Evaluation in Context

EDITED BY

Geoff Thompson
Laura Alba-Juez

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Edited by Geoff Thompson and Laura Alba-Juez

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Edited by

Geoff Thompson
University of Liverpool

Laura Alba-Juez
UNED, Madrid

John Benjamins Publishing Company
Amsterdam / Philadelphia

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To my brother Félix, who ever since I was a child
taught me to appreciate and value the importance
of scientific research, and who has also taught me
so many other fundamental truths of human existence…

With love, respect, and admiration,
Laura

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Preface

The collection of articles in this book presents some of the latest developments in the study of the linguistic phenomenon of evaluation, emanating from three main sources: (a) the findings of the FunDETT (*Functions of Discourse: Evaluation in different Text Types*) research group, (b) selected papers from those presented at the INT-EVAL Conference (*International Conference on the Evaluative Function of Language, organized by the FunDETT group*) held in Madrid in October 2011, and (c) some recent invited contributions to the topic made by other linguists around the world.

Released more than a decade later than Hunston and Thompson's (2000) *Evaluation in Text, Evaluation in Context* is designed as its sequel, in an attempt to continue, update and extend the different avenues of research opened by these authors' former work. Here, as in Hunston and Thompson's book, we present both more theoretically-oriented (Sections 1 and 2) and empirically-oriented (Section 3) work on the topic, with the intention of scrutinizing as many dimensions of the phenomenon as possible, this time by not only looking at evaluative texts, but also considering the aspects of the discursive context that affect the final evaluative meaning both at the production and reception stages of the evaluative act.

Our aim, therefore, has been to look closely into the different phases of evaluation, as well as into its manifold faces, by presenting a wide variety of perspectives that include different linguistic theories (e.g. Axiological Semantics, Functionalism or Politeness Theory), different levels of linguistic description (e.g. phonological, lexical or semantic) and different text types and contexts (e.g. the evaluation found in ironic discourse, the multimodality of media discourse or the world of politics, just to name a few).

It is now an acknowledged fact in the world of linguistics that the concept of evaluation is crucial, and that there is very little – if any – discourse that cannot be analyzed through the prism of its evaluative content. We thus believe that this book can be of use not only for scholars who study the evaluative function of language, but also for students who wish to pursue research in the area. It is our hope that the work of all the authors in the collection will help and inspire these scholars and students along their study and research paths.

Geoff Thompson & Laura Alba-Juez

SECTION 1

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

The many faces and phases of evaluation

Laura Alba-Juez and Geoff Thompson

1. The interdisciplinary study of values and its evolution through time

In present day science, no discipline can boast of relying on its own findings exclusively, and the study of the evaluative function of language is no exception. For that reason, in this first part of the introduction we will present an overview of the evolution of evaluation studies, by looking at the different approaches to the phenomenon, from the Greco-Latin philosophical disquisitions on values to cognitive studies on emotion, or modern linguistic studies on evaluation, stance or appraisal. In doing so, we attempt to start from the 'big picture' so as to then be able to delve into the more specific linguistic/pragmatic treatments of the topic included in the different chapters of this volume. This initial objective also has to do with the title of the book, *Evaluation in context*, for we are here dealing with one aspect of context, namely the historical and interdisciplinary contexts in which the study of the phenomenon has thrived. Our general view of context, however, will be presented in subsection 2.

As far as we can tell from the evidence that is available, both groups and individuals have always constructed their world around more or less complex systems of values. These values have been in turn expressed and reflected through one of the most distinctive capacities of Homo Sapiens: the capacity for a unique (within the animal realm) form of language which is open-ended and productive. The philosopher Leibniz ([1765] 1996: 333) referred to language as "the best mirror of the human mind"[1], thereby expressing his faith in that, by studying language in depth, one could obtain significant insights into the understanding of the nature of human reasoning. Another philosopher, Ludwig Wittgenstein, developed his 'Picture Theory' of Language in his *Tractatus Logico Philosophicus* (1921), whose main tenet was that language mirrored reality and presented an account of the relation between words, sentences and propositions to the real situation or event to which they referred.

One of the aspects of the human mind and culture that is certainly mirrored in language is their system of values. But mirrors may have more than one face, and the system of values expressed by the different human cultures through their particular languages can certainly have many faces. The most long-established perspective on the human urge to externalize values verbally sees it in terms of an outward impulse from the individual, a form of self-expression. In more recent years, an equally compelling perspective has been elaborated which sees evaluation as essentially interpersonal: socially constructed and designed primarily, or at least as a major part of its function, to establish solidarity with the addressee. A shift of emphasis from the first of these perspectives towards the second can be seen, in different ways, in the various fields in which values have been investigated. Along with this, and partly at least linked with it, has been a shift from viewing values as fixed and universally valid towards seeing them equally as negotiable and dependent on (and reflecting) the context in which they are deployed.

From the philosophical point of view, the study of values may be traced back to the ancient Greco-Latin approaches to argumentation and works on Ethics. These early philosophical investigations sought to understand good and evil, and the concept of "the good"[2]. In more modern times, Immanuel Kant ([1785] 1993) thought of moral value as an absolute value, as a unique and universally identifiable property. In contrast, and from a different – more pragmatic – perspective, other philosophers, such as John Dewey (in his *Theory of Valuation*, 1981), denied the existence of intrinsic value as an inherent property of things, in favour of a more relativistic view that holds that goods are only intrinsic relative to a situation. Thence, the study of ethics became inevitably attached to the study of discourse, and of the intersubjective nature of values. The German philosophers Jürgen Habermas and Karl-Otto Apel are considered to have been the originators of modern discourse ethics. Habermas's discourse ethics presents a theoretical effort to reformulate the main tenets of Kantian deontological ethics and apply them to the analysis of communicative structures. Like Kant and like his contemporary John Rawls (1971), Habermas is a moral cognitivist, but unlike Kant or Rawls, his reconstruction is more intersubjective: he argues that the validity of a claim to normative rightness is not absolute, but rather depends upon the mutual understanding achieved by individuals in argument. This is one of the important principles of his Discourse Ethics: "Only those [moral] norms can claim to be valid that meet (or could meet) with the approval of all affected in their capacity as participants in a practical discourse" (1990: 65). Another philosopher of the twentieth century who was concerned with values as represented in discourse was Chaïm Perelman. His New Rhetoric is founded on the idea that "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" (1969: 19). A key concept of his theory is his claim that the orator's use of appropriate values determines the adherence of an audience. Thus, in his view, no value should be treated as universal.

The study of values has occupied not only the mind of philosophers, but also that of intellectuals from different fields, such as Economy[3], Psychology, Law, and, of course, Linguistics. It would certainly be difficult to study human systems of values without resorting to the analysis of the language we use in order to express them, through what may be termed the evaluative function of language. One of the clear motivations to study this and other functions of language is, as pointed out by Levinson (1983), that significant functional explanations can be offered for linguistic facts. Notwithstanding, there is still no consensus as to which and how many the functions of language are. Different authors (e.g. Jakobson 1960; Lyons 1977; Halliday 1976, 1978, 1985; Norrick 1993; Martin 2000; Johnstone 2002) have proposed different categories, but there is still much to be done in this arena. In particular, this book aims to contribute to the field by exploring one of these functions, the evaluative one, with an open but critical mind. One basic assumption that the linguists presenting their work in this volume share is the view of the evaluative function as one of the most basic and important functions of language, and one that it is worth investigating in depth.

The study of evaluation in Linguistics has undergone a notable upsurge of interest as from the first years of the twenty-first century, as shown in the relatively recent studies by Hunston and Thompson (2000), Martin (2000), Macken-Horarik and Martin (2003), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Hunston (2008), Martin and White (2005), Englebretson (2007), or Bednarek (e.g. 2006, 2008a and b, 2009a and b). Previous to these, Labov and Waletsky (1967) and Labov (e.g. 1972, 1997a and b) had studied evaluation as one of the elements of narrative structure, but did not present a full account of the phenomenon. Also, works such as Aarts and Calbert's (1979) semantic taxonomies for the English language, as well as the contributions from axiological semantics (coming from both the structural and the transformational-generative traditions from the 50s to the late 70s – see the chapter by Felices-Lago in this volume) can be said to have thrown much clarifying light on the above-mentioned subsequent and more recent functional studies of the phenomenon.

For the scholars presenting their research in this volume, it is evident that the expression of values is an all-pervading feature of language. Finding a text or even a sentence without any trace of evaluation is a very challenging, if not impossible, task. As some scholars (e.g. Osgood et al. 1957; Osgood 1980; Krzeszowski 1990; Felices-Lago 1997, 2003, and this volume) have pointed out, the division of things and experiences into *good* and *bad* seems to be the earliest type of categorization human babies make. These authors also argue that, in spite of the great importance that historically in linguistics has been given to the polar axis true/false, the positive/negative axis is a much more basic and important parameter in linguistics. In effect, the very act of stating whether something is true or false constitutes primarily an evaluative assessment. Thus, valuations constitute an aspect of all categorizations, and categorizations directly manifest themselves in language, which points to an obvious and fairly direct link between values and language.

The expression of evaluation is in turn very intimately bound up with our human emotions. However, and as Bednarek (2009b) points out, the usage of emotion talk and emotional talk[4] does not necessarily give us information about the speaker's current or real emotions, for her language will simultaneously be responding to socially-oriented principles of politeness, for instance, as well as to the expression of her genuine feelings or inner system of values. But in any case, it is evident that the emotion depicted is a reflection of a given system of values which, if not current for that particular speaker, is nonetheless human, and is intended to be the appropriate or expected one for the given discursive practice within which it occurs. This set of values is then, as Bednarek explains, "strategically related to notions such as self-presentation […] or constitutes conventionalized, habituated discourse" (2009: 405). Thus, from this perspective, the language of evaluation is not only the mirror of the personal mind but that of the corresponding 'social mind' or culture.

2. Evaluation as a multifarious, context-dependent phenomenon

In *Evaluation in Context* we intend to continue with the avenue of research opened by *Evaluation in Text*, but this time the purpose is to broaden the scope so as to take into account the further reflections and research findings of the last decade, as well as our own reflections, which include the consideration of the following facts:

a. **Evaluation has many faces**: The different studies in this book reflect the fact that there is not only one side to evaluation: Evaluation may be overt or covert, in such a way that on many occasions, for example, an utterance that might on the surface appear to be neutral is intended to trigger an evaluative response in the addressee; or an apparently positive comment may hide a negative one, or vice-versa, as shown by Alba-Juez and Attardo in their study on verbal irony (this volume, Chapter 5). Even if we choose to look at the phenomenon through well-grounded theoretical frameworks such as Bednarek's evaluative parameters or the delicate and extremely detailed framework of the Appraisal model (Martin and White 2005), it will not take long to realize that an evaluative act can realize more than one parameter (or that we will most surely find new parameters if we work with different corpora), or that these acts can be made manifest through the different subsystems of appraisal, by means of an ironic comment, some kind of judgment, the expression of one's feelings, or a combination of all or some of these in a layered or overlapping fashion. For assessing the nature or category of a given evaluative act is not so simple a task as looking for a single category in Martin and White's taxonomy and assigning it to the corresponding word or expression. As Thompson and Macken-Horarik and Isaac show in this volume (Chapters 3 and 4), there may be many layers of evaluation assigned to a single token, and many times the different subsystems combine and overlap to present a much more complex picture than might seem at first sight, which raises the question of how many of the layers should be taken into consideration for the analysis, as well as how to code them. All these layers of meaning relate to, interact with, and are affected by the different possible contexts surrounding the evaluative act in any given discursive situation.

b. **Evaluation has many phases**: when delving into the analysis of evaluation, one realizes that the process involves much more than the mere textual phase: there is what we might call a "pre-textual" phase or pre-realization of the evaluative act, which has to do with the decision as to whether or not to do the act, and if so, what stance to take and how to do it.[5] This is a cognitive phase that can be said to be related to previous evaluative texts (for the speaker normally makes a decision based on her experience with previous uses of evaluative language), a circumstance which therefore reflects the intertextuality of discourse, and which in this book has led us to opt for focusing not only on the text but also on the context of the evaluative act. Apart from showing features of the cognitive mechanisms (system of values, decision-making, etc.) of the speaker, this phase is also related to her social and communicative competence and, therefore, to her relationship with the addressee. While deciding whether to evaluate and how to do it, the speaker will most surely be assessing a future response coming as a reaction from her interlocutor. This might, for instance, make her decide not to perform a given evaluative FTA (Face Threatening Act), which is considered to be one of the super-strategies (nº 5) of Politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987), and would thereby avoid the textualized phase of the evaluation.[6] Now, if the speaker chooses to do the FTA and thus expresses her evaluation verbally or through other semiotic means (e.g. gestures), her interlocutor may choose to align with her or not. In such a case we would be dealing with another phase of the process, which has to do with the hearer's meta-evaluation of the speaker's previous evaluative act, and which, again, can be said to be influenced by the context of utterance. This is one of the aspects of evaluation that Estebas deals with in Chapter 9 of this volume.

As may have become apparent so far, the analysis of the different phases of evaluation is one of the aspects of the research in this volume that has made us focus on the nature and importance of ***context***. By scrutinizing these phases, it becomes clear that a given speech situation always reflects information about previous encounters (Biber 1988), and at the same time may shape future interactions. As Bakhtin (1986) argues: "Every utterance must be regarded as primarily a response to preceding utterances" (p. 91) and simultaneously "the speaker talks with an expectation of a response, agreement, sympathy, objection, execution, and so forth" (p. 69). Thus any text or interaction displays a sort of *inter-contextuality* which is vital to the final comprehension of utterance meaning.

In very general and simple terms, we endorse Mey [1993 (2008)] in that

> No matter how natural our language facilities or how convention-bound their use, as language users, we always operate in contexts. Therefore, the context looms large, and has to be taken into account whenever we formulate our thoughts about language. [1993 (2008: 42)]

Our view of context is a broad one, including both the linguistic and the extra-linguistic variables affecting the final meaning of utterances. We are aware of the fact, however, that all these variables are not always easily identified and controlled, and that therefore context is a much more slippery and complex concept than might appear at first sight. We agree with Fetzer (2004) in her view of context as a multifaceted phenomenon displaying the connection between language and language use, and therefore we may speak of different types of context, such as the linguistic, the cognitive, the social, and the sociocultural contexts (2004: 4–12). The chapters in this book consider – explicitly or implicitly – one, some, or all of these types of context. All the chapters included in Section 3 (Evaluation in different contexts) consider the phenomenon in the light of different linguistic, cognitive, social or sociocultural contexts based on the different discourse types analyzed. But even in the theoretical chapters of Section 2, the notion of context cannot be and is not disregarded. In Chapters 3 and 4, for instance, by looking at the "Russian doll" phenomenon and at the delicate interweaving of explicit and implicit attitudes in narratives, Thompson and Macken-Horarik and Isaac take into account different aspects of both the linguistic and pragmatic (social and sociocultural) contexts in order to re-think the organization of the systems of appraisal. Another example can be found in Chapter 5, where Alba-Juez and Attardo write of evaluation as one of the intended meanings of speakers when using verbal irony. The survey carried out by these authors to understand how this intention is interpreted can be situated within a given cognitive context (the interpretation of relevant inappropriateness by means of implicature) for, as Roberts (2007: 207) explains, the consideration of the interlocutors' intentions is a crucial aspect in an adequate theory of context. Further, Istvan Kecskes in Chapter 7 argues that context may affect linguistic evaluation in a different way in intercultural encounters as compared to intracultural communication.

As a final specific remark about context, we would like to point out that, as many authors (e.g. Fetzer 2004; Mey [1993 (2008)], Roberts 2007) have already noted, context is a dynamic, not a static concept, and in that sense we link our view of context to our view of evaluation in general, which we also see as a dynamic concept, as we explain in subsection 3.

3. Our definition of evaluation

All of the above considerations have led us to a revision and extension of Thompson and Hunston's (2000) original definition of evaluation; but before turning to it, we would like to reflect upon the following issues (related to our research questions), which were previous to any of our definition attempts:

a. *Stance/attitude* and *evaluation*: Are they the same thing?
Thompson and Hunston (2000) point to the wide range of terms used by different authors to refer to (more or less) the same phenomenon. Thus, for instance, Lyons (1977) uses the term *connotation*, Halliday (1994) uses *attitude*, Martin and White (2005) talk of *appraisal*, and Conrad and Biber (e.g. 2000) or Englebretson (2007) talk of *stance*. Thompson and Hunston explain that there are two main basic approaches: the 'separating' approach (which emphasizes the differences between opinions related to entities and those related to propositions), and the 'combining' approach (which emphasizes the similarities between these two). In *Evaluation in Text*, Thompson and Hunston took a combining approach, and therefore expressed the need for a superordinate term, i.e. *evaluation*, which was defined as:

> …the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, view point on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values. When appropriate, we refer specifically to modality as a sub-category of evaluation. (2000: 5)

In this volume we continue using the same term for the same practical reasons stated by Thompson and Hunston: that is, its syntactic and morphological flexibility, for it not only expresses "a user-orientation in terms of the two perspectives mentioned earlier (it is the user who evaluates), but it also allows us to talk about the values ascribed to the entities and propositions which are *evaluated*" (2000: 5).

But we want to make a further point to distinguish between the concepts of *stance* and *evaluation*. As we now see it, and taking into consideration the pre-realization phase of evaluation analyzed above, *stance* would be a broader concept, including not only the textualized phase but also its pre-realization. Hence a speaker might opt for not making any explicit evaluation and remain silent, thus (perhaps) showing a neutral *stance*.[7] But as soon as she decides to *express* a stance, whether through language or other semiotic means, we would be in the domain of *evaluation*. In short, and as put in Thompson and Hunston's definition, evaluation constitutes the *expression* of the speaker's stance or attitude; thus *evaluation* and *stance* are not exactly the same thing: From this perspective, *stance* would be a more abstract concept, and *evaluation* would be the actual verbal realization or manifestation of the stance.

b. Evaluation permeates all the levels of linguistic description.
We can find realizations of evaluation at all of the linguistic levels, the analysis of which puts us in contact with many of its other *faces*. Thus evaluation can be found at:

1. **the phonological level:** It is a well-known fact that prosodic features may be used to infuse utterances with a certain evaluative meaning. For instance, intonation or pitch range may be markers of irony, and consequently – given the proper context – they may charge an utterance such as *I'm sure he cares for you* with a totally different or opposite meaning that includes a negative evaluation (and thus the resulting interpretation could be something like: *It is evident he does NOT care for you – and consequently I have a bad opinion of him*). Two of the articles in this volume present both theoretical and empirical evidence related to the presence of evaluation at the phonological level: Estebas (Chapter 9) shows how speakers of English and Spanish perceive and evaluate certain utterances as polite or rude based on their pitch range, and Escandell, Marrero and Pérez Ocón (Chapter 8) show how the pattern with a lengthening of the nuclear stress that Spanish uses to indicate *verum* focus may be linked to an evaluative interpretation of insistence and/or impatience.

2. **the morphological level** (e.g. by using evaluative prefixes or suffixes): One example would be the use of the suffixes *-ucho/a, -uco/a, or -azo/a* in Spanish, which can be used in a pejorative way. E.g.: *larguirucho* (long/tall + *-ucho* = a tall but graceless person), *casuca* (house + *-uca* = a small and not very nice house), *manazas* (hands + *-aza* = a clumsy person).

3. **the lexical level**: This is the most evident level at which we can see evaluation at work by, for instance, simply using words or expressions with an evaluative load: *intelligent, good, bad*, etc.

4. **the syntactic level**: One of the aspects that has been widely studied so far is the relationship between evaluation and the lexico-grammatical systems of modality (e.g. Halliday 1994; Eggins and Slade 1997; Bybee and Fleischman 1995; Biber and Finegan 1989). Evaluation can also be made manifest by structural means, such as changing the order of constituents in a clause or phrase: compare, for instance, the meaning of *un pobre hombre* (a poor man – an unfortunate man who is not necessarily poor; he may be rich) vs. *un hombre pobre* (a man that is poor, not rich) in Spanish.

5. **the semantic level**: We include here both the evaluative meaning that is inherent in words and expressions and can be therefore found in their semantic features, as well as the (pragmatic) evaluation that is context-dependent at any level, from the local co-text up to the cultural context. For instance, the word *fat* has an inherent evaluative content (i.e. a person/animal that is heavier than the norm) but, depending on the culture, the historical period or the person/animal it refers to, it may tend towards a negative or a positive evaluative polarity. Thus "a fat woman" was considered positive, beautiful and healthy at the beginning of the 20th century, but not so much so in our present Western culture; but fatness may be seen as desirable in animals such as pigs that are being raised for food. Another example of contextually-bound semantic (and therefore pragmatic) evaluation could be found in the utterance "He didn't visit his mother when she was ill", which in most cultures may be loaded with an invoked negative judgment of the man in question as a non-loving son who does not help or take care of his mother when in need, and consequently is to be valued by the speaker as a not very good or empathetic human being (the negative form *didn't* can be seen as 'flagging' the evaluative deduction to be drawn by the addressee, in the terms used by Martin and White 2005: 67).[8] In this case, for the correct interpretation of the speaker's negative appraisal, the hearer has to share or at least know his/her cultural values; otherwise, the covert evaluative meaning may be lost or not interpreted as intended by the speaker.

c. **Evaluation is a dynamical system (as seen within the framework of *Dynamical System Theory*).** In the scientific world, many phenomena can be seen and studied as dynamical systems. *Dynamical System Theory* (DST) was originally a mathematical theory which set out to explain different phenomena like, for instance, celestial motion, by defining them as "a set of quantitative variables changing continually, concurrently and interdependently over quantitative time in accordance with dynamical laws described by some set of differential equations" (van Gelder 1998: 244). DST has later been applied to the study of cognitive phenomena, on the grounds that natural cognition is a complex dynamical phenomenon and therefore it is better explained by DST than by the more orthodox Representational (symbol manipulation) Approach or the Connectionist (neural network) approach.[9] Some scholars (e.g. Gibbs 2010; Alba-Juez and Alba-Juez 2012) see pragmatic phenomena as emergent products of self-organizing (dynamical) systems which show an interaction of brains, bodies and the environment. From this approach, language – being a pragmatic phenomenon – can also be considered a dynamical system. Within the linguistic schools, Functionalism tends to study language as a dynamic phenomenon, as structures that are always in the process of changing as they are employed by their speakers. This school, in analogy with DST, does not focus on 'stable states' but on the trajectories ('cycle states' in DST jargon) that different linguistic processes (e.g. grammaticalization, pragmaticalization) tend to follow, and on what elements these trajectories depend upon (e.g. grammaticalization is partly dependent on typology). We therefore argue that the system and subsystems of evaluation, as part of the language superordinate system, constitutes a dynamical phenomenon too. When analyzing dynamical systems, a given behavior can be described in terms of attractors, transients, stability, interaction, coupling, bifurcations, chaos and so forth, features that are largely invisible from a classical perspective. Within DST, the time variable is an essential element. From this perspective, cognition (and in this case, the evaluation system as part of the superordinate system of human language) is seen as having a sequential cycle (sense–think–act) structure, as a matter of continuous and continual evolution (like a feedback control system[10]). Cognitive dynamicists also emphasize *situatedness*, for natural cognition is always environmentally embedded, corporally embodied, and neurally "embrained". Situatedness, translated from DST jargon into linguistic terminology, would be equivalent to *context*, which as noted above, is also a dynamic concept, and is an essential element to take into account for the study of the evaluative function of language or of any other kind of linguistic phenomenon.

Because DST focuses its attention on changing variables, interaction and context, looking at evaluation from this perspective can help us understand, for instance, why some words or expressions such as *regime* or *par for the course*[11] have come to invoke a critical stance, even though their semantic features do not include anything that could be labeled as negative or critical. It also helps the researcher to elucidate some methodological facts, such as the difficulty found in assigning a given category of appraisal to any utterance, for as Thompson (Chapter 3) or Macken-Horarik and Isaac (Chapter 4) have noticed, utterances may present more than one layer of evaluation and different evaluative subsystems may overlap. Thus, the stance being shown or expressed is normally the result of a very complex interaction between the speaker's internal set of values, her considerations about politeness, and her anticipation of what her interlocutor(s) might think or say with respect to her expressed evaluation, among other things. This shows an interaction between a complex set of variables that seems to be better explained and understood if we view it as a dynamical system than if seen as a static, stable or unchanging one (which would only present an idealized – not very realistic – picture of the phenomenon). Looking at evaluation as a dynamic phenomenon also clarifies the fact that it is not a one-way process, but one involving relational work whose equation also includes the (possible and most of the times expected and subsequent) evaluation of the hearer.

All these considerations and discussion have led us towards a revised definition of the concept. We now see and thus define evaluation as a dynamical subsystem of language, permeating all linguistic levels and involving the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that s/he is talking about, which entails relational work including the (possible and prototypically expected and subsequent) response of the hearer or (potential) audience. This relational work is generally related to the speaker's and/or the hearer's personal, group, or cultural set of values.

With this characterization we make an attempt to take into account its many faces and phases, including both the speaker's and the hearer's expression of their system of values as well as every aspect related to the context, be it the immediate local co-text or anything related to the particular situation or culture affecting them and their use of language. For example, the way evaluative language is used in a given culture bears a close connection to its social conventions (politeness rules, etc.); this is the basis for the interest of some researchers (e.g. Santamaría or Estebas) in this volume in investigating this relationship and its linguistic consequences and realizations. An utterance that has a negative valence within a given situation, group or culture may have a positive one within another, or vice-versa. Take, for instance, the utterance *Yeah, right*, which, depending on the situation, the kind of speaker, and the way in which it is spoken, may be intended as a positive sign of agreement or as a very negative sign of disagreement. In addition, the resources deployed to realize evaluation may vary according to the medium that is used. For instance, a relatively new use of the evaluative resources of language, which we can term *e-valuation,* can be found in the genre of computer-mediated discourse, particularly in the language of the social networks (e.g. *Facebook* or *Twitter*). *e-valuation* seems to be a phenomenon inherent to this text type, for in addition to the normal and extremely frequent evaluative written comments of the network members, every posting has a "like" button that is only a click away from reaching the whole cyber-community of friends of the *e-valuator* or *e-moter*, and there is also a considerable array of *emoticons* that can be employed by the *e-valuator* to make his/her emotions overt.

Thus, the language of evaluation – being context-dependent – also depends heavily on the text type in which it is used. Many of the scholars presenting their work in this volume have focused on studying this relationship, i.e. how genre and text type affect the use of evaluative language. As we shall describe in the overview of chapters following this section of the introduction, in addition to the theoretical studies, this volume includes empirical studies scrutinizing the use of evaluation in narratives, political discourse or media discourse, to name just a few text types.

4. About this book

This volume contains three main sections. The first, Section 1, contains only one chapter (this introduction) which aims at presenting a general view of the phenomenon of evaluation. In doing this, we offer our own perspective on the phenomenon, in a way which is designed to complement other views advanced by contributors to this volume. One of our main aims when planning this volume was precisely to present a number of different contemporary approaches to the topic, as different parts of the whole 'evaluation picture'.

Section 2 includes nine chapters whose main focus is theoretical, and therefore each of them tackles one or more of the major questions on the topic as seen from different angles. In Chapter 2, "The emergence of axiology as a key parameter in modern linguistics. A review of significant contributions from the 1950s to the 1980s", Felices-Lago presents a historical perspective on the study of values in language, providing an essential background to the other studies in the volume. He summarizes the relevant contributions to axiological semantics included in the two most influential linguistic traditions of the 1950s to the late 1970s: Structural Linguistics and Transformational-Generative Grammar. These contributions can be considered as relevant antecedents to the later development of the study of evaluation in subsequent and more modern approaches, such as that of Functionalism, which inspire most of the following chapters.

The next two chapters are devoted to an examination of theoretical and practical issues which have arisen in the application of what is at present the most fully theorized and elaborated account of evaluation, the appraisal model developed by Martin, White and colleagues. In Chapter 3, "AFFECT and emotion, target-value mismatches, and Russian dolls: refining the APPRAISAL model", Thompson focuses on three aspects which, he argues, have as yet been formulated with insufficient clarity. The first of these is the distinction between evaluation by a speaker of something in terms of his/her own emotional reaction to it (the system of AFFECT) and more general descriptions of other people's undirected emotions. The second relates to mismatches between the two sets of criteria that are used to differentiate between the systems of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION: the kinds of values (ethical vs. aesthetic) and the kinds of target (humans and human behaviour vs.

products and natural phenomena). Finally, he discusses ways of handling what he calls the Russian doll syndrome: the fact that explicit evaluations of one kind may function as implicit tokens of another kind of evaluation, in a potentially recursive manner. This last point is explored in greater depth in *Appraising Appraisal* (Chapter 4). In this chapter Macken-Horarik and Isaac propose a methodology for analyzing evaluation in the specific text-type of narratives by applying two of the key systems in Appraisal (ATTITUDE and GRADUATION), and in so doing they highlight some of the analytical problems of this model, arguing that there are kinds of appraisal that cannot be enclosed in analytical boxes and thus frustrate 'either-or' distinctions. On the basis of their analyses of two narratives, they offer a set of concrete guidelines for other analysts, which are designed to minimize or avoid the problems that they have discussed.

Evaluation is clearly a highly complex phenomenon, which is best illuminated from multiple perspectives. The following five chapters offer a sample of the very different approaches which can be adopted.

A key resource for expressing the speaker's attitude is irony, but, because this is an indirect form of realization, the links with evaluation have not always been explored as fully as they deserve. In Chapter 5, "The evaluative palette of verbal irony", Alba-Juez and Attardo offer theoretical reflections on the evaluative character of verbal irony. Their main hypothesis is that the stance taken by ironic speakers can be located at any point of the evaluative continuum, and therefore does not necessarily have to be critical. This hypothesis is then tested, discussed and accepted by analyzing and comparing the results of a survey conducted with native speakers of both English and Spanish.

In Chapter 6, "The implementation of the axiological parameter in a verbal subontology for natural language processing", Felices-Lago and Cortés de los Ríos introduce the reader to the levels and parameters of FunGramKB, a multipurpose lexico-conceptual knowledge base for natural language processing (NLP) systems where axiology (and therefore, the evaluative content of words) is considered to be a basic parameter in the architecture of meaning construction at different levels. They demonstrate that, while most research in the approach to date has been focused on the axiological dimension of adjectives which comprise the #QUALITY subontology, the same considerations are equally valid for verbs, in the #EVENT subontology,

Kecskes, in "The evaluative function of situation-bound utterances in intercultural interaction" (Chapter 7), writes about situation-bound utterances (SBUs – a type of pragmatic unit which is tied to standardized, recurrent communicative situations) and their relation to evaluation in interaction in both intracultural and intercultural contexts. This author argues that the processing of SBUs differs from one kind of interaction to the other, and that the context is a key element for this differentiation. The relationship with evaluation is complex, and especially in intercultural contexts, it may depend on the degree of familiarity of the interactants with the pragmatic function of the SBU.

Both Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 show how evaluation permeates the phonological level of linguistic description. In Chapter 8 ("Prosody, information structure, and evaluation") Escandell, Marrero and Pérez Ocón show how duration can constitute a means of marking information structure, and they test some hypotheses having to do with the correlation between the introduction of background material and evaluation. Their results indicate that in Spanish duration can be used as a signal of *verum* focus: that is, when the positive polarity of a proposition is reiterated in response to actual or potential disagreement. Further, the authors demonstrate that the pragmatics of such reiteration lead in many instances to the hearer perceiving such cases as involving an evaluative stance on the part of the speaker. In Chapter 9 ("The evaluation of intonation: pitch range differences in English and in Spanish"), Estebas examines (by means of a perception test in which different F0 productions of a word are provided) the perception phase of evaluation, a phase which includes the hearer's evaluation of the speaker's evaluative comment (meta-evaluation), and which to date has not been studied so extensively as the production phase. In particular, Estebas looks at how interlocutors of English and Spanish perceive and evaluate certain utterances as polite or rude based on their pitch range.

Section 3 contains ten papers which present the phenomenon of linguistic evaluation as seen through the prism of some of the different text types and contexts where it occurs, as well as relevant discussion based mainly on its empirical analysis within such contexts. The first two chapters of this section, Chapters 10 and 11, deal with the use of evaluation in what Genette (1997) has called *paratexts*, i.e., material that accompanies an artistic work, such as prefaces, advertisements, press releases, blurbs or reviews. In Chapter 10 ("Corpus study of the use of evaluation in DVD blurbs") Monika Bednarek explores evaluation in the blurbs written for the DVDs of television series. She uses some corpus linguistic techniques to identify and analyze those words or expressions that are potentially evaluative, which leads her to interesting conclusions such as the fact that some adjectives which are not straightforwardly associated with positive evaluation can be used to refer to specific qualities that are positively valued in contemporary television drama, or that the extent to which blurbs use positive or negative evaluation is likely to depend on the genre of the promoted TV series. Her conclusions throw light on the different layers or 'faces' of evaluation found in every text (see also Thompson, or Macken-Horarik and Isaac in this volume), as well as upon the relationship between evaluative language and genre. While in movie DVD blurbs, which are designed to promote the product, the evaluation is, understandably, overwhelmingly positive, Carretero and Taboada (Chapter 11: "Graduation within the scope of Attitude in English and Spanish consumer reviews of books and movies") explore a different though related genre – that of movie or book reviews – where this is not always the case, for they may be both "thumbs up" or "thumbs down". As the title of the chapter suggests, these authors also present a comparative study (English-Spanish) of the Graduation subsystem within the appraisal framework for this genre. By means of both qualitative and quantitative techniques, they find that there are broad similarities between reviews of both movies and books across the two languages, but that there are also differences between the languages at more delicate levels.

The next three chapters focus on evaluation in different registers of written discourse in academic contexts. Degaetano and Teich's "Register diversification in evaluative language: the case of scientific writing" (Chapter 12) and Hidalgo Downing's "The role of negative-modal synergies in Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*" (Chapter 13), are both situated in the tradition of corpus-based register linguistics and they both analyze the language of science. The former focuses on the variation in evaluative expressions across specialized scientific registers and sets out to investigate whether the use of these expressions is discipline-specific (and therefore register-forming) or discipline-neutral. The latter examines the co-occurrence or synergy of negative particles and modality as markers of authorial stance and intersubjective positioning in Darwin's *The Origin of Species*. Hidalgo Downing demonstrates that Darwin uses the negative-modal synergy to express the tension between the underlying discourse meanings of *certainty* and *caution*, both of which seem to point to an intersubjective feeling of expected disagreement.

Like Miller and Johnson or Carretero and Taboada (this volume), in Chapter 14 ("Exploring academic argumentation in course-related blogs through ENGAGEMENT") Ryshina-Pankova draws on the Appraisal subsystem of ENGAGEMENT in her examination of the argumentative language used in course-related academic blogs. She shows the importance of keeping a balance among different engagement strategies in order to produce an academically valued argument, a balance that is maintained by alternating dialogically expansive and dialogically contracting strategies. Ryshina-Pankova also writes about two main implications of applying ENGAGEMENT analysis to academic argumentation, namely, the recognition of an intimate relationship between cognitive evaluation and reasoning and its verbal realization, and the positive pedagogical implications of drawing learner attention to the linguistic construal of evaluative and argumentative steps as enabled by the function-oriented analytical framework.

The following three chapters share an interest in the broad context of the media and politics, but from very different perspectives. In Chapter 15 ("Multimodal analysis of controversy in the media") Ruth Breeze looks beyond the text in order to undertake a multimodal analysis of online newspaper articles, based on the assumption that – in a world now dominated by online communication – an exclusive focus on the printed text would be somewhat anachronistic, thus especially pointing to another of the 'faces' of evaluation (or better, *e-valuation*), namely the one found in the images that accompany the texts in such articles, as well as the interplay between all the different semiotic systems found in them. Breeze warns about the inappropriateness of assuming co-equal status between the different modes: for instance, the choice of dramatic photographs might tend to clash with the tolerant message expressed in the text, and it is not clear which of the messages will prevail in the reader's understanding of the issue, or how the reader will integrate the different aspects juxtaposed on the screen.

Elena Martínez-Caro also examines evaluation in the news media (Chapter 16: "The expression of evaluation in weekly news magazines in English"), but she specifically concentrates on the patterns used for the expression of evaluation in weekly news magazines in English within the parameters of good-bad, certainty and importance. In harmony with Hunston and Sinclair's (2000: 83) assumption that "every sense of every word can be described in terms of the patterns it commonly occurs in", Martínez-Caro shows that some of the most common evaluative devices found in this type of text are copular constructions and clefts, markers of modality such as attitudinal adverbs, or lexical markers such as adjectives, nouns and verbs with an inscribed evaluative meaning. She also presents some evidence that evaluation might tend to concentrate in some texts either at the end or in a place where it reflects the views of a third party in the story.

Miller and Johnson (Chapter 17: "Evaluative phraseological choice and speaker party/ gender: A corpus-assisted comparative study of 'register-idiosyncratic' meaning in Congressional debate") analyze the features of evaluation and stance in the political-institutional register of congressional debate, using the Appraisal model. The work focuses on the investigation of the phraseology *it is * time to/ for/ that*, which is frequently found in their corpus and which, they establish, is more typically chosen by members of the party in opposition to attack and criticize the other side. The authors also use their quantitative data to put forth an argument for gendered languaging, based on female Democrats' appraisal of veracity, their partiality for a "rhetoric of anti-rhetoric" and an inclination to subjectivise the proposal that *it is * time to/ for/ that*.

The final two chapters take us away from the public worlds of academia, the media and politics and into more personal worlds. In Chapter 18 ("Evaluation in emotion narratives"), Manuela Romano examines oral narratives of highly emotional content from an agony column radio program and finds that (*contra* Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972, 1982, 2007) they do not show clear sections where evaluative information can be said to concentrate. On the contrary, evaluation seems to be all-pervasive throughout the narrative, thus becoming its very backbone. On the basis of this finding, Redeker's (2006) model is used as a more flexible and appropriate model for the description of emotion narratives than Labov's.

We return to *e-valuation* in the final chapter of this volume (Chapter 19: "Evaluative discourse and politeness in university students' communication through social networking sites"), where Carmen Santamaría explores the use of evaluative language in Social Network Sites (SNSs) and its connection with politeness strategies. Santamaría scrutinizes many of the distinctive features of these sites (such as the use of emoticons, the "I like" button, or their heteroglossic framework) by focusing on the ATTITUDE subsystem of Appraisal as embodied in the different strategies of politeness used by the community of cyber-friends. Both the qualitative and quantitative results point to an overwhelming majority of positive politeness strategies, reflecting the social role of SNSs as a medium that allows its users to satisfy their need to build positive face for relational work.

The inclusion of all the above articles in *Evaluation in Context* reflects our intention of presenting a wide variety of approaches to evaluation in a range of different text-types and contexts, which at the same time are representative of the state of the art in the field to date, and which are designed to illustrate the richness, complexity and intricate paths of its many faces and phases. We end this introduction in the hope that this will happen as the reader moves through the 18 chapters that follow.

Notes

1. THEO: "[…] I really believe that languages are the best mirror of the human mind, and that a precise analysis of the significations of words would tell us more than anything else about the operations of the understanding." (NE, 333)

2. See, for instance, Plato's dialogue Euthyphro, in which he discusses whether it is in fact divine approval that makes an action good, or Aristotle's two ethical treatises: the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Eudemian Ethics* (in Barnes (ed.) 1984).

3. See, for example, John Maynard Keynes' theory of values in his book *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* ([1936] 1964, New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich).

4. Bednarek makes the difference between these two kinds of talk in the following manner: "… *emotion talk* makes use of expressions that directly and explicitly name a particular emotional response (e.g. fear), whereas *emotional talk* uses expressions that can be more indirectly related to some kind of emotional experience, which need not be clearly identifiable…" (2009b: 395–396).

5. This phase can roughly be associated with one of the ways in which Bednarek (2006 and 2008a) states that we can look at evaluation, namely, as a cognitive operation. The other two ways are: "(2) *evaluation* as a relatively stable evaluation attached to mental representations (frames, scripts, schemata […]), and (3) *evaluation* as the linguistic expression of speaker/writer opinion" (2008a: 4).

6. Carmen Santamaría studies the relationship between appraisal systems and politeness strategies in Chapter 19 of this volume.

7. Note that, given the proper context, remaining silent could also reflect a negative or a positive attitude or evaluation. Think of, for instance, the silent response to a comment such as "John is a very honest person, don't you think?", which may very well show disagreement, or the silent response of a mother to her son's request to buy a lollipop, which could be interpreted as a positive one (if no other non-linguistic signs of disapproval are perceived).

8. See also Thompson's examples *He throws stones at cats* and *He wears sandals with socks* (this volume) as tokens of invoked judgment.

9. Within the Representational Approach, concepts, ideas, notions, etc. are represented with symbols and then the rules (e.g. the rules of logic) are established and manipulated. It is static in the sense that the variable 'time' is not explicitly used, but the set of symbols (concepts) and the rules could be expanded as evaluation evolves in time. Within the Connectionist (neural network) approach, the mathematical model tries to mimic the way physiology indicates the brain seems to work. Time is not explicit either, but again the topology (connections) of the neural network can be made to change with time.

10. A feedback control system is an adaptive system whose structure changes as a function of its interaction with the exterior (context). A simple example of this kind of system would be the temperature controller of the heating in a house, where the desired temperature is the set point or controlled variable that receives feedback from the exterior (measured temperature). The linguistic system of evaluation could be seen as a feedback control system too, but of a much more complex nature, for the interaction between the structure of language and the context involves a greater number of variables than in simple systems like the temperature controller.

11. See Joanna Channell's (2000) corpus study of these expressions.

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SECTION 2

Theoretical considerations and approaches to evaluation

CHAPTER 2

The emergence of axiology as a key parameter in modern linguistics

A review of significant contributions from the 1950s to the 1980s

Ángel Felices-Lago

This article sets out to provide a summarized historical survey of some relevant contributions to axiological semantics from linguists included in the two most influential linguistic traditions from the 50s to the late 70s: structural linguistics and transformational-generative grammar. In fact, even if their representative opinions at that time could now be regarded as incidental, it would be unfair to claim that some of their intuitions and principles have not been crucial in illuminating essential aspects of the parameter of axiological evaluation in modern linguistics. In this respect, it is worth highlighting the ideas disseminated by key figures of the Saussurean or Chomskyan traditions from the perspective given by half a century of evolution in the field. For that purpose contributions are included from authors such as Apresjan, Bally, Coseriu, Ducháček, Fodor, Grzegorek, Guiraud, Katz, Klima, Pottier, Stati, and Ullmann, among others.

1. Introduction

Through the centuries, scholars from diverse philosophical schools have been seriously concerned about the questions of value and axiology. They proposed lists and groups of values for various purposes (see, for instance, the classifications provided by Max Scheler (1913–1916) or José Ortega y Gasset (1923) [phenomenological approach], René Le Senne (1942) or Louis Lavelle (1950–1955) [Realist trend] or Rokeach (1973) [psycho-social perspective], to mention just a few). However, in the mid-XXth century, lexical semantics was dominated by logic, or, more strictly, that aspect of logic which deals with values of truth. The Saussurean and Chomskyan traditions in linguistics usually remained silent about other aspects that should also be considered as relevant to the semantics of natural languages, such as various axiological distinctions between "good" and "bad" or "ugly" and "beautiful". Consequently, a systematic and consistent introduction of the axiological parameter in natural languages has been missing for decades (Krzeszowski 1990, 1993, 1997; Felices-Lago 1991, 1997, 2003).

Before the final third of the XXth century, there were sporadic contributions to this issue, frequently in connection with connotation and referred to as "emotive" aspects of meaning. Most scholarly production in that period considered values as simple "overtones" and as subsidiary references dependent on non-axiological categories or pursuing absolutely different theoretical goals. That is the case of countless linguists included in the structuralist / generative traditions mentioned above. However, a minority of linguists from these dominant linguistic schools indirectly paved the way for further developments in other functionalist approaches during the following 20 to 30 years, such as the *Appraisal Framework* stemming from systemic grammar (Martin and White 2005) and which will be broadly dealt within this volume.

2. The axiological parameter in the structuralist tradition

Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum's research (1957) and their concept of "semantic differential" demonstrated that *values* could perform a dominant function in the structure of concepts (see also Osgood 1980). Research has shown that emotions are among the major factors determining information processing rather than merely modifying it (Suchecki 1983). This fundamental finding of cognitive psychology was apparently ignored by previous generations of linguists (Krzeszowski 1997). Linguists from the Saussurean tradition, for instance, made some formal statements about the central, even denotative role played by the axiological component in numerous lexical units of natural languages, but no specific theory was formulated during that period.

2.1 French-speaking structuralist linguists

One of the early XXth century figures who placed axiology at the core of the linguistic debate was the Swiss linguist Charles Bally, who intuited the vital, overriding role played by the human ability to valuate (positively or negatively), not only for the preservation of mankind, but also for language formation. At least, this is what can be deduced from his own words:

> Notre pensée surajoute spontanément aux moindres perceptions une "idée de valeur", c.à.d. qu'un obscur instinct de conservation rapporte tout à notre moi, à notre vie, à notre bien-être. Le premier résultat de cette infirmité est que nos perceptions s'accompagnent de sentiments de plaisir ou de déplaisir; les choses

> nous affectent agréablement ou désagréablement; elles se divisent en choses dont nous jouissons et en choses dont nous souffrons. Quand l'instinct de conservation écoute mieux l'intelligence, il trie les impressions selon la formule de l'utile: "Ceci est bon, ceci est mauvais"; enfin, quand l'instinct de conservation imagine de placer en dehors du moi les normes du jugement d'utilité (principes de morale ou dogmes religieux), il adopte une formule plus haute et dit: "Ceci est bien, ceci est mal". Ce triage, inhérent à notre nature, nécessaire à notre conservation, comment pourrait-il ne pas se refléter dans le langage? (Bally 1909, 3rd ed. 1951: 152–153)
>
> ['Our thought spontaneously adds to the slightest perceptions an "idea of value" – that is, an obscure instinct of preservation links everything to our self, to our life, to our well-being. The first result of this infirmity is that our perceptions are accompanied by feelings of pleasure or of displeasure; things affect us agreeably or disagreeably; they are divided into things that we enjoy and things that we suffer. When the instinct of preservation listens more to our intelligence, it sifts impressions according to the notion of usefulness: "This is good, this is bad"; but when the instinct of preservation decides to place the norms of judgement of usefulness (moral principles or religious beliefs) outside the self, it adopts a higher formulation and says: "This is right, this is wrong". This sifting, which is inherent in our nature and necessary for our preservation – how could it not be reflected in language?']

He also brought out the necessary and close relationship between value judgments and the expression of linguistic emotion or affection when he said that "(…) value judgments differ from the logical ones because, to some extent, they are always emotional: they are never entirely intellectual products" (Bally 1913, 5th. ed. in Spanish 1967: 42–43) [Translated from the Spanish edition].

Bally finally perceived the axiological parameter as a kind of subtle phenomenon that permeates (as connotation) most linguistic expressions, but it can also appear undisguisedly (denotation) by means of a series of linguistic elements that fulfil a special function. That is what can be inferred from his words:

> (…) Il y a, comme disent les grammairiens, des expressions *péjoratives*, et d'autres *mélioratives* (qu'on me pardonne le néologisme); ou bien elles rendront essentiellement la notion "Ceci est bien" ou au contraire elles exprimeront qu'une chose est mal; il y aura des expressions essentiellement *laudatives* ou essentiellement *dépréciatives*. (…) [-Cette-] tendance existe, et qu'elle soit toujours prête à exercer son action, qu'elle se manifeste dans une foule de faits de langage, qu'on ait même le droit de dire que tous sont *en puissance* d'expression péjorative ou méliorative, voilà ce qu'il nous importait de faire comprendre. (Bally 1909, 3rd ed. 1951: 153)
>
> ['(…) There are, as the grammarians say, some expressions which are *pejorative* and others which are *meliorative* (if I may be allowed the neologism); either they essentially realize the notion "This is right" or in contrast they express the fact that something is wrong; there will be expressions which are essentially *laudatory* or

> *disapprobatory*. (…) [This] tendency exists, and what we need to establish is whether it is always ready to play a part, whether it manifests itself in many aspects of language, whether one has even the right to say that all are *potentially* pejorative or meliorative.']

Structural semantics were deeply rooted in Europe, particularly in France and Germany in the mid-century. French linguists have dealt with the integration of subjectivity and axiology in the lexicon, even if they did not put forth a specific theory. Georges Matoré (1953: 82), for instance, compiled the notional field "d'ART et de TECHNIQUE vers 1765", which was more of a sociological than a linguistic work and using a questionable methodology. However, he combined various axiological divisions and dimensions among the terms selected: "C) *Les moyens*: I.– La raison et les Lumières. II.– Le Sentiment. III.– Les sensations. IV.– La socialité. V.– La vertu". Apart from this impressionistic perspective of Matoré, this notional field presented an accurate view of the tremendous influence that social matters exerted on axiological dimensions such as sensations, feelings, attitudes or conduct.

Two years later, Pierre Guiraud was one of the few French-speaking linguists who rebelled against the Saussurean interpretation of value or *valeur*:

> Le sens de base et le sens contextuel ne se superposent pas; il y a toujours un seul sens dans une situation donnée, le sens contextuel; au mot dans son contexte correspond une seule image conceptuelle. Mais il se forme en même temps d'autres *associations extra-notionelles* qui sans altérer le concept le colorent. (…) nous les appelons *valeurs* par opposition au sens; les *valeurs* sont des associations extra-sémantiques. (Guiraud 1955: 31/36)
>
> ['The basic sense and the contextual sense are not superimposed on each other; there is always a single sense in a given situation, the contextual sense; a word in its context has a single corresponding conceptual image. But at the same time other *extra-notional associations* are formed, which, without altering the concept, colour it. (…) we call these *values* in contrast to sense; *values* are extra-semantic associations.']

For him, however, these *valeurs* may be of two types and will come closer to what has traditionally been understood as connotation ("valeurs expressives") or stylistic register ("valeurs sociales ou socio-contextuelles"). Despite the distance between this view and that of Bally, Ullmann, and others, who establish a clear distinction between exclusively or predominantly evaluative terms on the one hand and occasional evaluative terms, on the other, Guiraud (1955: 32) realizes that these words and phrases "(…) expriment les émotions, les désirs, les intentions, les jugements de celui qui parle …" ('express the emotions, desires, intentions, judgements of the speaker'). Even if their evaluative meaning is not part of the "core meaning", they are at least "(…) étroitement liées au procès sémantique dont elles constituent un des facteurs essentiels" ('closely tied to the semantic process of which they constitute one of the essential factors'). That is, its influence on the "core" meaning is constant and decisive.

Towards the end of the 50s, Georges Gougenheim (1958: 3–15) referred back to the Bally's distinction between "laudatifs" and "dépréciatifs" terms. However, this author wrongly considered the axiological load of words as an additional stylistic register which depended exclusively on the speaker's subjective opinion, ignoring the fact that that if a French speaker says words such as "parcimonieux" ('parsimonious'), "bavard" ('talkative'), "douceâtre" ('cloying'), "vétilleux" ('captious'), etc., the negative load is already included in the features of meaning (semic formulas) of the words. That is how it is understood by the French-speaking community regardless of the context.

