the BUT Database per subgenre	p. 243
Table 10: Lexical choices in terms of adverbial hedges	p. 244
Table 11: Adverbs arranged in a typology grid	p. 245
Table 12: The polarity of evaluation in the BUT Database	p. 246
Table 13: The Target of hedging in the But Database	p. 249
Table 14: Distribution of the Pair in the BUT Database	p. 254
Table 14.a. Distribution of the Pair in the BUT Database at clause and paragraph level	p. 254
Table 14.b. Distribution of the Pair in the BUT Database per subgenre	p. 255
Table 15: Distribution of the Pair in the BUT Database across subgenres	p. 255
Table 16: Target nodes in the Pair of the BUT Database	p. 256
Table 17: Subgenre differences in the target nodes of the BUT Database	p. 258
Table 18: Target categories for Criticism round the BUT Node	p. 261
Table 19: Target categories for Praise round the BUT Node	p. 262
Table 20: Target for Praise Criticism, Hedged Praise, Hedged Criticism and the Pair in the BBC	p. 265

## CHAPTER 8

Table 1: The Frequency of Praise and Criticism in Motta Roth (1998)	p. 274
Table 2: The Distribution of Praise and Criticism in Hyland (2004b)	p. 274
Table 3: The Frequency and percentage of analytical categories in Ierace's BBC (2013-16)	p. 275

Table 4: The Distribution of analytical categories in Ierace's BBC (2013-16)	p. 275
Table 5: The Target of analytical categories for Praise in Ierace's BBC (2013-16)	p. 277
Table 6: The Target of analytical categories for Criticism in Ierace's BBC (2013-16)	p. 277
Table 7: Hyland's (2004b) analytical evaluative categories in percentages	p. 278
Table 8: The Targets of the Praise and Criticism Pair in Ierace's BBC (2013-2016)	p. 279