In 1974, one of the greatest figures of structural semantics, Bernard Pottier, also paved the way for a remarkable proposal. This was the consideration of the axiological factor as a specific modality that could be included among the key linguistic-conceptual notions (mostly noemics) as well as among the main semantico-grammatical categories (tense, aspect, modality, etc.), but having a special characteristic: under certain circumstances it could exert considerable influence on the other modalities (epistemic, factitive, deontic, etc.). This can be initially inferred from the following classification of modal axes subclasses, particularly the "appréciation" in the second column or "vision constative":

b. Voici quelques sous-classes des axes modaux:

I	II	III
vision prospective	*vision constative*	*vision factitive*
– IMPULSION *(je veux, je dois)*	– SENSATION *(je crois, je vois)*	– PERMISSIF *(je laisse, je permets)*
– ÉVENTUALITÉ *(il se peut, il est probable)*	– DÉCLARATION *(je dis, je promets)*	– CAUSATIF *(je fais, je rends)*
	– APPRÉCIATION *(il est dommage, il est bon)*	– DÉLIBÉRATIF *(je nomme, je déclare)*

(Pottier 1974: 160)

['b. Here are some sub-classes of modal axes:

I	II	III
prospective vision	*constative vision*	*factitive vision*
– IMPULSION *(I want, I must)*	– SENSATION *(I believe, I see)*	– PERMISSIVE *(I let, I permit)*
– EVENTUALITY *(it may be, it is probable)*	– DECLARATION *(I say, I promise)*	– CAUSATIVE *(I make, I render)*
	– APPRECIATION *(it is a pity, it is good)*	– DELIBERATIVE *(I name, I declare)*']

2.2 Structuralist linguists from other origins

In 1960 the Czech Otto Ducháček wrote one of the most ambitious works on synchronic semantics for the French language: *Le champs conceptuel de la beauté en français moderne*. As the title clearly shows, it refers to aesthetics, the second member of the medieval axiological triad (*bonum, pulchrum, verum*). Although his research has been harshly criticized for serious methodological and organizational shortcomings, we should not ignore the brilliant contribution to a linguistic axiological theory that otherwise would have gone unnoticed. The Czech linguist stated explicitly the extensive or prototypical nature of the axiologically-loaded lexical dimensions, anticipating in a certain way what cognitive linguists are claiming today:

> Le champ de la beauté – ainsi que tous ceux qui jouent un certain rôle dans le discours affectif – possède une considérable force expansive et, en même temps, une grande force attractive. (Ducháček 1960: 180)
>
> Originairement, nous semble-t-il, l'idée de beauté se rapportait aux perceptions visuelles et très tôt aussi à celle de l'ouïe. Comme on qualifiait de beau ce qui plaisait, les expressions de beauté pouvaient passer des domaines de la vue et de l'ouïe dans d'autres, surtout dans ceux de l'esprit (où *beau* devient synonyme de "brillant", "exquis" et "élevé" et *joli* désigne ce qui est agréablement imaginé, plaisant, amusant ou ingénieux) et de la morale (où *beau* équivaut à peu près à "noble", "généreux", "honnête", "honorable" ou "bon" sur lequel il renchérit). (Ducháček 1960: 181)
>
> ['The field of beauty – like all those which play some part in the discourse of affect – possesses a considerable force of expansion and, at the same time, a strong force of attraction.
>
> Originally, it seems to me, the idea of beauty was linked to visual perceptions and very soon after also to those of hearing. Since people described as beautiful things which pleased them, the expressions of beauty could pass from the domains of sight and hearing into others, especially into those of the mind (where *beautiful* becomes synonymous with "brilliant", "exquisite" and "exalted", and *pretty* designates what is agreeably imagined, pleasant, amusing or ingenious) and of morality (where *beautiful* is equivalent to "noble", "generous", "honest", "honorable" or "good" which it amplifies).']

In 1962, the British author Stephen Ullmann referred in his work called *Semantics* to the twofold distinction that inspired in part the generally accepted distinction between axiological connotation and axiological denotation. For him, some words contain an evaluative feature overlapping their core meaning. For instance, *a hovel* is a small hut, especially one that is dirty or needs a lot of repair, while *to scrawl* is to write something quickly, without trying to make your writing tidy or easy to read. He also claims that there are words whose main function is to express a value judgment or make an emotive comment. That is the case of adjectives such as *good*, *brave*, *funny*, *stupid*, *horrible* and their antonyms. The emotive element here is not only a layer that permeates meaning, but is a central part of it.

In 1966, the Russian linguist Jurij Apresjan in his article "Analyse distributionnelle des significations et champs sémantiques structurés" ("Distributional analysis of meanings and structured semantic fields") advocated that lexical fields should be integrated into semantics following strict linguistic criteria (in association with phonology, morphology or syntax) rather than conceptual ones, based on logic. To achieve that, he proposed the distributional analysis method (rejected by Apresjan himself at a later stage). He intended to show how the meaning of a word can be deduced from its phrasal distribution with a specific formula:

> Il est indispensable d'associer à chaque sens une formule spécifique de distribution. Il se révèle que tous les éléments de base de la signification, y compris sa caractéristique stylistique et émotionnelle, trouvent un reflet suffisant dans leur distribution, c'est-à-dire dans les modèles structuraux et dans leur aptitude de combinaison. (Apresjan 1966: 52)
>
> ['It is essential to associate each sense with a specific formulation of its distribution. It turns out that all the basic elements of signification, including its stylistic and emotional characteristics, are adequately reflected in their distribution, that is, in the structural models and in their combinatory capacity.']

In fact, to demonstrate such a link he used, among other examples, the adjective *good* in predicative position, which can indirectly be seen as partial evidence to endorse the plurality of axiological divisions (positive pole) arising from this evaluative hypernym:

1. Bon: To be + good. He (the dog, the idea) is good.
2. Bienveillant: P + to be + good + to + P. He is good to you.
3. Aimable: It / that + to be + good + of + P. It's good of you.
4. Utile: C + to be + good + for + P. Apples are good for you.
5. habile: P + to be + good + at + C. He is good at counting.

(Apresjan 1966: 57)

All examples that fit into pattern number 2 will always refer to an ethical or moral content, be it positive or negative. That would be the case of adjectives such as *cruel, just, kind, merciless*, etc. Obviously, this distributionalist proposal has many shortcomings but at least proves certain semantic-syntactic interfaces with combinatorial validity. This might contribute to disambiguate cases of polysemy.

In the same decade, the development of structural semantics and its new terminology gave rise to a new discipline basically sketched by Eugenio Coseriu in 1968: *Classematics*.[1] The head of the Tübingen school was the first to raise the issue of an evaluation classeme affecting a large number of adjectives:

> (…) there may be classes like "positive", "negative", which justify copulative combinations such as It. "bello e buono" [*noble and handsome*], "grande e grosso" [*big and tall*], "piccolo e brutto"[*small and ugly*], etc., (adjectives which belong, in each case, to the same class), or adversative combinations such as Sp. "pobre pero honrado" [*poor but honest*] It. "povero ma onesto" (adjectives which belong to different classes) (…).
>
> [Translated from Spanish] (Coseriu 1968, Spanish ed. 1977: 176)

Unfortunately he only referred to adjectives, although it was obvious that this type of classeme would affect other open lexical classes, like verbs or nouns (Felices-Lago 1997b, 2003).

Coseriu's follower Horst Geckeler applied the lexematic theory to the synchronic analysis of the lexical field of the adjectives structuring the semantic area "age" in present-day French, wisely including what he called "(…) a specific dimension, which can be characterized as 'evaluative appreciation'" [Translated from Spanish] (Geckeler 1971, Spanish ed. 1976: 315), in connection with the criterion to distinguish *vieux/vieille* from âgé (referred to the class: person) according to the "evaluative" semes "respectful" or "non-respectful", and wisely concluding that "(…) it has to be clear that this is an element of denotative meaning and should not be considered as connotative, because it refers to the functional oppositions level" [Translated from Spanish] (Geckeler 1971, Spanish ed. 1976: 315). He proves the above statement by providing the following example (originally in French): "Le timbre-poste a augmenté de cinq centimes, la retraite des *vieux*, pardon: "l'allocation aux personnes agées", de dix mille francs" (Geckeler 1971, Spanish ed. 1976: 315) ['The price of stamps has gone up by 5 centimes, *old age* pensions, sorry: "the allocation for the aged", by ten thousand francs.']

Only a year earlier, the Spanish Ramón Trujillo (1970: 491) also referred to "a social-ethical evaluation, divided into positive and negative …", involving a permanent sign (+), (−) or (+/−) in the boxes for each one of the lexical units analysed in his work entitled: *El campo semántico de la valoración intelectual en español.* ("The semantic field of intellectual evaluation in Spanish"), which is based on a diachronic study of the field. Not surprisingly, this is a comprehensive lexematic study, founded mainly on the principles established by Eugenio Coseriu and applied to one of the major axiological areas, the noetic division. Nevertheless, despite the importance given by Trujillo to this axiological division at empirical level, in his theoretical postulates he claims that intellectual evaluation only represents an extra-linguistic fact of experience.

The lexical field of human locomotion verbs in German, organized by the German linguist Gerd Wotjak (1971, ed. Spanish 1979: 464), also includes a box entitled *Emotion* as an influential meaning label in the corpus analysis. Given the nature of the verbs studied, it does not refer to axiological components in the same sense as previous authors, but integrates in his field emotional and affective features that permeate meaning and have been traditionally neglected.

As far as we know, in 1979 the Romanian semanticist Sorin Stati compiled the most complete intuitive classification of axiological lexical units in modern linguistics (using adjectives from French and other Romance languages), but he lacked an intensive inductive study of the vocabulary, according to its hierarchical paradigmatic and syntagmatic arrangement.[2] He also missed the opportunity of applying an analytic model that might have adequately combined semantic, syntactic and pragmatic information attached to each affected lexical unit in his *sémantique des adjectifs*. Unfortunately, the final result of his classification looks more like an ordinary thesaurus than a necessary scientific approach to the analysis of lexical units or dimensions.

To conclude this descriptive approach, some interesting conclusions by the British semanticist Rosemary Sansome (1986) must be included. In her article, entitled "Connotation and Lexical Field Analysis" she sought to demonstrate that it was feasible to describe the "non-cognitive" aspects of lexical meaning within the broader frame of contrastive analyses of lexical fields. In this study, the "lexical connotations" are properties of the lexical unit itself, not of the referent, and are based on comparisons between lexical units that belong to the same lexical field. This means that they have very similar "denotative" contents. If, for example, "denotator" and "connotator" merge into one lexical unit, the author sets up eight subcategories, including the axiological or evaluative subcategory ("axiological or evaluative") as well as others, which would correspond to the diastratic, diaphasic and diatopic distinctions described by Eugenio Coseriu (see Coseriu 1967).

In developing lexical microfields to prove her assumptions, an intensification scale ($-3 \rightarrow +3$) is attributed to the "axiological subcategory" that shows the level of positivity or negativity elicited with the term selected among users of English (according to tests applied to informants). For example, if, in the same microfield, we compare synonymous verbs such as: "Act1 and Act2 live as husband and wife", "live together / with" and "cohabit", we can conclude that they are axiologically neutral, whereas "live in sin" is valued negatively by a majority of respondents with the level (−1) and "shack up" with (−3). Despite the differences in the value judgments of informants, because of their differences in gender, age, education, etc., it is clear that the negative axiological load of the lexical units selected does not inhere in the referent (the fact of living together as husband and wife), but in the lexical unit proper. For example, "shack up" incorporates the disqualification and rejection of that situation by a large group of people in a linguistic community for social or cultural reasons. Whether this rejection becomes a permanent functional trait or not will inevitably be a controversial issue. In my opinion, if a majority of speakers consider a particular concept as negative, "shack up" for example, then it is clear from the synchronic perspective of contemporary English that negativity in this case is an intersubjective fact and is also part of the meaning of the unit. Therefore, it should be regarded as a permanent feature of the language and we cannot refer to a case of connotation, despite the fact that, over the years, this negative perception may change or disappear with social evolution and shifts in values.

3. The axiological parameter in the transformational-generative tradition

T. P. Krzeszowski (1990: 136) is the first linguist who reported the surprising fact that the transformational-generative tradition as a whole remained almost completely silent on the issues related to values and their involvement in the structure of natural languages. Such concepts as connotative or affective meaning, not to mention axiology, are absent from the classic writings of tradition, notably Weinreich (1966), Bendix (1971), Katz (1972), Bierwisch (1971), and, particularly, from Bever, Katz and Langendoen (1976).

Although Krzeszowski minimizes the contributions of writers such as S. Klima (1964), or P. Kiparsky and C. Kiparsky (1970),[3] he highlights the ideas of R. Kalisz in his 1981 monograph. In Krzeszowski's opinion, Kalisz's work is the first study in which the "positive-negative" (p-n) scale is used as relevant to subcategorizing English and Polish verbs. English sentential *that*-complements are analysed and compared with the equivalent Polish sentential *że*-complements. Employing the p-n scale allows Kalisz to dispose of the presuppositional account. In his own words: "(…) the question whether the truth of the complement is presupposed or not becomes irrelevant" (Kalisz 1981: 79). Kalisz's insightful study is very significant primarily because it extends the scope of linguistic semantics beyond the traditional boundaries delimited by the truth-conditional logic. It also introduces the concept of scale, and hence highlights the graded rather than binary character differences between various predicates. The "positive-negative" scale, which Kalisz used in his description of English and Polish predicates, is the most general of all scales and, as will be shown presently, it turns out to be relevant in describing many other linguistic phenomena.

However, in my opinion, other relevant and valuable contributions should have been taken into account by the Polish linguist. This is the case of the seminal articles of J. J. Katz and J. A. Fodor (1964), J. J. Katz (1964a), and most notably J. J. Katz (1964b).

3.1 The axiological component and the meaning of good in the semantic theory of Jerrold J. Katz and Jerry A. Fodor

Interpretive semantics is the set of principles that Katz and Fodor postulated and discussed in their 1964 article "The Structure of a Semantic Theory".[4] This theory proposes the integration of semantics in the framework of a transformational grammar. As is well known, the semantic component operates on the deep structure, where all the semantic information is contained. This structure also has a "dictionary" and "projection rules". The dictionary contains a matrix of phonological and syntactic features for each "lexical entry", and for each lexical meaning it contains various "readings" representing its meaning through semantic features in a given molecular structure.[5] It also contains the "path" with its "selection restrictions", which serve to determine the combinations with which a lexical entry can operate and the senses that are activated (updated).

In order to explain how to represent the path of a lexical entry (adjectival modifier) that is compatible with the path of another entry (nominal head), the two authors use an occurrence of the adjective *honest*:

> *honest* → *Adjective* → *(Evaluative)* → *(Moral)* → *[Innocent of illicit sexual intercourse] [(Human)* and *(Female)]*. This is to be construed as saying that an adjectival occurrence of *honest* receives the interpretation, *(Evaluative)* → *Moral)* → *[Innocent of illicit sexual intercourse]*, just in case the head it modifies has a path containing both the semantic markers *(Human)* and *(Female)*.
>
> (Katz and Fodor 1964: 501)

As can be seen, *(Evaluative)* is explicitly included as a semantic marker whose meaning is inherent to this and other readings of *honest*. The two linguists also give another example of the sematic marker *(Evaluative)* in the description of the following path for the adjective *colorful* (Katz and Fodor 1964: 527) compatible with the head of a famous novel: *"→ adjective → (Evaluative)→ [Of distinctive character, vividness, or picturesqueness] <(Aesthetic Object) v (Social Activity)"* as "$P_4$2 is the sense in *No novel is less colorful than Middlemarch, excepting Silas Marner*".

Going back to the original example of *honest*, another semantic marker *(Moral)* is specified under the same conditions as above. The theoretical and practical consequences of the inclusion of the two axiologically-loaded semantic markers are very important. First, it would mean the explicit recognition of the axiological component as an integral part in the description of lexical items sensitive to this marker and the need for a formal description of this type of information in the "readings" or semic formulas integrated into models of semantic description of lexicographical or lexical entries. Moreover, although the hierarchical relationship between *(Evaluative)* and *(Moral)* is not explained in this case, the order in which they have been formulated is a clear sign, as well as the inclusion of an "axiological" path based on ethics or morality.

Evidence of linguistic and philosophical concerns of Jerrold J. Katz for axiological issues was his article "Semantic Theory and the Meaning of 'Good'", published a year after the interpretive semantic theory. It aims not only to describe and defend again the foundations of his previous theory, but also to raise the most relevant questions about the meaning of *good* and provide a formulation of this meaning in the context of his semantic theory. At the same time, he intends to explain why other semantic theories cannot reasonably explain well the meaning of such an important philosophical concept. He rejects, among others, the validity of contributions such as those of Carnap (1947), Osgood et al. (1957), B. F. Skinner (1957) or Zeno Vendler (1963). According to Katz, the key to a correct treatment of the problem is initiated by the introduction of a lexical entry for *good* in the "dictionary" that is considered *acceptable* (in the sense that this entry becomes a basis for projecting the meanings of an infinite set of sentences or phrases combining with *good*).

Without referring to the syntactic aspects of *good*, difficulties arise when we deal with "reading" combinations including *good* and the nominal head that is modified. The first obstacle lies in determining what nouns combine with the adjective *good* and do not produce anomalous interpretations. For that purpose, the American linguist and philosopher sets up two basic categories, the first one bringing together combinations which are compatible, and the second all the others; for example (Katz 1964b: 750), 'knife', 'anesthetic', 'money', 'razor blade', 'torture', 'citizen', etc., would be placed in the first category and 'liquid', 'electricity', 'planet', 'molecule', etc., in the second. The criterion for differentiating the two groups consists of the introduction of an "evaluation semantic marker" into the lexical "readings" of nouns in the first group. The inclusion or exclusion of this marker indicates "whether or not things covered by the meaning of the noun are evaluable in terms of good or bad" (Katz 1964b: 751). But as nouns whose meaning is represented in a "reading" containing this semantic marker may also possess other totally different meaning components, a full lexical "reading" of *knife*, for example, would be (Katz 1964b: 751): "(…) → Noun, Common Noun, …, Count Noun; *(Physical Object), (Non-living), (Blade), (Handle), (Eval: (ease of dividing substances softer than its blade)); <SR>*".

Moreover, the author's claim is remarkable in indicating the existence of words whose "readings" contain only evaluative semantic markers, even if the example offered above is questionable. Another "fuzzy" example is: *anaesthetic* (Katz 1964b: 752)*: "(Eval: (Effective in producing a temporary loss of feeling in a part of a body))"*. In my view, the "effectivity" of producing a "temporary loss of feeling" is not a permanent feature in this "reading", but a subjective individual opinion.

Katz does not ignore in his work the double facet of the axiological component, since he provides for the existence of a lexical "reading" for *bad* in the same circumstances as the antonym *good*, simply by replacing (+) with (−). However, the most decisive contribution of Katz to this topic is based on his statement: "(…) The Meaning of 'good' is syncategorematic" (Katz 1964b: 761). Therefore, we can infer that the individual characterization of word meanings and expressions is not feasible in the case of the meaning of *good*, because that meaning is more of a function that operates upon other meanings than an independent attribute. In this respect, the contribution of this American linguist is different from those of other semantic theorists.

To conclude, it can be claimed that Katz made a significant contribution to this topic but he confused three key aspects: (i) conceptual (non-linguistic) meaning and linguistic meaning, (ii) language use and language meaning (iii) language and speech. This explains why the *evaluative* component is not always included in the appropriate "reading" of certain nouns. Such is the case of *knife*, an axiologically neutral noun. Arbitrary decisions are based on a mere interpretation of lexicographic definitions of the term. Whether or not a knife can be defined as "the ability to cut materials that are softer than its blade" has nothing to do with the functional-pragmatic axiological category. Whether or not the usual function of a knife is considered to be positive by certain speakers in specific circumstances is something irrelevant for a generally accepted definition of the term.

3.2 The heterogeneous contributions of Edward S. Klima and Maria L. Grzegorek

In describing the functioning and structures of negation in English, Edward S. Klima (1964: 313) refers to the presence of "a common grammatical-semantic feature to be referred to as *Affect*(ive)" whose syntactic consequences are found, for example, when (p. 313) "in presentential position, morphemes containing that feature motivate inversion". However, where the presence of the *Affective* feature is more obvious is in predicates that contain adjectives like *stupid, ashamed, surprised, reluctant,* etc., because they not only express the subjective, emotional (even evaluative) reaction of the speaker, but also cause the appearance of indefinites, as can be seen in the following examples given by the author.

I am surprised *that he* ever *speaks to her (210a)*
He was ashamed *to take* any *more money (211a)*
He was stupid *to become* any *heavier (212a)*
He was reluctant *to see* any *more patients (213a)* (Klima 1964: 314)

Although it is true that Klima maintains there are words with a negative affix among the words that contain the feature *Affect*, his study refers to a limited number of predicates in English, and therefore the scope of the results is limited. As T. P. Krzeszowski (1990: 137) points out, this American linguist does not even raise the question of an axiological scale, which, in my view, is one of the substantial theoretical aspects of the problem.

The Polish linguist Maria L. Grzegorek (1980), strongly influenced by the semantic theory of J. J. Katz and J. A. Fodor, came up with some new ideas on the role of the axiological component in the semantic representation of any lexical unit. The essential part of her contribution is developed in her (English-Polish) contrastive study entitled: "A Note on Semantic Representation of Lexical Items and Lexical Gaps" (1980: 293–307).

In the aforementioned work she first describes how two lexical units ("*to smell bad*") may be the natural and logical paraphrase of a third one (*"to stink"*), and consequently she maintains that the representation of the verb *stink* consists of two semantic markers "PROPERTY" and "EVALUATION" as follows (Grzegorek 1980: 294): "*stink ((Property of X) (type: perceptual) (organ: nose)), ((Evaluation of that property) (criterion: esthetical) (result: negative))*".

The most notable thing about this representation is not only in increasing "evaluation" to the category of semantic marker (something which was already previously proposed by J. J. Katz), but in explicitly incorporating the evaluative canon. That is to say, upon inserting "(criterion: aesthetic)" the transcendence of this implicit norm is recognized and, in consequence, this norm is fulfilled or transgressed (according to the case) and according to which we determine that *stink* will always be perceived as axiologically negative by the community of English speakers.

This presupposes taking a very important step in the recognition of the relevancy that these canons possess for the meaning of a large number of lexical units and also for understanding why we judge things as positive or negative. Even after estimating the theoretical importance of the recognition of the axiological canon, the example selected, on the other hand, is not very good. It is evident that the criterion that governs the negativity of *stink* would be sensory (hedonic unpleasantness) rather than aesthetic. In any case, a combination of both would be more appropriate, since what displeases the senses is perceived as aesthetically and socially improper.

That said, upon testing the conditions of semantic collocation the author offers a possible methodology for distinguishing a given axiological canon (in this case, the sense of taste against the sense of smell) according to the nature of the estimated reference. For instance, the priority evaluation of a food product like "soup" in the statement "The soup is good" is based more on the flavour than on the smell, unless it is specified otherwise. Consequently, "The soup is good" would be generally interpreted as "The soup tastes good", and not as "The soup smells good". Similarly, the measure of a perfume will always firstly be the smell (and not other senses): "This is good perfume = This perfume smells good".

Grzegorek also makes reference to various English-Polish contrastive examples about the degree of intensity of a quality as a criterion (though it will not always be sufficient) for differentiating quasi-synonyms with the same level of axiological denotation, e.g.: the emotion of anger and the sensation of displeasure combined with the anti-aesthetic perception (Grzegorek 1980: 297): "*gniew* (anger); *wsciekłosc* (rage); *furia* (fury) [...] *brzydki* (ugly); *szpetny* (hideous); *szkaradny* (execrable)".

This author claims in a definitive way the relevancy of the axiological component as the denotative element in wide lexical areas. This can be demonstrated through the configuration that is carried out on the lexical sub-area shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Semantic field*: sensual [sic] data. *Subfields*: sensual data of smell and taste. *Relevant sememe*: Esthetical Evaluation

	SMELL		TASTE	
	Natural paraphrase	**Lexical item**	**Natural paraphrase**	**Lexical item**
laudatory esthetical evaluation	*a good smell*	*scent* *aroma* *fragrance*	*a good taste*	–
disapproval esthetical evaluation	*a bad smell*	*stench* *odour* *fetor*	*a bad taste*	–

(Grzegorek 1980: 303)

Here it can be seen how these lexical units not only include axiologically-loaded units, but also lexical units that define a non-axiological content, but where the axiological charge cannot be separated from the core meaning of the unit and is to some extent part of it.

4. Conclusions

The widespread idea that the Saussurean and Chomskyan traditions in modern linguistics have almost completely ignored the various axiological distinctions between "good" and "bad", "ugly" and "beautiful", etc. is not entirely true. The truth is that over half a century (from the 30s to the 80s of the XXth century) no consistent theory has been conceived to link the lucid contributions of philosophical axiology of the early XXth century with at least one of the two dominant linguistic paradigms under scrutiny in this study. It is obvious that valuations permeate human cognitive processes and human thinking and, consequently, there exists an inseparable link between language and values. The problem is that the possible impact that values have on the structure and function of language is not at all obvious and easy to grasp. However, updated and widely accepted contributions to axiological linguistics from the cognitive linguistics (Lakoffian cognitive semantics) or the systemic grammar traditions (appraisal framework) might recognize and confirm seminal principles in the often unconnected and scattered ideas of the group of linguists included in this work.

Consequently, the examples and cases collected in this study show consistent evidence that *evaluation* (positive or negative) is a permanent component in the definitional structure of many lexical units and is often specified in a more or less systematic way. Similarly, syntactic changes in sentences, clauses and phrases may also be motivated by the introduction of axiologically-loaded verbs, nouns or adjectives. Other contributions have shown that: (i) axiologically-loaded terms should be seen as being based on intersubjectively uniform valuations of language users rather than on objective measurements of individual intuitions; (ii) emotional features in lexical units should also be considered as different from axiological features, even if both elements frequently overlap; and finally, (iii) some authors intuited the canonical and multidimensional nature of the axiological phenomenon in the structure of language.

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Notes

1. In the Functional Lexematic Model (FLM) designed by Martin Mingorance (1987, 1990, 1995) Coseriu's structural semantics theory and the principles of classematics are integrated in the Functional Grammar of Simon C. Dik to help develop the lexicon component.

2. Stati's contribution is sketched in his article "Les traits sémantiques de l'adjectif", *Cahiers de lexicologie*, XXIII (1973)-II, p. 57, but it is fully developed in Chapter V, "La valorisation. Les adjectifs axiologiques" from *La sémantique des adjectifs. Essai d'analyse componentielle appliqué aux langues romanes*. Paris: P.U.F., 1979.

3. It is worth noting Kiparsky's description of "emotives", which take emotive complements. Such complements express the speaker's subjective, emotional or evaluative reactions.

4. It was published for the first time in *Language*, 39, 2 (April–June, 1963), pp. 170–210. However, I have consulted a version that was published one year later in the volume *The Structure of Language*, by J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz (eds). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1964, pp. 479–518. I have also included in the analysis other ideas developed by Katz in the article "Analyticity and contradiction in natural languages" and published in the volume quoted above.

5. In this respect, "semantic markers", could be considered similar to the classemes in Coseriu's lexematic theory. For the same reason, the "distinguishers" could be equated with the semes in the structural semantics theory.

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CHAPTER 3

AFFECT and emotion, target-value mismatches, and Russian dolls

Refining the APPRAISAL model*

Geoff Thompson

The focus in this chapter is on the evaluative systems of ATTITUDE, as modelled in the appraisal framework. While fully accepting the validity of the model, I explore three practical issues that arise in applying it. The first concerns the question of whether AFFECT, the core area of ATTITUDE, should be distinguished from the more general field of emotion talk, and, if so, how. The second issue arises because two related but distinct criteria are used to distinguish judgements and appreciations: the kind of entity evaluated (the target) and the value ascribed to it. As a result, there may be an apparent mismatch between these two criteria. The third difficulty can be called the 'Russian doll' dilemma. An expression of one category of attitude may function as a token (an indirect expression) of a different category; and that token may itself function as an indirect expression of yet another category, and so on. This poses problems for a study of evaluation which relies on quantitative analysis. I suggest my own principles to help make life a little easier for anyone engaged in analysing evaluation in text.

1. Introduction

It has for some time been recognized that evaluation is a central kind of meaning-making. Winter (1982), for example, starts from the assumption that any clause gives two kinds of fundamental information – what is known and what is felt about this – highlighting the fact that we constantly express evaluations of what we talk about. In different ways, evaluation is seen as being at the heart of discourse organization in narrative structure (e.g. Labov 1972), in textual patterns such as Problem-Solution (Hoey 1983, 2001), and in tri-partite models of text (e.g. Sinclair 1988; Bolivar 2001). However, until recently the concept has been only patchily explored in terms of how it is expressed and recognized. Traditional studies in the field of lexis, through the concept of connotation (e.g. Cruse 1986), mainly work with the most basic categories of positive and negative values. Labov provides a list of linguistic features associated with evaluation in narrative; and studies of clause relations (e.g. Hoey 2001; Jordan 2001) have identified certain patterns of connection which involve evaluation, and have explored the ways in which it is signalled. The focus in these studies is on how evaluation is recognized: for Labov, the kind of evaluation is largely irrelevant, while for Hoey and Jordan the question is simply whether the evaluation is positive or negative. What has rarely been investigated, at least in linguistics, is the question of what values are drawn on. This gap seems odd, given the extent to which categories of evaluation are crucial (and increasingly explicit and sophisticated) in a wide range of areas of activity where judgements are made – be it assessment of student work, of performance in jobs, of efficiency of equipment, of legality of actions, etc.

There have been a few studies which categorize the values at stake in particular registers. Hunston (1993) and Thetela (1997), for example, both provide different, though compatible, accounts of values by which concepts and activities are judged in formal academic discourse. Research into pattern grammar in the Cobuild project (Francis et al. 1997; Hunston and Francis 2000) has – almost despite itself, given its principled concentration on syntagmatic rather than paradigmatic choices – thrown up particular semantic groupings which fit into patterns associated with evaluation (see also Hunston and Sinclair 2000; Hunston 2011). However, it is within Systemic Functional Linguistics that the investigation of the systems of evaluative choices available to language users and of their function in discourse has been carried farthest. In a key paper, Lemke (1998) identifies seven broad categories of 'evaluative attributes of propositions and proposals', and discusses various related features of text semantics such as 'evaluative metaphor' (where a wording which expresses one kind of evaluative attribute is used in context to realize a different kind). Lemke's model was being developed at the same time as Martin's (see below), and despite differences – for example, Lemke is explicitly interested only in the evaluation of propositions and proposals, whereas Martin does not specify that restriction and in fact focuses more on the evaluation of entities – they share many concerns and insights.

The most fully developed model of evaluation is that of APPRAISAL, which has been elaborated by Martin (2000; Christie and Martin 1997; Martin and Rose 2003; Martin and White 2005) and his associates, especially White (e.g. 2000) who maintains an extensive website dedicated to the model (www.grammatics.com/appraisal) which has served both as an introduction to the theory for many scholars and as a testbed for a number of recent refinements and extensions. Macken-Horarik and Martin (2003) provide a usefully representative sample of work on APPRAISAL. The approach is lexically-based but text-oriented and designed to link in with grammatical systems. However, despite its undoubted strengths, there are certain aspects of the model, particularly in the way that attitude is handled, which seem to me to raise problematic issues; and in this chapter I wish to explore these issues and to suggest possible responses to the problems.

The focus will be on the systems of ATTITUDE, as modelled in the appraisal framework; and I will explore what I see as three of the most recurrent difficulties. The first concerns the question of whether attitude should be distinguished from the more general field of emotion talk, and, if so, how. The second difficulty arises because two related but distinct criteria are used in the framework to distinguish between judgements and appreciations: the kind of entity being evaluated (the target) and the value being ascribed to it. As a result, there may be an apparent mismatch between these two criteria: for example an expression normally used to express ethical values (judgement) may be applied to an object or artefact (which would normally be subject to appreciation), or vice versa. The third difficulty can be called the 'Russian doll' dilemma. This relates to the way in which an expression of one category of attitude may function as a token (an indirect expression) of a different category; and that token may itself function as an indirect expression of yet another category, and so on. This raises the question of how many of these layers, one inside the other, should be included in an analysis – and how to code the different layers.

In investigating the implications of these analytical problems, I will look at examples from a range of registers to illustrate how the difficulties are manifested in varied textual contexts. Consideration will be given various proposals for resolving the difficulties, from Martin and White (2005) but also from scholars such as Macken-Horarik (2003) and Bednarek (2008, 2009); and, on the basis of these and the insights from the examples of registers, I will suggest my own principles that might help to make life a little easier for anyone engaged in analysing evaluation in text.

2. ATTITUDE in the APPRAISAL model

What follows is a deliberately sketchy outline of the approach, intended to serve merely as grounding for the subsequent discussion. The basic framework of the model combines an appealing overall simplicity with a potential for scales of delicacy in analysis. APPRAISAL is seen as drawing on three sets of resources (Martin and White 2005: 35): ENGAGEMENT ("the play of voices around opinions in discourse"), GRADUATION (the ways in which "feelings are amplified and categories blurred"), and the core systems of evaluative choices captured in ATTITUDE. The focus here is on the latter.

The central system is AFFECT: the set of choices to do with 'emotional responses' – expressing reactions to, and feelings about, things, such as liking or fearing. This is 'institutionalized', in Martin's (2000: 147) term, in two other systems, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. JUDGEMENT is the realm of ethical and moral assessments of human behaviour, drawing on and constructing "norms about how people should and shouldn't behave" (Martin 2000: 155). APPRECIATION, on the other hand, is the realm of aesthetic assessments of "products, performances and naturally occurring phenomena" (2000: 159). Thus, in the very simplest terms, AFFECT consists of variations on 'I like/dislike it/her'; JUDGEMENT consists of variations on 'She is good/bad'; and APPRECIATION consists of variations on 'It is nice/nasty'. All acts of appraisal are in essence expressions of the appraiser's positive or negative feelings about something; and the institutionalization that Martin refers to can be seen as the evolution of a different form of construal of these feelings. Instead of the act of appraisal being represented in its most 'natural' form as the appraiser's process of reaction directed towards, or stimulated by, some entity or state of affairs as in AFFECT, it is represented as a quality ascribed to or inhering in the entity or state. Whereas choices in AFFECT therefore normally involve explicit reference to the source of the appraisal, in JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION the source is not an inherent part of the figure: the reaction is, in a sense, transferred to the thing appraised.

As noted above, each of the three systems allows more delicate categorization of types of appraisal. For example, AFFECT includes amongst other distinctions the difference between *realis* and *irrealis*, depending on whether the feelings are directed towards existing entities and states or towards future states as yet unrealized (though see Bednarek 2008 for proposals to handle this distinction differently). This covers the difference between 'I like it' and 'I want it'. JUDGEMENT divides into social esteem ('she is clever') and social sanction ('she is honest'); while APPRECIATION includes the sub-categories of Valuation ('it is innovative'), Reaction ('it is exciting') and Composition ('it is harmonious'). All these categories have further sub-divisions based on evidence from the analysis of a range of texts and registers, and, as mentioned above, the positive-negative distinction applies across all the systems. Overall, the categories are claimed to reflect not only the conventional means of expressing appraisal in a given language, but more fundamentally the feelings and values of a culture, the attitudes which it is 'normal' for members of that culture to have and the parameters within which they 'place' their experiences.

An important feature of the model, which has shown itself to be vital in dealing with the analysis of naturally-occurring texts, is the assumption that attitude can be expressed in a range of ways. It is not only that evaluative lexical resources are much more varied than the consciously simple examples used so far might suggest: although mental processes and attributes frequently realize the appraisal in AFFECT and JUDGEMENT/APPRECIATION respectively, there are many other ways of introducing evaluation into one's messages. A more far-reaching insight is that not all appraising is explicit or 'inscribed': while an utterance such as 'he's a *cruel* child' is explicitly expressing negative judgement, an utterance without evaluative lexis such as 'that child throws stones at cats in the garden' is clearly also intended (in British culture, at least!) to convey a negative judgement of the child. Martin and White (2005: 61) term this 'invoked appraisal', and the expression 'throws stones at cats' is a 'token' of invoked judgement.[1] This is similar to the claim in Hunston (1993) that, in order to understand evaluation in research articles, it is necessary to call on the concept of goals: whatever is represented in the text as contributing to the goals of the research is to be taken as positively evaluated even if no explicitly evaluative terms are used.

With invoked appraisal, we are told something about an entity or state which is intended to elicit a particular kind of evaluative reaction, without any of the lexical items being identifiable as unambiguously evaluative. One way of viewing this is to borrow terminology from Jordan (2001): he notes that Assessments of all kinds in discourse are frequently accompanied by Basis – a reason for the assessment. In its simplest form, invoked appraisal involves giving an experiential, 'observable', Basis and leaving the addressees to reconstitute the Assessment for themselves. This strategy clearly depends on shared values, or at least on the addressees perceiving and accepting, however provisionally, the values which are required in order to make the statement relevant. It is therefore a powerful resource for maintaining values within a culture which gain strength from being so taken for granted that they do not need to be spelt out; and it can, of course, also be deployed manipulatively, since it may be harder for readers and hearers to resist values which are assumed but not overtly expressed. It can also be used to construct group membership: if you understand the value that is intended to be evoked by the experiential Basis and accept the connection, you thereby display your in-group status. For example, 'he wears sandals with socks' might seem an innocent statement to some people, but many British readers would recognize it as a token of scornfully negative judgement of the sandal-wearer's sartorial taste and, as an extension, of the political and social beliefs that are assumed to be reflected in his dress.

There is in fact a cline between invoked and inscribed attitude, and Martin and White (2005: 67) suggest that invoked attitude can be further sub-divided to deal with cases where there are lexico-grammatical signals which indicate that appraisal is happening even though it is not being fully inscribed; these are said to 'provoke' attitude. The difference, and the cline, can be illustrated with the invented examples of appreciation shown in Table 1.[2]

Table 1. From inscribed to invoked ATTITUDE

inscribed ↑		is awful	– *purely attitudinal: more or less any entity or state can be described as 'awful', and no specific negative quality is indicated*
↓		is tasteless	– *attitudinal + experiential: 'tasteless' in relation to food refers to a specific kind of negative quality*
provoked ↑	This dish	is a bit too Italian	– *experiential, but with a signal 'too' provoking recognition that the attribute is evaluative here rather than simply indicating national origin*
↓		is high in fat content	– *experiential, but in 21st C Western culture would typically be taken as a token of negative quality, partly provoked by the signal 'high in'*
invoked		has 2000 calories	– *apparently purely experiential, but for 21st C Western weightwatchers would typically be taken as a token of negative quality*

The nature of invoked appraisal highlights the last point that I want to bring out in this sketch of the theory. As mentioned above, tokens of appraisal rely on the assumption that the addressee will recognize and accept that the experiential meanings expressed lead 'naturally' to a particular evaluation. More generally, Martin (2000: 145) defines appraisal as "the semantic resources used to *negotiate* emotions, judgements and valuations" and points out that "appraisal resources play an important role in *negotiating* solidarity" (Martin 2000: 145 – my emphasis). Any expression of appraisal represents an invitation to the addressee to react to the evaluation, with the normal expectation that the reaction will be one of agreement. Contrary to the traditional view, appraisal – like modality – is not just a personal form of meaning making ('saying what you think about something') but a profoundly interpersonal one ('setting out to induce a reaction (by saying what you think about something)').

3. Issues in ATTITUDE

So much for the main features of the model of ATTITUDE as I see them. Although there is no space to illustrate the theory in action, it has been demonstrated in numerous studies that APPRAISAL analysis can provide an economical handle on central aspects of meaning in text which other forms of analysis would not be able to capture. In the rest of the paper, I will be adopting a more critical perspective; but this should be seen not as an assault on the model but as an attempt to iron out certain wrinkles that have emerged in trying to apply it to a range of texts.

3.1 Issue 1: The scope of AFFECT

There are three interrelated points that I want to explore, each of which I see as increasingly more problematic. The first is the scope of AFFECT and the distinction, if any, between this and 'emotion talk' (Bednarek 2008). This issue has two aspects: source and directedness.

In the core instances, the source of affect is explicitly either the speaker or addressee. In such cases, the solidarity-inducing effect which was mentioned above as one of the central functions of the act of appraising is generally very clear. In the following extract from a newspaper article about a duchess who has designed a grand garden, the writer supports her 'liking' by deploying JUDGEMENT resources in the second sentence to detail the reasons why she liked her, thus encouraging the reader to accept the evaluation (the signal of affect is highlighted).

(1) But actually as soon as I met her, I *liked* her. She is completely un-duchessy, rather alarmingly naïve, and girlish in her enthusiasm.

However, it is of course also possible to report a third person's reactions and feelings. This may be in the form of an explicitly signalled report of an utterance:

(2) She talked to a few English garden designers, but she says she was not *impressed*.

But it may also take the form of a description by the writer/speaker:

(3) The National Gallery is *furious* with the Duke. The Duke, in turn, is *furious* with the National Gallery.

The issue that arises is the status of such third-person emotings in the model. They clearly do not construe the negotiation between the writer and reader directly, although, as the quotations from Martin (2000) above indicate, this is considered to be central to the function of appraisal. Should they then be included as expressions of ATTITUDE or not? The outlines of the categories of AFFECT in Martin (2000: 149) and in Martin and White (2005: 46) certainly indicate that they see them as relevant: the illustrative clauses are consistently third-person (though the texts that are analysed in Martin 2000, for instance, have only interactant-sourced affect). There is a partial parallel with judgement and appreciation being ascribed to a third person, as in:

(4) They argued successfully that it would be *bad* for him to have so much money so young.

However, although the parallel would cover cases like (2) above, it would not cover (3), where the source is not indicated in a separate clause ('she says') or other form of source tag (e.g. 'according to her') but is typically the third-person Senser of a mental process of affection ('people hate it'): this is specific to AFFECT. The technical difficulty I have with this is that it means that AFFECT resources incorporate completely the transitivity categories of mental processes of affection and desideration (for the transitivity categories, see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Admittedly, AFFECT covers a wider area, including the cognate expressions of feelings in the form of relational processes with 'emotion' attributes (compare 'I hate them' – mental process of affection – and 'I am furious with them' – relational process with attribute). Nevertheless, it would seem odd to have two very different orders of linguistic categories – one interpersonal, the other experiential – which map exclusively onto each other (at least in one direction). Clearly any representation of human emotion is likely to be engaging, since this aspect of experience has a special status for us; and one important function of the representation of third-person reactions is to dramatize the narrative and 'round out' the person to whom the emotions are ascribed. The description above of the Duke and the National Gallery at loggerheads is no doubt intended to amuse and titillate readers; but it does not appear, at first sight, to invite agreement with the emoters or a responding reaction from the reader.

I added 'at first sight' because there are numerous cases where the construal of third-person emotions does serve to elicit a reaction. However, this is done indirectly: the attitude is invoked, and it is typically judgement that is at stake rather than affect. It could be argued, for example, that even the description of the Duke and the National Gallery in (3) functions in the text to invoke a negative assessment of both parties engaged in a petty squabble. A clearer example comes at the end of the article, where the writer sums up her impression of the Duchess:

(5) I am inclined to agree with Mary Keen that vanity comes into it. She *wants* to make her name, obviously, and she is *not unhappy* with media attention. She also seems to *have a bee in her bonnet* about the gardening establishment, or English gardening snobbery.

Here we are told about the Duchess's wishes and feelings, as a way of supporting the judgement of her 'vanity'. It would be feasible to describe this as affect being used to invoke judgement, which would fit in with a very frequent pattern in appraisal (see 3.3 below). However, I would argue that that would blur the functional boundaries of affect unhelpfully, and that it would be theoretically more secure to regard these simply as experiential representations of emotion which often serve as provoking tokens of judgement. This could turn out to be one of their main, perhaps even overriding, functions in many genres such as narration: other people's feelings are typically described as a way of depicting what kind of person they are and therefore how the addressee is intended to judge them. On the other hand, in interactant-sourced affect, such as in (1) above, the direct appeal for validation from the addressee is primary, and the 'persona-construing' function, though it will often be in play, is generally secondary. It is worth mentioning that one beneficial by-product of this limitation of the scope of AFFECT would be a slight simplification of the 'Russian doll' problem addressed in 3.3.

The second aspect of the scope of AFFECT concerns the directedness of the emotion. Although it has not been highlighted, in all the examples discussed so far there has been a clear Target for the evaluation. However, emotional states may be generalized and undirected; and Martin and White (2005: 49) include as realizations of AFFECT words like 'cheerful' and 'confident', which can be used to describe more or less permanent character traits that are not a response to a specific stimulus. In some cases, a focus of the emotion can be identified. In the following, the state of happiness could be said to be directed towards 'living in a cottage':

(6) My husband and I would be just as *happy* living in a cottage as a castle.

With 'cheerful' (applied to people), one of the commonest phrases thrown up by a concordance search is 'reasons to be cheerful', which suggests that cheerfulness is often the result of a stimulus; and 'cheerful about' also occurs frequently. Assuming that the person characterized as cheerful is the speaker or addressee, these are straightforwardly AFFECT. In a number of cases, however, no Target is recoverable; and including these under AFFECT seems again to blur the boundaries of the concept. It is immediately noticeable that a concordance search on 'cheerful person' tends to throw up cases where that term is paired with terms that clearly express judgement. The following is a brief sample from Google™:

(7) She is an independent and cheerful person looking for an understanding and interesting partner.

(8) Being an extremely sociable and cheerful person, I have always enjoyed interacting with people.

(9) I am a very open-minded and cheerful person.

It is significant that the phrase seems closely associated with descriptions of people looking for partners: this is a prime site for judgement of oneself. The writers do also talk about their likes and dislikes; but, interestingly, 'cheerful' tends not to occur in that part of the personal ad. Being of a particular disposition, even where that involves being normally in a particular emotional state, would then appear to be construed as an ethical quality rather than an emotional response. Thus I would place undirected feeling outside AFFECT (though still within ATTITUDE, as part of JUDGEMENT resources).

Putting the two points above together, I would argue that AFFECT should be limited to interactant-sourced directed feeling. Other types of construal of feeling, falling under the broader category of 'emotion talk', should be treated as sharing with AFFECT the general characteristic of providing a particular kind of what we might call 'textual relief' – adding emotional light and shade to the discourse – for a range of purposes; but they enter into the system of APPRAISAL resources (if at all) only as JUDGEMENT, either inscribed or indirectly as tokens, with the human source of the feeling as the Target giving evidence of their ethical character by the emotions that they display. This therefore contrasts markedly with AFFECT, where the feeling is construed as directed from the human interactant source towards the Target.

3.2 Issue 2: Target/Value mismatches

The next issue that I wish to address in this chapter shifts the focus to the two other major categories in the system of ATTITUDE: it concerns difficulties in maintaining the distinction between JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. The distinction has been glossed in a range of ways, which can be summarized as in Table 2 (mainly drawing on Martin 2000).

Table 2. Criteria for distinguishing JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION

	JUDGEMENT	APPRECIATION
feelings in the context of:	proposals (“norms of how people should and shouldn’t behave”)	propositions (“norms about how products … are valued”)
Ascribed Value:	morality, ethics	aesthetics, worth
Target:	human behaviour and character	products of behaviour, natural phenomena

In many cases, the distinction is relatively easy to apply, because both Target and Ascribed Value (AV) are compatible. For example, in (10), from an online hotel review, the values ascribed to products such as 'our room' and 'sheets and duvet' are clearly from the domain of aesthetic appreciation ('clean', 'immaculate'), while those ascribed to people such as 'the manager' are from the domain of ethical judgement ('very friendly').

(10) Our room was clean with immaculate sheets and duvet. We had a sink in the bedroom with an en suite toilet and shower all of which were spotless. We adored the full English breakfast, served buffet style. Very attentive service from the young man. The manager was very friendly.

In other cases, it is the Target alone which distinguishes, as the AV is purely attitudinal and can express either judgement or appreciation. In (11), from the same website as (10), both humans ('staff', 'lady') and non-human entities ('place', 'breakfast') are assessed as 'lovely': the former are therefore judgements and the latter appreciations.

(11) What a lovely place to stay, will always be first on my list when staying in Blackpool. Lovely staff, lovely lady, nothing was too much trouble if needing anything and to top it off they always had time for a chat. Breakfast was lovely.

However, (as one would predict) there are a number of areas where the boundaries are blurred. This happens when there appears to be a mismatch of some kind between the Target and the AV. There are instances where values associated with appreciation are used to evaluate a person. For example, 'beautifully-proportioned' is applied straightforwardly to appreciate a sideboard in aesthetic terms in (12) (from a furniture brochure); but its use in judging a person in (13) (from a newspaper ballet review) is somewhat less usual:

(12) This beautifully proportioned wide sideboard is simply stunning.

(13) Beautifully proportioned with long, tapering legs, Ananiashvilli is a bravura dancer.

More frequently, however, it is values associated with judgement of human beings which are ascribed to the outcomes of human behaviour. For example, from a film review:

(14) But what they got – and what we've got – is a distinctive, demanding, deeply intelligent picture from a first-class director.

Here, the 'picture' is assessed as 'deeply intelligent'. We can place this kind of usage on a scale of 'humanness':

an intelligent film director [people's characteristics]
his intelligent direction of the film [people's actions]
an intelligent film [the outcome of people's actions]

The first of these is unproblematically a judgement of the person. In the third, the evaluative term actually indicates the intellectual qualities of the person who directed the film; and yet the wording attributes this quality to the product, in a form of transfer which occurs so frequently that it can be argued that any sense of a metaphorical 'disjunction' has all but disappeared. Following a suggestion by Bednarek (2009), this can be coded as an appreciation with judging lexis (and, equally, a case like (13) can be coded as a judgement with appreciating lexis). This is relatively straightforward, and it allows us to keep track of the way in which valuing in a text is worded – just as, I will argue in 3.3 below, we should do with nested evaluations.

Slightly more problematic is the intersection of ATTITUDE with nominalization, as in the second phrase. When behaviour is nominalized it moves into a grey area between action and product; and, although the grammatical structure takes it towards product (a 'thing' rather than a person) and therefore APPRECIATION, the evaluative terms chosen are frequently associated with JUDGEMENT. In principle, it is possible to treat this intermediate area in either of two ways. The first is to group together all appraisals of behaviour as involving judgements, irrespective of the formal characteristics of the wording. The rationale that can be advanced in favour of this more semantically-based labelling is that it makes intuitive sense to group together any appraisals directed towards a Target with [+human] as an inherent feature, however they are worded. The potential homogeneity of such a grouping is reflected in the fact that, as noted above, the values are often those associated with JUDGEMENT; and closely agnate forms can make clearer the intended focus and type of evaluation. Thus 'his intelligent direction of the film' can be paraphrased as 'he directed the film intelligently', which could be used to justify a reading of the expression as a judgement.

An alternative way of dealing with the issues outlined above is – to appropriate John Sinclair's phrase – to 'trust the text' (Sinclair 2004). Wherever possible, I would argue that the wording should be taken as the basis for the initial assignment of categories. This frequently comes down to taking the Target at face value, as it were. A nominalization is a non-human entity (albeit a virtual entity); and it is therefore a target of appreciation (even if judging lexis is used). One advantage of relying on the formal nature of the Target is that it links ATTITUDE in with a major motif in the crypto-grammar of English (and probably most, if not all, languages): the distinction between conscious and non-conscious entities (reflected not only in the 'he/she' vs. 'it' distinction, but in less obvious ways such as the special grammar of mental process clauses which can normally only have a human Senser). This kind of constraint on at least the initial categorization seems essential if an examination of APPRAISAL in a text is to retain as much of a footing in replicable linguistic analysis as possible, rather than being a subjective commentary on one person's reading of the text. There is also the fundamental point that the speaker/

writer could, in principle, have chosen the wording of the paraphrase but did not. No paraphrase is synonymous with the original wording: although they have obvious aspects of meaning in common, the differences are precisely what make the relationship one of paraphrase. While meaning certainly must be taken into account at some point, the analysis should therefore start from what was said rather than what might have been meant.[3]

3.3 Issue 3: The 'Russian doll' syndrome

The concept of 'trusting the text' takes us directly on to the third issue, which is perhaps the most difficult facing anyone exploring ATTITUDE in text (Macken-Horarik 2003 also identifies it as the main 'intractable' issue). It is probably best to start the discussion of what I am terming the 'Russian doll' problem with a simple illustration. The following sentence comes from a brochure sent out by an engineering company:

(15) We offer superior magnetic screening with the minimum of outgassing.

There is inscribed appreciation (sub-category: quality) here of the 'magnetic screening' as 'superior'; and this is reinforced and perhaps justified by the information that it has 'the minimum of outgassing' (serving as a token provoking appreciation: composition). However, in the context of a brochure whose main function is to show the company in a good light, this can all be seen as functioning as a token invoking judgement of 'we' who 'offer' this superior product – hence the comparison with a Russian doll, where each doll opens up to reveal another doll inside. But the question then arises of how that double function can be captured. If the focus is on the inscribed and supporting evaluation, the sentence could be coded as expressing appreciation of the product alone; but in that case an important part of the function – the reason why the writer included this information – is downplayed or ignored. If it is coded simply as a token of judgement of the company, it implies that the way in which the attitude is expressed is not important: the fact that the token draws on appreciation of the product is central to the company's appeal. Neither of these approaches therefore seems satisfactory.

Before moving towards a possible resolution, it will be useful to look at a slightly longer example which raises the same issue in more acute form. The following extract is from an introduction to a collection of short stories by Henry James. An initial analysis of the ATTITUDE choices has been added: the Target is in *italics* and attitude is in **bold**.

(16) *Henry James* is a **greater** novelist than short-story writer [+/−JUDGEMENT: capacity] because he always needed space. As he grew older he needed more space and *the late manner* was **right and necessary** for the late novels [+APPRECIATION: composition]. But for the short stories *it* was **fatal** [−APPRECIATION: composition]: *they* became long stories, **losing on the swings and gaining nothing on the roundabouts** [−APPRECIATION: valuation].

When he came to revise his early stories for the Definitive Edition of his works published in 1908–9, *he* **sacrificed directness for unnecessary** ***refinements*** [t−JUDGEMENT: capacity [−APPRECIATION: composition]]. I have therefore printed the stories from the text of the first editions, though I have sometimes **preferred** *the punctuation of a second edition* [+AFFECT: satisfaction] where he had **improved** *it* [+APPRECIATION: composition].

(from David Garnett's Introduction to *Fourteen Stories by Henry James*, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1945)

It is worth noting first that in the second paragraph I have coded the inscribed appreciation 'unnecessary' as embedded within the token of provoked judgement. The negative assessment of the 'refinements' clearly makes explicit the balance of values involved in the 'sacrifice': 'directness' – good; 'refinements' – bad (because 'unnecessary'). It is very common to find such cases, where one kind of appraisal is nested inside another kind for which it functions primarily in that context – or even typically in most contexts – as a token or, as here, as a basis (cf. Lemke's 1998 concept of 'evaluative metaphor'). Nesting of this kind does not pose a major problem – although it does still mean that, if the analyst is taking a quantitative approach, s/he has to decide whether to count the appreciation as a separate free-standing instance or to somehow show its discoursally subordinate role in relation to the expression of judgement. However, if we move from the individual clauses to the extract as a whole, the question of coding becomes trickier. For instance, the main point of the first paragraph could be read as the comparison between Henry James as novelist and as short-story writer; in which case the appreciation of his works would count as supporting tokens of the judgement made explicit in the first sentence. Or it could possibly be the other way round: the judgement could be read as the basis for the appreciation, indicating to the reader why the stories are less satisfactory, and therefore subordinate in the hierarchy of appraisal at this point in the text. A third possibility is that there is a deliberate shift of evaluative focus by the author of the introduction, and the two kinds of attitude should be treated as separate. There is then a similar, though less clear-cut, movement from judgement of the writer to appreciation of the stories in the second paragraph. It is only by moving to a larger stretch of the text – perhaps the whole text – that a preferred evaluative reading from amongst these three possibilities might emerge.

I have deliberately chosen an extract in which such shifts in the appraising categories are relatively clear and small-scale, to avoid getting too bogged down in the details; but many texts present far more complex cases, where, for example, an expression of affect serves as a token of judgement in the clause as a whole, which could be read as serving as a token of appreciation in the unfolding text (and so on). It seems indisputable that readers and hearers recognize such shifts and accommodate to them without much difficulty (though it would be worthwhile to devise studies to test empirically addressees' perceptions of patterns of evaluation in particular kinds of discourse). However, an acceptance of this fact can lead to an understandable temptation for analysts to downplay the importance of the wordings and to lay stress instead on fitting each instance inside an overall pattern of evaluation across the text. It is at this point that the concept of tokens of invoked attitude becomes somewhat dangerous: if any kind of appraisal in a text can stand as a token of another kind (which can then itself stand as a token of yet another kind), it is difficult to find a principled way of establishing an analysis which, while avoiding any unrealistically constraining desire to be 'provable', is at least generally plausible. How does the analyst know when to stop? Should the aim be to identify (and in many cases count) each expression of attitude separately, keeping as far as possible at the level of the individual clause? Or should it be to arrive at a characterization of a whole text as, say, a macro-judgement, and then to re-assign all appraisals, if necessary as tokens, within the framework of that overall evaluation?[4]

Martin and White (2005: 164) argue that in answering this kind of question we need to decide where our focus is on the cline of instantiation (or generalization) between the system – the meaning potential of the language as a whole – and the reading of an instance of text. As shown in Table 3, they map the points on the general language cline against the cline of instantiation of evaluative choices, between appraisal – "the global potential of the language for making evaluative meanings" (Martin and White 2005: 164) – and the reaction of an individual reader/listener to the evaluative meanings in a text.

Table 3. The cline of instantiation (adapted from Table 4.2 in Martin and White 2005: 164)

system	⟷	appraisal
register	⟷	key
text type	⟷	stance
instance	⟷	evaluation
reading	⟷	reaction

Each point on the cline involves a different focus in appraisal. The one that seems most relevant to the issues being discussing here is text type/stance: – "patterns of use of evaluative options within a given 'key' associated with particular rhetorical objectives and the construction of authorial personae" (Martin and White 2005: 164). This allows us to make general statements about the main patterns – e.g. the book introduction could be characterized as drawing differentially on the available options to construct a 'critical' stance towards the stories and/or the author. However, we still face the question of what to do about coding the evaluative expressions as they unfold through the text. This is especially important if we want to compare texts and/or work with corpora, when quantitative concerns come to the fore.

Macken-Horarik (2003: 318) rightly stresses the need for a dynamic model of APPRAISAL which takes full account of the context of individual choices (see also Macken-Horarik and Isaac, this volume); but she also notes the problems inherent in this approach. If not cautiously handled, it runs the risk of losing sight of the trees for the wood. Drawing on the principle of 'trusting the text', it would seem important at least not to elide the steps by which an analysis is arrived at. An expression of, say, judgement which is realized by a token drawing on affect resources is different, in ways which are in principle definable, from an inscribed expression of judgement. Similarly, moving up in scale, a text in which the main realizations of judgement are tokens drawing on affect is different, in definable ways, from a text where judgement is mainly inscribed. By tracking the layers of appraisal 'outward', it can at least be made explicit that each step represents a further move into interpretation. To illustrate how this might be done, the following shows two of the clauses from the examples above analysed:

(15a) We offer superior magnetic screening with the minimum of outgassing.
t–+judgement [+appreciation + t–+appreciation]

(16a) Henry James is a greater novelist than short-story writer because he always needed space.
t––appreciation [–judgement]

The analysis shown in (15a), as noted earlier, draws on the overall purpose of the text from which it is taken, as an instance of a familiar text-type, a company brochure: the stance that is being construed is positive judgement of the company. In coding (16a), working back from my reading of the wider co-text which analyses and critiques the short stories, I have opted for a reading which prioritizes the negative appreciation of the later versions of his short stories (with a judgement of his capacity serving as a token). The approach illustrated here clearly makes the analysis complex, but I would argue that this is unavoidable if a satisfactory picture of how the evaluation works is to be captured.

In addition to tracking appraisals as suggested above, it may be that another way of reducing the problems of the Russian doll syndrome is to introduce the kind of differentiations found in certain other approaches to evaluation. One feature of the APPRAISAL model is that it is relatively 'flat': although nested evaluations are fully accepted, they are generally seen in terms of looping back to re-enter the same systems. Hunston (2000: 205), in contrast, argues for a distinction between evaluation on the autonomous plane ("what the world is seen as made up of") and evaluation on the interactive plane ("what counts as knowledge or as a valid argument"). Thetela (1997) makes a distinction that is similar in some respects between Topic-Oriented Evaluation (TOE) and Research-Oriented Evaluation (ROE) in research articles: TOE relates to evaluation of the world being observed, whereas ROE relates to evaluation of the research being carried out by means of those observations. TOE is therefore inherently nested within ROE; ROE is the evaluation which is being negotiated between writer and reader, while TOE primarily serves as a basis for the ROE. We can see this in the following extract from a medical textbook:

(17) On the other hand, it is important that the patient does not go too far in the other direction either. Some people are too careful about not misleading the prescriber and so they ignore changes until they are absolutely certain.

Here, there is a token of negative judgement of 'some people' ('too careful'), but the writer's main purpose is not to negotiate this assessment with the reader; rather, the assessment functions to expand on the first sentence in which an idea is evaluated as 'important'. It is this appreciation which constitutes the ROE. In this approach, the judgement in the second sentence is not re-assigned as a token of appreciation: it is simply seen as working on a different level.

With appropriate changes of terminology, I would argue that a similar distinction could serve as a refinement of the APPRAISAL model. The restriction to 'research' in ROE is clearly too narrow for general use: the main point is that this is the evaluation which is at stake between the writer/speaker and reader/hearer, and thus the term Interaction-Oriented Appraisal (IOA) is more suitable, matched by Topic-Oriented Appraisal (TOA). Some appraisals would be seen as 'internal' to the topic, part of the establishment of the basis on which the main appraisal, which the addressee is being invited to accept, is grounded. This seems to be particularly relevant to certain academic and/or sophisticated registers such as artistic criticism, history and medicine, where, for different reasons, there is a distance between the topic and the observer.

With these two analytical techniques – coding from the 'inner' layer outwards (or vice versa), and recognizing the possibility of separate layers – it becomes possible to shunt up and down the cline of instantiation, focusing on more or less delicate combinations. In terms of Martin and White's cline in Table 3, the outer layer and the IOA codings make up the stance at the level of the text-type, while the inner layers and TOA can be brought into the picture for a closer focus on how the evaluation works in an instance of a text. It should also be kept in mind that, just as it may be significant whether attitude is primarily inscribed or invoked in a text/text type/register, so the absence or presence of layering may contribute to the specific character of a text/text type/register. This approach would not, by any means, get round all the problems; but, if it is combined with the general principle that analysis should start with the form of wording and, where necessary (which will be in many, if not most cases), be tracked 'outwards', the fuzziness and reliance on individual intuition that can bedevil appraisal analysis may perhaps start to be tamed.

4. Conclusion

APPRAISAL resources draw on a very wide range of structures; and, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and others have pointed out, interpersonal meanings are inherently prosodic, running through the clause and the text in a cumulative fashion. A rigidly constituent-based analysis is therefore not appropriate, and overlaps, nesting and ambiguity of evaluation are all to be expected. Nevertheless, I would argue strongly in favour of a recognition that it is important, as far as is practical, to sharpen the definition of the categories, and to tether analyses of evaluation firmly to the wording selected by the writer or speaker. Only by doing that can we avoid the charge that those working with the APPRAISAL model are merely providing an idiosyncratic and impressionistic commentary on discourse – somewhat like a literary exegesis – rather than a replicable linguistic analysis.

Notes

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1. In earlier accounts, such as Martin (2000: 154), the term 'evoked' is used in place of 'invoked'.

2. In Martin and White (2005: 67), further sub-categories in the cline are proposed. The most general distinction is between inscribed and invoked attitude; within invoked a distinction is made between provoked and invited attitude; and within invited between flagged and afforded. These would map roughly onto the examples in Figure 1: for instance, the last and most 'neutral' instance affords an attitudinal, evaluative reading (but could in principle be read as non-evaluative), whereas 'high in' in the preceding example alerts the addressee to the presence of evaluation of some kind (without in itself being positive or negative out of context) and thus can be seen as flagging it. However, in practice these more delicate distinctions are difficult to apply, and I prefer to work with the simpler version of the cline.

3. Bednarek (2009) also addresses this question, from a corpus linguistic perspective, in terms of patterns of attitudinal lexis and attitudinal targets (broadly equivalent to AV and Target in the terms used here); and she comes up with similar solutions to the problems of mismatch.

4. It is also important to bear in mind, as Martin and White (2005: 163) stress, that in the end we are dealing with individual readings of any text, which may vary from reader to reader. However, analysts need to be able to account for the readings that their analysis embodies, so the issues raised here remain.

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CHAPTER 4

Appraising Appraisal

Mary Macken-Horarik and Anne Isaac

Appraisal is a term referring to systems within systemic functional linguistics that map evaluative language. This chapter reviews two Appraisal systems (Attitude and Graduation) and assesses their viability for analysing evaluation in narratives and students' written responses to these. Within this context, a crucial affordance of Appraisal is its semantic orientation, which allows analysts to capture the delicate interweaving of explicit and implicit attitudes that powerfully positions readers of narratives. However, the sprawling, cumulative and context-sensitive nature of evaluation requires a rigorous methodology for using Appraisal for coding purposes. We address this challenge, proposing a cline of implicitness that relates degrees of reliability to instances of evaluation depending on their textual and/or cultural/institutional environments.

> Dear appraisal theory…u really don't want to know my appraisal of u: I am really suffering with it and reached a conclusion that it all depends on the data the appraiser is working on. It is not a well-defined objective set of rules that can be applied to everything. So don't get frustrated when you meet different interpretations of the many borderline cases you will definitely meet. The most important thing is to set a justified system and be consistent.
>
> (heba bakry hbakry@gmail.com
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1. Introduction

Evaluation is a powerful but protean phenomenon – changeable, half-glimpsed, full of the wink and the nod and the 'unthought known' of cultural life. Its power lies as much in its taken-for-granted-ness as in overt expressions of attitude. In fact, in a realm where slippage is the norm, the attempt to code evaluation – to pin choices down systematically – seems to defy the nature of the phenomenon itself. Evaluation is both everywhere and – at its most powerful – invisible. This is perhaps nowhere more in evidence than in literature, with its manifold voices and its subtle forms of reader positioning.

Our work seeks to understand how different voices function in stylistic analyses (Isaac) and how evaluation in narrative elicits empathy and discernment in 'ideal readings' of narrative (Macken-Horarik). Such tasks require a comprehensive and principled model of evaluation in discourse – one that is 'up to the job'.

One model we have found particularly apposite for our work is APPRAISAL. APPRAISAL is the technical term for a set of systems within systemic functional linguistics (hereafter, SFL) that has been developed to map evaluation in texts.[1] APPRAISAL theory has attracted a worldwide following in the last five years. It is a powerful theory that attempts to capture within the one framework linguistic resources that are often treated separately, as affect (e.g. Ochs and Schiefflin 1989), evidentiality (Chafe 1986), amplifiers, emphasizers and downtoners (Quirk et al. 1985), and hedging or 'fuzzy' language (e.g. Lakoff 1972) within Pragmatics. Martin's approach to appraisal is discourse semantic; it focuses on "meaning beyond the clause" (Martin and White 2005: 9). In contrast to lexical concepts of evaluation, the text-wide reach of APPRAISAL enables analysts to track not just explicit expressions of attitude but the relations these contract with implicit forms of evaluation and their cumulative significance. Narrative evaluation makes such a capacious and ambitious framework appealing, but also necessary.

Another crucial aspect of the theory is its sensitivity to the social context of evaluative utterances. It was initially developed to account for interpersonal meanings in school and workplace texts (e.g. Iedema, Feez and White 1994; Christie and Martin 1997; and Martin 2000). In recent years, it has been applied to new fields of discourse such as 'agony uncle' columns, picture books and hypertext literature (see, for example, Bednarek and Martin 2010).

APPRAISAL has several affordances as well as challenges for linguists. It allows us to capture emotional, ethical and aesthetic aspects of evaluation (ATTITUDE); it makes space for adjustment of amplitude and precision of attitudes (GRADUATION); and it enables us to investigate not just one source of evaluation but the play of voices within and across texts (ENGAGEMENT). A crucial feature is its attempt to net in not only direct expressions of evaluation (INSCRIBED ATTITUDE) but choices that position an audience covertly through tokens of evaluation (INVOKED ATTITUDE).

Of course, this inclusiveness (and ambition) brings along with it some analytical problems. It leaves many of us 'stranded' in semantic territory that is not well marked and (more importantly perhaps) cannot be easily marked given the sphere itself which is that proper to all connotative meaning – the difficulty of pinning things down. As Heba acknowledges, analysts need access to principled accounts of borderline cases in evaluative language and to reliable methodologies for tackling this variable, dispersed and shifting sphere of communication. Some theorists compare the effort to bring systematicity into the study of evaluation as akin to wading into a swamp (Martin 2003: 172). How does one keep one's footing on linguistic ground that is often soft, where the outlines of evaluative meaning are so hard to trace? Is it possible to develop a methodology of analysis that others can follow when so much of the analytical process seems intuitive, passing below the threshold of conscious attention? In short, is it possible to develop a reliable methodology within APPRAISAL theory based on a principled account of direct, indirect and culturally-relative forms of evaluation?

Our chapter explores this issue following an overview of two of the key systems in APPRAISAL (ATTITUDE and GRADUATION) as we have applied them in our analyses of narratives and their interpretation by students. *CLICK,* by Judith Stamper was adapted for an examination task for sixteen-year old students in Australian high school English (for longer discussion, see Macken-Horarik 2003). *The Letter,* by Sally Morgan, was given to non-native speaker undergraduates in a stylistics-based English for Academic Purposes course (for longer discussion, see Isaac 2012). Our analyses of ATTITUDE and GRADUATION in these texts enabled us to take important steps towards an account of subtle and mutually implicative patterns of evaluation in narrative. By necessity, our coverage of ATTITUDE and GRADUATION is limited. For reasons of space, we do not attempt to deal with the third major sub-system within APPRAISAL – that of ENGAGEMENT (for a detailed account of this system as it relates to stylistic analysis see Isaac 2012).

In this analytical context, we take up three of the challenges implied in Heba's plaintive words. The *first* challenge emerges in the need to analyze both implicit and explicit evaluation in narrative texts and to understand their combined contribution to reader positioning. Narratives work most powerfully through 'indirections' rather than through overt sermonizing. In fact, sermonizing is likely to be the subject of irony in narratives by Sterne, Austen or Dickens. So here we need to explore the potential (and limits) of APPRAISAL for understanding the implicit 'axiology' or value orientation implied by the design of the whole narrative (Bakhtin 1935/1981). It is through prosodies of attitude and the patterns these generate enter into that a text axiology is built.

The *second* challenge relates to the different orders of evaluation in narrative texts – that of a localized expression of evaluation (a word or wording) and its relationship to wider discourse frames (whole texts). While narratives are full of interpersonal meanings, only some meanings gather freight in the text as a whole. Our framework of analysis needs to account not just for evaluative choices *within* a text but also for choices made salient *by* the text. There are implications for coding too. We need to decide whether to code evaluation locally (attending to unfolding choices in a text as we read) or globally (attending to the weight of evaluative choices from a synoptic or overview perspective).

Then there is the *third* challenge of accounting for the culture and institution-specific nature of evaluation and its impact on elaboration of systems of choices within APPRAISAL as a whole. In our work in literary interpretation, we have found it necessary to develop culture-specific systems of choice within the APPRAISAL framework. The contextual specificity of evaluation can mean a decision to extend the system to include new choices relevant to new situations or it can mean abandoning the attempt to build a mega-system at all. The fact that Appraisal is based in SFL theory makes it an apposite toolkit for exploring the mutual interplay of text and context.

We return to these challenges and our response to them following an outline of ATTITUDE and GRADUATION.

2. Outline of APPRAISAL choices

The framework we present here draws primarily on the description of ATTITUDE articulated by Martin (2000) and Martin and White (2005), Bednarek's more recent modifications and clarifications of the AFFECT sub-system (2008) and Hood's elaboration of GRADUATION (2010). SMALL CAPITALS indicate the technical use of a term within SFL. We illustrate the resources in each system by citing examples from *CLICK* and *The Letter* and from our students' written responses to these stories. *CLICK* is about the flight from reality and its discomforts of a young girl called Jenny. *The Letter* is a narrative about the 'stolen generations', a notorious chapter of Australian history in which half-caste Aboriginal children were separated from their Aboriginal families.

2.1 ATTITUDE

Central to APPRAISAL theory is the system of ATTITUDE which incorporates three domains of feeling which we outline below, moving from AFFECT (the domain of emotion) to JUDGEMENT (the domain of ethics) and thence into APPRECIATION (the domain of aesthetics). The ATTITUDE system has some defining features: explicit attitudinal wordings are inherently gradable (they can be intensified and compared); they are biased in their LOADING, being primarily either positive or negative; and REALIZATIONS tend to sprawl (prosodic REALIZATION), especially in the case of INVOKED ATTITUDE. Easiest to recognize is the REALIZATION of INSCRIBED ATTITUDE, which is where we begin. We then explore the more 'swamp-like' conditions associated with REALIZATIONS of INVOKED ATTITUDE, which are crucial to analysis of evaluation in narrative and other literary genres.

2.1.1 INSCRIBED AFFECT

Emotion is at the heart of attitude and inflects all forms of evaluation, even the most avowedly objective forms of academic discourse (Hood and Martin 2007). And because AFFECT underlies all our attitudes from infancy onwards (Painter 2003), we can think of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION as institutionalized feelings, the former relating to social behaviour and the latter to the natural world and the products or outcomes of human behaviour (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005). Even so, the domain of emotions can be differentiated. Martin, White and Bednarek have identified five sub-systems within affect:

1. Un/happiness: emotions to do with what Martin (2000: 150) calls "affairs of the heart" (sadness, anger, happiness, love, etc.);
2. In/security: emotions to do with well-being (anxiety, fear, confidence and trust, etc.);
3. Dis/satisfaction: emotions to do with the pursuit of goals (ennui, dis/pleasure, curiosity, respect, etc.);
4. Surprise: emotions that overlap with the linguistic domain of unexpectedness and sit on the borderline between emotion and cognition (see Bednarek 2008);
5. Dis/inclination: emotions of desire or non-desire (volition) that relate to prospective events and include feelings like wishing or hoping, longing for or rejecting a person or phenomenon.

Like other kinds of ATTITUDE, AFFECT is graded as Table 1 shows.

Table 1. Classifications of AFFECT (based on Bednarek 2008)

Unhappiness		⟷	**Happiness**
Misery	Antipathy	Cheer	Affection
Insecurity		⟷	**Security**
Disquiet	Distrust	Quiet	Trust
Dissatisfaction		⟷	**Satisfaction**
Ennui	Displeasure	Interest	Pleasure
Disinclination		⟷	**Inclination**
Non-desire			Desire
Surprise			

AFFECT can be realized (or worded) in diverse ways. Table 2 shows how sadness can be worded as 'quality', 'process' or 'comment'. It builds on the work of Martin and White (2005: 46). Instances of INSCRIBED AFFECT are shown in **bold**.

Just as the REALIZATIONS of INSCRIBED AFFECT are diverse, so too do LOADINGS vary. AFFECT is typically biased either towards the positive or negative pole. A distinction is made between negative LOADINGS carried via lexis (e.g. 'anxious') or morphology (e.g. 'un-confident') and LOADINGS that are negated grammatically

Table 2. Lexico-grammatical realizations of sadness

Affect as 'quality'		
– describing participants	A **sad** girl.	Epithet
– attributed to participants	The girl was **sad**.	Attribute
– manner of processes	The girl left **sadly**.	Circumstance
Affect as 'process'		
– affective mental process	The girl's death **upset** her.	Process (effective)*
– affective mental process	The girl **mourned**.	Process (middle)
– affective behavioural process	She **cried**.	Process (middle)
Affect as 'comment'		
– desiderative	**Sadly**, the girl had died.	Modal Adjunct

* An effective process is one that has two participants such as an Actor (*The girl's death*) and a Goal (*her*). A middle process has only one participant such as an Actor (*The girl, She*) but no Goal.

(e.g. 'not confident'). For coding of AFFECT (and APPRECIATION), the picture can be more complex than a simple positive versus negative or negated LOADING however. Some evaluations of AFFECT (interest, surprise and desire) may be *neutral* or more ambiguous and more influenced by the co-text than by the cultural context (Bednarek 2008; Macken-Horarik 1996, 2003). This is particularly true in storytelling, where the positive valeur of certain choices for one domain early in a narrative can be reversed later in the text. For instance, in Example (1), taken from *The Letter,* the protagonist, Bessie, expresses surprise at the interruption of her internal monologue by the voice of Nellie, her dead sister:

(1) I pressed the lid down firmly and looked out the window at the passing road. It was good Nellie wasn't here now. I was glad she didn't know how things had turned out. **Suddenly** her voice seemed to whisper crossly in my ear. "You always give up too easy!"

When she 'hears' Nellie's criticism, Bessie is feeling frustrated, disappointed and despairing. In this context, the word 'Suddenly' suggests a negative LOADING. But viewed synoptically, the moment represents the turning point of the story and heralds a positive resolution. Coding even of INSCRIBED AFFECT and its LOADING is shaped by the language choices of the surrounding text and is subject to both dynamic and synoptic perspectives (see Isaac 2012 for a detailed overview of LOADING within ATTITUDE).

2.1.2 JUDGEMENT

JUDGEMENT, a second ATTITUDE category, involves opinions based on socio-cultural standards of acceptable behaviour. Like emotions, ethical assessments are strongly influenced by the norms and prevailing ideologies of a given society and become salient markers of an appraiser's in-group membership (Martin and White

2005: 52). Though we deal only with INSCRIBED JUDGEMENT in this section, inter- and intra-cultural research indicates a preference for implicit rather than explicit construal of negative JUDGEMENT, and particularly moral evaluations (e.g. Belz 2003; Don 2007; Painter 2003; Sano 2011).

As with AFFECT, the domain of JUDGEMENT can be sub-classified. There are two major domains of JUDGEMENT: Social Esteem and Social Sanction. Social Esteem typically involves personal judgements that express admiration or criticism of someone's specialness (Normality), strengths (Capacity), and courage or reliability (Tenacity).

Examples (2) and (3) below are drawn from stylistic analyses of *The Letter.* The student writers evaluate the behaviour of the principal protagonist, Nellie, an Aboriginal mother whose daughter, Elaine, was taken away from her in her childhood and placed in a white family under the aegis of the Australian government. Our coding for JUDGEMENT sub-types and for positive (+) or negative (–) LOADINGS are indicated in brackets:

(2) It's **natural** (normality +) and **reasonable** (capacity +) for Nellie to keep looking for Elaine …

(3) [The fact that] Nellie does not let her feelings show through … goes along with her **perseverance**. (tenacity +)

In these examples, the students INSCRIBE values of Social Esteem that are implied in the stimulus narrative and thus demonstrate an ability to name ethical norms that are embodied in subtle ways in narratives of this kind.

A second domain within JUDGEMENT includes categories of Social Sanction. Veracity is a sub-type of moral judgements to do with honesty. The broad field of truth is invoked in Example (4):

(4) Because she wants to tell the **truth**. (veracity +)

But Social Sanction also involves moral judgements of a person's human decency (Propriety). Negative Propriety is INSCRIBED in the following example:

(5) The white people treated the Aborigines in an **inhumane** way. (propriety –).

As elaborated later, ethical evaluation, and particularly INVOKED JUDGEMENT, is central to narratives, which perform an implicit function of enculturating readers and audiences into the values of a particular society.

2.1.3 APPRECIATION

Like JUDGEMENT, the third sub-system within ATTITUDE, APPRECIATION, encodes opinions or institutionalized feelings. It construes the world primarily in aesthetic terms. While the writer's expressions of JUDGEMENT focus on proposals about morality, the targets of APPRECIATION include propositions about natural phenomena (sunsets), and the processes and products of human behaviour, both concrete (art, films, books, and performances), and abstract (relationships or qualities of life) (Martin and Rose 2003). These phenomena may be evaluated in terms of their distinctive qualities and aesthetic effects and/or in terms of their social significance or consequences. APPRECIATION is common in written responses to narrative, as shown by examples from our student corpus. The APPRECIATION framework presented in Martin and White (2005) provides for assessments of social significance (Valuation), as in Example (6):

(6) This is a didactic short story that conveys an **important** message about the need to face up to reality. (valuation +)

Then there are aesthetic evaluations of the composition of phenomena and their rhetorical effects (Composition and Reaction). Sub-sets of Composition include evaluations of Balance, referring to the contrastive or harmonizing nature of semiotic elements, as in Example (7):

(7) Sentences are **shorter** in Bessie's than Nellie's narration. (balance +)

Also in the area of aesthetic composition, there is Complexity, targeting the nature of semiotic elements and their effects, as in Example (8):

(8) Moreover, the style is very **simple**. (complexity +)

Within the domain of Reaction, we have two sub-categories: expressions of Impact directly evaluate individual reactions to an appraised phenomenon:

(9) The absence of characters in the passage is **striking**.

And expressions of Quality evaluate something's distinctive qualities:

(10) *CLICK* is a very **didactic** short story.

Of all ATTITUDE types, APPRECIATION is the most sensitive to context. This field sensitivity has resulted in repeated modification of APPRECIATION network options to capture the evaluation preferences of specific discourse contexts, texts and topics. We take up this issue in our discussion of the institution-specific nature of APPRAISAL.

2.1.4 INVOKED ATTITUDE

So far we have looked at INSCRIBED ATTITUDE or evaluative meanings that are encoded directly in lexis. We turn now to the more complex and slippery area of evaluation expressed indirectly through *tokens* of ATTITUDE. Our discussion focuses on INVOKED ATTITUDE in relation to AFFECT but we note that JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION can be construed explicitly or implicitly too.

Tokens of ATTITUDE (indicated by underlining and 't' in coding) are a preference in narratives. ATTITUDE may be INVOKED through a variety of REALIZATIONS – for example, via metaphor or choices within GRADUATION (explained next) – and even by the infusion of choices that are not intrinsically evaluative. But this raises challenges for analysts, as Heba has acknowledged.

Martin and White establish a classification of INVOKED ATTITUDE to provide analysts with a firmer footing for coding implied evaluation in texts. As shown in Table 3, they propose two general categories of INVOKED evaluations: those PROVOKED by the presence of lexical metaphor within the clause or phase and those INVITED by a range of linguistic or co-textual cues at the clause, phase or whole text levels. For instance, within the INVITE category, resources like intensification (in GRADUATION) and rhetorical questions (in the ENGAGEMENT system) connote or FLAG an evaluative meaning. Alternatively, ideational and/or evaluative meanings in the surrounding co-text may AFFORD an evaluative response by the reader. Each different cue or trigger type within this INVOKED ATTITUDE framework can be scaled on a cline of directness. This cline moves from more direct encodings of evaluation requiring less inferencing by readers to less direct encodings requiring more inferencing – more sensitive to reading position.

Table 3. A cline of options for classifying INVOKED ATTITUDE: AFFECT

More direct less dependent on reading position ↑	**Category**	**Sub-category**	**Cue**	**Example**
	INSCRIBE		'naming' or denotation	"… I felt … **lonely** and very **disappointed**" (unhappiness)
	PROVOKE		lexical metaphor	Elaine's coming home* (t-happiness)
	INVITE	FLAG	Graduation Rhetorical question	"… how could I forget my own daughter?" (t-affection)
↓ **Less direct** more dependent on reading position		AFFORD	co-textual information	"Did you hear that? Elaine will be here tomorrow?" (t-surprise t-happiness t-security)

* In *The Letter*, Elaine's 'coming home' signifies her acknowledgement of her Aboriginality rather than her return to a physical location.

The examples in Table 3 are taken from *The Letter* which involves three key protagonists – Nellie, the Aboriginal mother, her sister Bessie, and Nellie's 'stolen' daughter, Elaine. At the most direct point on the cline, Bessie unambiguously INSCRIBES her feelings of sadness and disappointment, making it very unlikely that the reader will take up a different reading position. At the second point on the cline, within the most direct category of INVOKED ATTITUDE, the metaphor 'coming home' PROVOKES an evaluation of Bessie's joy that her niece, Elaine, has finally chosen to embrace her Aboriginal origins, bringing to fruition Nellie's lifelong efforts and Bessie's own attempts to communicate with Elaine.

Less directly, at the third point on the cline in Table 3, an evaluation of Nellie's love for her daughter is FLAGGED by linguistic cues (her rhetorical question " … how could I forget my own daughter?" with the intensifying grader 'own') and, we would add, contextual cues (our cultural assumption that a mother would never forget her offspring). These triggers invite the reader to align with the reading position naturalized by the text. Lastly, at the fourth point on the cline, in the context of the events of the narrative, Bessie's questions to her dead sister carry no intrinsic connotations but AFFORD an evaluation that the ideal reader will interpret as feelings of surprise and relief.

The INVOKED ATTITUDE classification developed by Martin and White has shaped our work towards an inclusive account of implicit and explicit evaluation. However, in our research we have also needed to recognize more overt and covert contextual triggers that assume cultural knowledge on the part of the reader. These may be ideational meanings that refer to relevant texts and defining events in history, like the holocaust, the stolen generations and 9/11 that AFFORD evaluations. Such allusions resonate with the reader and act as 'bonding icons', to borrow Stenglin's term (2008). More covertly, these triggers include statements that connote cultural values that the writer and reader are assumed to share. Hence, we distinguish an EVOKED category of evaluations that relies most heavily on the reader's reading position. For instance, the EVOKED evaluation in Example (11) nets in cultural norms about Nellie's sorrow that her daughter has no idea of her Aboriginal identity:

(11) <u>You thought you were white</u> (t-happiness –).

Overt and covert contextual triggers like these take us beyond the object text into the wider domain of culture.

Later we propose a more fine-grained and comprehensive classification of evaluation choices that is coder-friendly and principled. As you will see, this is scaled on a cline of implicitness and related to salient units of analysis (e.g. whether they be the phrase, the clause, the phase, the whole text or the world beyond the text). Our work and that of Martin and White on which we build should enable analysts like Heba to arrive at more reliable and justifiable accounts of their coding. Prior to this, however, we need to provide a brief sketch of a second major system within APPRAISAL, GRADUATION, since these linguistic features provide the coder with a vital resource for tracking INVOKED ATTITUDE.

2.2 GRADUATION

Managing the volume and precision of our stance is crucial to academic expertise and GRADUATION is the name for those resources by which we achieve this. Depending on the degree and type of resources used, the writer's social and individual identities are projected as more or less authoritative and confident, rendering her argument more or less persuasive and thus positioning the ideal reader in more or less assertive or subtle ways. We can raise or lower the FORCE of Attitudes ('particularly important' vs. 'trivial') and we can sharpen or soften their FOCUS ('… she's your *own* aunty' *vs.* '*a kind* of courage'). We use *italics* to represent graders that adjust the strength of the writer's commitment to an attitude. In our research, GRADUATION provides a critical linguistic tool for accounting for implicit evaluation at clause rank. It signals that attitude is 'in play' and can operate even within so called categorical assessments.

For instance, number in Example (12) AFFORDS an evaluation of a book's significance through an upscaling of QUANTITY within the system of FORCE:

(12) *My Place*, written by Sally Morgan, has sold *500000* copies. (t-valuation +)

More powerful often for narrative is intensification of ATTITUDE through lexical metaphor in processes, as in Example (13):

(13) She wanted to *turn off* its realness. (t-security: disquiet)

But intensification can also be achieved through repetition or listing, as in Example (14):

(14) She felt ***confused***, ***depressed*** and ***hopeless***.
(security – happiness – inclination –)

There are three modes for realizing GRADUATION: isolating graders (grammatical items with a grading function); infused graders (lexical items that fuse evaluative meanings with a grading function); and repetition (at the sentence or whole text levels). Table 4 draws on examples from our data to highlight the workings of each of these within FORCE.

Table 4. Force: intensification in isolating, infused and repetition modes

Category	Isolating mode	Infused mode	Repetition
Qualities	Jenny didn't say it ***very*** loudly	I ***hate*** to leave you alone when your father is gone too.	She was already dead. *No* handsome young doctor had come and saved her. *No* commercial interrupted the stillness of her death.
Modality	It was the chair she ***always*** watched television in.	She ***wouldn't*** brush with *anything* but *that* toothpaste.	People **never** die on Doctor's Diary. (x3)

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a full overview of GRADUATION resources (but see Martin and White 2005; Hood 2010; and Hood and Martin 2007 for important coverage).

Figure 1 summarizes our brief overview of resources within the complex systems of ATTITUDE and GRADUATION. The figure represents the network options for each system, moving from most general categories (on the left) to most delicate ones (on the right). We can now return to the challenges mentioned earlier and our attempts to respond to them.

3. Three challenges of APPRAISAL analysis

In our introduction, we compared the attempt to bring systematicity to the study of evaluation in texts to the struggle to keep one's footing in a swamp. How do we acknowledge the power of 'radiating values' (Hood 2006), of 'propagating meanings' (Lemke 1998) and what Martin (2000) calls the sheer 'sprawl' of evaluation *whilst* developing principled and reliable methodologies for tracing these in our linguistic analyses?

Our response to the question is to put indeterminacy at the centre of the task and to make this a feature of the account rather than something to be pushed to the margins (as an embarrassment in the analysis). This means making space for the dance of implicit and explicit evaluation, for the different co-textual and contextual frames within which evaluation occurs and for the situation- and culture-specific nature of the analytical enterprise. It also means learning to live with the fuzziness of categories, to get comfortable with borderlines. We have good linguistic reasons for tackling evaluation in this way. As Halliday has argued, interpersonal meanings are structured differently from experiential meanings with their particulate (bounded) forms of REALIZATION:

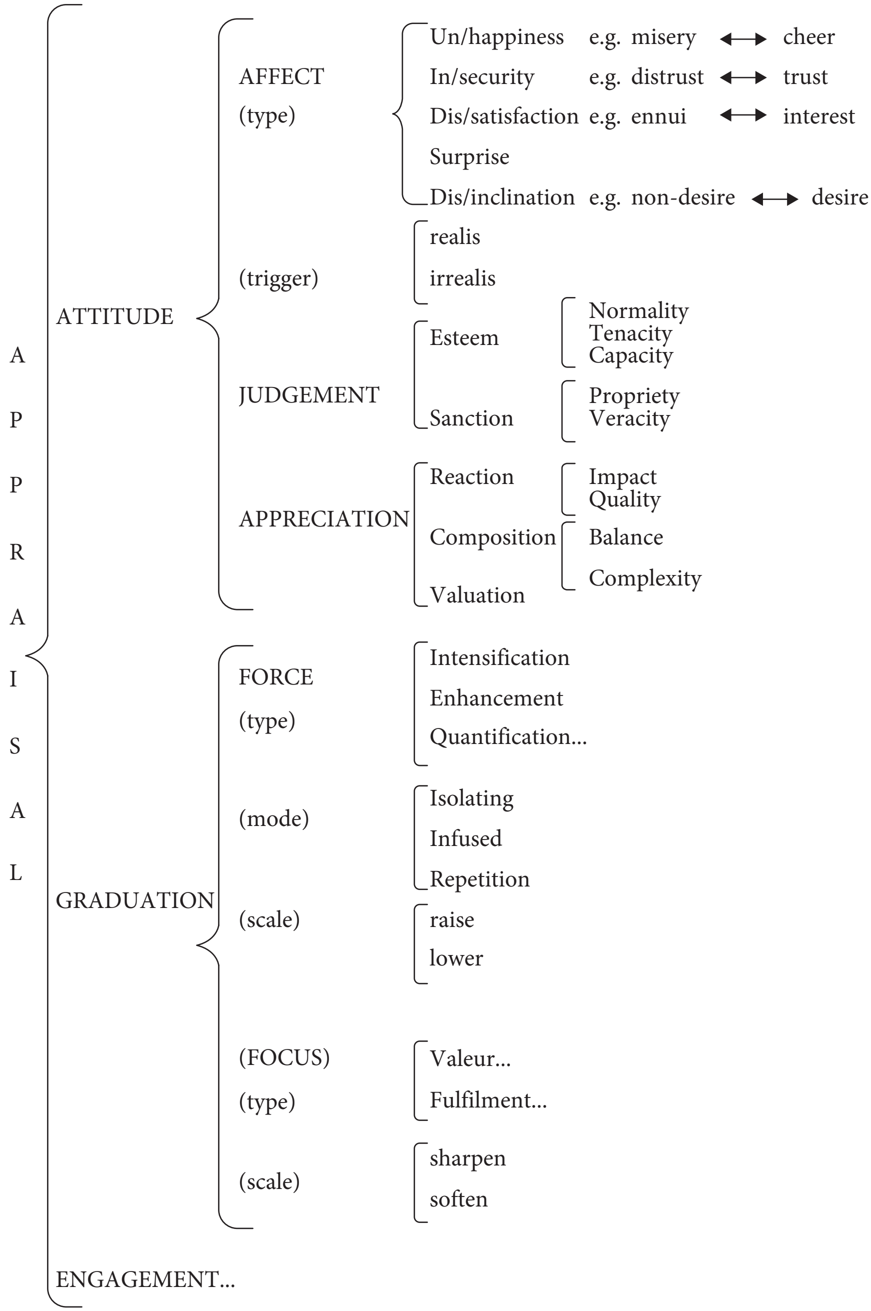

Figure 1. Overview of APPRAISAL focusing on classifications and sub-classifications of ATTITUDE and GRADUATION

> [T]he interpersonal kind of meaning is a motif that runs throughout the clause, and this is represented by lexicogrammatical or phonological motifs that are likewise strung unboundedly throughout. The speaker's attitudes and assessments, his judgements of validity and probability; his choice of speech function, the mode of exchange in dialogue – *such things are not discrete elements* that belong at some particular juncture but semantic features that inform continuous stretches of discourse. It is natural that they should be realized not segmentally but prosodically, by structures (if that term is still appropriate) that are not particulate but field-like. The linguist's tree is an inappropriate construct for representing structures of this kind. [Halliday 1981: 37, highlighting added]

The fact that evaluation infuses whole stretches of discourse, aligning its audience with the evaluative stance of its producer relates directly to the *first* challenge outlined in our introduction. For example, *The Letter* aligns its ideal readers with the psycho-ethical stance of a main character, but achieves this through prosodies of choice rather than explicitly named attitudes. The letter that the Aboriginal mother Nellie writes to her stolen daughter Elaine consists of thirteen explicit evaluations of 'desire' and 'non-desire' (Inclination and Disinclination) realized by the verbs 'want', 'hope', 'prayed' and 'would'. Some of these are highlighted in Example (15):

(15) I **want** to tell you what it was like … I **wanted** you to have a better life than me … I **didn't want** to let you go … I **wanted** to visit you … I **wanted** to see you and my grandchildren …

The cumulative effect of this prosody is to underscore the depth of Nellie's yearning for her daughter. With each repetition of her wishes, at the ages of 17, 20, 30 and now at the end of her life, the reader is invited to judge Nellie's love for her daughter (AFFECT: Happiness) and her strength of character, determination and perseverance (JUDGEMENT: Tenacity). In other words, 'desire' 'infiltrates' the borders of another set of feelings as well as those around the region of JUDGEMENT. Indeed, the ethical qualities that come to be associated with Nellie through the litany of her repeated wishes are counterposed with those of her sister Bessie, whose habitual disposition, until the turning point of the story, is to succumb to her despair and give up. It is the prosodies of attitude associated with each character that shape our responses to them and that require attention in any coding enterprise.

And such evaluative prosodies in one part of the text are often juxtaposed with those in another. Example (16) contrasts Nellie's wishes to keep and protect her daughter with the 'non-desire' associated with Mr Neville, the ironically named Chief Protector of Aborigines who oversaw the implementation of the stolen generations policy:

(16) He said that black mothers like me **weren't** allowed to keep babies like you. He **didn't** want you brought up as one of our people.

The negation associated with Mr Neville throughout Nellie's letter, particularly his wish to separate mothers and children, invites the reader to reject his lack of propriety towards Aborigines under his 'protection'.

Discussion of the delicate interweaving of evaluative prosodies in *The Letter* highlights the crucial role played by AFFECT and JUDGEMENT in characterization (e.g. Bednarek 2010; Culpeper 2001; Rothery and Stenglin 2000; Thompson [this volume]) and in developing the reader's empathy and ethical discernment (Macken-Horarik 2003). A character is usually associated with a preferred mode of expression or emotional style. For instance, in *The Letter*, Bessie typically expresses AFFECT as behavioural processes or 'surges' (e.g. 'My hands were shaking.'), in contrast with the emotional restraint demonstrated by her sister, Nellie. In fact, a character's emotional style positions the reader to assess her or his values and/or habitual behaviour, invoking JUDGEMENT: "Characters become tokens for values. That is to say they represent values dominant in the society" (Rothery and Stenglin 2000: 227). For instance, Bessie's emotional style cited above attracts evaluations of her tendency to give up (JUDGEMENT: tenacity –), whereas Nellie's restraint can be interpreted as a sign of her strength and perseverance (tenacity +).

While the prosodic structure of evaluation makes it hard to pin down, successful readers are able to interpret these. In Example (17), an A-range student identifies the significance of the padlock opening at the end of *CLICK*.

(17) The padlock was Jenny's mind and its snap was the awakening of reality in that mind; a realisation that it couldn't run away.

Readers like this one demonstrate that they have tuned in to the axiology of the text and the prosodies of INVOKED ATTITUDE on which the narrative turns. This kind of appraisal, however, resists enclosure in analytical boxes and frustrates the 'either-or' distinctions that are central to the system network. We need complementary ways of representing the prosodies and the dynamism of evaluative choices in narratives alongside the synoptic but overly static displays of system networks.

The *second* challenge concerning orders of evaluation highlights the importance of attention to the realities of complex textual data and the need to adopt a principled approach to unit(s) of analysis in our account.

Example (18) taken from an early phase of *CLICK* illuminates the problem:

(18) On the screen the mother was holding her daughter in her arms and crying, "What will the family think? What will the family think?"

In this brief extract, we see both distress and intimacy, and possibly shame if we include the words projected by the mother. Where do we begin in our analysis – with the lexeme, its syntactic context or the phase of which it is part? One response is to take each attitude as our starting point. 'Crying' can be coded as (AFFECT: Unhappiness) perhaps. This seems unproblematic until we realize that 'crying' carries more than simple unhappiness once we include the syntactic frame in which the word occurs ('the mother was holding her daughter in her arms and crying'). In this larger co-textual environment, we have something akin to intimacy, a container for the distress of mother and daughter. In this context, we can code the whole sentence to take account of intimacy, giving us the values of (AFFECT: Happiness: affection/Security/Unhappiness).

But things are more complex still. If we contrast the televised intimacy in the extract with the protagonist's lonely interactions with her 'real family', the crying here is even more significant. The point applies to JUDGEMENT as well as AFFECT values.

For example, the positively charged Social Esteem infusing the world of television soapies in *CLICK* is contrasted with negatively charged Social Sanction (neglect) in the world of reality. Furthermore, oppositions between these worlds are created through the combination of INVOKED and INSCRIBED APPRAISAL. These prosodies (represented in Table 5 via italics) 'stitch the reader in' to the larger axiology produced in part through these prosodies.

Table 5. Positive and negative prosodies of intimacy in *CLICK*

Fantasy world of television	**Real world of family neglect**
The mother was *holding her daughter in her arms* and crying …	Her father *was on the road a lot,* driving his truck
A beautiful girl *with white teeth was sitting with her boyfriend* in a sportscar	Her mother *worked at night* as a waitress
She *smiled at the guy and ran her hand through his hair*	Jenny *didn't have any brothers and sisters*
Doctor Harding *had started the girl's heart again*	It *wasn't a* **real** *family*
The beautiful nurse *wiped his forehead*	They *never did much together*

Oppositions like these affect the coding we make of an instance and invite us to take account of wider frames in which evaluation occurs. For our purposes, we have needed to code evaluation so that we take account of both local and global patterns of meaning in texts. Thus, while all evaluative moves in a text may require acknowledgement (as local expressions of attitude), not all are equally salient, and certainly not in the same way. As Hood and Martin emphasize, "[T]exts naturalise a reading position which forms the basis for interpreting evaluation, not just for non-evaluative lexis but for evaluative lexis as well" (2007: 745). In other words, texts themselves teach us through their global patterns of evaluation how to evaluate and thus code local items carrying attitude.

In distinguishing between (at least) two orders of evaluation (local and global), we have needed to find a way to code lexical evaluation in dynamic and synoptic ways. As we read, we build up a sense of the worlds of a narrative – their valeur – and the play of attitudes voiced by characters (either internally as thought or externally as dialogue). This is an unfolding process and values change as we read. Jenny's earlier enthusiasm for television soapies evaporates in the harsh light of a road accident victim killed outside the door (*CLICK*). Or a character's earlier pessimism about the possible reception of a letter to her sister's daughter disappears as the niece makes contact and comes home (*The Letter*). The synoptic (look back) perspective we take on as ideal readers at the end of the narrative also revises earlier evaluations. Our approach is to accept that narratives 'nest' evaluative choices within different discourse and value frames and to deal with the reality of this hierarchy in our analyses (see also Thompson this volume).

The *third* challenge emerging in our research has to do with the relationship between lexical data (an evaluative expression such as 'great', 'damn', 'crying') and the larger cultural or institutional system that gives the data significance. This takes us back to Heba's plaintive comment that 'it all depends on the data'. Thus, beyond consideration of APPRAISAL values in the co-text (its syntactic, phasal and textual frames), there is the complex cultural world beyond the text. *The Letter*, for example deals with a notorious period in Australian colonial history. Most Australian readers would be aware of the culturally fraught issue behind the struggle of the Aboriginal mother to find her daughter. In accounting for this environment, we negotiate questions not only about units of analysis but relationships between this unit (word/wording) and its textual and cultural environment.

Similarly, if context is all, when it comes to APPRAISAL, we need to establish intermediate systems that have value in particular situation types. As all professionals know, words and their evaluations have a particular valeur in one context that cannot be assumed in another. To hate one's mother in a religious context such as the confessional is a negative attitude (a sin) whilst in the therapist's chair it could be taken as a sign of progress (honest confrontation with one's emotional reality). Crying can be a sign of progress in one context, of family intimacy or of suffering in another. Laughter can be a sign of communing or condemning affiliation (Knight 2010). It all depends on one's context and on the orientation of those who share it.

Bakhtin draws attention to this contextual specificity of evaluation in *Discourse in the Novel*. He argues that there can be 'no neutral words':

> All words have the "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions. Contextual overtones (generic, tendentious, individualistic) are inevitable in the word.
>
> [Bakhtin 1935/1981: 293]

Bakhtin's point about the taste of evaluation given by the institutions in which it is used is extremely important for work within a general framework like APPRAISAL. Evaluation is a profoundly culturally sensitive business and system networks need not just to be extended by work in new contexts but perhaps re-modelled to take account of values salient in particular fields of discourse. Different fields produce language choices that are specific to their defining activities and fashions of speaking and writing. These distinctive language choices (or registers) will influence the evaluative schemas of insiders and their stance even on apparently neutral accounts of phenomena. The recognition of the power of INVOKED ATTITUDE to shape readers' responses to texts is one response to this reality. But cultural references take us into the realm of the 'outside' of text. The simple mention of bonding icons like 'the stolen generation' has the power to evoke responses because of the weight of cultural experiences they import into a text.

We can respond to the particularities of register variation and cultural reference in different ways. One way is to develop options for evaluation based on choices privileged in narratives and responses rather than trying to make the general APPRAISAL system fit the particularities of the texts (Macken-Horarik 1996). This strategy involves building a register-profile for APPRAISAL from the foundations of the more general system, recognizing that this is relevant only for this set of texts in this context. In this sense, Macken-Horarik's preference is for an instantial interpretation, shaped by key choices within text(s) rather than by reference in the first instance to the larger system of APPRAISAL.

Another way is to accept the mega-system and then to extend the current sets of systems within ATTITUDE for a particular corpus. For instance, existing COMPOSITION network options of COMPLEXITY and BALANCE were inadequate to describe the range of aesthetic evaluations of narrative in students' stylistic analysis arguments (Isaac 2012). COMPOSITION sub-sets were extended to include instances such as *Prominence*, referring to evaluations of 'micro' compositional elements or linguistic features used to *foreground* (or alternatively *background*) certain meanings in literary texts. Figure 2 includes one extension and examples proposed by Isaac (2012).

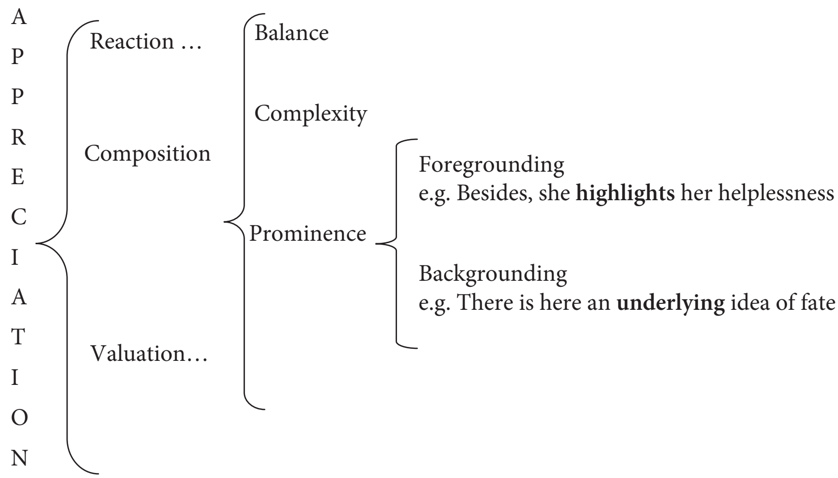

Figure 2. Extended Composition network options

The point of this excursion is not to show how the network options have been expanded in one study but to exemplify the difficulty of applying a general system to a register-specific domain such as literary appreciation. Complexity in one field of artistic endeavour is not equivalent in aesthetic value to that in another. In some fields (e.g. mathematics or structuralist linguistics), complexity carries a negative value! And choices for COMPOSITION in fields like ballet, jazz or classical music would clearly require elaboration in systems relevant to each field.

The important point that emerges from our discussion of the challenges involved in applying APPRAISAL theory in the context of literary stylistics is that the system does not give us everything we need, leaving us to make decisions in our analyses about coding especially of implicit evaluation and overlaps between sub-systems. In such cases, we need to ensure that our coding is sensitive to the particularities of each text instance as well as to make principled use of the overarching appraisal system. In sum, we have to accept the challenge of institutional differences and their (sometimes widely) differing regimes of evaluation.

Having highlighted some challenges facing work on APPRAISAL, we now outline three principles guiding our work and then a possible methodology for Heba and others to use in analyses which attempt to engage with the indeterminacy at the heart of evaluation in texts.

4. Methodology for analysis – one view of its role in reader positioning

The following principles emerge from our discussion and can guide the application of APPRAISAL in understanding of reader positioning.

I. *Appraisal works by degrees and by implicature*
Evaluation works in texts not just through one choice for AFFECT or JUDGEMENT but through syndromes of evaluation in one or more phases of a text. So we need to attend not just to one explicit instance (INSCRIBED ATTITUDE) but its combination with tokens of INVOKED AFFECT, JUDGEMENT or APPRECIATION. Readers are more likely to be able to read the implicature in the final metaphor of a narrative if they have 'tuned in' to the subtle power of covert evaluation in choices made in earlier phases of the text. It is the implicature that APPRAISAL analysis should be able to identify and code.

II. *Choices are relational (co-text shapes coding)*
Linguistic choices are not simply piled haphazardly on one another; their placement occurs as a result of conscious and also unconscious selection by the writer. Macken-Horarik (2003) identifies several of these called *metarelations*. *Confirmations* are choices for APPRAISAL that, taken together, contribute a unified impression of a world, a character, a setting or even a significant moment in a narrative. *Oppositions* contrast with these choices, sometimes in attitudinal domain (AFFECT versus JUDGEMENT, for example) or types or levels of GRADUATION, but most always in LOADING (positive versus negative). *Transformations* indicate a change in evaluation, as demonstrated earlier via the daughter's change of heart in *CLICK* and Bessie's journey from despair to hope in *The Letter*. For extended discussion of how metarelations can help us account for reader positioning, see Macken-Horarik (1996 and 2003).

Our point is that we need to take account of the cumulative force and organizing logic of the text's global development in our approach to APPRAISAL analysis too. The narrative co-text shapes the coding of an item and we need to take account of this environment and its changing significance if we are to adequately understand the way the text is inviting its ideal readers to see and value the narrative worlds it sets up. In other words, we need to distinguish between the writer-reader relationship and the character-character relationships of the story world of narratives in a discourse semantic model of evaluation (Martin 2000). A related approach to interactive hierarchies is taken by Hunston (2000) who models the interactive (writer-reader) plane separately from the autonomous (topic) plane in texts. The writer-reader exchange is negotiated globally and this gives value to local choices (for topics or voices), elevating some to higher order significance and relegating others to marginal and transitory status.

iii. *Choices are institutionally and culturally constrained*
Some choices for affect, judgement and appreciation are not possible or even just not likely in a given context of culture or genre. Strongly graduated affect is unlikely in a news report but more likely in a feature and even more highly predicted in an opinion piece (Iedema et al. 1994 and Martin and White 2005). In narratives of the kind we have studied, however, patterns of affect are a commonplace and help to build inwardness on the part of the reader to produce identification, aesthetic delight (or revulsion) and to adjudicate judgements of characters and their actions. In this latter aspect it is typically Social Esteem and Social Sanction that are 'at risk' in narrative. Particular patterns of choice make up particular voices appropriate to the institutional contexts (and registers) that give these voices their significance. Mapping these choices is an important task in the development of genre and register-specific models of appraisal.

5. One methodology

How do we turn these principles into a methodology for analyzing evaluation? The following steps are suggested as a guide to analysts like Heba who wish to take account of appraisal in texts like ours.

1. First, identify the choices you believe to be loaded in the text. Identify the target of the appraisal and the appraiser (source). As you identify items that carry evaluation, start with explicit choices (inscribed attitude) and then move to implicit choices (invoked appraisal). Identify choices that graduate attitude either through force or focus.
2. Next, describe the cumulative effect of these choices (in terms of their impact on you as a reader). For example, consider attitudinal choices that confirm a feeling tone in a phase of text, contrasts in choices, loadings, levels of force and contrasts in choices for graduation.
3. Map syndromes of choices in one part (or stage) of the text against other parts as the co-text shapes your apprehension of their significance. A useful strategy is to highlight syndromes in colour and thus to get a sense of appraisal choices at a glance (see Hood 2006 for more coding strategies of this nature).
4. Code choices using the appraisal systems explained earlier: including attitude, realization, loading, graduation (and again, sources of evaluation if this is possible). Note that we have not dealt with engagement systems in this chapter. Identify any cultural references (e.g. stolen generations, 9/11, the holocaust) that carry evaluation in a broader context. How do choices in this text and culturally salient references (or icons) position you (variously) as a reader? Institutional values shape our coding of appraisal and we need to be explicit about these our analysis.

5. Note any cases of double or triple coding and identify these in terms of choices made salient in the text as a whole. Sometimes evaluation carries an emotional *and* ethical charge; APPRECIATION can involve Valuation, which is both aesthetic *and* ethical in implication.
6. If you are dealing with a multi-vocal text (more than one voice, for example), then decide how you will weigh the evaluative choices made by each voice. Not all voices (or characters) are to be heard in the same way. This can become quite complex when we deal with unreliable narrators or ambivalent character roles and with the views and voices of particular figures in an argument too. The text itself will usually instruct us in how to weigh the significance of one voice over another. And this can change too, as a character comes to terms with an earlier attitude and perhaps overturns this in favour of another. (Note, a full treatment of APPRAISAL would often include analysis of ENGAGEMENT).
7. Array the choices for appraisal on a page or screen at each stage of the text and align these with particular characters, figures or viewpoints (concrete or abstract). Note the confirmations (similarities of choice, the contrasts, changes in these). These will include both implicit (INVOKED) and explicit (INSCRIBED) choices and these will often co-pattern and confirm one another.
8. Finally, if you are examining more than one text in the genre or register, compare choices in this text with those in others. What combinations of APPRAISAL choices are most common? At what stages of the text do they occur and co-occur? Which ones don't occur? Are there any register or genre-specific patterns you notice? What function do these serve?

Figure 3 displays the different points of reference in analysis of APPRAISAL and how they may be integrated in an account of types and patterns of choice in evaluation.

This figure makes space for local APPRAISAL choices and for the global patterns in which these participate and represents the gradually expanding linguistic environment in which choices occur. The top end is the point on the continuum that most linguists are comfortable with – INSCRIBED ATTITUDE. These can be identified relatively easily (as we do in Table 2 in relation to AFFECT) so that explanations for our analysis are more firmly based in grammatical structure. But the patterns of choice in the co-text shape the valence of choices too and often push us to re-evaluate (and re-code) lexical APPRAISAL choices. The figure allows for a gradually widening frame of reference for choices within INVOKED ATTITUDE. It includes choices for lexical metaphor, infused sequences of experiential meaning and GRADUATION choices which FLAG attitude.

Further down the cline, there are the patterns (metarelations) that shape readers' responses to local choices within the text. These patterns can confirm or

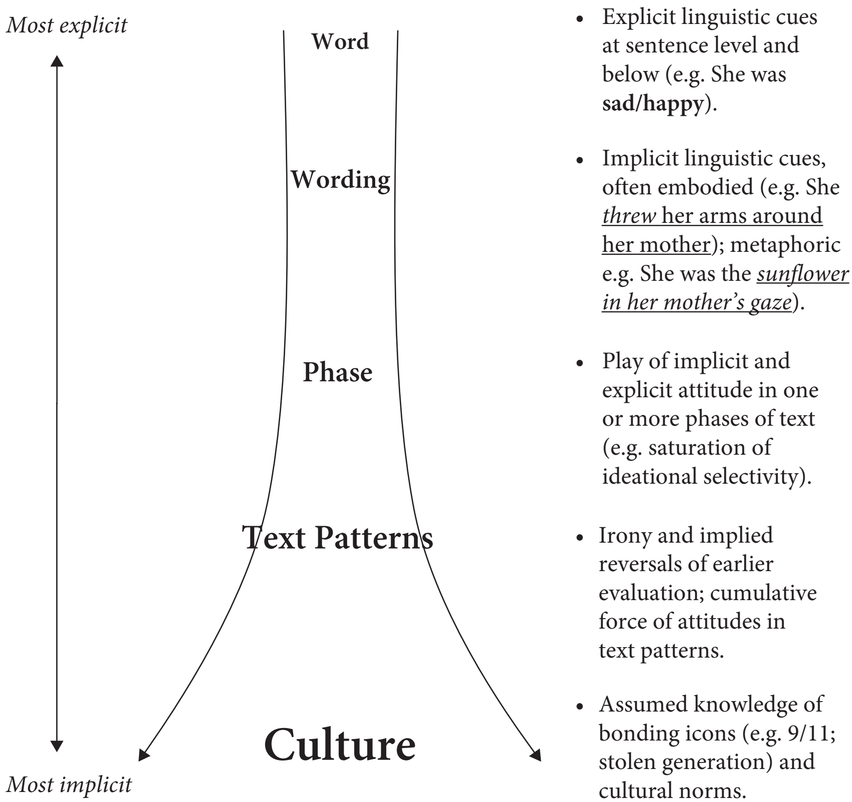

Figure 3. Cline of implicitness in different environments of APPRAISAL

challenge the value positions of particular figures within the world of a narrative or quoted in the course of an interpretive essay. The larger axiology of the text can sometimes INVITE us to diverge from these text voices as we do from the so-called 'Protector of Aborigines' in *The Letter*. The evaluations of an unreliable narrator are problematized by those of the evaluative voices privileged in the narrative as a whole. We need ways of representing divergent as well as convergent readings invited by narratives and showing how appraisal values come to be elevated to high order significance or relegated to the margins, even disavowed.

Beyond the text itself, there is the larger space of the culture with its highly charged icons and unspoken shared values that carry their own evaluative freight into the text and respectively AFFORD or EVOKE responses from cultural insiders. As our figure shows, it is possible to code from either end of the cline, beginning with the specifics of lexical items and INSCRIBED APPRAISAL, or from the point of view of general patterns made salient in the text and culture.

6. Conclusions

Reading, like text analysis, is a subjective business but this is in no way an excuse for avoidance of rigour and the pursuit of a principled methodology that others can follow. In this chapter we have attempted to take seriously Heba's call for attention to the difficult facticity of textual data and for the reality of the many interpretations of the many borderline cases that you meet in APPRAISAL analysis.

As a protean phenomenon which seems to defy analysis, evaluation provides the coder with challenges of slippage, implicit significance, institution-specific systems and interactional hierarchies that elevate some choices to high order significance and downplay or even invert others.

But it is a phenomenon that our students must grapple with every time we ask them to write an essay about the relationships between characters in a short story, 'spin' in an advertisement or the play of values in a novel. If students of literature need to account for reader positioning or authorial stance, we need to offer them linguistically principled frameworks for analyzing these and robust methodologies for tackling their diverse manifestations. We need a framework that is comprehensive and unified if only because we need ways of relating the different aspects of evaluation to one another and for exploring patterns of evaluation in texts in a range of genres. Our work is one contribution to ongoing efforts in this arena.

Notes

1. The name for a technical term within SFL is indicated by the use of small caps. It is a formalism for distinguishing technical and commonplace uses of a term.

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CHAPTER 5

The evaluative palette of verbal irony*

Laura Alba-Juez and Salvatore Attardo

In this chapter we present the results of both a theoretical and empirical study on the evaluative character of verbal irony. Our main research concern was to provide evidence as to whether all cases of verbal irony are 'critical' in nature or not, both by means of theoretical reflection and by presenting the results of a survey whose questions were mainly oriented toward the identification of ironical situations by English native speakers. For our analysis of the evaluative content of ironic utterances we draw on the findings of studies such as Thompson and Hunston (2000), Martin and White (2005), or Bednarek (2008a). The results of the survey show that the great majority of speakers recognized the different evaluative shades of the ironical situations presented, which gave grounds for accepting our hypothesis that the essence of verbal irony is not to be found in its possible implied criticism, but in a finer, more subtle aspect of the phenomenon which has to do with a clash or contradiction at different linguistic/discursive levels.

1. Introduction

The main aim of the present chapter is to delve into the phenomenon of verbal irony and consider it as a mechanism to express different degrees and types of evaluation. In particular, we want to argue that the concept of evaluation is crucially attached to that of verbal irony: speakers of a language may use irony in order to criticize and express a negative evaluation, or in order to praise and express a positive evaluation of a given person, situation or thing, or they could also take a stance that could be considered as neutral (neither positive nor negative) in the sense that it expresses some objective appraisal of a situation (in an ironic way) which is devoid of either criticism or praise.

Our study presents both a theoretical and an empirical approach to the evaluative aspects of verbal irony. On the one hand, we draw on the theories presented in our previously published works (e.g. Attardo 2000a and b, 2001, 2002; Alba-Juez 1995a and b, 2001 [1996], 2000), and on the other hand, we present the results of an empirical study, carried out taking both English and Spanish native speakers as informants, regarding the type and nature of the evaluation found in different ironic situations. In particular, we present the results of a survey whose questions were mainly oriented toward the identification of ironical situations by English and Spanish native speakers, in an attempt to ascertain whether these users *always* view irony as loaded with negative criticism/ judgment or not.

There exists a view of irony as inherently involving a negative or critical attitude, expressed for example in Grice (1975, 1978, 1981, 1982), Sperber and Wilson (1981), and most recently in Garmendia (2010). In the present article, we argue against this position, and we believe we can give a more accurate and detailed answer to the question "What is the evaluative valence of irony?" Our answer, which constitutes the main hypothesis of this work, is that the "palette" of irony spans the axiological gamut. Specifically, we argue that irony is not always 'critical', and that its nature has to do mainly with a contradiction of expectations at different linguistic/discursive levels, a position that is consonant with Attardo's (2000a) view of irony as 'relevant inappropriateness'. Moreover, we distinguish between an evaluative attitude directed toward an object of discourse and an evaluative attitude directed toward the participants of the discourse exchange and argue that this has significant repercussions on the discussion of whether irony is critical, positive, or neutral.

We believe that the study of the evaluative character of verbal irony is precisely the key to the identification of various types of verbal irony, beyond those associated with negative criticism. Needless to say, several authors have expressed the view that there exists positive irony and have provided examples thereof. Among them, we may list the following: Anolli et al. (2000), Attardo (2000a: 796), Berrendonner (1981: 225), Brown (1980: 114), Charudeau (2006), Dews and Winner (1995), Giora (1995: 255), Glucksberg (1995: 53), Hancock et al. (2000), Harris and Pexman (2003), Haverkate (1990: 90), Hidalgo Downing and Iglesias Recuero (2009: 424), Holdcroft (1983: 500), Kaufer (1983: 453), Leech ("banter" 1983: 144–145), Mao (1991: 179–189), Matthews et al. (2006), Mizzau (1984: 19), Muecke (1983: 407), and Myers Roy (1977). In fact, the history of positive irony goes back as far as Cicero and Quintilian (1942) who recognized the existence of cases of verbal irony in which the intention and perception of its content is not that of a negative criticism but quite the opposite, i.e., praise (positive irony is also known as "asteism"; Fontanier 1977).[1]

Other authors have implicitly considered the possibility of what we call here "neutral irony" i.e., simply the 'demonstration of wit' ("demostración de rasgo de ingenio" in Hidalgo Downing and Iglesias Recuero's (2009: 424) words). This demonstration of wit is sometimes devoid of any explicit or implicit polar evaluation (positive or negative) of any person, circumstance or thing.

Just as we do not claim to have discovered positive irony, so other authors have addressed the relationship between irony and evaluation. Partington (2011: 1787) points out that "the principal form of contrast in all types of irony is between good and bad evaluation, between approval and disapproval of the entity or situation in hand" (see also Partington 2007). As we shall see further on, this is a recognizable feature of verbal irony, but the contrast is not always found between the polar evaluative opposites. This could be the case, up to a certain extent, of the instances of negative and positive irony, but not of those of neutral irony, where the "clash" or contrast appeals for a more subtle interpretation. Even though evaluation is inherent to ironic utterances, we find that their ironic content can occupy any point within the evaluation continuum, not necessarily always the polar opposites good/bad or positive/negative. As we shall explain in due course, it is important to distinguish here between the evaluative polarity expressed by the words or expressions used in the ironic utterance and the resulting evaluation of a given person, thing or situation.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Evaluation in Linguistics and Philosophy

The topic of evaluation is a relatively new area of research in Linguistics. Felices-Lago (1997, 2003 and this volume) argues against the great importance that historically has been given to the polar axis true/false, thus disregarding the positive/negative axis which, according to Felices-Lago (see also Krzeszowski 1990) is the most important parameter in Linguistics. In effect, the evaluative function of language had not been studied in depth until very recently, in works such as Martin (e.g. 2000), Hunston and Thompson (2000), Thompson (e.g. this volume), Martin and White (2005), or Bednarek (e.g. 2008a and b). Prior to these studies some authors such as Labov and Waletsky (1967) or Labov (e.g. 1972, 1997a and b) focused on evaluation as one of the elements of narrative structure, but it has only been in the last two decades that some authors have started to pay special attention to the phenomenon in all its linguistic manifestations.

Evaluation is inherent in human nature. Studies such as those of Osgood et al. (1957) or Osgood (1980) have shown that the first categorization a baby makes is evaluative in that it involves the division of all things into 'good' and 'bad' in the most elementary, sensory meaning of these terms. Our emotions are connected with values, and thus we need to recognize and organize them according to some system. Evaluations constitute an aspect of all categorizations, and categorizations directly manifest themselves in language. It seems obvious to assert, consequently, that the link between values and language is a very tight one.

Within the field of Philosophy, studies concerning the topic started much earlier than in Linguistics. We could go as far back as Plato's Ethics (1997 [circa 370BC]), but, in modern times, prominent scholars such as Ortega y Gasset had written about the science of 'Estimatics' (in Spanish *Estimativa*) as early as 1923.

Another philosopher, Jürgen Habermas (e.g. 1985, 1991, 2000, 2001), has presented one of the most powerful accounts of a discourse-based morality. He has shown that the idea of normative validity is implicit in communicative action. For Habermas, discourse is a process of idealized role playing in which participants are engaged in checking and reciprocally reversing interpretive perspectives, thereby enabling them to realize certain common values that are central to their way of life. Thus, a society whose institutions and practices are governed by valid norms will instantiate the ideal of a moral community, and these norms will shape and at the same time be shaped by the axiological component of their language: what is considered positive or negative, good or bad.

Within the field of Linguistics and mainly in the last two decades, the functional school has paid special attention to the study of the evaluative function of language (e.g. Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005; Hunston and Thompson 2000; Thompson e.g. this volume, Bednarek 2006, 2008a and b, 2009). Thompson and Hunston (2000: 5) define *evaluation* in the following way:

> …evaluation is the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities of propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to a certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values. When appropriate, we refer specifically to modality as a sub-category of evaluation.

Englebretson (2007: 16–17) states that "both subjectivity and evaluation are strongly implicated" in some definitions of *stance* such as that of Biber et al. (1999: 966), where the concept is defined as "personal feelings attitudes, value judgements, or assessments".

We shall further discuss some of the above authors' work in considering the relationship between evaluation and irony.

2.2 Irony and evaluation

Verbal irony is one of the linguistic mechanisms used for the expression of values. When looking into the evaluative function of ironic utterances we are mainly dealing with pragmatic/procedural meaning, for the evaluation or judgment is normally worked out through an implicature or inference of some sort. But, as Biber and Finegan (1989: 92) point out, stance can also be located in form, i.e., in "the lexical and grammatical expression", which entails the possibility of lexicalization or grammaticalization of the evaluative attitude. Verbal irony can also undergo a process of grammaticalization or conventionalization, by which certain forms turn out to be almost always associated with certain ironic meanings,[2] as well as with a given type of evaluation.[3] For instance, in English the expression *A likely story* uttered as a comment after someone has narrated a given event is always taken as an ironic comment meaning precisely the opposite, i.e. that the story is not likely and therefore is not considered true or accurate. The expression *A likely story* can then be said to have been conventionalized in the English language as an ironic expression which contains a negative evaluation of either the story or the teller (who may be thereby accused of lying or of misrepresenting the actual facts).

A similar phenomenon can be attributed to the expression of good wishes *Break a leg* in the theatre world, where the apparent expression of bad luck has been conventionalized as an expression of good luck, this example constituting a clear instance of neutral irony at the textual level, that is however positive at the interpersonal level (i.e., it expresses a positive affect toward the interlocutor). This last example is interesting because through its analysis we can see the difference between the evaluative clash at the level of the expressions used (Break a leg = I wish you bad luck, as opposed to "I wish you good luck") and the intended ironic meaning, which in fact does not aim at evaluating the receiver of the ironic utterance or any other thing or situation as good or bad; the goal is here to show rapport, camaraderie, and sympathy with the hearer. Thus, it seems apparent that in some instances of verbal irony evaluation may have at least two faces: one level of evaluation can be directly found in the text and is encoded in the meaning of the words used ('break a leg' = bad) and another level has to do with the attitude or stance taken by the speaker with respect to the hearer (break a leg = good luck = rapport/camaraderie). With time and use the second level of meaning has superseded the original (literal) one, and therefore the clash or contrast would be now found in the opposition of politeness face-saving/threatening strategies (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). The opposition would then be of the kind 'sympathize with the hearer' vs. 'be nasty with the hearer', which has a dialogic character and has to do more with the attitude of the speaker than with the content valence of the words used.

Biber et al. (1999) define the evaluative character of verbal irony within the *attitudinal stance* dimension, whereas, from the Appraisal model perspective (Martin and White 2005), we can find examples of verbal irony where the three main domains (*Attitude, Engagement* and *Graduation*) interact. The *Attitude System* is of particular interest, however, because it is concerned with "our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgments of behavior and evaluation of things" (2005: 35). This system contains three sub-systems, namely:

1. **Affect**: the characterization of phenomena by reference to emotion.
2. **Judgment:** the moral evaluation of human behavior with respect to a set of norms.
3. **Appreciation**: the evaluation of objects, processes and products (rather than human behavior) by reference to aesthetic principles and other systems of social value.

The "break a leg" example above is a good instance of affect appraisal, because it shows the emotion of the speaker (in expressing his/her good wishes or emotions towards the hearer). The "likely story" example contains a combination of appreciation (evaluation of the story) and judgement (moral evaluation of the story-teller as an unreliable person).

As the examples have made apparent, in all three subsystems we can find examples of verbal irony, which shows how irony permeates the whole system of appraisal and can therefore be found at any point of the evaluation continuum.

Alba-Juez (2001 [1996]) characterizes evaluation as one of the main functions of verbal irony. We believe we can classify verbal irony in very general terms according to the type of basic evaluation made or expressed through it, as shown in Figure 1.

Both positive and negative ironic acts may be directed toward the hearer, a third party or the speaker herself, whereas the neutral cases normally do not show any special attitude toward any participant, the ironic intention being mainly to amuse by showing witticism. In spite of the fact that we include three main categories, we are well aware of the fact that evaluative language is susceptible to being placed at any of the different points of a continuum that goes from an extremely negative evaluation to an extremely positive one, with different positions in between, the central one being the neutral position (Figure 2).

Bednarek's (2006, 2008a and b, 2009) taxonomy of ten different evaluative parameters also presents as a valuable framework for the analysis of ironic utterances. The positive-negative values in Bednarek's model only form part of the

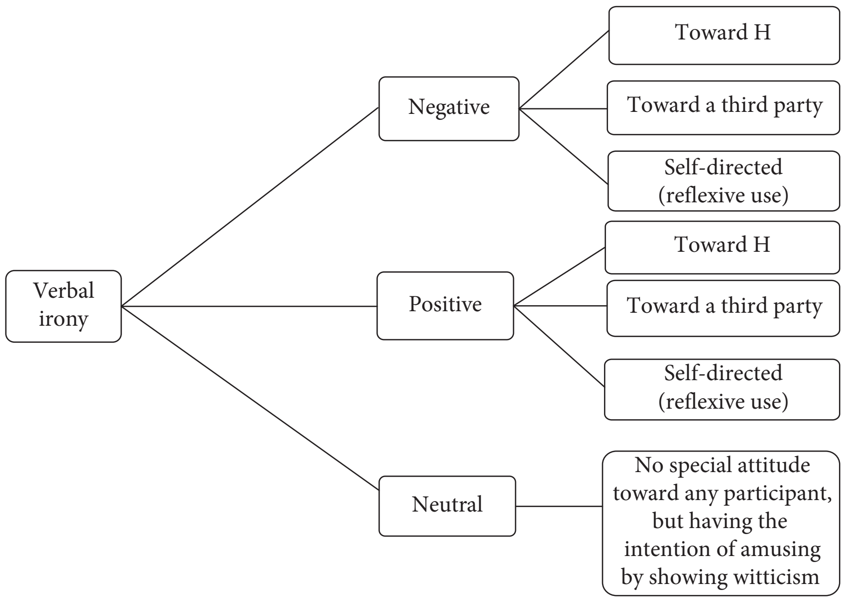

Figure 1. Irony types according to the evaluative polarity expressed

Figure 2. Evaluation continuum

'Emotivity Parameter', the other nine parameters dealing with other values such as important-unimportant or expected-unexpected, just to name two of them. However, and in agreement with Thompson and Hunston (2000: 25), we believe that the good-bad (positive-negative) parameter is the most basic one, "the one to which the others can be seen to relate". As such, it is the parameter that permeates the whole system of evaluation, and thus, from our viewpoint, it should be placed at a superordinate level in relation with the other parameters in Bednarek's model. This is the reason why we have only considered the positive and negative poles in the continuum (with a neutral point in the center), but we acknowledge the fact that any other 'evaluative values' could instantiate the positive-negative spectrum, and therefore be found at any of the points of the continuum as well.

3. Discussion and analysis

We therefore argue that the kind of ironic utterance loaded with a negative tint or criticism is not the only possible type; other utterances may be equally ironic and nevertheless entail or contain a positive or even a neutral evaluation of some sort. We will now consider three examples.

Negative irony: This is undoubtedly the most frequent and common type of verbal irony. Within negative irony we find the typical examples of sarcasm where an apparently positive comment expresses a negative criticism or judgment of a person, a thing or a situation.[4] A prototypical example would be the following:

(1) After Peter betrays his friend Tom, Tom says to Peter:
You're certainly my best friend ever!

Tom is using negative irony in order to express his very negative evaluation of the way in which Peter has behaved.

Positive irony: Verbal irony is used on many occasions to express a positive evaluation of a given person, thing or situation. An everyday example which is frequently found in family discourse is the following, where the father praises his child by means of a pretended criticism:

(2) Daniel comes back home from school and shows his father his report-card, which is full of As, to which his father reacts in the following manner:

Father*: Daniel, I'm really worried; your grades are terrible!* (with blank face)[5]
Daniel*:* (giggles) *Thank you, Dad*
(American father and 11-year-old son in Utah, USA, October 2000)

This is a clear example of positive irony or asteism, where we believe no 'critical' intention can be found on the part of the ironist. On the contrary, the father here is trying to express his pride for his son's success, an ironic act that is clearly understood by Daniel, as can be deduced from his answer and reaction (giggling and thanking).

Neutral irony: Enright (1988: 11) quotes the following as the best known of the philosopher Blaise Pascal's ironies (towards the end of Pascal's Letter XVI):

(3) *The letter is longer than usual because I didn't have the time to make it shorter*[6]

We believe we are here facing a neutral kind of irony, in the sense that there seems to be no intention of criticizing or praising any participant, thing, or situation. However, we acknowledge the fact that in neutral cases like this, the utterance may include some kind of overt (semantic) evaluation (the assessment of the letter as long or short in this case), but this evaluation is very distant from either a positive or a critical negative position, the reason being that the predominant function of the ironic act here is not evaluation but amusement. Pascal was using fine irony in order to show wittiness, and therefore be funny. This (as well as Examples (8) and (9) below) is the type of example that makes us partially dissent from Partington's (2007, 2011) view of irony: whereas there is, in effect, an evaluative contrast in the assessment of the letter as long or short, there is no such contrast in the attitude implied, because the essence of the irony in this particular case does not lie in the opposition good/bad and there is no apparent criticism or praise. The opposition long/short in the utterance calls for another, more refined interpretation triggered by the writer's witty stance, rather than by his criticism or praise of somebody or something. Perhaps this could be better explained through the well-known fact that irony is multi-faceted, and hence the evaluation inherent to the phenomenon can also be found at different levels. Taking into account Martin and White's subsystems within the Attitude System, we may speak, on the one hand, of a primary level of evaluation that has to do with the semantic meaning of the words used (*short* vs. *long*) where, in this particular example, we find an opposition in the values used for the appreciation of an object (subsystem of Appreciation). On the other hand, we may also identify a certain stance or attitude towards the aspect or circumstance the ironist is talking about, which in this particular case cannot be placed at any of the polar opposites, but at a neutral point somewhere in the middle part of the evaluation continuum. Pascal's attitude towards the letter he is writing cannot be said to be either positive or negative; he is merely trying to amuse the possible readers with his wit.

But instances of verbal irony are not always so simple as to be placed within only one of the above categories. As many an author has noticed, irony is as slippery a phenomenon as a cake of soap in a bathtub, so its analysis is no simple task. The positive/neutral/negative categories are not always so easily distinguished, for the ironist may opt for combining a positive and a negative evaluation in the same utterance, in a similar fashion to the phenomenon occurring in the phrasal irony expressions which Partington (2011: 1789) places under the category of "evaluative oxymoron". Let us consider Example (4):

(4) An actress to one of her friends (F):

A: *I'm a total disaster. I'm never going to make it in the theatre world. I'm a rather mediocre actress*

After some time, A gets an important award in recognition for her artistic performance, and after the ceremony her friend approaches her and says:

F: *Congratulations, dear friend! You certainly ARE a mediocre actress. I don't know how they could give you this award!*

(Personal conversation in the U.S., January 1999)

As may be apparent, F's utterance contains both a negative and a positive evaluation: a positive evaluation of A's performance as an actress, but a negative evaluation of her previous self-deprecatory judgment. This is an instance in which the irony expresses the mixed feelings and evaluations of the speaker: on the one hand, F wants to reprimand her friend (A) for having been so negative in her appreciation of her own qualities as an actress but, on the other, F wants to express her happiness about, and positive evaluation of A's success by implicating the opposite of the proposition uttered: that she is certainly NOT a mediocre actress and that she really thinks her friend deserves the award. Figure 3 tries to capture this fourth possibility by including it within the evaluation continuum.

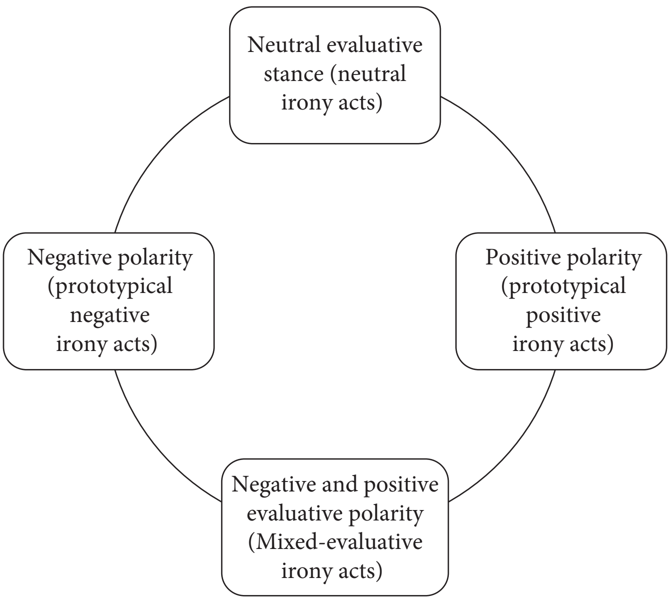

Figure 3. Mixed evaluative irony acts within the evaluation continuum

Considering the above, it does not seem outlandish to assert that the evaluative component of ironic acts plays a crucial role in the search for meaningfulness. Most of the times this is the component which triggers the inferential process of "figuring out" the irony, i.e. *relevance* in Attardo's (2000a) theory of verbal irony as "relevant inappropriateness". The other crucial component of irony, which is also intertwined with the evaluative one, is the *contradiction* between an expected state of affairs and an observed one, i.e. the 'inappropriateness' in Attardo's terms, or the 'contrast' in Colston and O'Brien's (2000) conception of the phenomenon.

The contradiction implied in this 'relevant inappropriateness' does not necessarily have to be found at the proposition level (Example (5)) or in the kind of evaluation expressed (as already discussed in 2.2). It may be located at other levels of pragmatic description, as illustrated by Examples (6) and (7).

(5) Propositional level (prototypical irony, contradiction of propositions):

Utterance	**Intended ironic meaning**
What a clever idea! (when someone has said something stupid)	*What a stupid idea!* **Negative evaluation**

(6) Ilocutionary level (contradiction of speech acts – indirect illocutions):

Utterance	**Intended ironic meaning**
A mother to her child, in disapproval: *Come on, keep on walking barefoot!* Directive act – pretended command (simulated approval of the action of walking barefoot)	 *You shouldn't walk barefoot!* Reprimand (for walking barefoot) – **Negative evaluation**

(7) Presupposition level (contradiction found in the factive presupposition triggered by an epistemic factive verb – *realize* in this case):

Utterance	**Intended ironic meaning**
I now realize what a bad actor you are! (After the actor got the Oscar award)	*I now realize* (or better: *I already know*) *you are a very good actor* **Positive evaluation**

As may have become apparent after all the previous discussion and examples, the contradiction or contrast expressed in verbal irony may contain evaluations of different shades. As shown previously in Example (3), negative and positive evaluations are not the only possibilities. Examples (8) and (9) present further illustrations of the neutral type of assessment found in irony:

(8) Socratic irony: *I only know I know nothing.*

(9) Quote by Oscar Wilde: *Life is too important to be taken seriously.*

Both in (8) and (9), Socrates and Wilde are evaluating a certain situation, but it is clear that they are not criticizing or praising anyone or anything in particular (as in (3) above). They are just using a witty comment in order to make their audience reflect upon a given philosophical issue. These are examples which – we believe – are proof of the subtlety and fine shades of meaning and evaluation that can be found in verbal irony, and which go far beyond a simple or rough negative criticism of a person or situation. In 8 we cannot say that Socrates means the opposite of the proposition, for this would be "I only don't know I know nothing", and we know that is not the intended meaning. We cannot say either that the contradiction is at the presupposition level (factive in this case), by which he would mean: "I only know I know something". The ironic interplay is of a much more refined nature, for in fact he means what he says (that the only thing he knows for sure is that he knows nothing), but at the same time finds himself in a paradoxical situation where in spite of knowing nothing he knows something.

Similarly, it cannot be said that Oscar Wilde means the opposite of his proposition, i.e. that life is not important to be taken seriously. He really means that life is important, but at the same time he tries to downplay its seriousness, which makes his utterance a witty (ironic) comment which plays with the contrast found in the semantic features of the words *important* and *seriously*. The exact line of inference is complex, but worth following, since the ironical nature of the quote may not be obvious: the aphorism is clearly the reversal (negation) of the much more mundane sentence "Life is too important to be taken lightly." The implication is that life is so important that it should be taken lightly, which in turn presupposes something akin to "really important things, i.e., things that are important to one's soul, should be approached with a happy disposition." To put it differently, Wilde's meaning is that "Life is too important not to be taken lightly." One could argue, perversely, that Wilde's stance is in fact implicitly critical of those who may claim that life should be taken seriously. However, this claim is problematic insofar as, if it were the case, then any statement is implicitly critical of its opposite, which would eliminate the (otherwise useful) distinction between critical statements and non-critical statements: if all statements are critical of something, then the difference between "It rains in March around here" and "You should not have set Aunt Mary's house on fire" is effectively lost, since "It rains in March around here" would be implicitly critical of those who claim that "It does not rain around here in March."

As a necessary step following the above theoretical considerations, we designed a plan to collect data related to the perception of the different evaluative shades of verbal irony by native speakers of English and Spanish. We thus turn to the empirical part of this study.

4. Empirical study

4.1 The survey

Taking into consideration the evaluative shades of verbal irony and the different types derived from them, we designed a questionnaire (both in English and Spanish) based on 20 situations. Ten of these situations contained some ironic utterances that could be related to a positive, a negative or a neutral evaluative stance, and the other ten were used as distractors, displaying similar situations but containing no ironic utterances. The survey in English was distributed among a group of 38 adult American, Australian and British native speakers of English, all of whom had at least one year of undergraduate studies. The survey in Spanish was distributed among a group of 56 Spanish university students in either the first or the last year of undergraduate studies.

The participants were not told what the specific purpose of the survey was. They were only informed that they would participate in some kind of linguistic research, for which they would have to classify each of the 20 situations according to the labels ironical/sarcastic, polite/impolite, aggressive/not aggressive, humorous/non-humorous. The situations depicted in the survey were similar to the examples presented above (1–9), including (but not specifically mentioning) different evaluative alternatives (positive, negative and neutral) of ironic utterances, as well as their non-ironic counterparts. Examine, for instance, situations 15 and 16 as way of illustration, where the utterance in bold in 16 constitutes the non-ironic counterpart of the corresponding ironic (negative evaluative) utterance in 15:

> **Situation 15**: Sally is a skinny thirty-year-old woman who thinks she's fat. When she expresses her thoughts about it, the father gets a bit upset and both of them get involved in exchanges like the following:
> Sally's father: *Sally! Come to the kitchen for lunch!*
> (Sally comes to the kitchen)
> Sally: *No, I don't want to eat. I want to lose weight, Dad. I'm fat.*
> Father: ***Oh… yeah, you really have a problem here; have you considered consulting a doctor about stomach reduction surgery?***
>
> In your view, Sally's father's comment is…
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | ( ) ironical | ( ) sarcastic | ( ) neither |
> | ( ) polite | ( ) impolite | ( ) neither |
> | ( ) aggressive | ( ) not aggressive | ( ) neither |
> | ( ) humorous | ( ) non-humorous | ( ) neither |

Situation 16: Consider the following exchange between Martha, who suffers from morbid obesity, and her father (who is worried about it):
Martha's father: *Martha! Come to the kitchen for lunch!*
(Martha comes to the kitchen)
Martha: *No, I don't want to eat. I want to lose weight, Dad. I'm fat.*
Martha's father: ***Oh… yeah you really have a problem here; have you considered consulting a doctor about stomach reduction surgery?***

In your view, Martha's father's comment is…

( ) ironical	( ) sarcastic	( ) neither
( ) polite	( ) impolite	( ) neither
( ) aggressive	( ) not aggressive	( ) neither
( ) humorous	( ) non-humorous	( ) neither

The main purpose was then to see if the native speakers of each of the two languages distinguished between the ironic and the non-ironic utterances, as well as to verify whether there was any significant difference in the identification of positive and neutral verbal irony as instances of irony, as compared to the identification of negative irony. This would in turn supply us with data to be able to accept or reject our hypothesis as to the non-exclusiveness of the negative evaluative tint in ironic utterances.

4.2 Results

Our first concern was to establish that speakers discriminated as we predicted between ironical and non-ironical situations. Tables 1 and 2 show clearly that in the aggregate speakers discriminate, as predicted, between ironical and non-ironical situations regardless of language. Individual examples may score below chance levels (33.33%) due to idiosyncratic reasons: for example, situation 20, a non-ironical example, was only rated non-ironical by 31.6 and 26.8 of the English and Spanish speakers, respectively. Since this is the only case in the non-ironical situations where the results are worse than chance, we hypothesize that the speakers may have been misled by the fact that the text specified that the dialogue came from a sitcom (*The Golden Girls*). This may have led the speakers to assume that the example would have to be ironical. Similarly, the only case in which an ironical situation is identified as such with less than chance accuracy is in an example in which the ironical turn consists of silence. It is likely that the non-prototypical nature of the "utterance" may have distracted the speakers and hence motivated the result. Apart from these outliers, most situations were identified correctly as ironical or non-ironical with an accuracy greater than twice chance levels. We conclude that speakers can identify reliably ironical and non-ironical utterances.

Table 1. Identification of the non-ironic situations in the survey

SITUATION	Number of subjects that identified it as NON-IRONIC in English (out of 38)	Number of subjects that identified it as NON-IRONIC in Spanish (out of 56)	Percentage (English)	Percentage (Spanish)
S2	36	49	94.7%	87.5%
S4	33	53	86.8%	94.6%
S6	22	53	57.9%	94.6%
S8	30	46	78.9%	82.1%
S10	30	51	78.9%	91.1%
S12	20	30	52.6%	53.6%
S14	34	49	89.5%	87.5%
S16	34	55	89.5%	98.2%
S18	30	46	78.9%	82.1%
S20	12	15	31.6%	26.8%

Table 2. Identification of the ironic situations in the survey

SITUATION	Number of subjects that identified it as IRONIC in English (out of 38)	Number of subjects that identified it as IRONIC in Spanish (out of 56)	Percentage (English)	Percentage (Spanish)
S1	33	49	86.8%	87.5%
S3	33	42	86.8%	75.0%
S5	29	44	76.3%	78.6%
S7	36	54	94.7%	96.4%
S9	8	12	21.0%	21.4%
S11	29	36	76.3%	64.3%
S13	32	44	84.2%	78.6%
S15	37	56	97.4%	100.0%
S17	33	53	86.8%	94.6%
S19	36	53	94.7%	94.6%

As explained above, our second hypothesis was mainly directed toward the examination of the results regarding the non-negative evaluative cases of irony because it was presupposed that all the subjects would be able to identify the negative cases without any problem, considering that negative ironic utterances are the most frequent and common. However, we thought it would be necessary to test this presupposition by first scrutinizing the responses given for the negative ironic situations in order to verify if every native speaker was able to identify an instance of 'critical' irony when encountering one. Table 3 shows the results that provide an answer to this derived research question.

Table 3. Percentage of subjects that identified the negative evaluative ironic utterances as sarcastic or ironic in English and Spanish

Survey situations displaying examples of negative ironic utterances (negatively-polarized evaluation)	Nº of subjects who identified the situation as ironic in English (of a total of 38)	Nº of subjects who identified the situation as ironic in Spanish (of a total of 56)	Percentage (English)	Percentage (Spanish)
S1 – "*You're a fine friend indeed, James!!*"	33	49	86.8%	87.5%
S11 – "*I thought you said she was thin*" (Bridget Jones' Diary)	29	36	76.3%	64.3%
S15 – "*Oh… yeah, you really have a problem here; have you considered consulting a doctor about stomach reduction surgery?*"	37	56	97.4%	100%
S19 – "*I find that hard to believe…* (The Golden Girls)	36	53	94.7%	94.6%

As becomes apparent in the table, both in English and Spanish, and in the majority of cases, the subjects identified the cases of negative irony as either sarcastic or ironic, but only in one of the situations (S15) and in one of the languages (Spanish) do we find a 100% consensus. These results do not seem to be very different from those in Table 4, whose figures respond to our main research question, by showing the number and percentage of the subjects that identified both the positive and neutral utterances (in Situations 3, 5, 13 and 17) as ironical. As with the instances of negative ironic utterances, the majority of them did so in both English and Spanish. In all cases the percentage of recognition of the irony rises above 75.

The results in both tables reveal that there seems to be no difference between the identification of negative irony and that of positive and/or neutral irony, which not only supports our hypothesis in favor of the existence of different 'evaluative values' in ironic speech acts, but in fact supports a much stronger claim, namely that positive and neutral irony are not significantly harder to identify than negative irony.

In general the values of the percentages of identification for negative irony are slightly higher than those for positive or neutral irony, but it is also noticeable that it is within the identification of the 'critical' type of irony that the lowest percentage is found (situation 11 in Spanish). This is an interesting result, because it to some extent provides evidence against the generally accepted premise that negative ironic utterances are the most common and consequently the most easily identifiable ones.

Table 4. Percentage of subjects who identified the positive and neutral evaluative ironic utterances as ironical in English and Spanish

Survey situations in which there was no negative criticism implied	**Nº of subjects who identified the situation as ironic in English (of a total of 38)**	**Nº of subjects who identified the situation as ironic in Spanish (of a total of 56)**	**Percentage (English)**	**Percentage (Spanish)**
S3 – Positive Irony – Evaluation +: "*Your grades leave much to be desired! You make me feel embarrassed with such a horrible report-card*"	33	42	86.8%	75%
S5 – Neutral Irony – No critical negative attitude: *"The message is longer than usual because I didn't have the time to make it shorter"*	29	44	76.3%	78.6%
S13 – Neutral Irony – No critical negative attitude: Socrates' *"I only know I know nothing"*	32	44	84.2%	78.6%
S17 – Neutral Irony – No critical negative attitude: Oscar Wilde's *"Life's much too important to be taken seriously"*	33	53	86.8%	94.6%

In spite of the fact that the bare numbers shown in the tables seem to speak for themselves, the statistical Chi Square Test was applied to the data in order to obtain the following information:

a. Whether or not there was a significant difference between the English and Spanish data regarding the identification vs. non-identification of the three types of evaluative utterances as ironic;
b. Whether or not there was a significant difference in the values obtained regarding the identification vs. non-identification of negative irony as compared to those obtained for positive and/or neutral irony.

As may appear obvious, the hypothesis we supported from the very beginning of the study was the null one, i.e., (a) that there is not a significant difference between English and Spanish speakers as far as the identification of the different evaluative types of verbal irony is concerned, and (b) that there is not a significant difference in the identification of positive and neutral irony in comparison with negative irony (which would mean that the same speakers that identified the situations with negative verbal irony would identify those with positive and neutral irony equally well, and therefore implicitly recognize that verbal irony can have different evaluative hues).

Regarding (a), and considering the χ^2 and p values for each of the situations analyzed in both languages (Tables 5 and 6), it can be stated that no significant difference was found between the values in English and Spanish (all p values are higher than 0.05), which means that both the speakers of one language and the other identified the three basic evaluative options as ironic.

Table 5. Chi squared and p values for the comparison of the identification of the negative evaluative type of irony between English and Spanish

Negative irony situations	χ^2	p value
S1	0.009	0.9244
S11	1.54	0.2146
S15	1.49	0.2222
S19	0.0004	0.9840

Table 6. Chi squared and p values for comparison of the identification of the positive and neutral evaluative type of irony between English and Spanish

Positive and neutral irony situations	χ^2	p value
S3	1.97	0.1604
S5	0.07	0.7913
S13	0.46	0.4976
S17	1.77	0.1834

Regarding (b), and considering the χ^2 and p values obtained for the comparison of the percentages of identification of the negative type in contrast with the positive and neutral ones (Table 7), it can be stated that no significant difference was found (as all the χ^2 values are lower than those considered significant for a confidence level of 0.05, and therefore the p values are higher than 0.05).

Table 7. Chi squared and p values for the percentages of identification of positive and neutral irony as compared to those of negative irony in both languages

Positive and neutral irony as compared to negative irony	χ^2	p value
English	0.44	0.5071
Spanish	0.51	0.4751

These results allow us to stand on more solid ground when facing our initial and main research question. We thus feel one should accept our main hypothesis stating that speakers of both English and Spanish will not only identify and label the negative, but also the positive and neutral evaluative cases of verbal irony as ironic. Moreover, we can also see support for the stronger thesis that positive irony is not significantly harder to identify than negative irony.

5. Conclusions

After the reflection, analysis and results of this study, it seems obvious that the evaluative function of language is a crucial one in the production and interpretation of verbal irony. But this evaluative color does not come in only one shade: the examples analyzed in the chapter have thrown light on the fact that the evaluative palette of ironic utterances contains many hues that can be identified and placed at any point in a continuum, depending on the particular case and situation where the ironic speech act occurs. In very general terms, this continuum contains three main areas: the two polar opposites (positive and negative) and a central area where the instances of neutral verbal irony could be located. In spite of being polar opposites, the positive and negative types of evaluation do not reject or exclude each other in ironic utterances: they can sometimes co-occur, and this is the reason why we have classified some of the examples as "mixed-evaluative cases". Furthermore, in many instances these evaluative shades may have different 'faces' and present different values depending on the levels at which they manifest. Thus we may have, for instance, an opposition of negative and positive values on one layer of meaning, but a neutral valence on another layer which may be more directly related to the final attitude or stance the speaker wants to convey (as seen in Examples (3), (8) and (9) above).

The quantitative results of the survey have clearly shown that the speakers of both English and Spanish identified utterances that contained all three evaluative possibilities (positive, negative and neutral) as ironic. The statistical analysis of these results has provided us with further evidence to accept our hypothesis in favor of the existence – within ironic utterances – of varied evaluative hues, not of only one. We therefore conclude that the essence of verbal irony does not lie in the manifestation of a negative derogatory or deprecating attitude. The phenomenon may contain procedural evaluative meaning (and even content meaning) of different valences, a fact which we believe should be indispensable for the characterization of the phenomenon, together with its most ingrained feature, namely the contradiction or contrast found at different linguistic levels – a.k.a. 'relevant inappropriateness' in Attardo's terms.

We do not disregard the fact that the samples used for both languages are not sufficiently big to make further generalizations, but we believe, however, that the study presents a good starting point for the characterization of the different hues in the evaluative palette of verbal irony.

Notes

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1. There exists another, loosely related, area of investigation that more or less implicitly acknowledges the positive use of negative-valence utterances, variously referred to as jocular abuse (Hay 2000), jocular mockery (Haugh 2010), joking verbal abuse (Norrick 1993: 6; 1994: 421), etc. We will not address this strand of research in this context.

2. See Alba-Juez (1998) for the conventionalization of some ironic expressions in English or Escandell Vidal and Leonetti (forthcoming) for the same phenomenon in Spanish.

3. See, for instance, Alba-Juez and Martínez-Caro's (2011) study on the expression "no wonder" in English.

4. We define sarcasm as negative irony, i.e. the type of irony that contains a negative evaluation of the 'victim' of the irony (be it a person, a thing or a situation).

5. See Attardo et al. (2003) for the analysis of blank face as a marker of verbal irony.

6. The actual quote is: "Reverend fathers, my letters were not wont either to be so prolix, or to follow so closely on one another. Want of time must plead my excuse for both of these faults. The present letter is a very long one, simply because I had no leisure to make it shorter". The whole letter can be read at: http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/pascal/letters-c.html#LETTER XVI

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CHAPTER 6

The implementation of the axiological parameter in a verbal subontology for natural language processing

Ángel Felices-Lago and María Enriqueta Cortés-de-los-Ríos

FunGramKB (FGKB), on the one hand, is a multipurpose lexico-conceptual knowledge base for natural language processing (NLP) systems and comprises three major interrelated knowledge level modules: lexical, grammatical and conceptual. At the conceptual level the core ontology is presented as a hierarchical catalogue of the concepts that a person has in mind and a repository where semantic knowledge is stored. Axiology, on the other hand, is widely considered to be a primitive, basic or key parameter, among others, in the architecture of meaning construction at different levels. This parameter can be traced back to the three subontologies into which FunGramKB can be split: #ENTITY for nouns, #EVENT for verbs, and #QUALITY for adjectives. Even if most of the specific research conducted so far has been devoted to the category #QUALITY, there is no reason to consider verbs as less of an axiological category. Consequently, in this chapter we shall concentrate on the subontology #EVENT and explore how the main categories and features of the axiological parameter (good-bad or positive-negative [+/−]) are represented and encoded within FunGramKB ontology, particularly inside semantic properties such as basic or terminal concepts and meaning postulates, or syntactic operators, such as modality or polarity.

1. Introduction

In this chapter we start from two premises: the first one states that *Valuation* is an inherent aspect of categorization. In fact, in the ontogenetic development of every human being, the first categorizations are valuations. The reason is that we are assessing beings. All our actions, our thinking, our attitudes and interactions with the world and with other people, but particularly our emotions, are connected to or laden with certain values (Krzeszowski 1997). It is also assumed that the first categorization that a baby makes is evaluative in that it involves the division of all things into good and bad in the most primitive, sensory meaning of these terms. To appreciate the presence of values as well as to evaluate, we need to recognize some system of values. Valuations constitute an aspect of all categorizations, and categorizations directly manifest themselves in language (Felices-Lago 2003). This establishes a direct link between values and language. Consequently, axiology is considered to be a primitive, basic or key parameter, among others, in the architecture of meaning construction at different levels in language (Hare 1952; Osgood et al. 1957; Katz 1964; Coseriu 1967; Pottier 1964; Leech 1975; Nida 1975; Lyons 1977; Stati 1979; Krzeszowski 1990, 1993, 1997; Felices-Lago 1991, 1997a, 1997b; Cortés-de-los-Ríos 2001, and many others). One of these linguists, Tomasz P. Krzeszowski (1990), takes a step further and criticizes the excessive importance attributed historically to the "true-false" polar axis to the detriment of the "good-bad" one, which, in his opinion, is the most important parameter in linguistics. He arrived at that conclusion when, analysing a large number of sentences and words, he found out that every lexical item is assessable on the good-bad scale. Some lexical items are situated close to the "good" pole, e.g. *love, care, grow, delight,* some are situated close to the "bad" pole, e.g. *hate, abhor, die, complain,* while others are situated at various distances from the two poles, with a considerable number of lexical items displaying no ostensible charge in plus or in minus, e.g. *appear, declare, compare, etc.*

Secondly, in the last few years the comprehensive theory of constructional meaning known as the Lexical Constructional Model (Mairal-Usón and Ruiz-de-Mendoza 2008, 2009; Ruiz-de-Mendoza and Mairal 2008, among others) has incorporated as part of its architecture *FunGramKB* (FGKB), which is a multipurpose lexico-conceptual knowledge base for natural language processing (NLP) systems (Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez 2004, 2005; Mairal-Usón and Periñán-Pascual 2009, 2010; Periñán-Pascual and Mairal-Usón 2009, 2010). It is multipurpose in the sense that it is both multifunctional and multilingual. In other words, FunGramKB can be reused in various NLP tasks (e.g. information retrieval and extraction, machine translation, dialogue-based systems, etc.) and with several natural languages. This knowledge base comprises three major knowledge levels, consisting of several independent but interrelated modules: (1) Lexical level: *The Lexicon* stores morphosyntactic, pragmatic and collocational information about words. *The Morphicon* helps our system to handle cases of inflectional morphology. (2) Grammatical level: *The Grammaticon* stores the constructional schemata which take part in the bidirectional linking algorithm: semantics ↔ syntax. (3) Conceptual level: *The Ontology* is presented as a hierarchical catalogue of the concepts describing semantic knowledge.[1] *The Cognicon* stores procedural knowledge by means of script-like schemata in which a sequence of stereotypical actions is organized on the basis of temporal continuity. *The Onomasticon* stores information about instances of entities and events. In FunGramKB, every lexical or grammatical module is language-dependent, whereas every conceptual module is shared by all languages. FunGramKB adopts a conceptualist approach to language, where the ontology becomes the pivotal module for the whole architecture.

As a consequence of the two previous premises, the valuation or axiological parameter can be traced back to the three subontologies into which FunGramKB ONTOLOGY can be split: #ENTITY for nouns, #EVENT for verbs, and #QUALITY for adjectives (and some adverbs). In this chapter we shall concentrate on the subontology #EVENT and explore how the main categories and features of the axiological parameter (good-bad or positive-negative [+/−]) are represented and encoded within FunGramKB ontology. To do that, we should understand first how this ontology works on the basis of the following protocol: FGKB Ontology stores semantic knowledge in the form of thematic frames (TFs) and meaning postulates (MPs) by presenting a hierarchical catalogue of all the concepts (not 'words', unlike FrameNet or MultiWordNet) that a person has in mind and works with two reasoning mechanisms, inheritance and inference, due to the fact that it is constructed on the basis of a deep semantic approach which not only displays concepts, but also defines them through a machine-readable metalanguage called COREL (i.e. *Conceptual Representation Language*).

Within each of the three subontologies, FunGramKB also distinguishes three categories of concepts organized hierarchically:

a. *Metaconcepts* (e.g. #ABSTRACT, #COMMUNICATION, #SOCIAL, #PSYCHOLOGICAL, #QUANTITATIVE, etc.), which form the upper level in the taxonomy, as a result of the analysis of the most relevant linguistic ontologies developed by other researchers, i.e. DOLCE, SIMPLE, SUMO, etc.

b. *Basic concepts*, preceded by the symbol +, are used as defining units which enable the construction of MPs for basic concepts and terminals, as well as taking part as selection preferences in TFs: e.g. +HAND_00, +HOT_00, +MOVE_00, etc. They can be employed to define any word in any of the European languages that are claimed to be part of the Ontology. The starting point for the identification of basic concepts was the defining vocabulary in *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Procter 1978), though thorough revision was required in order to perform the cognitive mapping into a single inventory of about 1,300 basic concepts.

c. *Terminal concepts*, which are headed by the symbol $. Terminals are not hierarchically structured and do not have definitory potential to take part in MPs: e.g. $AVENUE_00, $GLEAM_00, $SENILE_00.

Basic and terminal concepts in FunGramKB are provided with semantic properties which are captured by *thematic frames* and *meaning postulates*. Every event in the ontology is assigned one single thematic frame, i.e. a conceptual construct which states the number and type of participants involved in the prototypical cognitive situation portrayed by the event (Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez 2007). Moreover, a meaning postulate is a set of one or more logically connected predications (e_1, e_2, … e_n), i.e. conceptual constructs that represent the generic features of concepts. As stated above, the basic concepts are the main building blocks of these types of constructs in the core ontology.[2] See Figure 1.

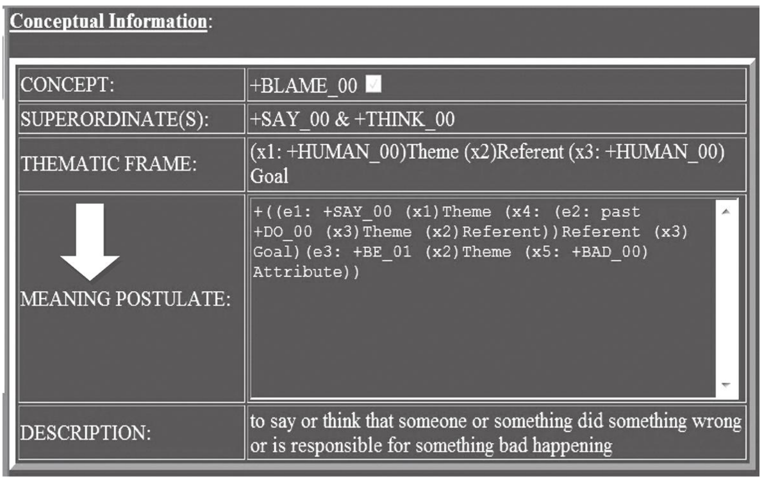

Figure 1. Meaning postulate of +BLAME_00 in FunGramKB

2. The axiological axis in the verbal lexicon: Theoretical remarks

Two decades ago, the developments of the Functional Grammar lexicon into a model which could integrate semantic, syntactic and pragmatic aspects of lexemes within a framework combining both paradigmatic and syntagmatic patterning was the pioneering contribution of Leocadio Martin Mingorance (1990, 1995, 1998) and his Functional Lexematic Model (FLM).[3] In this model, Martín Mingorance (1987: 380–384), inspired by Coseriu (1967, 1968), introduced the category *classemes*, which were defined as general semantic and syntactic determinations in the vocabulary or as a kind of grammar.[4] Then, he distinguished different kinds of classemes according to the pragmatic, semantic, syntactic, syntactic-semantic components, and concluded that the number and type of pragmatic classemes will depend on further research, but stylistic labels (diatopic, diaphasic, diastratic features) and such elements as "norm", "focus", "speaker's evaluation", "aesthetic norm", etc. constitute a kind of features which will condition the choice of specific lexemes according to the type of communicative situation. He offered an example of the process followed by a pragmatic classeme:

> In the selection of a verb like *gobble* in a communicative situation in which the speaker's disapproval of someone's way of eating constitutes the information focus, the lexical choice will be determined in the paradigmatic axis fundamentally by the pragmatic feature [NORM: SOCIALLY SET: VIOLATION], i.e. "violation of a socially set norm", which is most salient differentiating feature with regard to the other verbs in this paradigm (*gorge, guzzle, wolf, devour, bolt,* etc.).
> (Martín-Mingorance 1987: 384)

Both norms (axiological and social) are so close to each other that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether certain features of word meanings should be counted as axiological or sociocultural. In consequence, sociocultural contexts such as biological/ social/ aesthetic norms often refer to values imposed by a given society. If, in consumption, *gobble* encodes the violation of a socially-set aesthetic norm since the semantic parameters, *quickly* and *greedily*, are negatively evaluated with respect to our conceptualization of how people should eat, then we are saying that *gobble*, the same as *wolf* or *gorge* (consumption of large quantities of food), are verbs affected by the axiological evaluation pattern for exactly the same reasons as they are affected by the social (or sociocultural) pattern. In our opinion, this redundancy can be solved either by merging common aspects of both patterns or by creating a third one that accounts for such examples.

The Martin Mingorance followers Faber and Mairal-Usón (1999) set out to demonstrate not only the principled connections between meaning and patterns of conceptualization in the human mind in a lexically-based approach, but also the relationship between lexical structure and cognition. One of the key issues was the introduction of a cognitive axis and a typology of predicate schemas at different levels of the lexicon (lexeme, subdomain and domain). Domain-level predicate schemas, in particular, might be sensitive to what these two linguists called domain-level semantic patterns, which could be in turn responsible for their lexical architecture. These parameters also reflected the categorization of certain areas of meaning and might become primitives with cross-cultural validity. As a result, Faber and Mairal-Usón (1999: 234) proposed four macro-organizational patterns which appear across a wide range of domains: space; time; sociocultural context; and *axiological evaluation (positive/negative).* This axiological pattern basically referred to Krzeszowski's Lakoffian approach based on a the three-level hierarchy of values *(sensory experience, life and health, spiritual level)* given by classical axiologists such as Max Scheler or Tischner (Krzeszowski 1997: 64).

Faber and Mairal-Usón (1999: 242) underlined the dominant function that values perform in the structure of concepts (Krzeszowski 1990; Felices-Lago 1991; Escalier-Fournier 1997) and followed Krzeszowski in his claim that most lexical items are assessable on an axiological scale and that, in general, words have a tendency to be axiologically loaded with positive or negative connotations in proportion to the degree of human factor associated with them.[5] They also observed that the opposition *good* and *bad* consistently appears in the lexical semantic structure of English verbs. However, previous approaches to the nature of axiologically-loaded words had claimed that adjectives and adverbs, more than other words, carry a distinct axiological charge and, in this way, are more prototypically evaluative than nouns and verbs (Coseriu 1968; Stati 1979; Aarts and Calbert 1979; Krzeszowski 1990, 1997; Felices-Lago 1991).

Although it is true that most specific research conducted so far has been devoted to adjectives, there is no reason to consider verbs, for instance, as less of an axiological class. In this respect, some publications use examples of verbs to prove axiological implications in linguistic phenomena from different functional paradigms (see, for instance, Pauwels and Simon-Vandenbergen 1993, 1995; Simon-Vandenbergen 1995; Krzeszowski 1997: 205–208; Hunston and Thompson 1999; Martin and White 2005 or Alba-Juez and Martinez-Caro 2011, among others).

Faber and Mairal-Usón (1999: 242–248) demonstrate the significant axiological implication of verbs when they introduce the polarity of *good* and *bad* (as a subjective scale) in the lexical semantic structure of English verbs. The relevance of that scale is evident for the organization of verbal domains such as CHANGE, SOUND, POSSESSION, ACTION, THOUGHT, and FEELING. Using the Scheler/Tischner three level hierarchy of values and taking the domain of SOUND as an example, they show how sounds can be classified, according to the first level of values, as pleasant/harmonious or unpleasant/discordant. Obviously, it can be deduced that *axiological evaluation* is based on a series of axes, scales and figures that contribute to outlining the prototypical features characterizing its structure (Felices-Lago 2003: 187). The first axis, shown in Figure 2, is preconceptual, lexicogenesic and dual, referring to its polar nature.

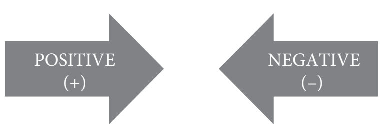

Figure 2. Polar nature of axiological evaluation

The second axis is a scale which can be integrated in the previous one and refers to the varying degrees of positiveness or negativity that are essential to the units affected by the axiological pattern. See Figure 3.

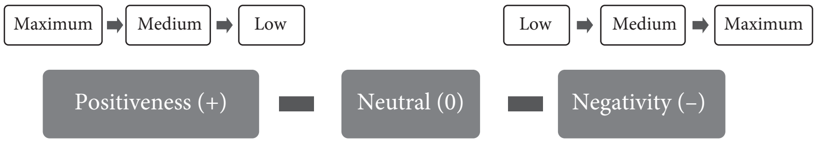

Figure 3. Axiological scale

The third axis (see Figure 4) is a scale which refers to the hierarchy of axiological dimensions at linguistic level (Felices-Lago 1997: 105). This scale does not presuppose the fact that certain values are higher (or better values) than others, because that may depend on the position of each domain, subdomain or lexeme in the configuration of the verbal lexicon. It is also related to the speaker's individual value system or, at least, to the reliability of unbiased intersubjective sources (corpora, surveys, lexicographical studies, etc.).[6]

Generic positiveness, 'good' encapsulates all specific positive dimensions, regardless of the existence of prototypical positive items.

Generic negativity, 'bad' encapsulates all specific negative dimensions, regardless of the existence of prototypical negative items.

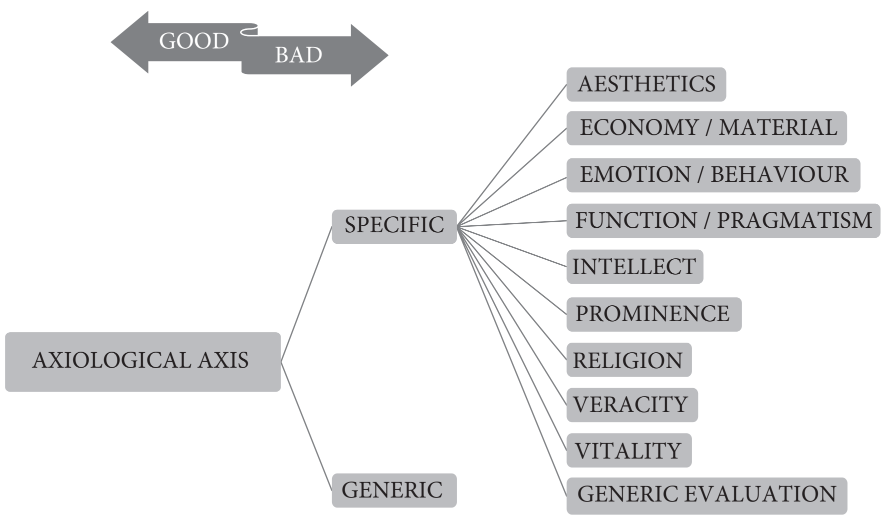

Figure 4. Hierarchy of axiological dimensions at linguistic level

As will be shown in the following section, this axiological axis (multidimensional scale) can be applied to the basic and terminal concepts included in the #EVENT subontology and, consequently, extended to the verbal lexicon units.[7]

3. Axiological representation and distribution in FGKB core ontology

Velardi et al. (1991) distinguish two well-defined strategies when describing meaning in computational lexicography: i.e. the cognitive content in a lexical unit can be described by means of semantic features or primitives (conceptual meaning), or through associations with other units in the lexicon (relational meaning). The former approach offers a stronger inferential power and guarantees the construction of a robust knowledge base applicable to most NLP tasks, consolidating thus the concept of resource reuse.

In FunGramKB, the meaning postulate (MP) is conceived as a property of basic concepts and terminals. Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez (2004) point out that current lexicalist models agree to handle lexical meaning as a cognitive representation reflecting the speakers' shared knowledge about the referent linked to a given linguistic expression. Therefore, when representing one of the meanings of a lexical unit, we are really representing the meaning of a concept. In consequence, an MP is a set of one or more logically connected predications, which are cognitive constructs carrying the generic features of the concept. If we apply a syntactico-semantic description to the participants (arguments and satellites), then a set of event operators allows the machine to recognize well-formed predications.

If we explore the configuration of the axiological parameter in the MPs, it will be observed how the axiological features are expanded and distributed throughout a set of syntactic operators (predication operator (polarity), quantification operators and logical connectors) and semantic / conceptual instruments (basic and terminal concepts, predications or satellites).

3.1 Syntactic features of MPs: Operators

If Λ is a participant whose type is specified by Π, where indexed labels x and f are used by arguments and satellites respectively, then this participant can be preceded by an operator (α), which applies a specific kind of quantification to the concept expressed as a selection preference, as in Figure 5.

The quantification operators sensitive to axiological concepts are the relative quantifiers, particularly *m* (many or more) or *p* (a few or less), as they act as upgrading or downgrading intensifiers within the gradable semantic dimensions.

Feature	Value
Absolute quantifier	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 …
Relative quantifier	*m / s / p*
Indefinite quantifier	i

Ex: (x7: ***m***+GOOD_00)Attribute): +*PRIDE_00*

Figure 5. FunGramKB quantification operator

The polarity operator *n* (similar to *neg* in d-Prolog proposed by Nute (2003)) allows negative information to be explicitly stated and is the only predication operator likely to implement an axiological charge. If applied to a concept on the negative pole like +WRONG_00, then it neutralizes its negativity, as can be observed in the second example of Figure 6.

Feature	**Value**
Aspectuality	ing / pro / egr
Temporality	rpast/npast /pres/nfut/rfut
Epistemic modality	cert / prob / pos
Non-epistemic modality	obl / adv / perm
Polarity	*n*

Ex:
(1) … (e2: *n* +BE_01 (x1)Theme (x3: +LEGAL_00)Attribute[8]):
+*CRIME_00*
(2) … (e3: *n* +BE_01 (x3)Theme (x4: +WRONG_00)Attribute)
+*SOLVE_00*

Figure 6. FunGramKB predication operators

Finally, logical connectors used in FunGramKB – conjunction (&), disjunction (|) and exclusion – allow us to coordinate two axiologically-sensitive concepts in the same predication or satellite.

(1) Conjunction: (f1: +SERIOUS_00 & +CAREFUL_00)Manner[9]: *$MEDITATE_00*
Disjunction: … (x5: +GOOD_00 | +RIGHT_00)Attribute*): $APPROVE_00*
Exclusion: (f1: +NERVOUS_00 ^ +WORRIED_00)Manner: *$BROOD_00*

3.2 Conceptual features of MPs: Predications and satellites

Only *basic concepts* can be used in MPs to define terminal concepts or other basic concepts. A sample of axiologically-loaded basic concepts used in the meaning postulates of concepts under the subontology #EVENT are shown as follows, regardless of their subontology of origin:

(2) Entities: +PAIN_00; +RESPECT_00; +LOVE_00; +VALUE_00; +DAMAGE_00; +GOD_00; +PLEASURE_00; +FEAR_00, etc.
Events: +PROTECT_00; +ATTACK_00; OFFEND_00; +LIKE_00; +DISLIKE_00; +LIVE_00; +DIE_00, etc.
Qualities: +GOOD_00; +BAD_00; +STRONG_00; +FRIENDLY_00; +UGLY_00; +IMPORTANT_00; +USEFUL_00; +AFRAID_00; +NERVOUS_00; +VIOLENT_00; +BEAUTIFUL_00, etc.

These defining units that enable the construction of MPs can be found both in predications or satellites as it can be seen below in a few selected examples:

– In predications,
(3) … (e3: +BE_01 (x2) Theme (x5: +BAD_00)Attribute): + *BLAME_00*
… (e2: +BE_01 (x2) Theme (x3: +PART_00 | +IMPORTANT_00)Attribute)): +*FEATURE_01*
… (e2: +BE_01 (x1) Theme (x3: +HAPPY_00)Attribute): +*LAUGH_00*
… (e2: n +BE_01 (x2) Theme: +POLITE_00)Attribute): *$SWEAR_00*
… (e2: fut pos +BE_01 (x2)Theme (x3: +PLEASANT_00) Attribute): +*EXCITE_00*

– In satellites,
(4) … (f1: (e2: +BECOME_00 (x2) Theme (x3: m +GOOD_00)Attribute)) Result): +*IMPROVE_00*
… (f1: +VIOLENT_00)Manner): *$CONTORT_00*
… (f1: +CAREFUL_00)Manner): +*EXAMINE_00*
…(f1: +PLEASURE_00|+ENTERTAINMENT_00) Purpose): *$GAD_00*
… (f1: +FRIENDLY_00)Manner): +*INVITE_00*

Obviously, the most logical interaction between conceptual features and concepts under #EVENT is that axiologically-sensitive events include axiologically-loaded predications in MPs as occurs with concepts describing emotions:

(5) # PSYCHOLOGICAL
EMOTION
+FEEL_00
(e1: +FEEL_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (x3: +ANGRY_00)Attribute): +*ANNOY_00*

(e1: n +LIKE_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme): *+DISLIKE_00*
(e1: +DISLIKE_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (f1: +MUCH_00)Quantity):
+HATE_00
(e2: fut pos +BE_01 (x2)Theme (x3: +PLEASANT_00)Attribute):
+EXCITE_00
(e1: +FEEL_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (x3: +AFRAID_00)Attribute):
+FEAR_00
(e1: +FEAR_01 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (f1: +MUCH_00)Quantity:
$TERRIFY_00
(e1: +FEEL_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (x3: +HAPPY_00)Attribute:
+LIKE_00
(e1: +LIKE_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (f1: +MUCH_00)Quantity):
+LOVE_00
(e1: +LOVE_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme …: *+ATTRACT_00*
(e1: +FEEL_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (x3: m +SAD_00)Attribute):
+SUFFER_00
(e1: +FEEL_00 (x1)Agent (x2)Theme (x3: +WORRIED_00)Attribute):
+WORRY_00

However, there are cases in which non axiologically-sensitive concepts under the #EVENT subontology may include axiologically-loaded predications in their MPs as shown in (6) and (7):

(6) #PSYCHOLOGICAL
#INTENTION
+WANT_00
(e2: +BE_01 (x2)Theme (x3: m +IMPORTANT_00)Attribute: *+NEED_00*

(7) #STATIVE
#RELATIONAL
#IDENTIFICATION
+BE_01
(e2: +BE_00 (x2)Theme (x3: +VALUE_00)Referent): *+COST_00*

3.3 Distribution of basic and terminal concepts among the metaconcepts

In total, 103 out of 400 basic and terminal concepts included in the subontology #EVENT are sensitive to inherent axiological information in their MPs. That represents, approximately, 25% of all instances. This information refers not only to axiologically-sensitive concepts, but also to concepts which are not intrinsically axiological but include axiologically-sensitive defining concepts in their MPs. They are distributed among the four leading metaconcepts like this:

#MATERIAL 52;
#PSYCHOLOGICAL 31;
#COMMUNICATION 14;
#STATIVE 6

In the first place, the metaconcept #MATERIAL incorporates the following basic and terminal concepts under the subordinate metaconcepts #CREATION, #MOTION, #TRANSFORMATION and #MATERIAL (+DO_00):

a. Under the metaconcept #CREATION: $EXCAVATE_00; $CHATTER_00; $CLANG_00; $SKETCH_01.
b. Under the metaconcept #MOTION: $FORCE; +FEED_00; $ADVANCE_00; +DANCE_00; $FLEE_00; +ESCAPE_00; +RESCUE_00; +COVER_00; $CLAP_00; +COPULATE_00; +CLIMB_00; +TREMBLE_00; $LIMP_00; $PRANCE_00; $SIDLE_00; $STAGGER_00; $STALK_01; $STOMP_00; $STROLL_00; $BOLT_00; $CAREER_00; $LOPE_00; $GAD_00; $MOPE_00.
c. Under the metaconcept #TRANSFORMATION: $ADAPT_00; $REFORM_00; $BOW_00; $CONTORT_00; $WARP_00; +DAMAGE_00; +BURST_00; +DECORATE_00; +IMPROVE_00; $REFORM_00.
d. Under #MATERIAL and the basic concept +DO_00: +DECEIVE_00; +ENTERTAIN_00; $MASSACRE_00; +OFFEND_00; +PLAY_00; +PROTECT_00; +DEFEND_00; +PUNISH_00; +RESPECT_00; +DEMONSTRATE_00; +LAUGH_00; +DARE_00; +WASTE_00.

Secondly, the metaconcept #PSYCHOLOGICAL includes the following basic and terminal concepts under the subordinate metaconcepts #COGNITION, #EMOTION, #INTENTION and #PERCEPTION:

a. Under the metaconcept #COGNITION: $BROOD_00; $CONSPIRE_00, $MEDITATE_00; $SUPPOSE_00; +BLAME_00; $MISCALCULATE_00; +EXAMINE_00; +CHOOSE_00; +IMAGINE_00; $FANTASIZE_00; +KNOW_00; $DISBELIEVE_00; +SOLVE_00; +TRUST_00; +DISTRUST_00.
b. Under the metaconcept #EMOTION: +ANNOY_00; +FORGIVE_00; +DISLIKE_00; +HATE_00; +EXCITE_00; +FEAR_00; $TERRIFY_00; +LIKE_00; +LOVE_00; +ATTRACT_00; +SUFFER_00; +WORRY_00.
c. Under the metaconcept #INTENTION: +NEED_00.
d. Under the metaconcept #PERCEPTION: +HURT_00; $STALK_00; +KISS_00.

Thirdly, the metaconcept #COMMUNICATION includes the following basic and terminal concepts: $CONGRATULATE; $FLATTER; $SWEAR; +AGREE_00; $APPROVE; +BLAME; +BLESS; +COMPLAIN; +GREET; +LIE; +DEMAND; +INVITE; $SCREAM; +THANK.

Finally, the metaconcept #STATIVE includes the following basic and terminal concepts under the subordinate metaconcepts #EXISTENCE and #RELATIONAL:

a. Under the metaconcept #EXISTENCE: +DIE_00.
b. Under the metaconcept #RELATIONAL: $FEATURE_01; +COST_00; +REST_ 00; +PRESERVE_00; $SPORT_00.

The most relevant finding of the distribution of axiologically-sensitive concepts under the subontology #EVENT is the high number of occurrences under the metaconcept #MATERIAL (half of the corpus selected) and, particularly, the connection of movement and action (concepts under #MOTION and #MATERIAL (+DO_00)) with axiologically-loaded concepts, reaching a balance between units with a positive and a negative bias. However, it is not surprising that concepts under #PSYCHOLOGICAL also reach a prominent position. In fact, intuitively, we would expect this metaconcept to be the leading domain. In this case, the number of occurrences under #COGNITION and #EMOTION is well-balanced, even though the negative bias is more common in the latter dimension. This is compensated with the slightly more positive bias of the concepts under #COMMUNICATION.

Another important fact under discussion has been the existence of certain concepts which are not intrinsically axiological but include axiologically-sensitive defining concepts in their MPs. This is the case of +EXCAVATE_00 (under the metaconcept #CREATION) and would represent many other similar concepts under the four leading metaconcepts. At first sight, it could by no means be considered as an axiologically-loaded concept, as it is not sensitive to a *good-bad* scale. However, it is a typical example in FunGramKB core ontology where non-axiologically sensitive concepts are defined by at least one axiologically-loaded concept. In this case +EXCAVATE_00 is not defined by a single concept, but three prototypical axiological units such as +CAREFUL_00, +IMPORTANT_00 and +USEFUL_00, as can be observed in its meaning postulate: +((e1: +DIG_00 (x1) Theme (x2)Referent (f1)Beneficiary (f2)Instrument (f3: +CAREFUL_00)Manner (f4: (e2: +DISCOVER_00 (x1)Theme (x3: +INFORMATION_00)Referent))Purpose) (e3: +BE_01 (x3)Theme (x4: +IMPORTANT_00 & +USEFUL_00)Attribute)). Consequently, it has been included as a target concept as well as other concepts such as $SKETCH_01, +DEMAND_00, $SUPPOSE_00 or +DEMONSTRATE_00.

3.4 Distribution of concepts from the core ontology in the axiologically-loaded dimensions

The number of axiologically-loaded defining concepts in the MPs of concepts under #EVENT, including those affected by operators, amount to sixty-four and are distributed among the axiological dimensions referred to in Figure 4 as follows:

(8) A. GENERIC AXIS
Prototypical evaluative concepts:
+BAD_00, nBE +BAD_00, +GOOD_00, m+GOOD_00, nBE +GOOD_00
B. SPECIFIC AXIS
1a. *Emotion/Behaviour:* +AFRAID_00, +ANGRY_00, +CALM_00, +FEAR_01, +HAPPY_00, +LOVE_00, +NERVOUS_00, +PLEASANT_00, +PLEASURE_00, +SAD_00, m+SAD_00, +WORRIED_00
1b. *Behaviour/Emotion:* +ATTACK_00, +CAREFUL_00, +CARELESS_00, +CRUEL_00, +DANGEROUS_00, n+DANGEROUS_00, +ENTERTAINMENT_00, +FRIENDLY_00, +NOISY_00, n+OFFEND_00, +POLITE_00, n+BE +POLITE_00, +SERIOUS_00, +VIOLENT_00
2. *Veracity:* +DISHONEST_00, n+BE+LEGAL_00, nBE+WRONG_00, +RIGHT_00, n+TRUST_00, +SINCERE_00, +TRUE_00, nBE+TRUE_00, +WRONG_00
3. *Vitality:* +HURT_00, +INJURY_00, +LIVE_00, nBE+FREE_00, nfut+DIE_00, +PAIN_00, +PROTECT_00, +STRONG_00, +SUFFER_00, +TIRED_00
4. *Aesthetics:* +BEAUTIFUL_00, +LIKE_00, n+LIKE_00, +UGLY_00
5. *Prominence:* +IMPORTANT_00, m+IMPORTANT_00, +RESPECT_00, +PROUD_00
6. *Function/Pragmatism:* + DIFFICULT_00, +EASY_00, +USEFUL_00
7. *Economy:* +VALUE_00, n+DAMAGE_00,
8. *Religion:* +GOD_00
9. *Intellect:* [NO MATCH]

Twenty-six out of sixty-four concepts refer to emotions linked to behaviour or behaviour linked to emotional processes. That is almost half of all occurrences and implies that emotional and behavioural concepts tend to be sensitive to the axiological axis and, in consequence, this affects a considerable number of concepts under the #EVENT subontology. Those which refer to the vitality or the veracity dimensions amount to nineteen cases, which is also a significant figure (almost one third).

It can be considered normal that the number of prototypical evaluative concepts is reduced in quantity, but not in frequency. Consequently, one would expect that these general axiological units present a higher number of occurrences in the corpus under consideration, but paradoxically, a detailed analysis of the ontology shows how the most general axiological concepts (+GOOD_00 or +BAD_00) are not the most frequently used units for definitions in the MPs of other basic or terminal concepts in this subontology. +GOOD_00 is used on six occasions and +BAD_00 only three times. Other units take the lead. +TRUE_00, for instance, is the most recurrent axiologically-loaded basic concept: nine times. It is followed by the hedonic combination +PLEASURE_00 and +PLEASANT_00, totaling eight instances, and the emotional combination of +FEAR_00 and +AFRAID_00, with seven cases. Other *evaluative* concepts come close to the number of occurrences of +GOOD_00, such as in the case of +CAREFUL_00 and +ANGRY_00, five times each, or +DANGEROUS_00 and +IMPORTANT_00, four times each.

The leading concept +TRUE_00 is used in the MPs of events such as +LIE_00, +DECEIVE_00, $FANTASIZE_00, +AGREE_00, +DEMONSTRATE_00, $SUPPOSE_00, +IMAGINE_00, +KNOW_00 and $DISBELIEVE_00, which basically refer to cognitive processes. Only the first three instances might be rated as intrinsically axiological, which goes back to the Aristotelian debate on the nature of the truth as an essential virtue. However, concepts such as +PLEASURE_00 and +PLEASANT_00 are used as defining units in events such as $GAD_00, $STROLL_00, +COPULATE_00, $CLAP_00, +DANCE_00, $FANTASIZE_00, $FLATTER_00 and +EXCITE_00, which unquestionably are units with a positive charge in the hedonic scale. Alternatively, the negative axis is well-represented with the concepts +FEAR_00 and +AFRAID_00, which occur in the MPs of events like +CHATTER_00, $FLEE_00, +TREMBLE_00$, BOLT_00, +FEAR_00, $TERRIFY_00 or $SCREAM. In addition, it is not surprising that the most general evaluative concept +GOOD_00 is used to define concepts such as $CONGRATULATE_00 (twice), $APPROVE_00, $ADAPT_00, $REFORM_00 or +IMPROVE_00, but it is striking to find it participating in the MP of +PUNISH_00, under the influence of the polarity operator *n:* (n+BE_01 … +GOOD_00).

To conclude, dimensions such as *intellect* offer no match in the #EVENT subontology and other categories like *religion* or *economy*, only collect one and two examples, respectively. This needs to be compared with the number of instances in the other subontologies (#ENTITY, #QUALITY) and thus infer that these axiological categories have a limited impact at conceptual level, whereas others such as *function/pragmatism*, *prominence* or *aesthetics*, with at least three or four examples, are better grounded in the verbal subontology.

4. Conclusions

The previous discussion of the analysed data facilitates the concluding result: there is no reason to consider #EVENTS as less sensitive to the axiological parameter than #ENTITIES or #QUALITIES. Approximately one fourth of basic and terminal concepts included in the subontology #EVENT are sensitive to inherent axiological information in their MPs. This 25% exceeds all previous expectations or calculations.

In broad terms, it has been observed how the axiological features are expanded and distributed throughout a set of semantic-conceptual instruments (basic concepts in predications or satellites of meaning postulates as well as terminal concepts), and syntactic-semantic ones (predication operators such as quantification or polarity) in line with the process of stepwise conceptual decomposition characterizing FunGramKB. This reinforces *evaluation* as a fact of crucial importance for a well-founded understanding of the relationship between lexical structure and cognition.

The results obtained in the present study have shown the high number of axiologically-sensitive concepts under the metaconcept #MATERIAL (half of the corpus selected) and, particularly, the connection of movement and action (concepts under #MOTION and #MATERIAL (+DO_00)). This finding provides further evidence for the axiological link between conduct and action through movement or orientation (Faber and Mairal-Usón 1999: 242). Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that concepts under #PSYCHOLOGICAL also reach a prominent position and become the leading conceptual domain. By contrast, the positive bias of the concepts under #COMMUNICATION has been another significant finding.

In conclusion, the only axiological hierarchy that can be assumed at conceptual level is built into language and depends, for its relevance (positive or negative), on what is perceived by the vast majority of speakers of linguistic communities. Consequently, the proposal to insert axiological notations in FunGramKB ontology, in the lexica under construction or, alternatively, in other levels of meaning description in the Lexical Constructional Model should be explored as a key factor for meaning construction.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

1. FGKB Core ontology is seen as an IS-A conceptual hierarchy which allows non-monotonic multiple inheritance. This ontology is both universal and linguistically-motivated.

2. In Figure 1, the concept +BLAME_00 (including the information in the "Superordinate(s)", "Thematic Frame" and "Meaning Postulate" sections) is represented in the machine-readable metalanguage called COREL. The natural language equivalence can be read in the section called "Description".

3. The origins of the FLM are deeply rooted in the early Functional Grammar approach to the lexicon offered by Simon C. Dik (1978, 1989), but also in the structural semantics theory of Eugenio Coseriu (1967).

4. Coseriu considered classematics as a promising field of research at that time. He considered that an in-depth analysis of their structure and types could contribute to the clarification of a key process in language: the interaction between the pragmatic, the semantic, the syntactic and the lexical component.

5. Coseriu, again, intuited and inspired this macro-organizational pattern when he stated that "… there may be classes like "positive", "negative", which justify copulative combinations as It. "bello e buono" [*noble and handsome*], "grande e grosso" [*big and tall*], "piccolo e brutto" [*small and ugly*], etc., (adjectives which belong, in each case, to the same class), or adversative combinations as Sp. "pobre pero honrado" [*poor but honest*] It. "povero ma onesto" (adjectives which belong to different classes)…" [Translated from Spanish] (Coseriu 1977: 176).

6. From a linguistic perspective, as was claimed in Felices-Lago (2003), different axiological levels are not hierarchical according to the deterministic, religious or ideological point of view of philosophers or individuals (i.e. Tischner), even if their ideas are extremely well-presented. The only hierarchy that can be assumed for general purposes is built in language and depends, for its relevance (positive or negative), on what is perceived by the vast majority of speakers of a linguistic community as well as on the result of an exhaustive scrutiny of empirical data.

7. The relevance of this axis is based on the evidence provided by the axiological classifications of philosophers, psychologists and linguists throughout the XX century. For a more detailed study, see Felices-Lago (1991: Chapters III and IV).

8. *Attribute* and/or *Theme* are thematic roles of arguments in the Thematic Frame or the Meaning Postulate predications (e1, e2, e3, etc.) in FunGramKB (see Figure 5 or 6). Other thematic roles for arguments are *Agent, Referent, Origin, Goal* or *Location.*

9. *Manner* is one of the thematic roles of satellites (f1, f2, f3, etc.). Other common thematic roles of satellites in FunGramKB are *beneficiary, company, comparison, condition, duration, frequency, instrument, means, position, purpose, quantity, reason, result, scene, speed* or *time.*

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CHAPTER 7

The evaluative function of situation-bound utterances in intercultural interaction

Istvan Kecskes

This chapter aims to examine the evaluative function of situation-bound utterances in intercultural interactions. The subject of inquiry is a unique formula whose use is tied to certain reoccurring situations. Situation-bound utterances (SBU) are frequently used in any language because these expressions serve as interactional patterns and rituals that usually mean the same to all speakers of a particular speech community. In a way, SBUs are reflections of the way native speakers of a language think. But what happens if the users of SBUs belong to different speech communities having a variety of L1s other than English? Will SBUs still keep their evaluative function (if any) when used in intercultural communication? These questions are very important if we accept that evaluative functions of language are culture- and language-specific. In order to answer the questions the chapter sets out to discuss the role of context in which situation-bound utterances are used.

1. Introduction

This chapter has two main goals. First, it demonstrates how the evaluative function of language works with situation-bound utterances in intercultural interaction. Second, it argues that context may affect linguistic evaluation in a different way in intercultural encounters than in intracultural communication. Evaluation will be understood in this chapter as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5).

The object of inquiry is a particular type of formulaic expressions called "situation-bound utterances" (Kecskes 2000, 2003, 2010). Situation-bound utterances (SBUs) are highly conventionalized, prefabricated pragmatic units whose occurrences are tied to standardized communicative situations (Coulmas 1981; Fónagy 2001; Kiefer 1985, 1995; Kecskes 2000; 2003). SBUs are frequently used in any language because these expressions serve as interactional patterns and rituals that usually mean the same to all speakers of a particular speech community. For instance:

(1) *English:*
You are all set.
I'll talk to you later.
Welcome aboard.

Russian:
Gde ty propadal? [Where have you been?]
Kak dela? [How is it going?]

Turkish:
Yolun acik olsun [May your way be open.]
Agzindan yel alsin [May the wind take it from your mouth.]

The reason why these expressions are the focus of this chapter is that they are culture-specific, and I will argue that, to some extent, evaluative functions of language are also culture- and language-specific. SBUs are reflections of the way native speakers of a language think. One of the best ways to prove that people having different first languages think differently is to analyze situation-bound utterances. Language learners often make the mistake that they think what is expressed in their language should also be expressed in the target language. "How do you say this in English?" is one of the most frequent questions of English language learners. I think it is appropriate to respond with another question: "Why do you think that this can or needs to be said in English?" In fact, the question that should be asked is not "how do you say *x* in English?", but rather whether there exists an English utterance *y* that is appropriate to the situation in which *x* is used in the other language. So the first step of inquiry is to figure out whether the target language may, can, or needs to express something similar to that which the speaker has in mind based on his/her own language.

2. Characteristics of Situation-Bound Utterances

It is important to clarify the relation of SBUs to "conversational routines" (cf. Coulmas 1981; Aijmer 1996) on the one hand, and to idioms on the other. Semantic idioms (e.g. *make both ends meet, kick the bucket*) do not have psychological reality. They are stored as unanalyzed chunks in memory just like words, and are retrieved as a whole. They are not tied to particular situations and can occur in any phase of a conversation where speakers find their use appropriate. Pragmatic idioms are different. They can be split into two groups: conversational routines and situation-bound utterances. The difference between them is sociocultural rather than linguistic.

Conversational routines (CR) have an inclusive relation to SBUs. CRs constitute a much broader category than SBUs. Conversational routines include speech formulas (*you know*, *I see, no problem*), discourse markers (see Fraser 1999) and SBUs. All SBUs are conversational routines, but this is not so conversely, because not all expressions labeled as conversational routines are SBUs. For instance, *you know*, *I see, no problem* can be considered conversational routines but they are not SBUs. Aijmer argued that conversational routines are expressions which, as a result of recurrence, have become specialized or 'entrenched' for a discourse function that predominates over or replaces the literal referential meaning (Aijmer 1996: 11). It is not easy to draw the dividing line between conversational routines and SBUs but there are some features that distinguish them. Conversational routines are function-bound rather than situation-bound. They can express one and the same particular function in any situation while SBUs frequently receive their charge from the situation itself. For instance, *after all* or *to tell you the truth* are conversational routines rather than SBUs. They can be uttered in any situation where they sound appropriate. However, expressions such as *how do you do?* upon acquaintance, or *welcome aboard* as a greeting to a new employee make sense only in particular well-definable situations.

The tie of SBUs to a particular situation that charges their particular meaning may become so dominant that the functional-situational meaning may take over as the most salient meaning of the expression. For instance: *a piece of cake*, *help yourself, give me a hand.* Conversational routines tend to have discourse functions rather than a situation-bound function. For instance, *as a matter of fact, suffice it to say, to tell the truth*, and others. Discourse functions are not necessarily tied to particular situations. They can be expressed by conversational routines including not only SBUs but also expressions of turn-taking, internal and external modifiers, discourse markers, connectors, and others.

SBUs differ from idioms in origin, purpose and use. The likelihood of occurrence of lexico-semantic idioms is usually unpredictable because it depends on the individual speaker, while the use of situation-bound utterances is generally tied to particular social contexts in which their use is expected by social conventions. Idioms just like metaphors arise from a creative act. They are used to represent complex content in a tangible way that can hardly be analyzed conceptually. Situation-bound utterances are repetitive expressions whose use saves mental energy. Idioms are like lexemes while SBUs are more like pragmatic markers. SBUs fulfill social needs. People know if they use these prefabricated expressions they are safe: nobody will misunderstand them because these phrases usually mean the same to most speakers of a speech community. However, there is a price for repetitiveness. SBUs often lose their compositional meaning and become pure functional units denoting greetings, addressing, opening, etc. This is where we can draw the dividing line between semantic idioms (*spill the beans*, *kick the bucket*, *pull one's leg*, etc.) and SBUs (*see you later*, *it's been a pleasure meeting you*, *say hello to*, etc.). While semantic idioms are not transparent at all, pragmatic idioms (SBUs) remain transparent and usually have a freely generated counterpart (for instance: *get out of here* may be used as an SBU to indicate that the speaker does not believe what the other person has just said, or as a freely generated order to someone to leave). In contrast to idioms, SBUs do not mean anything different from the corresponding free sentences: they simply mean less. Their meaning is functional rather than compositional.

The loss of compositionality is a matter of degree. When SBUs are frequently used in a particular meaning they will encode that meaning, and develop a particular pragmatic function. This pragmatic property is becoming conventionalized when it starts to mean the same thing for most native speakers. That is to say, when native speakers are asked what comes into their mind first when they hear a given expression, and their response is very similar, we can say that the SBU has already encoded a specific pragmatic property. SBUs are both selective and completive. They are selective because they are preferred to be used to a number of other expressions, which can be both freely generated and idiomatic, and which equally could be used in the given situation. It is just the speaker's preference to use a situation-bound utterance rather than a freely generated expression. SBUs are completive because they evoke a particular situation, which freely generated utterances usually do not do. For instance, *let me tell you something* generally creates a negative expectation by the hearer, or *step out of the car, please* is something that most people identify with police stops. In freely generated utterances the sense of the utterance is defined by the interplay of linguistic meaning and context, situation, background knowledge. In SBUs, however, the communicative meaning, the sense of the utterances, is encoded, and fixed by pragmatic conventions. Consequently, prior context encapsulated in them can create actual situational context. For instance, *license and registration, please; can I help you?; you are all set*: all these expressions can create their own situation without being used in an actual situational context.

SBUs are usually transparent and have psychological reality. They are idiomatized in the sense that the words in them as a whole constitute a pragmatic unit with a particular function. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992: 128) referred to them as "idioms with a pragmatic point". The weaker an SBU is motivated, the stronger it is idiomatized. According to the degree of motivation we can distinguish three types of SBUs: *plain, loaded and charged* (Kecskes 2003; 2010). *Plain SBUs* have a compositional structure and are semantically transparent. Their situational meaning may only differ slightly from their propositional meaning because their pragmatic extension is minimal, if any. Their meaning can be computed from their compositional structure. For instance:

(2) Assistant: *Can I help you*, Madame?
Customer: Thank you. *I'm just looking.*

In this conversation *Can I help you?* and *I'm just looking* function as plain SBUs while *thank you* is a speech formula.

At the other end of the continuum we find *loaded SBUs* that are the closest to semantic idioms because they may lose their compositionality and are usually not transparent semantically any more. Their pragmatic function is more important than their original literal meaning, which is difficult to recall if needed. These SBUs are "loaded" with their pragmatic function that remains there, and usually cannot be cancelled by the actual situational context because it is encoded in the expression as a whole. They are pragmatic idioms whose occurrence is strongly tied to conventional, frequently repeated situations. We think of a particular situation even if we hear the following expressions without their routine context: *howdy*; *help yourself*; *you are all set*, etc, because their most salient meaning is the one that is extended pragmatically.

Charged SBUs come in between plain and loaded SBUs. An SBU may exhibit pragmatic ambiguity, in the sense that its basic function is extended pragmatically to cover other referents or meanings (cf. Sweetser 1990: 1). For instance, this is the case with a phrase such as *See you soon*, which retains its original sense but can also be conventionally (situationally) interpreted as a closing, a way to say good-bye to one's partner. So this expression has two interpretations: a literal and a situation-bound one. However, the situation-bound function ("closing") is charged by the situation only. If the expression *See you soon* is given without a particular actual situational context it may be ambiguous because it can create one of two situations in the mind of a hearer: (1) closing, a way to say good-bye, and (2) what its compositional meaning says: the speaker will see the interlocutor soon. Here is another example with the expression "come on".

(3) Jenny: *Come on*, Jim, we will miss the train.
Jim: Relax, we have plenty of time.

(4) Jill: Bob, I think I can't go with you.
Bob: *Come on*, you promised to come with me.

In (3) *Come on* is transparent and functions like a speech formula while in (4) it is more like an SBU that serves to press the interlocutor to do something.

Situation-bound utterances encode the history of their use just like words (Kecskes 2003; 2010). However, there is a significant difference between the two types of lexical units. Words can collocate with many other words in creating meaningful utterances and their use is very rarely tied to particular situations only. SBUs, on the other hand, are usually tied to one or more particular situations. Coulmas (1981) argued that frequency of occurrence has a crucial impact on the meaningfulness of linguistic expressions. The more frequent they are, the more meaningless they may become in terms of referential semantics. This fact may have a profound effect on their evaluative functions. The compositional meaning of utterances often becomes of secondary importance and the functional aspect begins to dominate. Frequency and familiarity correlate in a unique way. Frequency can be general or attached to a particular register or situation. For instance, the utterance *Hello, how are you*? is very frequently used in everyday interaction. This is true because the situation (meeting and greeting others) requiring the use of this (or a similar) expression occurs very often. There seems to be a difference between word frequency and utterance frequency. Word frequency refers to the general use of words in any kind of situation. Utterance frequency, however, is more register-oriented and/or situation-bound. This is especially true if we take SBUs. It does not make much sense to speak about the general frequency of utterances when they are usually register-oriented and/or situation-bound. Consequently, the frequency of an SBU depends on the frequency of a given register or a situation the SBU is attached to. This fact has an important influence on the evaluative functions of SBUs.

3. Do SBUs have evaluative functions?

The simplest answer to this question is that some of them do but most of them do not. *Here is the thing*, for instance, is an SBU that signals an important point in the discussion. It has an important evaluative function because it refers to something that is significant in the given dialog. Politeness SBUs such as *may I come in; do you have a minute; are you all right?*, etc. certainly do have evaluative function. Tannen and Öztek (1981: 54) argued that "cultures that have set formulas that afford their members the tranquility of knowing that what they say will be interpreted by the addressee in the same way that it is intended". In other words, this means that when we use SBUs we want our partners to understand us exactly the way we mean something. But this exact way can also be an evaluative way. For instance:

(5) Bob: Hey, Rick, what's up?
Rick: Nothing much.

In this short interaction both speakers use an SBU: *what's up?; nothing much.* I do not think the utterance *what's up?* has any evaluative function. It is quite neutral in present-day English and is widely used by all generations. However, *nothing much* has an evaluative function, which is negative.

If we accept what Tannen and Öztek say, participants of intercultural communication seem to be in trouble. Why? If SBUs are interpreted by the addressees in the same way that they are intended by the speaker, then this means that SBUs have a strong common ground building power in the first language. This is possible because they are highly conventionalized lexical units that are tied to standard situations in the given culture. However, interlocutors in intercultural communication are sojourners rather than permanent residents in the target language culture, and occasional users of L2. Consequently, they do not have the chance to participate frequently enough in standardized situations that would lead to native-like use of SBUs. This means that the evaluative functions (if any) tied to SBUs may not lead to the same interpretation in intracultural and intercultural communication. For instance:

(6) A Korean student and the clerk are talking in the Office of Human Resources.
Lee: Could you sign this document for me, please?
Clerk: *Come again…*
Lee: Why should I come again? I am here now.

It is clear that the misunderstanding is caused by the two different interpretations of the expression *come again*. The clerk who is a native speaker of English wanted the student to repeat what she had said. *Come again* is often used in this function in intracultural communication. However, the non-native speaker student processed the expression literally because she may not have known the figurative meaning.

Non-native speakers do not have any problem in identifying the evaluative function of *plain SBUs*, expressions that are used in their literal sense. For instance, *you are all set, what can I do for you, have a nice day,* etc. However, they have serious problems with charged and loaded situation-bound utterances because they may be interpreted differently in intercultural interaction and intracultural interaction. Semantic transparency plays a very important role in intercultural communication. Some studies in English as Lingua Franca use (e.g. House 2002, 2003; Philip 2005; Kecskes 2007) found that ELF speakers rely on semantically more transparent language rather than formulaic and/or figurative language that may carry more native-likeness. Lingua franca speakers can hardly rely on common ground and mutual knowledge because speakers coming from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds do not share those. Instead they rely on the linguistic code with minimal inferencing. The linguistic code serves as their common ground. Non-native speakers avoid formulaic and figurative language (e.g. Kecskes 2007; House 2003) and mainly rely on the compositional meaning of semantically analyzable units. Charged and loaded situation-bound utterances are usually not semantically transparent. They have specific non-literal functional meaning. That is why their evaluative function may be lost, or the opposite may also happen, i.e. an evaluative function can emerge where it should not. One can, of course, say that context will make up for the lack of understanding non-literal meaning. However, this may not be the case. In order to see what role context-sensitivity plays in the evaluative function of SBUs we need to examine the role of context in intercultural communication.

4. Role of context in processing SBUs in intercultural encounters

4.1 Context and semantic analyzability

I argue that actual situation context may affect the processing of SBUs differently from what actually happens in intracultural communication. As a result, the evaluative function of the SBU may be lost or an evaluative function can emerge where it should not. Example (7) illustrates the first case:

(7) Three Australian travelers were drinking beer and coffee and eating in the café bar of Fuzhou Airport. The Chinese waitress went up to them and asked:
Ch: Can I get you some more coffee, sir?
A: *Who is stopping you*?
Ch: You want to stop me?
A: Oh no, just bring me the damned coffee.

The conversation shows that the Chinese waitress was not aware of how rude the Australian traveler was when he asked *Who is stopping you?* The waitress was likely to have processed the utterance literally but she seemed to be confused because it did not make sense in that context. So the actual situational context caused confusion rather than clarification because the rudeness of the expression was lost as the waitress could not process it properly.

Another case is when an evaluative function emerges where it should not. This is what is happening in Example (8) in which a Japanese student, Emiko, is talking to an American student, Melody.

(8) E: Melody, I have received the travel grant.
M: *Nooou, get out of here*!
E: You should not be rude. I did get it.
M: OK, I was not rude, just happy for you.

The processing problem is similar to Example (7) but the result is different. The Japanese student processed the SBU *get out of here* literally although it is clear that if processed that way the literal sense of the expression does not match the actual situational context.

This issue is very important because in intralingual communication the main tenet is that the context is everything. Almost all researchers seem to agree that no act is inherently polite or impolite, but such a condition depends on the context or speech situation. Culpeper (2009: 13) points out: "Impoliteness involves (a) an attitude comprised of negative evaluative beliefs about particular behaviors in particular social contexts, and (b) the activation of that attitude by those particular incontext-behaviors". This is true for intracultural communication. However, the issue of context-dependency should be revisited in intercultural interaction because context may play a more complex role than just being a selector/activator. This complexity can be understood better if we analyze the interplay of prior context and actual situational context in meaning construction and comprehension.

4.2 Context-dependency

In linguistics, context usually refers to any factor – linguistic, epistemic, physical, social – that affects the actual interpretation of signs and expressions. Context-dependency is one of the most powerful views in current linguistic and philosophical theory going back to Frege (1884), Wittgenstein (1921) and others. The Context Principle of Frege (1884) asserts that a word has meaning only in the context of a sentence. Wittgenstein (1921) basically formulated the same idea saying that an expression has meaning only in a proposition. Every variable can be conceived as a propositional variable. This external perspective on context holds that context modifies and/or specifies word meanings in one way or another. Context is seen as a selector of lexical features because it activates some of these features while leaving others in the background. Some versions of externalist contextualism take this line of thinking to the extreme and claim that meanings are specified entirely by their contexts, and that there is no semantic systematicity underlying them at all (e.g. Barsalou 1993, 1999; Evans 2006). According to this view, the mind works primarily by storing experiences and finding patterns in those experiences. These patterns shape how people engage with, and store in their minds, their subsequent experiences.

According to Sperber and Wilson's theory (1986), relevance is something that is not determined by context but constrained by it. A context-driven pragmatic process is generally top-down. It is usually not triggered by an expression in the sentence, but occurs for purely pragmatic reasons: that is, in order to make sense of what the speaker says. Such processes are also referred to as "free" pragmatic processes. They are considered free because they are not mandated by the linguistic expressions but respond to pragmatic considerations only. For example, the pragmatic process through which an expression is given a non-literal (e.g. a metaphorical or figurative) interpretation is context-driven because we interpret the expression non-literally in order to make sense of a given speech act, not because this is required by linguistic expressions.

The opposite view on context is the internalist perspective. This perspective considers lexical units as creators of context (e.g. Gee 1999; Violi 2000). Violi (2000: 117) claimed that our experience is developed through the regularity of recurrent and similar situations which we tend to identify with given contexts. The standard (prior recurring) context can be defined as a regular situation that we have repeated experience with, and about which we have expectations as to what will or will not happen, and on which we rely to understand and predict how the world around us works. It is exactly these standard contexts that linguistic meanings tied to lexical units refer to. For instance:

(9) Step out of the car, please.
Let me tell you something.

These SBUs actually create their own contexts. Gumperz (1982: 138) says that utterances somehow carry with them their own context or project a context. Referring to Gumperz's work, Levinson (2003) claims that the message versus context opposition is misleading because the message can carry with it or forecast the context. This refers to the double-sidedness of context as described in the socio-cognitive approach (Kecskes 2008; Kecskes and Zhang 2009).

The main problem with the externalist and internalist views of context is that they are both one-sided because they emphasize either the selective or the constitutive role of context. However, the dynamic nature of human speech communication requires that we recognize both regularity and variability in meaning construction and comprehension, and take into account both the selective and constitutive roles of context at the same time. World knowledge is available to human beings in two forms: (1) as tied to lexical items and images based on prior encounters and experience, and (2) as provided by the actual situational context framed by the given situation (Kecskes 2008; 2010). Context represents two sides of world knowledge: *prior context and actual situational context*, which are intertwined and inseparable. Actual situational context is viewed through prior context, and this combination creates, as it were, a third space. Meaning is, in this view, seen as the outcome of the interrelation and interaction of prior and current experience. This has a profound effect on the evaluative function of language because *prior, reoccurring context may cancel the selective role of actual situational context.* We can demonstrate this through an example taken from Culpeper (2009).

(10) Culpeper: Example 3: Creative deviation from the default context (cf. "mock impoliteness")
[Lawrence Dallaglio, former England Rugby captain, describing the very close family he grew up in]
As Francesca and John left the house, she came back to give Mum a kiss and they said goodbye in the way they often did. "Bye, you bitch," Francesca said. "Get out of here, go on, you bitch," replied Mum.
(*It's in the Blood: My life*, 2007)

Culpeper explained that the reason why the conversation between the mother and daughter does not hurt either of them is due to the context ("mock impoliteness"). However, a closer look at the example reveals that actual situational context plays hardly any role here. What we have here is the strong effect of prior context, prior experience that overrides actual situational context: "…they said goodbye in the way they often did." Reoccurring context, frequent use, may neutralize the impolite conceptual load attached to expressions. This is exactly what happens here.

For non-native speakers prior context may have a stronger effect on meaning construction and comprehension than actual situational context when processing evaluative functions of utterances. Interpretation generally depends on *what the utterance says* rather than on what it actually communicates. As a consequence, focusing on compositional meanings interlocutors may sometimes be unaware of evaluation because it is conveyed implicitly or through paralinguistic means.

4.3 Context and common ground

Prior context and actual situational context play a very important role in activating and building common ground. In a study Kecskes and Zhang (2009) made a difference between core common ground and emergent common ground. Core common ground is constituted by knowledge and beliefs that members of a speech community share based on their prior experience while emergent common ground is mutual knowledge that emerges in the process of communication, co-constructed by the participants. Core common ground is usually attached to prior experience, prior context while emergent common ground is immediately related to actual situational context. The following conversation (source Albany English Lingua Franca Dataset collected by PhD students) between a Brazilian girl and a Polish woman illustrates this point quite well.

(11) Brazilian: And what do you do?
Pole: I work at the university as a cleaner.
B: As a janitor?
P: No, not yet. Janitor is after the cleaner.
B: You want to be a janitor?
P: Of course.

In this conversation interlocutors represent two different languages and cultures (Brazilian and Polish), and use English as a lingua franca. This is the prior knowledge and experience that participants bring to the interaction. They create common ground, an interculture, which belongs to none of them but emerges in the course of conversation. Neither of them is sure what the right term is for the job the Polish woman has. They try to apply what their cultural models dictate but cannot be sure that the English words they have chosen describe what their culture "recommends". However, there are no misunderstandings in the interaction because each participant is careful to use semantically transparent language in order to be as clear as possible. The Polish woman sets up a "hierarchy" that is non-existing in the target language culture ("cleaner" versus "janitor"). However, this is an emergent element of the interculture the interlocutors have been constructing.

However, the lack of common ground does not always result in this kind of smooth interaction. This is especially true when evaluation is involved. Minimal common ground in intercultural interaction may affect the role that conventionalization, normativity, and formulaicity play in production and interpretation. Limited common ground may restrict the interpretation process to the compositional content of an utterance, and may also decrease context-sensitivity.

Core common ground is usually created through conventionalization and normativization. Target language normativity is usually limited in intercultural interactions in which the speakers have different socio-cultural backgrounds and co-construct common ground and meaning. Speakers who may not have an impolite intent are nevertheless assessed as being impolite, as they are perceived as being in breach of local or socio-cultural norms of appropriateness. This is exactly how the American girl (Sara) evaluates the Serbian girl's utterance (Mira) in Example (12).

(12) S: Mira, why don't you leave that letter on the table?
M: 'cause I want to read it.
S: It's not for you. Please don't touch it.
M: *Screw you, Sara.*
S: What did you just say?
M (laughing nervously): Nothing.

Non-native speakers in intercultural interaction may not feel the burden of impolite conceptual load of expressions, and use them freely, with no or low responsibility. This is what seems to have happened in this case. The Serbian girl did not really feel how rude the expression *screw you* can be. This is in line with research on cursing (e.g. Dewaele 2004; Jay and Janschewitz 2008) which talks about the fact that if a person utters a curse word or expression in a second language, it will have less meaningful intent than a curse in the L1. Or vice versa, if a person hears a curse in L2, it will have less emotional impact on him/her than a curse in the native language.

5. Conclusion

In intracultural communication SBUs rarely have an evaluative function except from politeness and impoliteness. They are supposed to be neutral and informative, and express the same function for speakers of the given speech community. However, in intercultural communication, especially charged and loaded SBUs may be interpreted differently because of the different contextual effects, the reliance on semantic transparency and the limited core common ground that the interlocutors share. As a result, the evaluative function of SBUs may be lost, or in some case an evaluative function can emerge where it should not.

It was argued that in order for us to understand the complexity of contextual effect we should take into account both the selective and constitutive role of context, and make a difference between prior context and actual situational context accordingly. Non-native speakers mainly rely on prior context, prior experience rather than actual situational context when processing SBUs. Consequently, the selective role of actual situational context in intercultural communication does not seem to dominate meaning construction and comprehension as it does in intracultural communication. Focusing on compositional meaning and not having the necessary common ground information, interlocutors may sometimes be unaware of the evaluative function of SBUs or see evaluation in cases where it is not meant by the interlocutor. Further research is needed to identify how evaluative language is used in intercultural interactions and what the major factors are that affect processing lexical units and utterances that are used in a non-literal sense.

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CHAPTER 8

Prosody, information structure and evaluation*

Victoria Escandell-Vidal, Victoria Marrero Aguiar and Pilar Pérez Ocón

The goal of this paper is to contribute to a better understanding of how prosodic lengthening in Spanish can be a means of marking information structure, particularly when an entire propositional content is involved. We test empirically the correlation between a form of prosodic marking used to identify a piece of content as already introduced in discourse – *verum* focus being a particular case of this general distinction – and evaluative values such as insistence and impatience. Native speakers consistently identify, in a perceptual experiment, the lengthened pattern with those discourse situations that involve repetition, often associated with insistence and impatience, and identify the nuclear stress as the locus of the marking.

1. Introduction

As is well known, grammars not only encode structural dependencies among sentential constituents, but can also indicate the way in which entities and events relate to the context and the ongoing discourse model, i.e., their information structure. To this end, languages usually provide a wealth of formal means that a speaker can choose to *pack* the content and adjust it to the common ground and the (hypothesized) attentional state of the addressee. Thus, some constituents are presented as given information and others are introduced as new content; some are singled out as the topic of the conversation, whilst others express a comment or an informational update on that topic; some are highlighted and focalized and others remain in the background; finally, some are meant to add new material, whilst others are intended to replace wrong content. Distinctions such as *given/new*, *topic/comment* and *focus/background* represent the basic vocabulary in information structure studies (see Krifka 2006 and Féry and Krifka 2008 for a general overview).

Information structure is, in principle, totally independent from evaluation. Evaluation is the expression of a speaker's attitudes, feelings and values and includes issues such as stance, modality, affect and appraisal (Hunston and Thompson 2000; Martin and White 2005). Thus, marking how a constituent fits in the common ground and conveying the speaker's attitude belong to different analytic levels. And yet there is some evidence of a rather systematic correlation between them. Consider the following dialogue:

(1) *A.* –*Vamos a tener que cambiar de menú: Juan odia el brécol.*
'We'll have to change the menu: John hates broccoli'
B. –*¡Pero Juan no odia el brécol! De hecho, le he visto comerlo…*
'But John doesn't hate broccoli! Actually, I've seen him eating it'
A_1: –*Sí que odia el brécol. Me lo acaba de decir su mujer…*
A_2: –*Juan odia el bré:col. Me lo acaba de decir su mujer…*
'John DOES hate broccoli. His wife just told me…'

The two possible replies A_1 and A_2 in (1) express the same message and are intended as repetitions of a propositional content ('John hates broccoli') already introduced in discourse first by A her/himself and then refuted by B; the repetition counts as a rejection of a previous denial. These are examples of *verum* focus (or positive polarity focus), a "special case of narrow focus, namely on the affirmative part of a declarative sentence." (Féry 2006: 167). Different strategies can be used to convey *verum* focus in Spanish. The dialogue in (1) illustrates two of these: first, the insertion of an affirmative particle, as in reply A_1; and second, the lengthening of the vowel carrying the nuclear stress represented by the colon (:) after the vowel é, as in reply A_2.

Now, if we compare these two alternative answers, we will find a significant interpretive difference between them: the first one is neutral with respect to the speaker's attitude, whilst the second one apparently adds an extra layer of insistence or impatience. This is precisely the fact that suggests a correlation between information structure marked by prosodic means and the transmission of an evaluation.

The following questions arise: What are the relevant features of the prosodic pattern in A_2? What kind of information structure does it indicate? What is the connection between this pattern and a value of insistence? Do native speakers agree about those values? Can the same prosodic pattern be used with non-declarative sentences? If so, will it be identified by native speakers as conveying the same evaluation values? Will the same pattern be recognized across different varieties of Spanish? These are in fact some of the issues we intend to address.

The aim of this chapter is thus twofold: first, we want to contribute to a better understanding of how duration can be a means of marking information structure, particularly when an entire propositional content is involved; and second, we want to test empirically some hypotheses about the correlation between re-introducing background material and obtaining evaluative effects.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a brief sketch of the notions of information structure that are relevant to the present discussion and the characterization of the prosodic pattern we want to analyze. Section 3 will introduce the basics of evaluation in language. Our research questions, our starting assumptions and our hypotheses will be presented in Section 4. In Section 5 the experimental procedure we carried out will be briefly described and the results and main findings will be presented. Discussion will occupy Section 6. Section 7 will gather our main conclusions.

2. Information structure

2.1 Basic distinctions

Most research on information structure concentrates on the formal devices (word order, emphatic stress, particles…) used to mark single noun phrases as topics or foci in declarative sentences where an informational division is established among the overt constituents, either in a topic/comment or in a focus/background articulation. The example in (2) illustrates a topic/comment division, whereas the examples under (3) show different ways of marking a focus/background structure.

(2) *[$_T$ El brécol,] [$_C$ Juan lo odia].*
'Broccoli, John hates it'

(3) a. *[$_B$ Juan odia] [$_F$ el BRÉcol].*
'John hates broccoli'
b. *[$_F$ El BRÉcol] [$_B$ odia Juan].*
'Broccoli is what John hates'
c. *Lo que odia Juan es [el brécol]$_F$.*
'What John hates is broccoli.'

The examples in (3) illustrate the various strategies available for making focus on a sentential constituent in Spanish:

- Emphatic stress [=intensity + high rise L + H*, small caps]: (3a) *Odia [el BRÉcol]$_F$*
- Fronting + emphatic stress: (3b) *[El BRÉcol]$_F$ odia*
- Clefting [=splitting focus and background]: (3c) *Lo que odia es [el brécol]$_F$*

Whilst these devices have been extensively described, less attention has been paid, in contrast, to the ways of marking information status when all the constituents belong to the same informational region. In principle, there are two logical possibilities: either a sentence contains only new material, or it contains only given material. The first situation obtains, for example, in a dialogue like the following:

(4) A: –*¿Qué es este follón? ¿Qué está pasando en la cocina?*
'What's all this mess? What's going on in the kitchen?'
B: –*[$_F$ Juan odia el brécol], así que hemos tenido que cambiar de menú…*
'John hates broccoli, so we've had to change the menu…'

The sentence *Juan odia el brécol* in B's answer in (4) is an "all-focus" or "all-new" sentence,

> …one in which all parts are newly introduced into the discourse at the moment of utterance. This kind of sentence has been called 'wide or broad focus' or 'out-of-the-blue' sentences. Typical for them is the fact that no constituent has been previously introduced into the discourse, and that they are uttered in an informational vacuum, as far as the common ground is concerned. (Féry 2006: 164)

The second possibility also obtains and it is precisely the one illustrated in (1): a propositional content already present in the common ground is re-introduced and re-asserted. Apparently, the sentence consists of old material only. However, there is a crucial point here: a sentence can be all-new, but no sentence can be "all-old", i.e., it can never consist of background material only. In other words, all sentences must have a focus. Where is then the focus of these examples?

In both replies, the proposition is background material. What is new in them is not the propositional content itself, but rather the (re)assertion of that content. The speaker A refutes a previous denial ('It is not the case that John hates broccoli'), so the focus of her/his utterance falls on the positive polarity of the sentence ('It is indeed the case that John hates broccoli'). Thus, although this is not necessarily visible in the constituent structure, *verum* focus is actually a bipartite construction: the focus falls on the positive polarity and the whole propositional content is presented as background material. A *verum*-focus structure is only superficially the mirror image of an all-new sentence: an all-new sentence has only focus; a *verum* focus sentence has both focus and background.

As we have seen before (cf. Example (1)), the devices for marking *verum* focus in Spanish include the use of positive polarity particles that make the split between focus and background overt, as shown in (5) (Hernanz 2006, 2007; González Rodríguez 2007; Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti 2009; Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal 2009). Notice that this informational division is overt also in English, with the insertion of the auxiliary, which, in addition receives emphatic stress:

(5) a. *[$_F$* Sí *que] [$_B$ odia el brécol]*
Yes that hate.PRS.3SG the broccoli
b. *[$_F$ Claro que] [$_B$ odia el brécol]*
Clear that hate.PRS.3SG the broccoli
'He DOES hate broccoli'

The second strategy for marking *verum* focus is prosodic. Escandell-Vidal (2011) argues that Spanish can mark *verum* focus by lengthening the vowel carrying the nuclear stress. This view contrasts with the claim in González Rodriguez (2007) that Spanish uses a high rise (L + H*) on the verb to this effect – the same strategy that indicates narrow focus.

The latter is in fact the prosodic strategy found in other languages such as German, where a high rise on the inflected verb can indicate both narrow focus on the verb and focus on the positive polarity (Höhle 1992; Baumann et al. 2007), as illustrated in (6):

(6) A: –*Hört sie dir zu oder nicht?*
‘Does she hear you or not?’
B: –*Sie* HÖRT *mir zu.*
‘She DOES hear me.’

We contend that it is not this pattern, but the one with a lengthening of the nuclear stress that Spanish uses to indicate *verum* focus. The pattern with an increased duration will be described in more detail in the next section. It is precisely this pattern that seems to carry the evaluative value.

2.2 Duration and the repetition of background information

The prosodic pattern under consideration shows an increased duration of the syllable carrying the nuclear stress, while keeping the low F_0 usual of declarative sentences (Escandell-Vidal 2011). Consider the minimal pair in (7) and (8):

(7) A: –¿Y *ella qué opina?*
‘And what does she think about it?’
B: –*Ella me anima.*
‘She encourages me’

(8) A: –*Y ella me apoya, aunque…*
‘And she supports me, although…’
B: –*Pues a mí no me lo parece…*
‘It doesn’t seem quite so…’
A: –*Ella me ani:ma, pero teme que…*
‘She DOES encourage me, but she is concerned about….’

The target sentence *ella me anima* in (7) is an unmarked, neutral, and *me anima* is new information; B’s reply in (8), in contrast, is a case of *verum* focus, in which a propositional content that was already present in the common ground is reintroduced in discourse.

The prosodic patterns of this target sentence *ella me anima* happen to be slightly different (see Figures 1 and 2 from Escandell-Vidal 2011: 190–191).

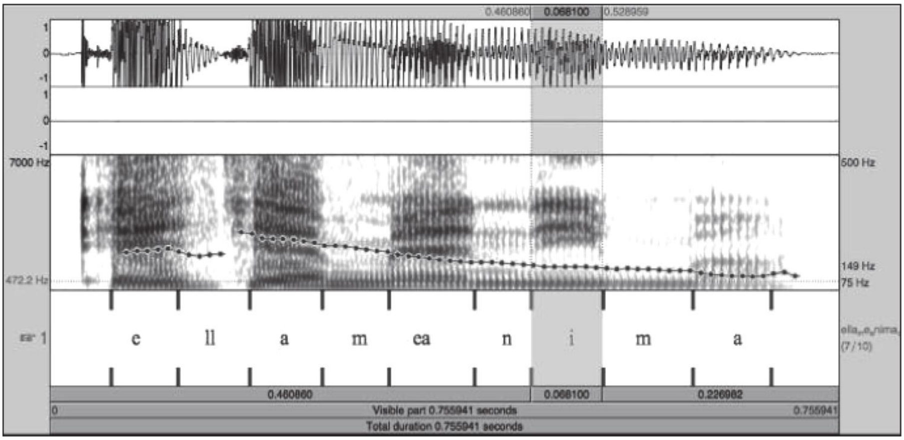


Figure 1. *Ella me anima*. Neutral context (7)

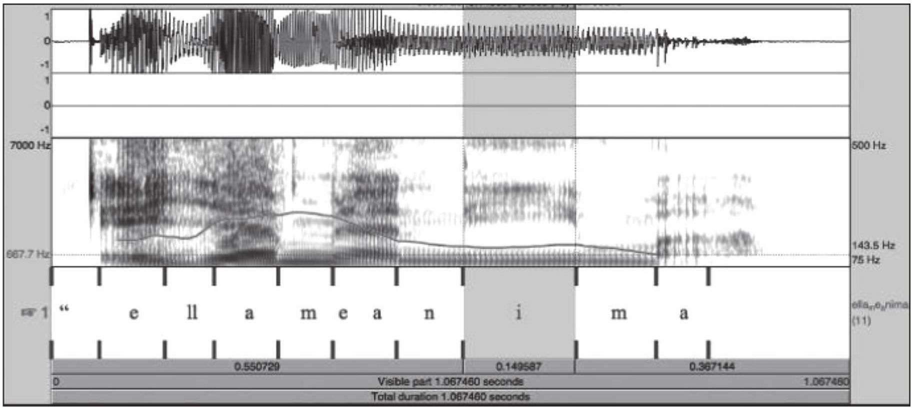


Figure 2. *Ella me anima*. *Verum* focus context (8)

When we compare both patterns, two significant facts become obvious. First, the F_0 contour is the same, with the usual final fall that characterizes declaratives in Spanish. Second, the duration of the nuclear stress is different: in Figure 1 the vowel carrying the nuclear stress has a value of 0.066 sec., whereas in Figure 2 this value increases to 0.149 sec. – almost three times the mean duration of other vowels in the same sentence. This difference correlates with the role of the utterance in discourse. The patterns in Figures 1 and 2 illustrate a minimal pair: the first one represents the unmarked, and can be used in either situation; the second one is the marked member and fits in well with the *verum* focus situation only.

3. Evaluation in language

Before analyzing the evaluative nature of vowel lengthening, let us consider briefly the definition of evaluation, its functions and the way it can be recognized. Evaluation encompasses the expression of a speaker's attitudes, feelings and values and covers areas sometimes referred as *connotation*, *affect*, *attitude*, *stance*, *modality*, or *appraisal*.

According to Thompson and Hunston (2000: 5), evaluation:

> […] is the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values.

Thompson and Hunston (2000: 6) point out that evaluation has three main functions:

1. To express the speaker's opinion, which can reflect her/his value system
2. To construct and maintain social relations
3. To organize the discourse

The most obvious function of evaluation is, in fact, to express the speaker's opinion, that is, to convey what the speaker thinks or how s/he feels about something: what counts as good or bad, what should or should not happen, what counts as true or untrue. This in turn can reflect the ideology and the system of values of a social group. As for the building and maintenance of relations between speaker and hearer, evaluation has been studied in relation to three main areas: manipulation (persuasion being one of the subcategories that have attracted most attention), hedging (typically, relativizing the degree of certainty of a statement), and politeness (as a strategy in the maintenance of relations between interlocutors). Finally, the organization of discourse can also be indirectly supported by evaluation, which usually occurs at crucial turning points, thus making the structure more salient.

Thompson and Hunston (2000) identify four parameters of evaluation: *good-bad*, certainty, expectedness and importance. The first parameter, *good-bad*, or positive-negative, is crucially dependent on the value system of the individual or the social group, and is the broadest one. Evaluation can target entities and events, but also propositions. The *good/bad* distinction can be seen as the more abstract contrast between desirable and undesirable. The second parameter, certainty, has to do with how convinced the speaker is of the information; the level of certainty is indicated, for example, by modal auxiliaries. Another parameter of evaluation is expectedness, which reveals how obvious a piece of information is, or should be, to the hearer. Finally, a fourth parameter is importance or relevance: it is the discourse itself that has to be evaluated as significant. From the four parameters of evaluation (*good-bad*, certainty, expectedness and importance), the most basic one is the *good-bad* parameter in the sense that the others can be easily reduced to the positive/negative. With regard to certainty, knowledge is considered a good quality and lack of knowledge a bad one. In terms of importance or expectedness, Thompson and Hunston (2000: 25) argue that significance ("what is said is interesting, surprising, or important") and coherence ("the parts relate to each other in a way that is expected, or obvious, or relevant") are also good qualities in a text.

Evaluation is thus a multi-faceted notion. When discussing evaluation, the focus can be put either on the language itself and its properties (a word has connotations) or on its users (speakers have attitudes); furthermore, evaluation is both an activity and a result.

Almost any linguistic and paralinguistic device can carry an evaluative function: from lexical units to grammatical morphemes, from indicators of discourse organization to marks of interpersonal relationship. There are no a priori restrictions on the nature of the cues used to convey the speaker's attitude. If so, how do speakers recognize that an evaluation is being made? Following Labov (1972), Thompson and Hunston (2000) argue that the criterion to identify evaluation in discourse is of a relational, comparative nature: "Identifying evaluation, then, is a question of identifying comparison, subjectivity and social value. (…) evaluation consists of anything which is compared to, or contrasts with, the norm" (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 13). There should therefore be a component of markedness in evaluative discourse.

Martin and White's (2005) proposal is also relevant to the present study. These authors discuss evaluation in an approach based on the notion of appraisal, which is further elaborated in other subcategories:

> Appraisal itself is regionalized as three interacting domains – 'attitude', 'engagement' and 'graduation'. Attitude is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things. Engagement deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. Graduation attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred. Attitude is itself divided into three regions of feeling, 'affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation'. Affect deals with resources for construing emotional reactions. (…) Judgement is concerned with resources for assessing behavior according to various normative principles (…). Appreciation looks at resources for construing the value of things, (2005: 34–35)

Thus, affect has to do with emotions; judgement is related to ethics and morality (rules and regulations) and appreciation is linked aesthetics (criteria for value). In Section 6 we will discuss how the phenomenon under consideration can fit into this proposal.

To sum up, and independently of the taxonomy or theoretical approach we assume, evaluation is a kind of information encoded in language. Beyond the referential function, languages are used to convey and assess feelings, moods, dispositions and attitudes, and there are features of language, like the lengthening of a vowel, that speakers use to carry out this function. Interlocutors need to know the affective orientation with regard to a particular sentential predication.

4. Research questions

The above considerations raise a number of questions concerning prosody, information structure and evaluation. More precisely, the issues we want to address in this chapter are the following:

- Is the prosodic pattern with increased duration for the nuclear stress the preferred, idiomatic phonological strategy for *verum* focus marking in Spanish? Or would native speakers rather prefer a high rise marking instead?
- Can this pattern be used with non-declaratives?
- Does the lengthened contour carry the same evaluative values when used with a non-declarative?
- What does this mean with regard to the basis of the correlation between information structure and evaluation?
- Will this pattern be consistently and accurately identified for speakers of different varieties?

Our starting assumptions can be summarized as follows:

- Information structure distinctions include marking a piece of content (no matter its grammatical status) as already introduced in discourse – and therefore as already part of common ground.
  - *Verum* focus is a particular case of this more general distinction.
  - Other grammatical modalities can be also marked as having been presented before.
- The phonological strategy for marking the reintroduction of content consists of a perceptible lengthening of the vowel carrying the nuclear stress.
- The values of insistence and/or impatience are a consequence of the fact that a piece of content is repeated.

With these assumptions in mind, our purpose is to test our predictions about how the above questions can be answered. These are our main hypotheses:

1. Identification rates. Native speakers will consistently identify the lengthened pattern with those discourse situations that involve repetition.
2. Nuclear stress *versus* verb emphasis. Subjects will identify the nuclear stress as the locus of the marking. The increased duration of the nuclear stress will be recognized as the idiomatic means of indicating the repetition in a higher proportion than the increased duration or a high rise on the main verb.
3. Pitch. The pattern includes a low pitch (never a high rise), though the role of F_0 movements will be secondary.
4. Prosodic pattern and modalities. The same prosodic pattern will be used for both declarative and non-declarative modalities.
5. Evaluation. The values will be *insistence / impatience.*
6. Varieties of Spanish. There will be no significant differences across the main dialects represented in our sample with respect to any of the preceding hypotheses.

5. Research procedure and results

Looking for evidences for our starting assumptions and hypotheses we conducted two perceptual tests: firstly a pilot test, with a preliminary sample of subjects, followed by a larger one with a more representative set of subjects and a new task with synthetic stimuli.

5.1 Pilot test

5.1.1 *Speech sample*

In order to obtain the speech samples that serve as support for our test, a digital recording was made, by a non-trained male speaker, in a sound-proof booth, with a Digital Voice Recorder Olympus DM-550 PCM 48 KHz. We recreated twelve paired dialogues, mostly from Escandell-Vidal (2011). In each pair, the target phrases are segmentally identical (the same words in the same order), but one of them is prosodically neutral (cf. Figure 1), whilst the other is marked by means of an increased duration of the syllable carrying the nuclear stress (cf. Figure 2). The dialogues include the following pair:

(9) A: –*¿Qué me recomiendas para el viaje a Oslo?*
‘What do you recommend me for the trip to Oslo?’
B: –*Llévate el a**bri**go.*[target sentence; in bold, target syllable]
‘Take a coat.’

(10) A: –*Abrígate bien, que dicen que va a hacer mucho frío.*
'It will be very cold outside, so wrap up warm.'
B: –*¡Pero si hace un sol espléndido!*
' But the sun is shining bright!'
A: –*Llévate el a**bri:**go.* [target sentence; in bold, target syllable]
'Do take your coat.'

5.1.2 *Methodology*

We selected a preliminary group of non-expert evaluators consisting of 15 subjects: ten of them belonged to the Castilian Spanish variety, four were from Canary Islands and one from Argentina. The last two groups share what is called "Atlantic Spanish", a variety with some phonetic characteristics (no interdental /θ/, for instance), and a speech rate usually slower than the Castilian dialect. The signal was presented via headphones. The participants were assigned three tasks:

- The first was an identification task. One of the target sentences was presented at a time and the subjects had to identify the dialogue from which it had been removed. An answer sheet with all the written stimuli was given. A total of one hundred responses were collected.
- The second task had the aim of determining the evaluation of the marked phrases. Subjects were asked to determine the attitude associated with the examples with the marked pattern, choosing from eight possibilities. *Insistence* and *impatience* were our targets, but they appeared in the midst of six distractors: *happiness, peacefulness, astonishment, enthusiasm, rejection* and *displeasure.*
- The third task was intended to assess the associated attitude. We followed the taxonomy proposed by Martin and White (2005: 38–39), concerning the attitude domain, within appraisal. They divide attitude into three regions of feelings. Subjects received these instructions:

  Could you indicate whether this form of response is associated with any of the following factors?
  - *Affection or disaffection: reactions consistent with what we want or hate.*
  - *Judgement: critical reactions, consistent with our moral or ethical principles.*
  - *Esteem or contempt: reactions derived from what we like or dislike.*

5.1.3 *Results*

We will consider, first of all, the acoustical characteristics of the speech sample we used (Table 1). Afterwards, we will comment on the results of the three tasks in the perceptual test.

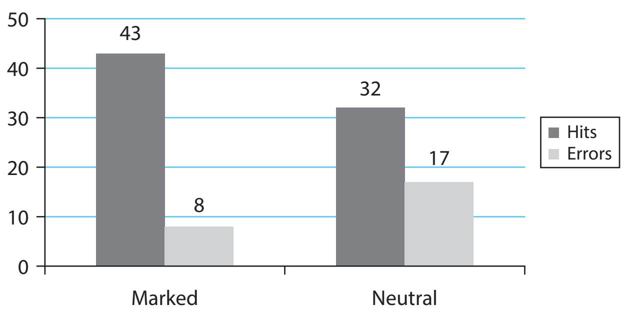
1. Acoustic results. The target syllables were segmented from waveform and spectrogram displays using PRAAT software (version 5.2.17, Boersma and Weenink 2011 in www.praat.org). The data on duration, intensity and pitch were obtained by means of this program. Mean comparison (Student's t-test for paired values) was performed in http://graphpad.com/quickcalcs/ttest2.cfm.

Table 1. Speech sample. Acoustic results

Mean values	Duration (ms)	Intensity (dB)	Pitch-F0 (Hz)
Marked syllable	358.17	78.22	139.13
Unmarked syllable	166.33	78.97	149.00
Student t-test	0.0034 **	0.5130	0.0888 *

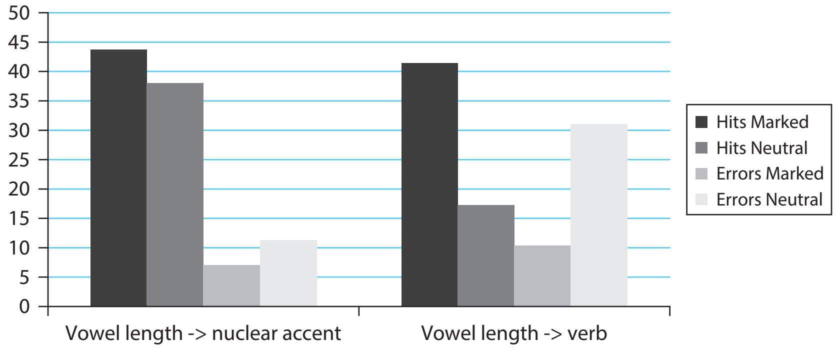
The main difference between the marked syllable and the neutral one is duration: almost twice in marked context – a difference statistically very significant. The pitch is clearly lower in the marked context (10 Hz less), but from a statistical point of view this difference is not significant at all. The intensity is the same in both samples, so it will be no longer considered here. Thus, we have a prosodic pattern in which the pitch is low and the most salient fact is the long duration of the syllable.

2. Identification test results (see Graph 1).



Graph 1. Pilot test: identification results. Hits and errors

The dialogues from which the marked stimuli had been removed were accurately identified in 84% of the cases. Less solid results are found, in contrast, with the neutral pattern. The difference between hits and errors is very significant (two-tailed t-test; $p = 0.0012$), due to the marked context ($p < 0.02$), but not for the neutral ones ($p > 0.05$). The differences in errors between both contexts are significant, but no difference can be found in the hits.



Graph 2. Pilot test: identification test results. Hits and errors according to the context

Considering the contexts in which the focus mark falls on the syllable that carries the nuclear stress *vs.* those in which the mark falls on the verb (two ítems), we observe (Graph 2) worse results in the latter case, fewer hits and more errors; the preference for the lengthening of the nuclear accent to mark *verum* focus is supported (cf. Introduction) and, as we will see later, is confirmed by the synthesized stimuli assessment.

3. Evaluative value of the marked pattern: all responses are considered a sign of *impatience* (12 answers) or *insistence* (10 answers), except three responses (mostly *displeasure*). Thus, the results seem to present sufficient evidence to accept our hypothesis.
4. Identification of appraisal. In the third task, our subjects really hesitated a great deal. Apparently, the taxonomy of Martin and White (2005) did not offer a clear pattern of response, even if the category 'esteem or contempt' received more marks than the others (option a = 3 answers; b = 2; c = 7; "other" = 3; no answer/don't know = 4). Taking into consideration the results, this task was omitted in the main test.

5.2 Main test

In view of the results obtained during the pilot stage, we performed a second test with two aims: on the one hand, to corroborate the results of the first and second tasks in the pilot with a more representative sample of subjects; on the other, to validate the perceptual weight of the two acoustic parameters under consideration (duration: long, and pitch: low) by means of synthesis.

5.2.1 *Speech sample*

1. Natural speech sample. All the natural stimuli used were randomly allocated with two repetitions each. We used the dialogue shown in (9) and (10) as a training example, which was excluded from the first task. We took it as the basis for synthesizing the speech sample of the third task (see below).
2. Synthesized speech sample. The neutral natural utterance from dialog (9) was taken as a basis, and the manipulations shown in Table 2 were carried out.

Table 2. Manipulation in the synthesized stimuli. "Duration +" = 35 ms; "Pitch +" = F_0 multiplied by 2.4; "Pitch –" = F_0 100 Hz

Finite verb (*llévate* 'take')	Duration +	Duration +	Duration =	Duration =
Nuclear stress (*abrigo* 'coat')	Pitch =	Pitch –	Pitch +	Pitch –

5.2.2 *Methodology*

Our main test was performed in two sessions, in a normal classroom, via loudspeakers model MS 691 (Multi-Media Stereo Speaker System), a very basic and old system; the acoustic conditions were, therefore, quite hard, in order to check the robustness of the results. All subjects live in Madrid, are enrolled in the "University Access Course for Students over 25" and none of them reported any hearing impairments (see Table 3).

Table 3. Main test: characteristics of the sample

	N.º subjects	Mean age	Age std. dev.	Geographical provenance	
First session	46	40.36	10.35	Madrid: 32 North of Spain: 3 South of Spain: 7	Colombia-Venezuela: 3 Other: 1
Second session	28	37.96	10.52	Madrid: 17 North of Spain: 4 South of Spain: 2	Colombia-Ecuador: 3 Other: 2
Total	74	39.83	10.45	Madrid: 66.2% North of Spain: 9.46% South of Spain: 12.2%	Colombia-Venezuela-Ecuador: 8.11% Other: 4.05%

Three tasks were performed by all participants:

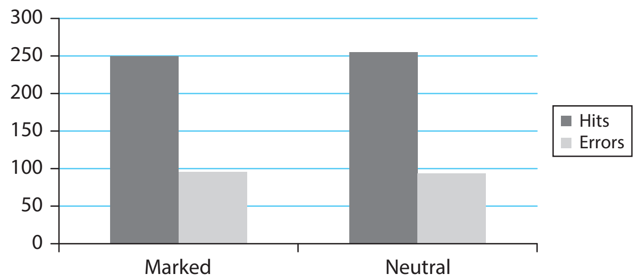
– Identification task. Subjects had to identify the dialogue from which the target phrase had been removed; all examples were presented in a random order, except the training one. The total responses obtained were 695.
– Assessment of the evaluation. The second task was the same as we carried out in the pilot study: participants should identify the attitude associated with one of the marked phrases, choosing from one or more of eight possibilities:

happiness, impatience, rejection, insistence, astonishment, displeasure, peacefulness and enthusiasm.

– Synthesized stimuli assessment. In the last part of our experiment, the task was to assign each stimulus to one of the two dialogs presented in the answer sheet, either the marked – Example (10) – or the neutral one – Example (9). The subjects were warned that the distribution could be unbalanced. Note that none of the stimuli was actually extracted from these two contexts, since all were manipulated.

5.2.3 *Results*

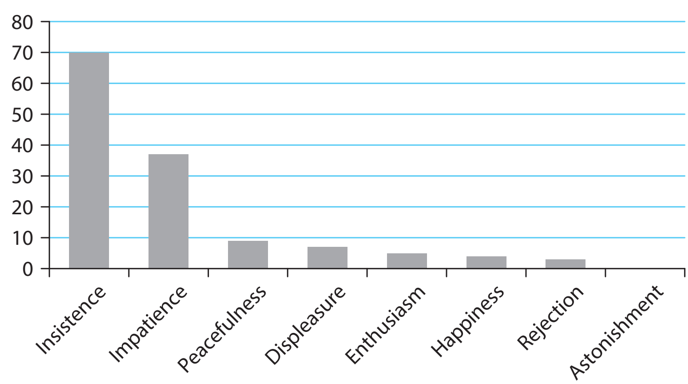
1. Identification test results (see Graph 3).



Graph 3. Main test: identification results. Hits and errors

The percentage of correct answers in the whole sample was 73%, with almost the same results in neutral and in marked contexts. The difference of means between hits and errors was highly significant (two-tailed t-test; $p < 0.002$). In contrast, differences between neutral and marked context was not significant ($p > 0.5$).

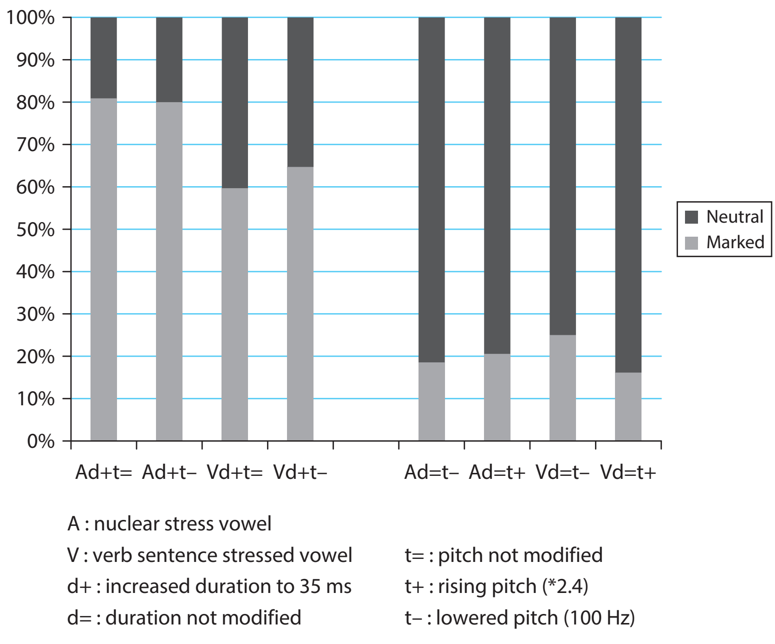
2. Evaluation of the marked pattern.



Graph 4. Evaluative values associated with the marked stimuli

As in the pilot test, almost 80% of answers are distributed between the evaluative values of *insistence* (52%) and *impatience* (27%). Graph 4 shows all categories with their number of responses; *astonishment* did not receive any.

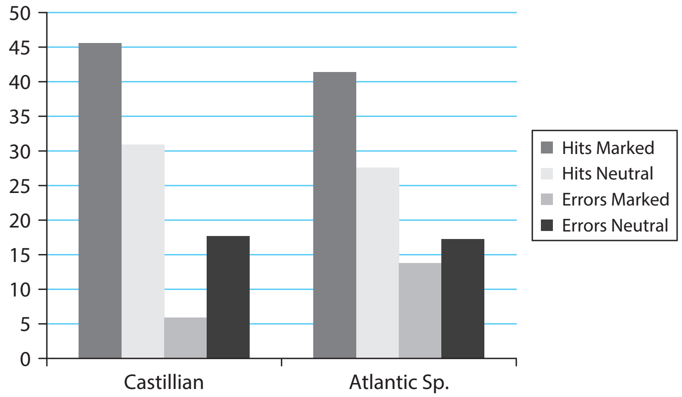
3. Synthesized stimuli results (see Graph 5). The perceptual test with synthesized speech shows that an increase in the duration of the vowel that holds nuclear accent is associated with the marked context 80% of the times, regardless of pitch variations. When the lengthened vowel belongs to the verb of the sentence this effect is significantly lower (60–65%, depending on the pitch, that now seems to play a greater role). If duration is not modified, marked responses range between 16 and 25%. These results support our hypothesis to an even higher degree than those for natural speech.



Graph 5. Synthesized stimuli results

5.3 Cross-dialectal differences

In spite of the fact that the sample in the pilot test cannot be said to be representative, we have taken a look at cross-dialectal differences. The results show a tendency towards the acceptance of our hypothesis in both varieties, but more in Castilian than in Atlantic Spanish (see Graph 6). In any case, inter-dialectal differences were not significant ($p = 0.48$).



Graph 6. Pilot test: cross-dialectal differences.

In the second test some differences between varieties of Spanish apparently turn out to be significant. Our main group, Madrid speakers, continued to offer more evidence in favour of our hypothesis than the rest, particularly in marked contexts – see Table 4.

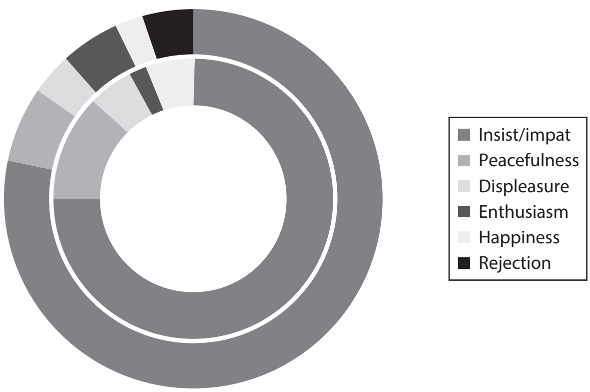
Table 4. Main test: cross-dialectal differences

	marked	neutral		marked	neutral
Madrid			North of Spain		
hits	77.1	73.2	hits	66.7	60.6
err	22.9	26.8	err	33.3	36.4
			South of Spain		
			hits	60.0	80.0
			err	40.0	20.0
Total no Madrid			America		
hits	64.8	75.2	hits	70.4	82.1
err	35.2	24.8	err	29.6	17.9

- Differences statistically significant: Madrid *versus* South of Spain, in marked context (Student's t for paired means; $p = 0.007$).
- Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (*r*) higher to 0.8 for all series except:
  - Madrid *versus* South of Spain, in marked context (−0.08)
  - Madrid *versus* America (marked context = 0.02; neutral context = −0.06)
- Cohen's kappa of interrater agreement:
  - Total = 0.472, moderate
  - Madrid = 0.503, moderate
  - Madrid, excluding items with errors > 15 (m2, n1 & n2) = 0.618, good

As can be seen, Madrid and the North of Spain (belonging to Castilian dialect) perform as a coherent group, while the South of Spain (Andalusian and Extremaduran varieties) differ in marked contexts (with many more errors than the mean in the last group) and America shows a low correlation in both.

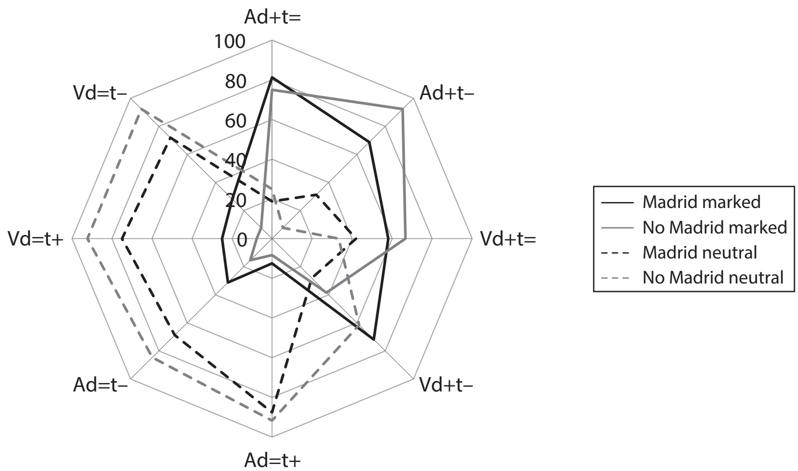
Considering the evaluative value assigned to the marked pattern, some differences in the results arise again depending on the provenance of participants – see Graph 7. Madrilenian speakers (outer circle) showed a more consistent pattern, mostly opting for one (or both) of the primary values, *insistence/ impatience*: (78%), frequently as only answer (54%). Participants with other provenance (inner circle) also choose mainly *insistence/impatience*, but in a lesser extent (75%; 51% as only option). They show a tendency to interpret the lengthening of the vowel as a mark of *peacefulness* (13%; only 6.6% in Madrilenians) or even *happiness* (5%; 2% in Madrilenians); in contrast, the attitude of *rejection* is associated with this prosodic pattern only among Madrilenian speakers.



Graph 7. Main test: cross-dialectal differences. Evaluative value assigned to the marked pattern. Outer circle = Madrilenian. Inner circle = other provenance

Finally, looking at the perception of synthesized stimuli, we can observe, again, a particular pattern of responses in both groups of speakers. In the spider chart in Graph 8 all the categories of synthesized stimuli are represented; in black, Madrilenian responses, in grey, other provenances; in continuous lines the stimuli perceived as marked, in dotted lines the neutral ones. Let us consider only continuous lines (in the right half of the graph, as corresponding to the lengthened vowels, Ad+ and Vd+).

– For Madrilenian participants – the black line – the stimulus more frequently considered as marked is Ad+t= (the vowel receiving nuclear stress has long



Graph 8. Cross-dialectal differences. Synthesized stimuli

duration, pitch does not change: 81%), followed by Vd+t− (the vowel of the verb has long duration, pitch is low: 72%). These results are not surprising at all, according to our hypothesis: lengthening is the most powerful cue, firstly in the nuclear stress, secondly in the verb, which needs the help of low pitch.

– In contrast, for participants from other provenances – grey line – the role of a low pitch, together with a long vowel, seems to be more relevant even in the nuclear stress, and show opposite trends depending on which vowel is modified.
  – If it is the nuclear stress vowel (Ad+t−): the perception is that of a marked context (93%).
  – If it is the verbal vowel (Vd+t−), the perception is that of a neutral context (62%), despite lengthening in the vowel.

Are these differences generalisable? Our goals are not of geolectal nature. The dialectal origin of the subjects was the result of chance, and therefore irregular – as can be seen in Table 4 – and very important variables, such as the time spent in Madrid, have not been controlled. So, further studies should be done to confirm these results. But differences arise in every task. It should be possible that we are facing a prosodic pattern that originated in the Madrilenian variety, from where it would spread into other speech communities faster or slower depending on other factors.

6. The evaluative function of prosodic lengthening

In this section we will discuss the relationship between prosodic lengthening and evaluation. Remember that the pattern with an increased duration on the nuclear stress has been assessed by most speakers as conveying impatience or insistence, no matter what grammatical modality it was associated with.

It is easy to see that at least two of the parameters identified by Thompson and Hunston (2000) have a bearing on the interpretation of the examples under consideration. Consider *verum* focus structures, such as the one in (1) and (8) first. When the speaker lengthens the nuclear stress of a declarative sentence, s/he is performing different evaluative tasks at the same time. Certainty is no doubt involved: the speaker evaluates the content of the sentence s/he utters as true. Moreover, s/he thinks that this true content, which s/he had put forward in a previous turn, has been challenged in an unjustified way by the hearer, so s/he re-introduces it in the discourse (usually together with some new piece of information) to try to persuade the hearer of the truth or certainty of this information. In the case of declarative sentences, the narrow focus on the positive polarity is the indication that the propositional content is re-asserted. In addition to certainty, expectedness plays a major role too. The fact that the propositional content is presented as background information, i.e., as part of the common ground, is crucial for the interpretation. The speaker presents a given content again – one that should have been obvious for the hearer as well.

These two components, certainty and expectedness, can be considered as the key to the evaluative values of insistence and impatience. Insistence is the evaluative correlate of repetition, i.e., of re-asserting a piece of content that the speaker considers to be true and that s/he had already provided as part of the common ground. As for impatience, it seems to represent a further step. To the value of insistence (repetition) a new feature has to be added: the speaker's feeling that the repetition was unnecessary, since s/he had already provided the right content. When the repetition comes after a refusal or a denial on the side of the hearer, the re-assertion indicates that the speaker has considered it as an unjustified move, hence the negative value of impatience. In other words, whereas insistence can be a neutral attitude, impatience is a negative one.

The same reasoning can be applied to the prosodic pattern when applied to non-declarative utterances. When the speaker issues a command or a recommendation, as in the example we have analyzed under (10), this illocution enters the common ground. Notice that this does not require the use of identical words. In fact, in the dialogue in (10) speaker A does not repeat exactly the same sentence, but merely conveys the same illocution, namely, that the hearer had better take some heavy clothes. If the hearer disregards it or refuses to comply with it, then the speaker feels s/he has to re-issue the recommendation again, though not necessarily by repeating the very same words. When imperatives are involved, it is not certainty, but rather desirability, that counts as the relevant dimension. Depending on a number of other factors, such as the circumstances of the repetition, as well as the social relationship between speaker and hearer, this can be felt either as mere insistence or straightforward impatience.

Thus, prosodic lengthening is a formal means to indicate repetition. The re-introduction of a content already given triggers some form of evaluation in the interpretation: on the one hand, because the speaker presents her/himself as entirely certain of the information; on the other, because the information repeated should have been obvious to the speaker, since it has been said or was implicit. Evaluation comes under parameters of certainty and expectedness.

Evaluation is also characterized as being comparative and subjective. Identifying evaluation, then, is a question of identifying signals of comparativity and subjectivity. In this respect, several writers have associated certain aspects of grammar with the comparative and subjective nature of evaluation. Labov (1972) claims that departures from the basic narrative syntax have a marked evaluative force. Among the linguistic features that have been identified as signaling evaluation can be mentioned:

i. Comparative: adverbs of degree and expressions of negativity, etc.
ii. Subjective: modals and other markers of (un)certainty; report and attribution structures, marked clause structures, etc.

The pattern we are considering points to both indicators, in the sense that vowel lengthening and repetition of the content are marked options. And, as Labov puts it, marked structures tend to have a marked evaluative force, so it is no surprise that a special prosodic pattern can induce evaluative interpretations.

Before finishing this section, we would like to mention some particular aspects of the appraisal approach. The taxonomy proposed by Martin and White (2005: 38–39), concerning the attitude domain, divides attitude in three regions of feelings: affect, judgement and appreciation. Affect deals with resources for expressing emotional reactions consistent with what we want or hate. Judgement is concerned with means for assessing behaviour according to various normative or ethical principles. Finally, appreciation looks at resources for construing the value of things derived from what we like or dislike.

In our pilot experiment we introduced a task aimed at determining to what extent speakers associate insistence or impatience values of prosodic lengthening with any of the attitude domains, that is, affect, judgement or appreciation. Our starting hypothesis was that speakers would have an inclination towards the third option, appreciation. In fact this was the preferred option, but the proportion of the other responses (or even the number of hesitations) was quite high, so the mentioned taxonomy seems to be not totally appropriate to explain the phenomenon we are studying. Therefore, we decided not to include this task in the main test.

To sum up, prosodic lengthening is not *per se* an evaluative marker, but an indicator of the repetition of a piece of content already given (i.e., a marker of a distinction associated with information structure and common ground management). However, asserting a propositional content again, or reissuing a command, immediately reveals an attitude of the speaker: s/he considers the content of the utterance as certain or desirable and tries to persuade the hearer. Since both speaker and hearer should know that content, it is reasonable to expect evaluative values such as insistence or impatience.

7. Conclusions

In this chapter we have tested empirically the correlation between a form of prosodic marking used to identify a piece of content as already introduced in discourse – *verum* focus being a particular case of this general distinction – and values such as insistence and impatience.

In natural utterances the relevant features of the prosodic pattern are the lengthening of the vowel that receives the nuclear stress together with a low pitch. This device is a conventional means to indicate an information structure distinction, namely, the re-insertion of a content already given. When the marked prosodic pattern is associated with assertive modality, it counts as an emphatic form of re-assertion and refusal of a previous negative assertion. When it appears with a directive illocution, it represents a form of re-issuing it. In both cases, the lengthened pattern is linked to a quite complex evaluative interpretation involving both certainty (the speaker presents the information as entirely in no doubt) and expectedness (the repetitive information should have been obvious to the speaker). The corresponding evaluative labels are *insistence* and *impatience* – a distinction largely dependent on the degree of negative impact on the previous denials or refusals.

This pattern is consistently and accurately identified by native speakers of several varieties of Spanish, although the best recognition rates are collected among speakers from Madrid.

Our initial hypotheses can be accepted in significantly high degrees:

1. Native speakers consistently identified the described prosodic pattern with discourse situations that involve repetitions. Results, both in the pilot study and in the main test, are robust and consistent in terms of correct identification rates of the prosodic pattern under analysis (over 70% of hits).
2. The safest way to indicate the re-introduction of the content already present in the common ground is to increase the duration of the syllable receiving the nuclear stress (80%). A long duration on the verb can be identified also as repeated discourse, but to a lesser extent (60–65%).
3. A low pitch co-occurs in natural utterances with vowel lengthening, but its role, according to the synthesized stimuli, is not as crucial as duration. A high rise in the verb gives the poorest results in perception test (11%). This result is significant since a high rise on the verb is precisely the strategy that other languages exploit to mark *verum* focus. This suggests that the Spanish pattern is a conventional, language-specific solution, not a mere iconic effect.
4. There are no differences in the identification rate between grammatical modalities: thus, examples consisting of declarative sentences (task 1) show the same pattern of responses as the imperative sentence (task 3).
5. Almost 80% of the values associated with the marked pattern were *insistence* and *impatience*, far ahead from other possible values as *displeasure, rejection* or *peacefulness or happiness.* Most subjects identify *insistence* (52%) and *impatience* (27%) as the main value. This is again a very robust result, consistent with what one should expect given our assumptions and hypotheses. In fact, if the primary contribution of the marked prosodic pattern is that of indicating repetition, *insistence* and *impatience* are indeed the most adequate fits, since both entail some sort of reiteration. Moreover, the frequency distribution of these two categories follows the logic we envisage: the category *insistence* is more basic and neutral, whilst *impatience* is more restricted and marked. It is no wonder, then, that most subjects preferred the wider element.
6. We find some persistent variation in the accuracy in detecting the prosodic pattern among Spanish dialects, Madrilenian speakers showing better and more consistent results. These differences, however, do not reach statistical significance.

Finally, some more general consequences can be drawn. The most significant one has to do with the independence of duration as a relevant perceptual parameter. The synthesized sample, with the whole range of pitch and duration manipulations, has made it possible to identify the relevant acoustic features that account for the perception of the above-mentioned values. The data show that duration is not merely a phonetic realization associated with high pitch; on the contrary, it can be independent from it and have a role of its own as a conventional means of encoding information structure distinctions. It also shows that nuclear stress is largely preferred as the locus of expressing that a piece of background content is being re-introduced in discourse. These can be new topics for further research.

Notes

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CHAPTER 9

The evaluation of intonation

Pitch range differences in English and in Spanish

Eva Estebas-Vilaplana

This chapter investigates evaluation with respect to the hearer and it shows how evaluation permeates the phonological level of linguistic description. In particular, it examines how interlocutors of different cultural backgrounds, namely, English and Spanish, perceive and evaluate certain utterances as polite or rude based on their pitch range. A perception test was designed by means of which 15 native hearers of each language evaluated different productions of the word *mandarins/mandarinas* which only differed with respect to their F0 scaling. The results confirmed that pitch range differences have an effect on the evaluation of sentences cross-linguistically. Whereas low pitch range productions were interpreted as "polite" in Spanish and as "rude" in English, utterances with a high pitch displacement were judged as "over-excited" in Spanish and as "polite" in English. The results corroborate the status of intonation as an off-record strategy used to signal attitude.

1. Introduction

The study of evaluation has usually been based on the speaker's perspective. Evaluation has been considered as the expression of the speaker's stance towards entities and propositions. This study investigates a different phase of evaluation, namely, the evaluation of attitude with respect to the hearer, in other words, the evaluation of evaluation. In particular, we will analyze how interlocutors of different linguistic backgrounds, namely, English and Spanish, evaluate certain utterances which only differ with respect to their intonation patterns, specifically with respect to their pitch range.

Pitch range is the amount of pitch displacement while uttering a sentence. Pitch range differences are physiologically determined (i.e. the thinner the vocal folds, the higher the pitch). Thus, female or children have a much higher pitch range than men since their vocal folds are smaller and thinner. Within each pitch range, speakers can control whether they want to utter a given sentence with a broader or narrower pitch displacement. If sentences are uttered with a broad pitch range, they are usually interpreted as lively or involved. Sentences produced with a narrow pitch range tend to have an effect of detachment, sadness or boredom.

Traditionally, pitch range differences have been attributed to the paralinguistic expression of emphasis and the degree of involvement (Pierrehumbert 1980; Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986; Ladd 1994, 1996, among others). Emphatic sentences were supposed to be uttered with a more expanded or broader pitch range than neutral sentences. According to these studies, the two productions of the word *Amanda* presented in Figure 1 can be interpreted as allotonic variations of the same phonological category, namely, L + H*. Within the Autosegmental-Metrical framework of intonational modelling (Ladd 1996; Gussenhoven 2004), the category L + H* indicates a high pitch movement associated with the tonic syllable (*-man-*) preceded by a low pitch in the pretonic (*A–*). The final pitch movement of the contour is modelled by means of a low boundary tone (L%) which accounts for the falling pitch trajectory at the end of the utterance. Even though the two productions of the word are different in terms of pitch range (the pitch displacement of the first utterance is broader than that of the second), the two utterances are described by means of the same tonal configuration since the realization with the higher span is interpreted as an emphatic version of the non-expanded production. In Figure 1, each box stands for a syllable and the shaded boxes represent stressed syllables that are accompanied by a relevant pitch movement. The solid dark line represents the pitch trajectory of the whole utterance.

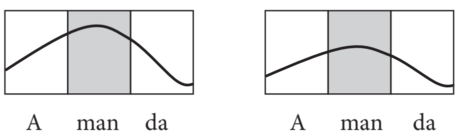

Figure 1. Schematized representations of two realizations of the word *Amanda* produced with a different pitch range

Further studies have shown that pitch range variability cannot always be interpreted as an allotonic variant of a given pitch accent but it can respond to linguistically different entities. Studies in a variety of languages, such as English (Ladd and Morton 1997; Chen 2003), Catalan (Vanrell 2006, 2007), Italian (Savino and Grice 2007), or Spanish (Méndez 2009) have shown that the scaling or pitch range variability of a given pitch accent contributes to the perception of categorically different entities. For example, Ladd and Morton (1997) demonstrated that in English a sentence such as *The alarm went off* could be interpreted differently according to the amount of pitch displacement produced in the high accent associated with the last syllable of the word *alarm*. When the pitch movement showed a narrow displacement the speakers perceived a neutral event sentence. When the pitch accent was produced with a higher pitch, the speakers interpreted the sentence as unexpected. Thus, two different tonal categories were suggested L + H* for the event interpretation and L + ¡H* for the unexpected meaning. The symbol ¡ is used in the Autosegmental-Metrical approach to indicate an extra-high peak. The pitch trajectory of the two productions is schematized in Figure 2.

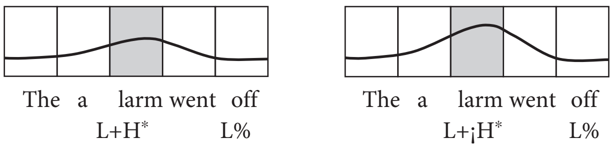

Figure 2. Schematized representations of the pitch trajectory associated with the utterance *The alarm went off* produced with a different pitch range

In Venezuelan Spanish, Méndez (2009) studied how differences in tonal scaling were used to distinguish a neutral declarative (with a low peak) from a yes-no question (with a high peak). He analyzed differences in peak scaling in utterances with the same segmental structure, such as *mandarinas* ("mandarins"). A series of stimuli was created by manipulating the scaling of the peak in the original declarative and interrogative contours. The original declarative peak was raised in several steps till it reached the pitch level of the interrogative peak. Similarly, the original interrogative peak was lowered in different degrees till it reached the declarative scaling. Several Spanish speakers from Venezuela listened to the different stimuli and were asked to decide whether the productions were perceived as declarative or interrogative. The results clearly showed that as the peak height increased, the speakers moved from a declarative to an interrogative interpretation. As illustrated in Figure 3, these results demonstrated that pitch range differences in Venezuelan Spanish had to be categorized as different phonological entities, namely, L + H* for declaratives and L + ¡H* for interrogatives.

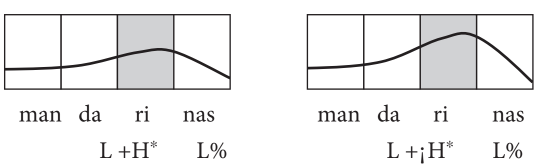

Figure 3. Schematized representations of the pitch trajectory associated with the Spanish utterance *mandarinas* produced with a different pitch range

An area that has been less studied is how non-native students, namely, speakers of a second language (L2) produce, perceive and acquire the intonational patterns of the L2. Recently, the studies of Mennen, Schaeffler and Docherty (2007, 2008) and Mennen, Chen and Karlsson (2010) have opened a new line of research since, for the first time, they have examined *tonal scaling* and pitch range differences in the production of an L2. Even though pitch range differences are primarily related to physiological aspects (the bigger the vocal folds, the lower the pitch), it has been observed that when it comes to compare groups of speakers of different languages there are significant differences between groups, that is, there are features which belong to a whole community and not only to individual speakers (De Pijper 1983; Dolson 1994; Van Bezooijen 1995 and Scherer 2000). For example, it has been shown that native speakers of German, whose pitch range has been attested as narrow or low, evaluate English speakers, with a broader pitch range, as over-excited (Eckert and Laver 1994) or even aggressive (Gibbon 1998). On the other hand, English speakers perceive the German productions as bored or rude (Gibbon 1998). Since the impressions we have on speakers may depend on the pitch range they use, such language specific-differences may be the cause of serious misunderstandings and communication problems. According to Mennen et al. (2007) these differences are more salient in reading and in long sentences than in short productions.

The aim of this investigation is to analyze the evaluation of pitch range differences in two languages, namely, English and Spanish. Estebas-Vilaplana (2009) argued that English speakers tend to use a broader pitch range than Spanish speakers. She also stated that the use of a non-expected pitch range by speakers of one of these languages may be the cause of misunderstandings among the speakers of the other language. Figure 4 illustrates an English sentence (*It was lovely*) and a Spanish sentence (*Riquísima*) produced with two different pitch ranges. Both sentences can be the answer to a question such as *How was the food?* Whereas in Spanish the production with the narrower pitch range is attested as the natural response, in English it is the other way round. In fact, the use of a narrow pitch range in English may even trigger an opposite meaning of the utterance, that is, "the food was not nice at all". In Spanish, a broad pitch range has an effect of over-excitement or urgency.

The previous examples show that sometimes intonation can be responsible for conversational implicatures which trigger a non-explicit message. When an English speaker produces the sentence "it was lovely" with a low pitch range, his/her intention may be to indicate that the food was actually very bad. The use of pitch range and intonational cues to trigger non-explicit meanings seems to be controlled by the speakers of the same community. Thus, an English hearer will probably evaluate the speaker's low pitch range as an off-record (im)politeness strategy and infer the actual meaning of the utterance. However, the problem

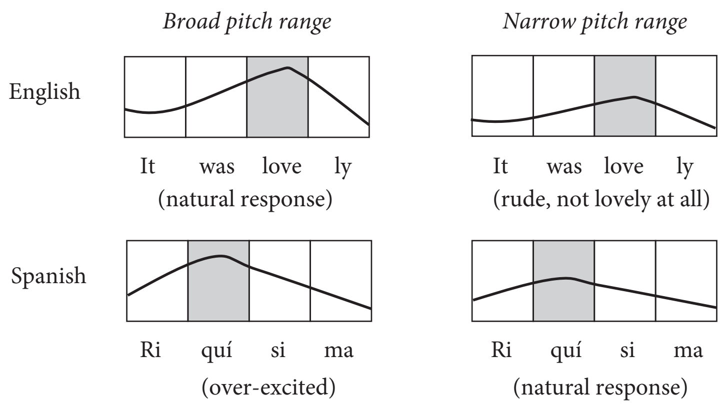

Figure 4. Schematized representations of the pitch trajectory associated with the English sentence *It was lovely* and the Spanish sentence *Riquísima* produced with different pitch ranges and subsequent different interpretations

seems to arise with speakers of another linguistic community that have different interpretations of pitch range variability. In this case, the use of the unexpected pitch patterns may cause not only intelligibility problems but also social and interpersonal problems if the message is perceived as offensive or impolite.

Within pragmatic studies the concept of politeness has been described from different perspectives (see Fraser 1990, and Alba-Juez 2009). Green (1989) claims that politeness has to do with the strategies used to maintain or change interpersonal relations. Leech (1983) proposed a *Politeness Principle* in line with Grice's (1975) *Cooperative Principle*, which states that politeness is used "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (Leech 1983: 82). Thus, whereas Grice's Cooperative Principle aims at achieving an efficient transmission of information, the goal of the Politeness Principle is to maintain social relationships.

One of the most influential works in the study of politeness is that of Brown and Levinson (1987). They assume that all individuals want to maintain their *face* or self-esteem in their social interactions. However, there are acts that threaten the interlocutor's face and in that case speakers try to minimize the face threat by using different strategies. If speakers want to avoid ambiguity and be effective, they use on-record strategies which convey the real intention of the interlocutor. If speakers assume that what they are going to say is offensive or impolite, they might use off-record strategies characterized by the use of mitigating elements that convey certain meanings indirectly.

Even though Brown and Levinson have not dealt with the study of intonation and its effects on the final message, intonation can certainly be used as an off-record strategy to convey a non-explicit or indirect meaning. As previously discussed, the use of a low pitch range in *It was lovely* may be aimed at triggering the opposite meaning of the message, thus flouting the Quality Maxim of Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975) by means of the off-record strategy "Be ironic". Thus, it becomes apparent that low pitch in English may also be used as a marker of verbal irony (see also Alba-Juez and Attardo, this volume). In this chapter we will examine the effects of pitch range variability on the evaluation of politeness and attitude in two languages, namely, English and Spanish. We will show that pitch range variability triggers the implicature of something being evaluated as polite or not. Thus, we will prove empirically that pitch range differences convey a different attitude in the two languages. Our hypotheses are: (1) sentences produced with a low pitch range will be evaluated as "polite" in Spanish, and as "rude" in English; (2) sentences produced with a high pitch range will be interpreted as "polite" in English but as "over-excited" in Spanish. These hypotheses will be tested by means of a perception test consisting of several stimuli whose pitch range is manipulated so as to examine how differences in pitch displacement affect the listeners' judgements in the two languages. The results will show that speakers of different languages evaluate pitch range variability differently. This may trigger unexpected problems in their social relations and in their perception of politeness.

2. Experimental procedure

2.1 Data recording

The neutral production of the word *mandarins/mandarinas* in English and in Spanish was recorded as a response to the question *What did you buy?/¿Qué compraste?* For both languages, the same speaker recorded the two productions in two different sessions. The informant was a bilingual female speaker aged 48 born in London from Spanish parents. We recorded the same speaker for the two productions since we wanted to control the original pitch range of the speaker. This allowed us to compare the pitch span of the two utterances without additional inter-speaker variability. The two responses were gathered on different days so that the speaker was not influenced by the answer in the other language. The word *mandarins/mandarinas* was chosen since in both languages it is made up of voiced sounds only and this allowed us to obtain uninterrupted pitch contours (F0 traces) which facilitate the acoustic analysis of the data. Apart from the expected pronunciation differences at the segmental level (English /ˈmændərInz/ vs. Spanish /mandaˈɾinas/), the two productions differ in their stress distribution. Whereas the English word is stressed on the first syllable, the Spanish word is stressed on the penultimate syllable. These differences, however, were not expected to affect the degree of pitch displacement.

As expected, the pitch range of the Spanish production was lower than the English one. The two productions are illustrated in Figures 5 and 6 which include the speech waveform and the spectrogram with an overlapped F0 trace for the words *mandarins* in English (Figure 5) and *mandarinas* in Spanish (Figure 6) produced by the same speaker. The first box at the bottom of each graph exhibits syllable division. The second box shows the intonation annotation for each production using the conventions of the Autosegmental-Metrical framework. Even though the F0 peak is higher in the English production than in the Spanish one, the phonological units that account for the pitch movements are the same, namely, a L + H* pitch accent followed by a L% boundary tone.

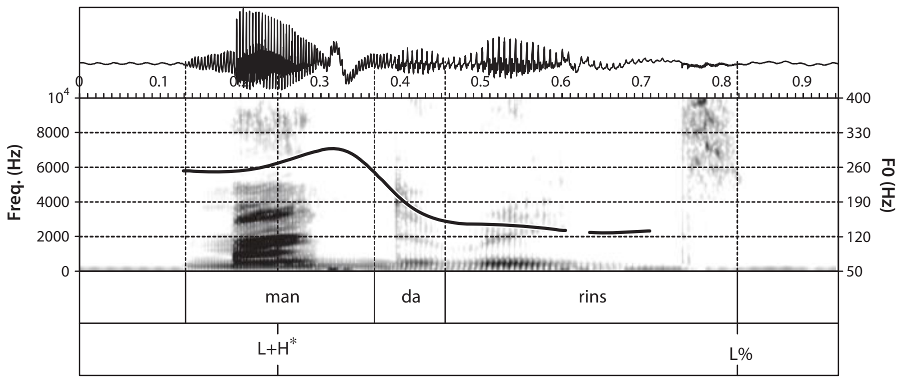

Figure 5. Speech waveform, spectrogram and overlap F0 trace for the word *mandarins* in English

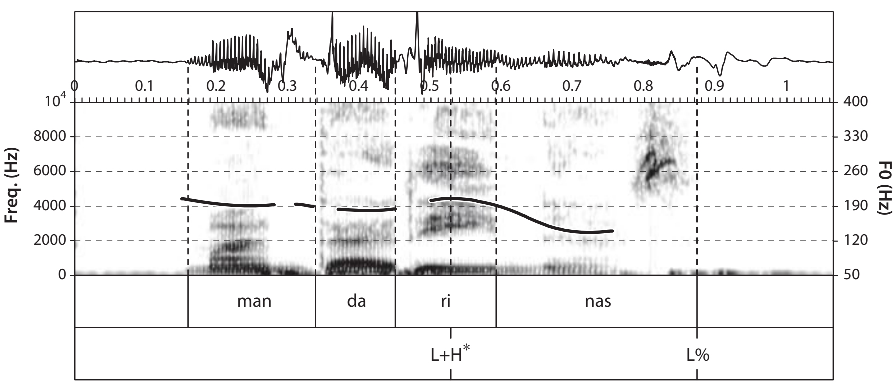

Figure 6. Speech waveform, spectrogram and overlap F0 trace for the word *mandarinas* in Spanish

Table 1 includes the F0 peak value (in Hz) for English and for Spanish and the difference between the two F0 values. It also exhibits the degree of slope (distance from the origin of the rise till the peak) in the two languages and their difference. As observed in Table 1, in English both the F0 peak and the degree of slope are higher than in Spanish.

Table 1. Peak and slope values (in Hz) for both English and Spanish and the difference between the two languages

	English	Spanish	Difference
Peak	321 Hz	208 Hz	113 Hz
Slope	67 Hz	29 Hz	38 Hz

2.2 Stimuli

Once the two productions were obtained, we manipulated the original data by means of the Praat program (Boersma and Weenink 2010). In order to do that we first obtained the stylized contours for the two productions (as presented in Figures 7 and 8) and then we altered the *scaling of the F0 peak* while maintaining the *steepness of the slope* for both productions in four degrees (from high to low in English and from low to high in Spanish). Five stimuli were obtained for each production. As observed in Figures 7 and 8, A and B are the target points that were manipulated. From the English production, these two points were lowered in steps of −28.2 Hz. From the Spanish production, points A and B were raised in steps of +28.2 Hz. The 28.2 Hz difference was obtained by dividing the difference in peak

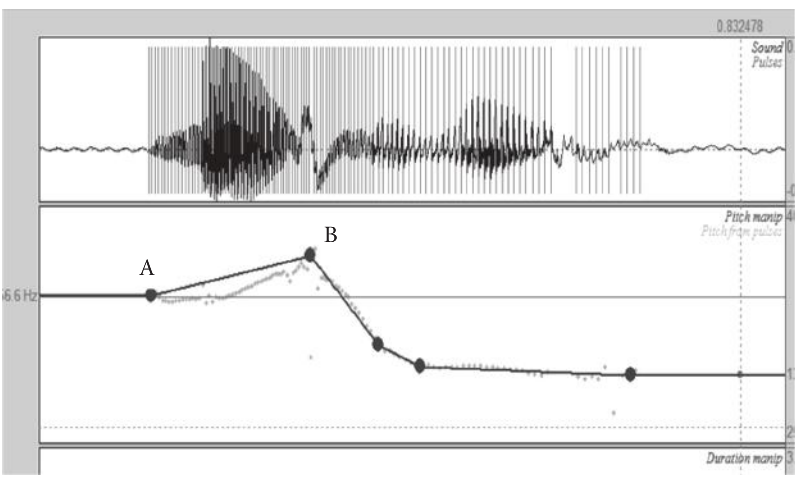

Figure 7. Stylized F0 contour for the English production *mandarins:* A and B indicate the point levels that were manipulated

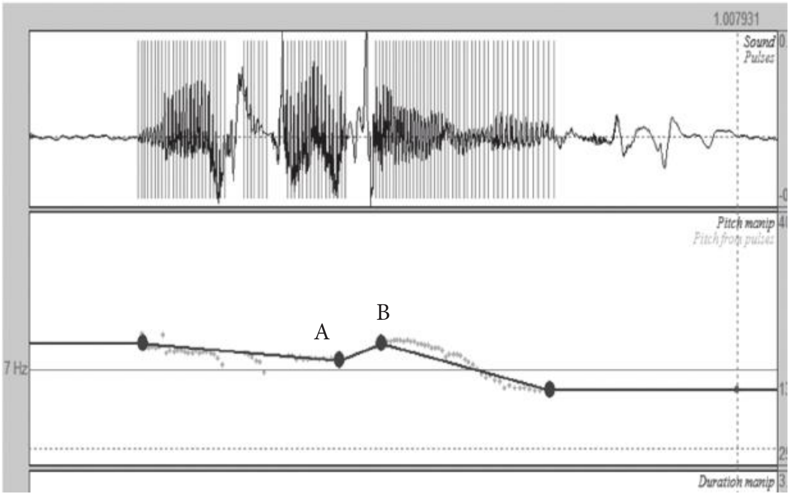

Figure 8. Stylized F0 contour for the Spanish production *mandarinas:* A and B indicate the point levels that were manipulated

height between the English and the Spanish productions (113 Hz) in four steps. For the English stimuli, a slope of 67 Hz difference was maintained between the two points so as to keep the same distance from the original productions. For the Spanish stimuli, the original slope difference of 29 Hz was also maintained. The values in Hz for the different stimuli are presented in Tables 2 and 3 for English and Spanish respectively.

Table 2. Values in Hz in point levels A and B for the different stimuli obtained from the original English production

A	B	
254	321	Original production
225	292	
200	264	4 steps of −28.2. Hz difference
169	236	
141	208	

Table 3. Values in Hz in point levels A and B for the different stimuli obtained from the original Spanish production

A	B	
292	321	
263	292	4 steps of +28.2. Hz difference
235	264	
207	236	
179	208	Original production

2.3 Perception test

Once the stimuli were created, a perception test was carried out with 15 native speakers of each language. The English listeners were from London and they were aged between 20 and 25 years old at the time of the recording. All of them had English parents and they were studying a degree at University College London (UCL). All the informants had studied a second language for a while but not Spanish. Overall there were 7 female speakers and 8 male speakers. The Spanish informants were from Madrid and were aged between 23 and 31 years old at the time of the recording. They were students at the Distance Learning University (UNED) in Spain. All of them had studied English at school but their level of English did not exceed B1 in the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). The group of Spanish informants consisted of 8 female and 7 male speakers.

The experiment was set up by means of the Perceval software developed in the Laboratoire de Parole et Langage, Aix-en-Provence (André, Ghio, Cavé and Teston 1995–2003). The stimuli were presented in three PC portable computers, using good quality closed headphones. In order to carry out the perception test, the speakers sat in a quiet room (at UCL and at UNED). A maximum of three informants could do the test at the same time. The informants listened to several repetitions of the stimuli for their own language randomly distributed. For each stimulus the speakers were asked to evaluate the productions: (1) as an *expected response* to the question *What did you buy?/¿Qué compraste?* or (2) as a *non-expected response* to the question *What did you buy?/¿Qué compraste?* Instructions were given that *expected* meant a *natural, polite* or *nice* response. *Non-expected* involved a *rude, impolite* or *over-excited* response. The informants were asked to press the E key for the expected response and the N key for the non-expected response. Each stimulus was assessed five times. Thus, each speaker listened to 25 stimuli. Overall 375 stimuli were evaluated for each language.

3. Results

The results confirmed that pitch range differences have an effect on the evaluation and interpretation of sentences in speakers from different languages and cultural backgrounds. Figure 9 shows the results for the English data. The percentage of expected responses is higher as the pitch range of the F0 peak increases. In other words, the informants evaluated the stimuli produced with a higher pitch as a more natural and polite declarative response to the wh-question. The results of the Spanish data presented in Figure 10 show the opposite behaviour. The percentage of expected responses in Spanish is higher for the utterances produced with the lower pitch range. Thus, the Spanish informants perceived the stimuli with a lower pitch range as a more natural and polite declarative response.

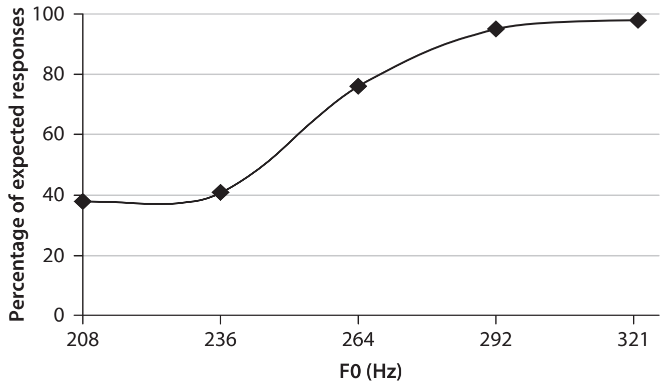

Figure 9. Percentage of expected responses for the five English stimuli

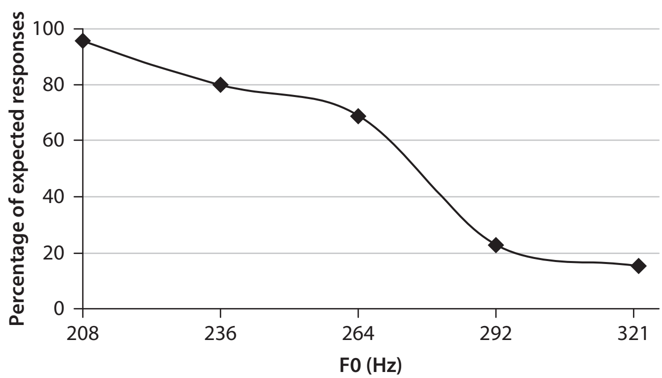

Figure 10. Percentage of expected responses for the five Spanish stimuli

The results presented in Figures 9 and 10 show that for both languages the utterances with the pitch height corresponding to steps 1–2 (208 Hz and 236 Hz) and steps 4–5 (292 Hz and 321 Hz) presented almost the same evaluation scores, indicating a clear-cut perception threshold between high accents produced with a narrow pitch range and those produced with a broad pitch range. T-tests comparing the evaluation scores between steps 1 and 2 and between steps 4 and 5 showed no significant differences ($p < 0.01$) in either language.

Table 4 includes the mean percentage of expected responses for steps 1–2 (low pitch range) and steps 4–5 (high pitch range) in the two languages. These results indicate that in English 96.5% of the utterances produced with a high pitch range were evaluated as an expected, polite and natural response to a wh-question. As far as the low pitch range productions are concerned, the results show that even though the majority of these sentences were evaluated as non-expected or rude (61.5%), still 38.5% of the low pitched utterances were perceived as natural and polite. This indicates that in English a low pitch range can sometimes be perceived as polite too. These results agree with the traditional models of intonational modelling in English (O'Connor and Arnold 1973; Crystal 1969; Cruttenden 1986; Wells 2006) which propose two tonal categories (*high-fall* and *low-fall*) to account for a final declarative intonation. Even though the high-fall tone tends to be the most common configuration and it is associated with a polite and involved meaning, a low-fall can also be attested.

Table 4. Mean percentage of expected responses at a low pitch range and at a high pitch range in the two languages

	Mean percentage of expected responses according to pitch range	
	Steps 1–2 (low pitch range)	**Steps 4–5 (high pitch range)**
English	38.5%	96.5%
Spanish	91.1%	17.0%

The results of the Spanish data presented in Table 4 are more categorical than the English results. Whereas 91.1% of the low pitched productions were associated with a natural and polite response, the utterances with a high pitch range were mainly evaluated as unexpected, impolite or over-excited. Only 17% of the high pitched utterances were perceived as a natural declarative intonation. These results also agree with the traditional analyses of Spanish intonation (Navarro Tomás 1974; Quilis 1993; Estebas-Vilaplana and Prieto 2008) which describe the last pitch movement of a neutral declarative sentence as low.

4. Discussion

The results of this study demonstrate empirically that members of a particular community showed a very high level of agreement as to which pitch patterns, in particular pitch range differences, are evaluated as most natural or polite in a given context. In particular, this study has provided evidence that English and Spanish speakers evaluate differently the amount of pitch displacement used in a declarative statement obtained as a response to a wh-question. Whereas English speakers find a broad pitch range as natural, expected and polite, Spanish speakers perceive a high pitch range as unnatural or overexcited. Similarly, a narrow pitch range is evaluated as natural and polite in Spanish, and as unexpected and rude in English. These findings agree with some of the results already attested in other cross-linguistic studies where pitch range variability was perceived differently among speakers of different languages, namely, English and German (Gibbon 1998; Eckert and Laver 1994; Mennen, Schaeffler and Docherty 2007, 2008 or Mennen, Chen and Karlsson 2010). Thus, the results of this study provide further support to the idea that pitch range differences should be taken into account to explain cross-cultural differences in the perception of politeness.

The findings presented in this chapter corroborate the idea that evaluation applies at different levels of linguistic description. It particular, the effects of pitch range variability on the perception of attitude with respect to the hearer demonstrate that evaluation permeates the phonological level of linguistic analysis. As stated in the introduction, traditional analyses on the study of politeness such as Brown and Levinson (1987) have not considered the effects of intonation on the evaluation of a given message. In this chapter, we have shown that intonation, and specifically pitch range variability, plays an important role in the evaluation and perception of politeness and that intonation may be used as an off-record strategy to convey indirect meanings.

The corpus used in this study has been based on experimental data and on controlled and manipulated speech. Even though the use of laboratory data is a first step to provide empirical evidence for several linguistic observations, real speech is far more complicated. Thus, my further research aims at analysing pitch range differences in longer sentences and as part of real interactions and conversations among speakers of an L2. In that respect, I would also like to investigate how pitch range strategies interact with other strategies to convey politeness (e.g. grammatical strategies, choice of wording, etc.) and examine to what extent pitch range variability can change the meaning of utterances and can be the cause of misunderstandings in an L2 setting.

The results obtained in this study open a new area of research in the learning and teaching of a second language. In the few cases that intonation is taught to students of an L2 such as English, the parameter that tends to be covered is *tone* (Halliday 1967). Tone has to do with the relevant pitch variations associated with a text. Thus, students are presented with some examples of the most common intonation patterns associated with specific utterance types. Intonation, however, is difficult to grasp and most of the times this input is not properly fixed. The results of our study suggest another parameter that can be taught in an L2 class, namely, *pitch range variability*. Making students aware of cross-linguistic differences in the production of pitch range can help them to achieve the expected communicative goals in the L2 and guarantee the principles of politeness expected in the other language. According to the results obtained in this study, it is crucial to instruct Spanish speakers to use a broader pitch range while speaking English since most of the times they interpreted high F0 peaks as non-expected and over-excited. English speakers, on the other hand, showed more variability in the evaluation of pitch range differences. This seems to indicate that they may have a better control of pitch displacement when using another language.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed evaluation with respect to the hearer. In particular, it has investigated how pitch range variability affects the evaluation of politeness among hearers of different cultural backgrounds, namely, English and Spanish speakers. A perception test based on manipulated data was designed so as to check how speakers of the two languages perceived and evaluated sentences produced with a different pitch range. 15 native speakers of each language evaluated 25 stimuli which consisted of several repetitions of a manipulated original declarative sentence obtained as a response to a wh-question. The stimuli only differed with respect to their F0 scaling. The results confirmed that pitch range variability has an impact on the evaluation of sentences in English and in Spanish. Utterances produced with a high pitch range were judged as natural and polite in English, and as unexpected and over-excited in Spanish. On the other hand, low pitch range productions were interpreted as polite in Spanish. In English most of the low pitched utterances were evaluated as unexpected and rude. However, a few responses showed that a low pitch range can sometimes be interpreted as polite too. These results show that evaluation can be analyzed not only from the speaker's but also from the hearer's perspective, and that it has many different phases and levels of application.

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SECTION 3

Evaluation in different contexts

CHAPTER 10

"An astonishing season of destiny!"

Evaluation in blurbs used for advertising TV series

Monika Bednarek

In this chapter I explore evaluation in DVD blurbs (the text on the back of DVD box sets for TV series), which promote television series to potential buyers. The approach taken to the analysis of evaluation is corpus linguistics, and this chapter reports on findings from a pilot study examining the blurbs for 50 contemporary American television series. A combination of frequency analysis and concordancing is used to examine the use of evaluation in these discourse types in terms of frequency, dispersion and functionality. The findings suggest that the discourse type of the DVD blurb is linguistically restricted – although not in terms of specific lexico-grammatical items, but rather in terms of pragmatic functions, and that it has much in common with both traditional advertising and book blurbs.

1. Introduction

In my contribution to this edited volume on "Evaluation in context", the context in which I explore evaluation is that of advertising, or promotional discourse (in a broad sense). Cook (2001: 1–3) offers many reasons for studying advertising, including the paradox between the ubiquity of advertising and the reluctance to pay attention to it. Indeed, texts that promote particular products or services are everywhere – this includes not only typical print ads, billboards and commercials (and now also advertising that makes use of the new media), but also the manifold texts on products themselves, for example on the back of a shampoo bottle promising that this particular shampoo will *deliver all your hair needs to stay strong, smooth and shiny*. We advertise just about everything through such texts, even books and television series, which are promoted through advertising discourse on the covers of books or DVD box sets. The latter are the focus of this chapter, which presents the findings of a preliminary study of the linguistic text on the back of DVD box sets, which functions as an advertisement for a fictional television series (Figure 1). To simplify matters, I will from now on refer to this discourse type as *DVD blurb*.[1]

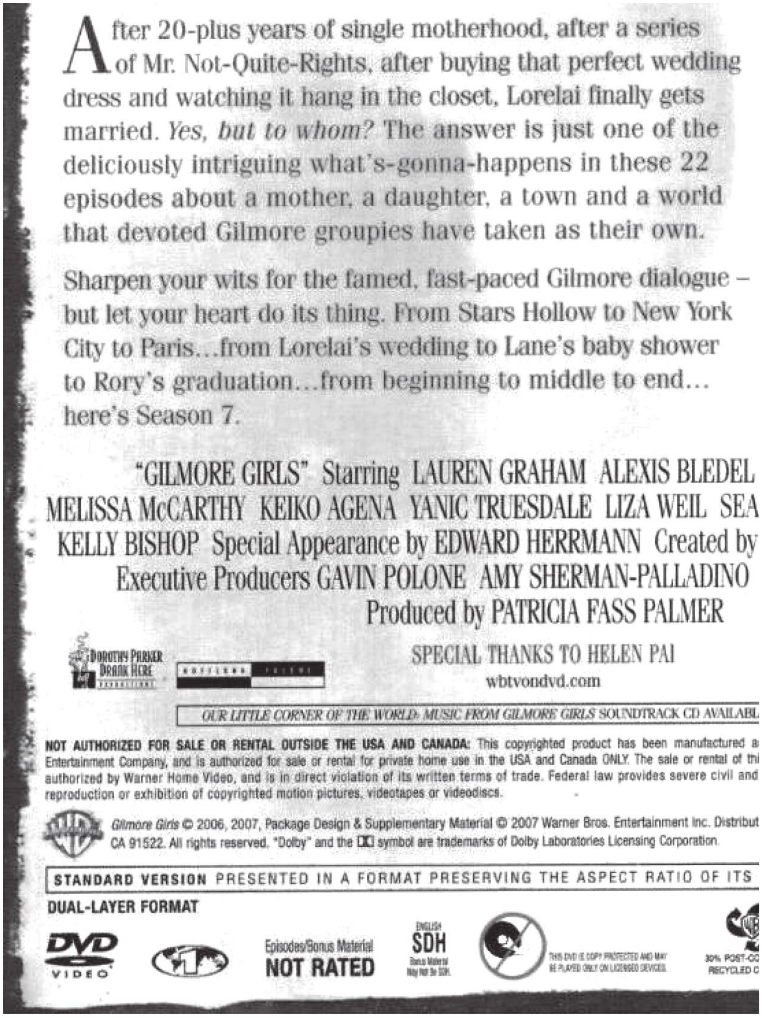

Figure 1. DVD blurb – an example

The findings reported on in this chapter are part of a bigger project involving contemporary American television, which aims to analyse both television dialogue *and* surrounding material, such as television title sequences and DVD blurbs – "paratexts" as Genette (1997) calls them. Genette uses the term *paratext* to refer to material that accompanies a literary work, such as prefaces, advertisements, press releases. These, he says, surround and extend the literary text "precisely in order to *present* it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption" (Genette 1997: 1, italics in original). Extending this term to non-literary scripted products, we can also talk about the paratexts surrounding other narratives, such as television series.

As one kind of paratext for TV series, DVD blurbs brand a TV series retrospectively – i.e. after it has been broadcast in at least one country. In persuading potential customers to buy the DVDs, they describe and thereby characterize or "brand" a series, but also position readers in particular ways, "construing" a target audience for the respective TV series. In Genette's terms, these texts are categorized as *publisher's epitexts*, which have a basic "marketing and 'promotional' function" (Genette 1997: 347). In Shaw's (2006) terms, the DVD blurb is an "interested", promotional genre. DVD blurbs appear not to have been systematically investigated yet, even though DVD box sets are a popular new way of consuming TV series (alongside other ways such as downloads, streaming, etc), and millions of consumers are exposed to these types of texts.

This chapter presents a corpus linguistic pilot study of DVD blurbs for 50 contemporary American TV series, all classifiable as fiction and targeted at an adult audience. In line with the topic of this edited volume, the main focus of this study is on the use of evaluation in this discourse type. As with much other advertising, evaluation is likely to be frequent in these texts, because of their promotional function (as discussed in more detail in Section 2). Advertising or promotional discourse has also attracted other scholars interested in studying the evaluative resources that underlie it (e.g. Kaltenbacher 2006; Shaw 2006; Pounds 2011). In the remainder of this chapter I will first introduce the discourse type of the DVD blurb as well as previous research indicating the linguistic features that can be expected to occur in it, and briefly present the corpus and analytical techniques. The majority of the chapter then discusses the use of evaluation in this discourse type from the point of view of frequency, dispersion and functionality. I conclude by testing the validity of the corpus findings by considering whether features identified in the corpus also occur in other DVD blurbs.

2. Advertising language and the DVD blurb

There is a significant amount of linguistic research on advertising language in general, including the book-length treatments in Cook (2001), Goddard (2002), Myers (1994), and Tanaka (1994). Such accounts explore the linguistic strategies used to advertise products and have identified recurring characteristics such as the use of the second person pronoun, questions, and imperatives to directly address and engage consumers. The vocabulary that is used in advertising has been connected to the specific qualities of the product that make it worth buying (e.g. Goddard 2002: 73). Evaluation has also been shown to be significant: As Bhatia

(2004: 63) suggests, appraising or evaluating the advertised product is a common move in advertising. More specifically, Shaw (2006) notes that intensification and references to emotional reactions commonly occur in promotional texts. Even where more informational content is included, this often carries evaluative connotations (Cook 2001) or ultimately functions to appraise the advertised product (Tanaka 1994: 36). I will draw on this general research into advertising language – which primarily focuses on prototypical forms of advertising such as print and broadcast ads – when discussing my findings for DVD blurbs below.

In addition to these more general accounts, linguistic research has also addressed specific kinds of advertising texts such as tourism websites (Kaltenbacher 2006) or online property advertising (Pounds 2011). Most closely related to the study reported on in this chapter is research by Bhatia (2004) and Gea-Valor (2005) on book blurbs as well as my own investigation into DVD blurbs for the TV series *Gilmore Girls* (Bednarek 2010).

Both Bhatia and Gea-Valor take a genre perspective and do not employ corpus linguistic techniques. Bhatia (2004) calls book blurbs a mixed genre (Bhatia 2004: 89–91), since they include both description and evaluation. He argues that typical examples of blurbs will include six moves (not all of which need occur in each blurb): headlines, justification of the book by establishing the field or niche, appraising the book by previewing, describing or establishing the value of the book, establishing credentials, endorsements and targeting the market. However, it remains unclear how many book blurbs Bhatia has analysed.

Gea-Valor (2005) studies 60-plus online blurbs provided by four publishers' websites for books published between September 2002 and June 2003. She proceeds via a manual analysis of "the most salient linguistic and discursive features of these texts" (Gea-Valor 2005: 47). Salient features of book blurbs that are thus identified include:

– Complimenting the book and/or author
– Elliptical syntactic patterns
– Imperatives
– Address form "you"
– Curiosity arousers (book excerpts, questions concerning their contents)

Gea-Valor also identifies three main moves: Description, Evaluation, and About the Author. While the main focus of this chapter will remain on evaluation in DVD blurbs, it will be interesting to note where the related discourse type of DVD blurbs features similarities with book blurbs.

My own research has focussed on the DVD blurbs for all 7 seasons of the comedy-drama hybrid *Gilmore Girls* (Warner Brothers 2000–2007) using a highly specialized corpus and analysing this both automatically and manually (Bednarek

2010). While I was able to explore in depth the use of evaluation and other linguistic features in *Gilmore Girls* DVD blurbs, it remains unclear to what extent these blurbs are representative of DVD blurbs in general. This chapter is a first attempt to address this issue, investigating evaluation in DVD blurbs with the help of a more representative corpus.

3. Corpus and methodology

3.1 Corpus

For the purposes of this investigation a corpus of 50 DVD blurbs was collected from various sources, and manually transcribed into .txt files.[2] The blurbs were collected for 50 different contemporary (year of first broadcast: 2000–2010) US American fictional television series representing a variety of genres as recognized in the industry (represented by the Internet Movie Database at www.imdb.com). The overall aim was to include television series from the basic genres of action, adventure, comedy, crime and drama. In order to avoid an influence of the season on the blurb text, ten blurbs were included from the first season of a series, ten from the second, ten from the third, ten from the fourth and ten from the fifth (see Table A1 in the appendix for corpus contents).

Comprising only 5454 words, this corpus is very small as far as corpus linguistic standards are concerned. However, each DVD blurb is very short and the corpus does include texts for 50 different series and is balanced for series and season. Further, Baker (2006) notes that "[i]f we are interested in examining a particular genre of language, then it is not usually necessary to build a corpus consisting of millions of words, especially if the genre is linguistically restricted in some way" (Baker 2006: 28). Similarly, Lee argues that "the more specialized the discourse, the less you need of it to get a representative corpus and generalizable results" (Lee 2007: 93–94). However, I will later investigate whether or not the results from this small corpus also apply to DVD blurbs that are not part of the corpus in order to test the validity of my findings.[3] For further discussion of the design of small specialized corpora see Koester (2010).

It is important to note that the transcribed corpus texts were originally located in a multimodal context – that is, the contents on the back of DVD box sets include semiotic resources other than language, which were not transcribed and are not part of the corpus. The DVD cover itself can be described as a multimodal discourse type or genre (cf. Bateman 2008). Figure 2 shows in detail what parts of the contents were transcribed and included in the corpus.

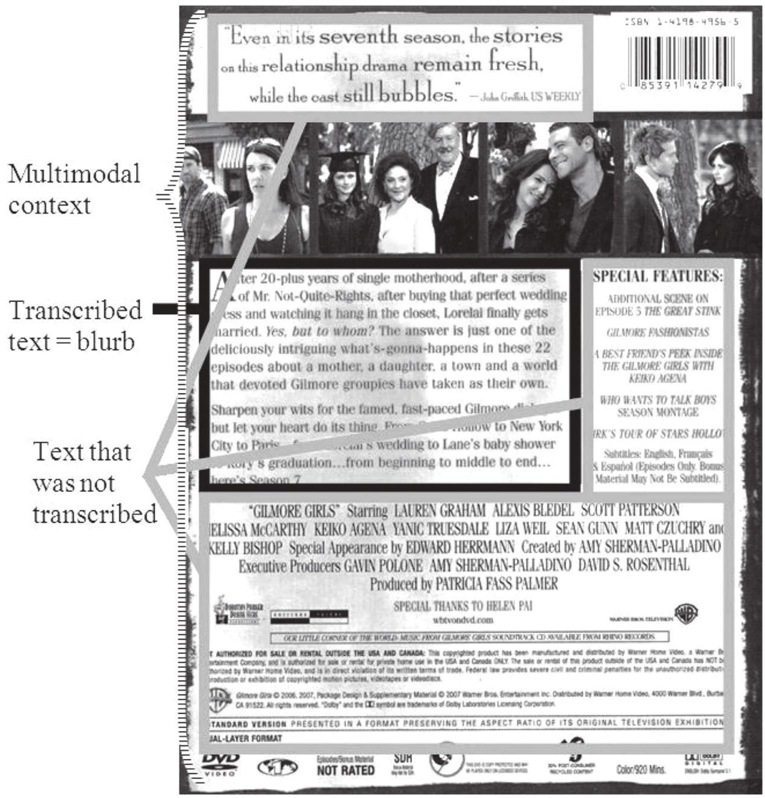

Figure 2. The blurb in its multimodal context

As mentioned, I proceed from the assumption that these texts are advertising texts whose purpose it is to persuade potential customers to buy the box set. This means that the writers of these texts "must take care to engage with what can be a diverse audience in an appropriate way" (Baker 2006: 50), and they do this through language (blurb, quotes, information on special features) as well as other semiotic resources (e.g. the pictures on the DVDs, colour schemes, graphology etc). Because only the actual "blurb" was included in the corpus, the corpus is representative of the DVD blurb, rather than the DVD cover text as a whole. These blurbs were chosen for this preliminary study because they are an important part of the cover text and can function independently of its other features: such blurbs are often repurposed, for example for use on shopping and other websites, and by services such as *quickflix* – the Australian equivalent of services such as Netflix and LoveFilm – where only the blurb (called "synopsis") is included on the DVD sleeve sent out to customers. This means that the audience of these blurbs is potentially very high and furthermore, that it is a *global* audience.

The corpus was tagged with QTag (Mason n.d.), a software that automatically annotates the corpus with part-of-speech information with an accuracy percentage in the mid to high 90s (Oliver Mason p.c.). The corpus could then be queried both in its untagged ("raw") and in its tagged version. The software programmes employed to query both versions are Wordsmith (Scott 2011) and AntConc (Anthony 2008) – both were used to ensure the reliability of the software results. The data and software programmes used for my pilot study here are publicly available (either for free or for a small fee), which is important because of replicability and ethics (McEnery and Hardie 2012: 66–67).

3.2 Methodology

In addition to close text analysis, corpus linguistics has long been used as an approach to analysing evaluation (see Hunston 2011 for a recent overview), offering a complementary perspective. Some of the key ways in which corpus linguistic techniques can be used to study evaluation include the following:

- searching for items previously identified as evaluative, such as modal verbs, evaluative lexis, evidential items, intensifiers, emotion terms, modal-like expressions – e.g. Biber et al. (1999), Hyland (2000), Bednarek (2006a, 2008), Kaltenbacher (2007), Hunston (2011);
- searching for a particular word or sets of words to study how concepts are evaluated in the corpus – e.g. Miller (1999, 2002), Hunston (2004), Bednarek (2010);
- searching for words or patterns in a corpus to identify if they have evaluative meaning – e.g. Hunston (2004);
- searching for patterns (e.g. link verb + adjective + *that* clause) associated with evaluation – e.g. Hunston and Sinclair (2000), Hunston (2004, 2011), Bednarek (2009);
- searching for frequent n-grams (clusters of n-word forms), some of which can then be identified as having an evaluative function – e.g. Römer (2008), Bednarek (2010, 2012).

The specific corpus techniques that I have applied in my pilot study of the DVD blurbs consist of three steps using both the untagged and the tagged corpus:

1. Identification of the 50 most frequent words in the untagged corpus and identifying those that are potentially evaluative – Bednarek and Caple (2012) call these "pointers" to evaluation. This is followed by an examination of their dispersion (i.e. distribution across the DVD blurbs in the corpus) and use of concordancing to identify their "discourse functions" (Bednarek 2006b).

2. Application of concordance analysis to study the evaluation that occurs in the co-text of the most frequent lexical word, as identified in step 1.
3. Application of concordance analysis to the tagged corpus to study evaluative adjectives. Adjectives are chosen because this part-of-speech is often associated with the expression of evaluation (cf. Taboada and Grieve 2004).

These three steps allow us to identify if there are any specific evaluative items or "evaluators" as I have previously called them (Bednarek 2006b) that are typical for DVD blurbs and what functions they fulfil. This procedure also allows us to identify the kinds of evaluation associated with the most salient (in terms of frequency) concept, i.e. "what attitude is taken towards a given entity" in the corpus (Hunston 2004: 178). Finally, it enables the exploration of evaluation more generally as expressed through adjectives and including lower frequency items. Using an inductive approach, follow-up analyses can be undertaken at each step, depending on phenomena that may be of potential analytical interest. The results of these corpus techniques are interpreted with a focus on evaluation, and are also compared with advertising discourse and the language of book blurbs.

4. Findings

4.1 Step 1

As mentioned, the first methodological step consists of a simple frequency analysis of the 50 most frequent words, with follow-up analyses of potentially evaluative items. In deciding which of the 50 items might be evaluative, I draw on Thompson and Hunston's (2000: 21) suggestion that evaluation can be identified in texts by looking for comparators (including comparative adjectives/adverbs, adverbs of degree, comparator adverbs, expressions of negativity), markers of subjectivity (e.g. modals) and markers of value (e.g. evaluative lexis, adjectives, adverbs, nouns, verbs, indicators of the existence of goal achievement).[4] The following are "pointers" to evaluation among the 50 most frequent words in my corpus:

– *but*, *while*, *as*, *all*, *more*, *never* → comparators
– *will*, *can* → modals
– *new* → indicating a desirable goal: "new" is always better in the world of advertising.[5]

The first question to ask with respect to these "pointers" of evaluation concerns their dispersion across the corpus – in how many texts do they occur and how much variation is there as to their frequency? As Gries points out, this can be more useful than considering frequency alone, and dispersion analysis "should belong to the standard procedure of interpreting corpus-linguistic data" (Gries 2006: 198). Table 1 shows the results.

Table 1. Dispersion of "pointers" across texts

"Pointer"	Raw frequency	Nº of texts	Average frequency	Standard deviation
but	27	21	1.285714	0.699854
while	14	14	1	0
as	48	29	1.655172	0.841831
all	24	18	1.333333	0.57735
more	16	15	1.066667	0.249444
never	14	13	1.076923	0.266469
will	27	18	1.5	1.013794
can	16	14	1.142857	0.349927
new	28	18	1.555556	0.761739

This table shows the raw frequency for each "pointer", together with the number of texts that it occurs in, the average frequency of occurrence and the standard deviation. The higher the number of texts, the more the pointer is dispersed across individual texts in the corpus. For instance, *as* occurs in 29 of the 50 texts, whereas *new* only occurs in 18. The average is simply the arithmetic mean, i.e., the raw frequency divided by the number of texts. The standard deviation shows variation in the data – the closer to 0, the less variation in the data. Thus, *while* has a standard deviation of zero, because it occurs once in every file where it occurs. *Will* has the highest variation with a standard deviation of 1.0: it occurs once in 13 files, twice in 3 files, three times in 1 file and five times in 1 file. The results for these "pointers" thus show that none of these are good predictors for DVD blurbs, because of their low dispersion across texts and at times high standard deviations. In other words, there is no one "pointer" that is likely to occur across all texts.

A further issue regarding Table 1 concerns the actual usage of these "pointers". Even if they did occur across all texts and had low standard deviations, this would not necessarily mean that they fulfil the same discourse functions across texts. A few example analyses will suffice to show that the "pointers" in Table 1 can indeed be used very differently. I will illustrate this by exploring concordances for *will* and *new*.

First, examining all 27 instances of *will* in the corpus, two occurrences are in fact not examples of the modal verb at all (*in Cesar's will; Will Gardner*) and need to be excluded. 11 instances of *will* are used as part of *wh-* (*how, who, what*) or *yes/no* questions (Figure 3).

```
                          will Olivia escape after her capture in the a
Dillon city limits. But will everyone be up to the challenge? Kyle C
float. What new dangers will the latest season contain for Walter Wh
on the "real" side? How will both realities react if they both disco
ere for each other. How will their alliances be challenged by the ar
l perhaps inform us, or will it?
 a ridiculous tailspin. Will Tara and her alters push through their
 answers? Season three, will perhaps inform us, or will it?
e alternative universe? Will the "other" Olivia cheat those on the "
EE stepped forward. Who will stand up to villains now that a heartbr
us new husband, and who will go head-to-head for "Housewife Of The Y
```

Figure 3. Questions using *will*

As far as evaluation is concerned, these do not express authorial evaluations about the likelihood of a future event, but function to arouse interest in readers (cf. Gea-Valor's category of *curiosity arousers* in book blurbs). Questions are also a general technique in ads, aimed at directly addressing and engaging readers (Myers 1994: 49–50).

14 instances *are* concerned with predictions about the future – two are attributed to others (*terrorists believe … will; whispers that … will*) and one predicts viewer behaviour (*a sexy and stormy seven-Disc DVD set that will have you begging for more*). The latter projects a very authoritative voice, implying strong certainty about and insight into how viewers will react, which in turn strengthens the positive evaluation of the DVD set, which is set to cause these positive reactions in viewers. The second person pronoun *you* is ubiquitous in advertising (Cook 2001: 157), where it is used as a powerful device to directly address readers and construct audience positions (Myers 1994: 88). It also occurs in book blurbs (Gea-Valor 2005).

But the majority of the predictions simply tell viewers what will happen in the particular season (Figure 4).

```
's Disease, which killed his father), Paul will be treating three new patients (Deb
his motives for wanting Stefan on his side will be revealed during season three. St
 survivors of Oceanic Flight eight-fifteen will discover that the only thing more c
n years in the making - and only a miracle will disrupt the scheduled attacks that
 River Penitentiary, but Michael Scofields will do anything to get in. His brother
tive Guerrero (Jackie Earle Haley), Chance will have unlimited means to protect the
 all while pursuing new possibilities that will lead many beyond the Dillon city li
arter is being replaced. The new commander will not only have to face the slightly
Lord Rahl had done before him. This secret will not sit well on the ordinary people
Winger, Irrfan Khan, and Dane DeHaan), and will see a new therapist (Amy Ryan) in M
ing in, Echo must trace a rogue Active who will stop at nothing to bring Dollhouse
```

Figure 4. Predictions of narrative events using *will*

These are evaluative in the sense that they express a particular degree of certainty about these predictions, using *will* instead of *may*, *could* etc. They function to inform readers about events and happenings, but as with book blurbs (Bhatia 2004; Gea-Valor 2005) and other advertising language (see Tanaka 1994: 36) this information works in the overall purpose of these blurbs, which is to persuade potential consumers to buy the product. In other words, appraising a product can be accomplished through previewing its contents (Bhatia 2004: 174). The events that are predicted to occur in the TV series often carry particular connotations (which is typical of advertising discourse, cf. Cook 2001), and are presumably used to arouse interest. To sum up, the analysis of *will* shows a range of very different discourse functions of the modal verb, which are not evenly distributed or dispersed across the corpus. While the various predictions might be classified as evaluative with regards to likelihood/reliability, the use of *will* in questions is arguably not evaluative per se, although it has a very important interpersonal function.

Next, let us briefly consider *new* (28 occurrences). In the corpus this is used eight times as part of location names (e.g. *New York*), i.e. without connoting the positive advertising goal of "newness" and without being evaluative. The remaining twenty instances (all classifiable as evaluative in the sense of indicating a desirable goal; see above and Note 5) can be divided into those that feature reference to new storylines (17) and those that evaluate qualities of the TV series (2), plus one negated reference (*not-so-new*). References to new storylines are equally divided between those concerning characters (e.g. *new commander, man, leaders, therapist, husband, boss*) and those concerning both abstract and concrete events and happenings (e.g. *new relationships, challenges, possibilities, arrivals, dangers*), usually in the plural. This can be related to TV series' appeal of offering viewers both intimacy/continuity/security in featuring familiar characters and suspense/entertainment/novelty in offering new storylines. These statements construe the events in the respective TV series as unexpected, surprising and therefore interesting, making viewers curious to know more. As I have argued in relation to *Gilmore Girls* blurbs, they claim that "'things are happening' in the series; it's not the 'same old, same old'" (Bednarek 2010: 54–55).

The two instances that directly evaluate the series itself occur in the context of explicit and intensified evaluations and either compare the show with others (*A show that … sets a* ***new*** *high benchmark in television drama*) or with its televised version, giving even those already familiar with the series a reason for buying the DVD box set (*Exploding with excitement and never-before seen extras, LOST reaches* ***new*** *heights on DVD*). Non-negated *new* thus has two discourse functions in the corpus, the most dominant one being that of referring to new storylines in order to attract viewer interest.

While we could continue with a close analysis of other "pointers" to evaluation, these two examples confirm that a corpus linguistic analysis of evaluation can never simply proceed from frequency analysis, but must always include concordancing. It also supports the view that a phraseological approach to evaluation is necessary (e.g. Römer 2008; Hunston 2011), because the specific discourse functions of the pointers clearly depend on their co-text, and the evaluative meaning resides in the pattern, rather than in the "pointer" alone. I would also argue that for a discourse-based corpus analysis it would make sense to do calculations for the raw frequencies, averages and standard deviations of *discourse functions* rather than, or in addition to, occurrences of *word forms/phrases*.

4.2 Step 2

In step 2, the most frequent lexical word identified in step 1 (here: *season*) is subjected to concordance analysis for co-textual evaluation. This allows the analyst to identify how a particularly important entity is evaluated in the corpus. Searching for *season** (* is a wildcard which stands for zero/more characters) finds all instances of the lemma *season* in the corpus, although the clear majority are instances of *season* (46), with only one instance respectively of *seasons* and *season's* (see Figure A1 in the appendix). The lemma occurs in 70% of all blurbs (35/50), with an average of 1.37 occurrences and a standard deviation of 0.68. I am not going to describe the complete phraseology of this lemma, but rather focus on evaluation.

The first pattern to observe is that *season** occurs frequently with evaluative adjectives premodifying the noun. Only two occurrences include evaluation through post-modification (*of destiny; of one of the most critically acclaimed TV dramas of all time*). These premodifying adjectives express meanings such as unexpectedness (*astonishing*, *astounding*), importance (*landmark*, *pivotal*), humorousness (*hilarious* [3 occ.]), excitement and suspense (*sizzling, exciting, explosive* [3 occ.], *enthralling, compelling*), and popularity (*hottest*). Many of these refer to caused audience reactions and concern emotional responses, and most are clearly concerned with positive evaluation. This is similar to findings by Gea-Valor (2005) for book blurbs, where praise of the book (Complimenting the book) appeals to the emotions readers will feel when consuming it. Shaw (2006) also mentions that references to readers' emotional reactions are common in other promotional texts. Interestingly, some of these adjectives are not straightforwardly associated with positive evaluation (*bittersweet*; *debaucherous and decadent; over-the-top, wicked*), but are clearly used to refer to specific qualities of content that are positively valued in contemporary television drama.

Positive evaluation of the season is also expressed by reference to industry recognition (*Emmy-winning*). To explore this phenomenon more fully, I undertook follow-up searches for *award** as well as for the names of the most known television awards, the Golden Globes and the Emmys (Figure 5).

```
dered by Jesse. In Season four of the award-winning drama, Walt and Jesse
 forces of attraction in this genius, award-winning comedy.
cally acclaimed programs, the Peabody Award-winning drama series "The

n ever in the third season of WEEDS.  Emmy and Golden Globe winner MARY-
                                      Emmy Award Winner Tina Fey writes,
 Soup"), Ken Jeong (The Hangover) and Emmy Award winner Chevy Chase.
is Golden Globe winning and Primetime Emmy Award-nominated role as Dr.
turing guest appearances by Primetime Emmy Award winner Zeljko Ivanek
ping of Pushing Daisies, the multiple Emmy Award-winning series.  In this
 for American television by Primetime Emmy Award-winner Greg Daniels.  The
 for the student body begins as Tara (Emmy Award winner Toni Collette) and
                       WINNER OF SIX EMMY AWARDS, including Outstanding
n's thirteen). House is the Primetime Emmy Award-winning series that
ne Baranski) and best friend Kalinda (Emmy winner Archie Panjabi), and
                             In this Emmy-winning comedy's hilarious thir

series from Showtime, starring Golden Globe winner Michael C. Hall,
e game better than Don Draper (Golden Globe-winner John Hamm), the biggest
thing back as Alicia Florrick (Golden Globe)winner Julianna Margulies)
ird season of WEEDS.  Emmy and Golden Globe winner MARY-LOUISE PARKER
k Donaghy (Alec Baldwin in his Golden Globe winning role) interferes with
   Hugh Laurie returns to his Golden Globe winning and Primetime Emmy
```

Figure 5. Television awards in the corpus

The 21 references to television awards occur in 30% of the blurbs (15/50) and are used to positively evaluate either actors, their performance, or, less frequently, the series as a whole. References to awards also occur in book blurbs, where they are used as a guarantee for quality (Gea-Valor 2005).

Intensification plays a big role, too: Most of these adjectives are examples of intensified lexis – what may be called "infused" lexis where "the scaling is conveyed as but one aspect of the meaning of a single term" (Martin and White 2005: 144). Thus *compelling* conveys a higher degree of intensity than, say, *interesting*. Other adjectives function in and of themselves to intensify (*complete* [3 occ.]), are used in the superlative (*hottest*) or occur with attitudinal intensifiers (*hilariously irreverent*, *outrageously over-the-top*, *most wonderfully wicked*). Intensification is typical of promotional language (Shaw 2006), and superlative constructions are also common in book blurbs, complimenting the book or the author (Gea-Valor 2005). Another recurring pattern concerns quantification, with the following phraseologies common in the corpus: ***all** 24 episodes of season; **all six** season 2 episodes!; **six-disc, twenty-two episode** season; **twenty-five-episode, seven-disc** Season Two*. These imply positive evaluations by trying to convince consumers that they are getting a lot for their money, even if this may not in fact be the case (c.f.: ***all six** season 2 episodes*). Other ways in which evaluations can be associated with *season* include its use as part of prepositional phrases with *in, during, with, of*. Prepositional phrases with *in* and, less frequently, *during* evaluate the season by reference to what is happening in it, often featuring evaluation or intensification:

(1) Hugh Laurie returns to his Golden Globe winning and Primetime Emmy Award-nominated role as Dr. Gregory House *in House: Season Five!*

(2) America's favourite pot-dealing soccer mum is more addictive than ever *in the third season of WEEDS.*

(3) Scranton's most outrageous workforce is back to give their clients the business *in the fifth hilarious season of The Office.*

(4) *In this sizzling twenty-five-episode, seven-disc Season Two,* you never know what's next for Serena, Blair, Dan, Nate, Jenny, Chuck and Vanessa.

(5) *In this season,* Papen County's Pie Maker with a witching finger for waking the dead, and his alive-again love Chuck, have more on the menu than a Terrifying Bee-Man and a Deep Friend Chicken Magnate.

(6) … his motives for wanting Stefan on his side will be revealed *during season three*

Prepositional phrases using *with* are all co-textually associated with imperatives/ commands, addressing the viewer:

(7) Share the laughter and relive the fun *with all sixteen hilarious Season One episodes*

(8) Join in the behind-the-scenes hilarity *with the complete first season (twenty-one episodes) on DVD.*

(9) Discover – or rediscover – why *with this two-Disc Set of all six Explosive Season Two Episodes.*

(10) Find out *with all twelve debaucherous and decadent Season Four episodes in this two-disc set.*

(11) Immerse yourself in the boldest show on television *with every mysterious twist and turn of LOST's addictive Fourth Season.*

Imperatives/commands also occur in book blurbs (Gea-Valor 2005) and are in general typical of advertising. This is because the imperative "will create a personal effect, a sense of one person talking to another" (Myers 1994: 47), and the actions that readers are invited to perform are presented as benefits rather than obligations (Myers 1994: 48). The use of the imperative also "creates the effect of advice coming from an unseen authoritative source" (Beasley and Danesi 2002: 120). In this case, the imperative seems to be part of the particular pattern IMP + *with*-prepositional phrase including the noun *season*.

Finally, *season* also occurs as subject, in references to the narrative contents the season promises (*brings*; *features*; *holds nothing back; proves; unleashes*). The descriptions of these contents include intensification (*brings* ***not just*** *one*, ***but*** *two* *new arrivals; features **a host of***), positive evaluation (***hilarious** guest stars; twenty-six **uproarious** episodes; proves that karma is a **funny** thing*) or controversy/dramatization (*unleashes a show that **pushes boundaries** (**sometimes breaking them**)*; *What **new dangers** will the latest season contain for Walter White?*). Similar to the predictions with *will* discussed above, these references to narrative content, which are furthermore often intensified, positively evaluated or dramatized, work both to appraise the series and are used to arouse interest by reference to the televisual narrative.

4.3 Step 3: Moving beyond the "raw" corpus

The analysis of *season* has shown that adjectives are used commonly in the corpus to express evaluation. To explore the use of evaluative adjectives further, a tagged corpus can be used (i.e. a corpus where each word is annotated with a part-of-speech code called a "tag"), with a software search for the adjective tag "JJ" returning 473 occurrences. I do not have the space to offer a complete analysis of these here, but will focus only on *valence*, i.e. the positivity or negativity of the evaluation. I will also undertake some follow-up analyses of interesting aspects that arise, proceeding inductively.

Adjectives that are clearly positive relate to several domains:

– The DVD set or the TV series, including genre name, series name, etc (e.g. *addictive fourth season; compelling fifth season; hilarious and subversive* [name of TV series]; *breathtaking episodes; chic episodes; award-winning drama; genius comedy; original series; sexy DVD set; sexy thriller; bonus-packed deluxe six-disc DVD set; exclusive bonus features; this unique and dynamic show; cutting-edge TV drama; first-rate writing; a terrific show*);
– Actors and their performance (e.g. *hilarious guest stars; Golden Globe winning role; the irresistible chemistry of* [actor name] *and* [actor name]; *the stunningly talented* [actor name]);

These two are straightforward and explicit positive evaluations of the DVD box set and the series. Interestingly, there are a few instances where evaluative language that is more commonly associated with humans or with particular kinds of products such as fashion, clothes, haircuts (*sexy*, *chic*, *genius*) is applied to a semiotic product. It also becomes apparent that humour is one of the selling points (*funny* [2 occ.], *hilarious* [8 occ.], *uproarious*, *laugh-out loud*) reflecting the comedies or comedy-hybrids that are included in the corpus. Positive adjectives also relate to the following domains:

– Narrative contents, including characters, happenings, etc (e.g. *sexy, spirited wife; America's favourite pot-dealing soccer mum; steadfast lawman; Monk's hilarious antics; compelling situations; a tough, highly-skilled investigator; the awesome threesome's; our beloved Upper East Siders; a brave, selfless man; responsible husband and doting dad; the only fair thing to do; the glamorous world of advertising; the lovable loser; a lucrative venture; the perfect burglar; he's smart as hell*);
– References to the audience (*devoted fans; loyal fans*).

References to narrative contents can be used to evaluate characters and events positively, perhaps indicating that they are watchable because of these positive characteristics, and can even make explicit reference to audience emotions (*America's favourite…*). In fact, many of the attitudinal meanings – regardless of the domain of reference – include as part of their meaning an indication of the audience's mental reactions (e.g. *beloved, breathtaking, captivating, compelling* [3 occ.], *enthralling, exciting, gripping, impassioned (support)*, *intriguing* [2 occ.], *irresistible, pulse-pounding, riveting, thrilling*), as already indicated by the analysis of *season*. The main selling point appears to be the extent to which the TV series captures and "holds" viewers' mental attention.

References to the audience as *devoted* and *loyal* explicitly evaluate the TV series' fans. To follow up on the latter phenomenon, I searched for all occurrences of *fan** in the corpus. While only 5 of the 6 occurrences refer to the audience (Figure 6), these 5 instances occur in different blurbs, i.e. in 10% of all texts.

```
lling and heart-wrenching situations devoted fans know can only be seen unde
DVD. It's a must-have for any Grey's Anatomy fan!
impassioned support from its legion of loyal fans.
imed series Southland has garnered a devoted fan base.  Discover—or rediscov
a sidesplitting five-disc collection no true fan of The Office can afford to
```

Figure 6. The audience as fans

As I have argued with respect to the *Gilmore Girls* blurbs, where such references also occur, these

> either help to construe the readership of these texts as "knowledgeable fans" or point the "uninitiated" to the fact that [the TV series] is well known and in fact has many fans, that is, is well worth getting to know. References to fans […] also background the narrator's own voice, and make it clear that his/her positive evaluations are shared by many. They turn the act of watching [a TV series] into a communal and social activity rather than an individual experience […]. On the other hand, they confirm that it is natural for audience members to form an emotional attachment to a series and its characters. (Bednarek 2010: 55)

Significantly, many adjectives are also negative. The vast majority of these are used with reference to narrative contents, including characters, events etc. These commonly evaluate characters as in some way flawed (e.g. *bad-boy novelist; the ruthlessly competitive men and women; his disorderly, demented (and downright dysfunctional) family; an aggressive detective; his abnormal fears; a dour neurobiologist, a group of cops brutally effective at eliminating crime and not afraid of working outside of the law to do it; bored with his own success*). In some cases, the negativity refers to potential consequences for other characters (*dangerous felons*), concern relationships between characters (*Jessie becomes increasingly aloof; Tru's estranged father*) or relate to negative emotions (*her broken heart*). References to situations and happenings are also common (e.g. *bad news; the only thing more dangerous than the island; a dark tragedy strikes; the power struggles have never been more brutal; a devastating nuclear explosion; the devious plot; dirty deeds; a disturbing secret, heart-wrenching situations*). In addition to these, we can also find more descriptive adjectives, such as *dead, deadly, bloody, murdered, incarcerated*, etc which refer to narrative aspects that are negative for characters. In sum, it appears that the negativity works to create a televised world that is dramatic, full of flawed characters, negative happenings, dangers, tragedies and intrigues. This is in turn likely to make an audience interested in engaging with this world. So while it might at first glance seem that the DVD blurbs differ from other promotional genres where evaluation is predominantly positive (Shaw 2006), the negativity functions in fact to promote the series and attract viewer interest.

Interestingly, there are also a few adjectives that are used to directly evaluate the TV series, the season or its episodes, and that appear to be negative or at least not positive. But as I have argued above, these refer to specific qualities of content (such as *provocative*, *explosive*, *chaotic*) that are in fact positively valued in contemporary television drama. Finally, there is also one negative evaluation of the outside world (*MODERN FAMILY is a refreshingly hilarious look at what it means to be a family in* ***today's hectic, unpredictable world***), presumably to emphasize the relevance of this fictional series to the real world.

Advertising discourse often features vocabulary items that are "strongly connected with the product's proposed 'unique selling proposition' – the quality that makes the product a 'must' to buy." (Goddard 2002: 73). In addition to humour, flawed characters, and dramatic content, some of the selling points expressed through adjectives include mysteries, difficulties, secrets (e.g. *complex, mysterious* [4 occ.], *challenging*, *difficult*, *hard*, *secret* [3 occ.], *uncanny*, *uncharted*) and unexpectedness and novelty (e.g. *astonishing* [2 occ.], *new* [as above], *odd*, *quirky*, *rare*, *shocking*, *strang*e, *unique*, *unlike anything*, *unprecedented*). Such evaluations construe the world of the promoted series as worthy of our attention, because it is likely to feature both new and mysterious events. Bhatia, in commenting on one book blurb for a thriller also describes how this blurb construes events as "mysterious, suspenseful and spine-tingling, all of which indicate a fictional world of mystery, suspense and intrigue, a perfect combination for a bestseller" (Bhatia 2004: 177). The extent to which blurbs use these kinds of evaluations is likely to depend on the genre of the promoted TV series (e.g. action, adventure, drama).

Finally, intensifying/quantifying adjectives also occur frequently (e.g. *big* [2 occ.], *complete* [6 occ.], *full* [4 occ.], *huge*, *multiple*, *numerous* [2 occ.]) and a search for the tags for comparative and superlative adjectives reveals ten instances of the former (*larger, better* [2 occ.], *longer, higher, brighter, bolder, higher, darker*) – occurring across 9 texts – and 15 of the latter (*best, biggest, closest, greatest, hottest* [3 occ.], *juiciest, latest* [4 occ.], *newest, strongest, youngest*) – occurring across 11 texts. This confirms the results from the analysis of *season* above and indicates that DVD blurbs, like book blurbs and other advertising language make great use of comparative and superlative language to promote their product.

5. Testing the findings

Many tendencies that were observed in the corpus are in line with a previous analysis of *Gilmore Girls* blurbs (see Bednarek 2010 for further detail). This suggests that the discourse type of the DVD blurb is in fact linguistically restricted – even if not in terms of specific lexico-grammatical items, but rather in terms of pragmatic functions. This would mean that even if we increase the size of the corpus we would not necessarily discover new findings. In other words, the small corpus used here appears to be relatively representative of the discourse type of the DVD blurb. To test this assumption, we can explore whether or not the features of the DVD blurb that can be predicted on the basis of the corpus findings above occur in two randomly chosen blurbs that are not included in the corpus (Examples (12) and (13)).

(12) Life. Death. Guilt. Afterlife. For the Fishers, the more things stay the same, the more they change. Get ready to break new emotional ground with *Six Feet Under: The Complete Third Season.* (Blurb for season 3 of *Six Feet Under*, originally broadcast in 2003, DVD released in 2005)

(13) Laura Linney stars in her Golden Globe-winning role as Cathy Jamison, a 42-year-old schoolteacher who has always played by the rules. That is, until she receives a life-changing diagnosis. But instead of giving up, Cathy decides to live it up! Nothing and no one is safe, including her self-absorbed family, her cantankerous neighbour, and her smart-ass students. Oliver Platt (TV's "Huff") and Gabourey Sidibe (Precious) shine in this talented ensemble. Brutally honest, unapologetically funny and perfectly profound. *THE BIG C* is a surprisingly different comedy that reminds us that life is always worth living on our own terms. (Blurb for season 1 of *The Big C*, originally broadcast in 2010, DVD released in 2011)

Though very short, Example (12) does include features that can be predicted from the corpus findings:

– It includes a reference to new storylines using the adjective *new* (and through reference to change)
– It includes the noun *season*, which is used with an intensifying adjective (*complete*)
– It includes the pattern IMP + *with*-prepositional phrase comprising the noun *season*
– It includes a reference to viewers' mental reactions likely to be caused by the TV series (*Get ready to break new* ***emotional*** *ground*)

Example (13) is longer, but interestingly does not feature an instance of the noun *season*. This could be because it is a blurb for the first season of a series. In other words, there might be a lower likelihood of references to the season when the blurb introduces a TV series for the first time. In fact, only 4 out of the 10 season 1 DVD blurbs in the corpus include the noun *season* as opposed to 7/10 (season 2 and 3), 8/10 (season 4) and 9/10 (season 5), although I have not yet tested this for statistical significance.

However, we can find many of the other predictable blurb features such as a reference to awards (*Golden Globe-winning role*), using adjectives to express positive evaluations of a series (*honest, funny, profound*) and its actors (*talented ensemble*), and negative evaluations of flawed characters (*self-absorbed family; cantankerous neighbor; smart-ass students*), intensification using attitudinal and other intensifiers (*brutally, unapologetically, perfectly*), and references to humour and novelty as a selling point (*unapologetically funny*, *surprisingly different*). It could also be claimed that the use of *brutally honest* is another example where an evaluation that is not straightforwardly positive is used to refer to a specific quality of TV content that is likely to be positively valued in contemporary TV. Arguably, there is also an external world reference, which emphasizes the relevance of the fictional to the real world, which is phrased as a timeless truth that applies to us, the audience, in our real lives (*reminds us that life is always worth living on our own terms*).

To conclude this test, I would argue that there is nothing concerning the use of evaluation in these two DVD blurbs that has not already been identified using the corpus of 50 texts,[6] and that this would indicate that despite its small size the corpus has a high degree of representativeness as far as evaluation is concerned. Nevertheless, more testing should be done, for instance quantitatively measuring the degree of closure/saturation for various linguistic features in the corpus, i.e. to what extent "the feature appears to be finite or is subject to very limited variation beyond a certain point" (McEnery et al. 2006: 16).

6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have used corpus linguistic techniques to offer a preliminary study of the discourse type of DVD blurbs. As the analyses have shown, there is much in common between the language of traditional advertising and that of blurbs, and I have taken the starting point that DVD blurbs constitute a particular type of advertising discourse. As could be seen, there are similarities both as far as particular linguistic features are concerned (e.g. the use of comparison, imperatives, pronoun *you*) and as far as functions are concerned. For example, in the blurbs as in other advertising (Bhatia 2004: 64) description and evaluation work in the service of product differentiation. One of the questions, then, that needs further exploration concerns that of genre: are blurbs examples of advertising or are they only a "closely related marketing genre that has remarkable similarities with advertising" (Bhatia 2004: 89)? Thus, Bhatia calls book blurbs "primary members of the colony of promotional genres" (2004: 62), alongside advertisements, sales promotion letters and job advertisements. And are book blurbs and DVD blurbs (and other blurbs) members of the same genre or members of closely related genres? These questions could be explored using a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, drawing on an investigation of specific linguistic features as well as on move analysis – which in itself could be undertaken manually or automatically using software such as AntMover (Anthony 2003). Genre also comes into play when we consider the TV series that a particular blurb promotes – what are linguistic consequences of the genre of the promoted TV series (e.g. comedy vs. drama)? This type of analysis would be complicated by the fact that many TV series are hybrids (Dunn 2005). Finally, Shaw (2006) argues that we need to make a distinction between promotional discourse or language (characterized by positive content, reference to emotion/affect, positive evaluation and intensification) and promotional genres. Thus a promotional genre can, but need not make use of promotional language. It would seem to me that corpus and discourse analysis and analysis of evaluation are particularly well suited to explore such and similar questions.

Indeed, the analyses here could be extended in various ways, such as: looking at other parts of speech, categorizing evaluative features using different theoretical frameworks; using computer-assisted manual annotation of evaluation in the corpus with the help of a software programme such as UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell 2013), and so on. Other linguistic features such as ellipsis, type/token ratios, length, sentence type and structure also deserve some attention as does the multimodal context of the blurb. Finally, the focus of this study was on blurbs as a *product*, but its production by professionals and its interpretation by audiences as well as its wider relation to society are certainly aspects that are worthy of future attention. To end on a less serious note, I hope the reader does not mind if I bastardize some of the blurb quotes from above:

> *With such a host of exhilarating research opportunities will you tune in for the next captivating instalment no true linguist can afford to miss?*

Notes

1. Partington (2010) suggests that the term *discourse type* is preferable to other terms such as *text-type* or *genre* since it does not imply written language (text-type) and since genre "is a term which is accompanied by a huge baggage in the literature" (Partington 2010: 88).

2. Most of this corpus was compiled by Cassandra Fawcett, who worked as a research assistant on this project. Some of the texts were also compiled by students as part of an assignment for a corpus linguistic unit taught in 2010. I am very grateful to both.

3. I am thankful to Laurence Anthony for this suggestion. Similarly, Stubbs has proposed that checking corpus findings on different data allows the researcher to find out "whether they were an artefact of one single data-set" (2001: 124).

4. These linguistic features are also recognized as significant in other approaches to evaluation, such as stance (Biber et al. 1999), appraisal (Martin and White 2005) or a parameter-based approach (e.g. Bednarek 2006b; Bednarek and Caple 2012).

5. The adjective *new* is potentially defining and therefore not explicitly evaluative (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 318–319). However, in the context of advertising, the adjective has clear positive connotations and is in fact one of the adjectives that occur frequently in adverts (Goddard 2002: 73).

6. It might be argued that these two blurbs provide new insights into the use of nouns and verbs, but because these parts-of-speech were not analysed in the corpus, this in itself does not tell us anything about the representativeness of the corpus.

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Appendix

Table A.1 Corpus contents

Name of advertised TV series	**Season**
NCIS, Prison break, Birds of Prey, The Shield, Community, 30 Rock, Malcolm in the Middle, Monk, Dollhouse, Mad Men	1
Rome, Human Target, Jericho, Legend of the Seeker, Tru Calling, The Good Wife, Southland, Modern Family, Pushing Daisies, Gossip Girl	2
Castle, Deadwood, Arrested Development, Entourage, United States of Tara, Weeds, Fringe, The L Word, In Treatment, The Vampire Diaries	3
24, Lost, Breaking Bad, Dexter, Bones, Californication, The Big Bang Theory, My Name is Earl, Supernatural, True Blood	4
Stargate Atlantis, Smallville, The Wire, The Office, Desperate Housewives, How I Met Your Mother, Friday Night Lights, Grey's Anatomy, House, Rescue Me	5

1	ehind-the-scenes hilarity with the complete first	**season**	(twenty-one episodes) on DVD.
2	In this Emmy-winning comedy's hilarious third	**season,**	Michael Bluth finally
3	is cutting-edge TV drama at its most compelling!!	**Season**	Four finds FBI agent Booth
4	t as head meth cooker—to be murdered by Jesse. In	**Season**	four of the award-winning
5	Norris), who is recovering from his shooting last	**season,**	financially afloat. What new
6	ancially afloat. What new dangers will the latest	**season**	contain for Walter White?
7	he Showtime original series Californication ended	**Season**	Three with the bad-boy
8	ind out with all twelve debaucherous and decadent	**Season**	Four episodes in this two-
9	wless era of Deadwood is coming to an end. As the	**season's**	first elections approach it
10	r"? It promises to be the most wonderfully wicked	**season**	yet for the sirens of
11	er's back and now he's one killer dad! The Fourth	**Season**	brings not just one, but two
12	building to this…the bittersweet fifth and final	**season**	of one of the most critically
13	re the two Walter's heading for the same answers?	**Season**	three, will perhaps inform
14	In this sizzling twenty-five-episode, seven-disc	**Season**	Two, you never know what's
15	vision burns even brighter in its explosive fifth	**season.**	Dive deeper into the lives
16	ard-nominated role as Dr. Gregory House in House:	**Season**	Five! House pushes new
17	ll twenty-four episodes from the compelling fifth	**season.**	Featuring guest appearances
18	It's	**Season**	Five and the search for a sou
19	ommits a major violation of "The Bro Code." Plus,	**Season**	Five features a host of
20	himself a "human target" in this explosive second	**season!**	After rescuing his
21	f individual psychotherapy sessions, In Treatment	**Season**	three continues to center
22	Jericho returns for a second astounding	**season**	thanks to the unprecedented
23	terious twist and turn of LOST's addictive Fourth	**Season.**	Exploding with excitement
24	Now you can own the complete first	**season**	of MALCOLM IN THE MIDDLE.See
25	ter and relive the fun with all sixteen hilarious	**Season**	One episodes – available for
26	riously irreverent and outrageously over-the-top,	**Season**	Four of My Name is Earl
27	NCIS: The complete first	**season**	follows an elite team of
28	the multiple Emmy Award-winning series. In this	**season,**	Papen County's Pie Maker
29	The men of sixty-two Track are back for a fifth	**season**	in Dennis Leary and Peter
30	is grappling with the death of his father as the	**season**	opens, along with the new man
31	ng Tommy Gavin in serious jeopardy in the hottest	**season**	yet.
32	An astonishing	**season**	of destiny! Clark Kent now
33	is – perhaps the world's – destiny. "We call this	**season**	SUPERMAN in Training," series
34	accept his destiny." During this exciting pivotal	**season:**	Clark faces rogue
35	r—why with this two-Disc Set of all six Explosive	**Season**	Two Episodes. Police action
36	out this enthralling six-Disc, twenty-two-Episode	**Season**	Four. Caught between Heaven
37	"Four	**seasons**	in, it is still laugh-out-
38	analysis by watching all twenty-four Episodes of	**Season**	Four on three Discs. This
39	our Episodes of Season Four on three Discs. This	**season,**	the Big Bang gang's romantic
40		**Season**	two holds nothing back as
41	Lusty. Liberal. Legendary.	**Season**	Three of The L Word, the long
42	their clients the business in the fifth hilarious	**season**	of The Office. Join obnoxious
43	time Emmy Award-winner Greg Daniels. The Office:	**Season**	Five features twenty-six
44	outside of the law to do it. This landmark first	**season**	of THE SHIELD unleashes a
45	anting Stefan on his side will be revealed during	**season**	three. Stefan becomes
46	show" unlike anything on air. The fifth and final	**season**	of "The Wire" centers on the
47	Two-Disc Collector's Edition Contains All six	**Season**	Two Episodes! It's been two
48	ccer mum is more addictive than ever in the third	**season**	of WEEDS. Emmy and Golden

Figure A.1 Concordance lines for *season**

CHAPTER 11

Graduation within the scope of Attitude in English and Spanish consumer reviews of books and movies

Marta Carretero and Maite Taboada

This chapter reports research on evaluative language in English and Spanish consumer-generated reviews on books and movies. Within the Appraisal framework, a contrastive study is carried out on the spans of Graduation embedded in spans of Attitude in 64 reviews. A qualitative analysis, covering a syntactic description of these expressions of Graduation and proposals for doubtful cases, is followed by a quantitative analysis based on the parameters of language, subtypes of Graduation, product evaluated and positive or negative evaluation. The results show that the overall distribution of the main subtypes of Graduation spans in the English and the Spanish reviews is similar, but the consideration of each parameter in detail uncovers a number of differences between the reviews written in the two languages. In particular, the results point to possible pervasive differences in the expression of Affect in English and Spanish.

1. Aims and framework of the study

Evaluative language surrounds us, not only in the obvious places (editorials, reviews, assessments, 'gossip talk') but also in many other aspects of everyday life, including news and expository material. The research that we report on in this chapter has as a larger goal to better understand how evaluative language is used in certain types of texts, and to contrast its use in English and Spanish. The route to that understanding is, in our opinion, through the careful and detailed annotation of the phenomena under study.

The framework for the present chapter is the CONTRANOT project,[1] a project which aims at developing contrastive corpus analyses, and then systems of annotation, for a number of linguistic categories, some of which (apart from evaluation) are coherence relations, tense, aspect and modality, with the ultimate goal of creating and validating contrastive functional descriptions for English and

Spanish. The systems of annotation are to be designed for use by non-academic annotators, who will be provided with relatively simple sets of instructions.

Part of the work included in this project concerns the design of a coding scheme of Appraisal as studied within Systemic-Functional Linguistics (Martin and White 2005; White 2003) through the analysis and annotation of texts from the Simon Fraser University Review Corpus (Taboada 2008), a corpus of consumer-generated reviews on hotels, books and movies. The scheme is to be used for the future annotation of evaluation in an English-Spanish corpus, CONTRASTES (Lavid 2008; Lavid et al. 2007, 2010). Once annotated, the reviews will be part of this corpus. Since this scheme, like the other schemes to be designed within the project, is to be used by non-specialists, our approach to evaluation will have to be restrictive, giving preference to the evaluative charge of individual words and expressions against the overall evaluative effect of all the expressions in a given text. It could even be stated that, in reality, every word has its charge of evaluation: when we speak or write, even in those messages whose main role is to transmit information with a high degree of objectiveness, we design our utterances with the purpose of presenting a certain world view to the addressee.[2]

We have presented ongoing work in this effort relating to the evaluation of consumer reviews according to the Appraisal framework; more concretely, we have dealt with the selection of the spans of Attitude to be annotated (Taboada and Carretero 2012) and with how epistemic modality provokes overlaps between Attitude and Engagement (Carretero and Taboada, to appear). In this chapter, we focus on the evaluative spans of Graduation embedded under larger spans of Attitude. In Section 2, the corpus and its characteristics are presented. Section 3 contains an introduction of Appraisal and its subcategories followed by more detailed features of the spans under study. Section 4 provides the results of the analysis of these Graduation spans, with the corresponding discussions, and Section 5 shows preliminary conclusions and a roadmap for further research.

2. The corpus

The corpus analyzed for this chapter is part of the larger SFU Review Corpus, which consists of reviews of books, movies and other consumer products (Taboada 2008), a total of 1,600 texts. The English reviews were extracted from the web page Epinions.com. A first data collection (400 texts) took place in 2004, and a second round of the same number was collected in 2008. For Spanish, we used reviews collected in 2008 from two web sites: Ciao.es and Dooyoo.es. The reviews are all written by non-experts and posted online, with the purpose of being informative to other potential viewers. The corpus is a comparable (not parallel) one, in that the genre is the same across languages: the medium, the writers and the audience are assumed to be similar, and the texts deal with the common experience of watching a film or reading a book, and commenting on it.

The English corpus has been analyzed elsewhere (Taboada 2011) as an instance of a particular genre, that of consumer reviews, with a detailed description of the stages that it contains. This genre differs, in formality and structural characteristics, from that of critical reviews written by professional book and movie critics of the type that one can find in a newspaper. Upon examination (but not full analysis) of the texts in Spanish, we can state that the generic structure is quite similar to that of the English reviews: we also find Description and Evaluation stages in most of the texts. Those stages can be sub-classified as description or evaluation of plot, characters, or other aspects of the movie. In addition, some reviews contain optional Background and Subject Matter stages, where additional details or a general summary of the book or movie's content are provided. In terms of register (Eggins and Martin 1997; Halliday 1989), they all share similar properties of field (discussion and evaluation of the product), tenor (informal even if the audience is unknown) and mode (written).

For this chapter, we selected 64 reviews, 32 for each language, equally divided into those that review books and movies. We concentrated on books and movies because both are intellectual products, and their reviews tend to be longer and have more varied instances of evaluation than those of other products. Within the 16 book and movie reviews for each language, the texts are also divided equally into favourable reviews (positive reviews, labelled as "yes" in the review identifiers) and unfavourable reviews (negative, or "no" reviews). We labelled them as positive or negative according to the reviewer's own assessment, and to the characterization of the book or movie as "recommended" or "not recommended" ("thumbs up" or "thumbs down"). This meta-information is included with the review, and we used it to label the files.

Table 1 shows a summary of the number of words and sentences for each language, according to the approximate sentence count derived by UAM CorpusTool, the system used to annotate the data.[3]

Table 1. Corpus statistics

	English	**Spanish**
Words	22,855	33,513
Words, positive reviews	13,150	24,092
Words, negative reviews	9,705	9,421
Sentences	1,182	1,521

3. The Appraisal system

3.1 Main categories

Appraisal belongs in the systemic-functional tradition started by Halliday (Halliday 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), and has been developed mostly in Australia by Jim Martin, Peter White and colleagues (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005; White 2003).

Martin (2000) characterizes appraisal as the set of resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements, and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with those evaluations. He considers that appraisal resources form a system of their own within the language (following the systemic functional tradition), and divides the Appraisal system into three distinct sub-systems, Attitude, Engagement and Graduation, each of which is divided in their turn into several subtypes.

Attitude refers to the ability to express emotional, moral and aesthetic opinions, respectively classified as Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. **Affect** covers the explicit expression of positive or negative feelings by the speaker/writer or someone else, as in (1).[4] **Judgement** concerns social esteem and ethical evaluations, and applies mostly to persons or institutions. In the reviews of books and movies analyzed here, it mostly applies to the ability of the creator or the actors. Finally, **Appreciation** involves evaluations of an aesthetic or functional kind, which refer mostly to works of art or literature and to non-human physical objects, rather than to humans. For instance, (2) shows one instance of Judgement (*does at times fall flat*) that clearly refers to the actor (Myers), whereas the result of his craft (*just aren't that funny*) would be considered Appreciation. Each of the Attitude categories, Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, is divided into subcategories, but these will not be taken into account for the sake of simplicity.

(1) I've read most of the books written by Mary Higgins Clark and have **enjoyed** them. (Books no, 17)

(2) Admittedly, Myers **does at times fall flat** more than a few times with lines that **<u>just</u> aren't <u>that</u> funny**. (Movies yes, 15)

From the description above it may be inferred that Affect evaluates the entity through the expression of feeling (the speaker/writer's, or that of someone else), whereas Judgement and Appreciation evaluate the entity by attributing a quality to it.

Engagement refers to the ways in which speakers or writers position themselves with respect to the information that they are presenting, and with respect to possible responses to those positions. Speakers may engage with or disengage from their own words by quoting, reporting, acknowledging other possibilities, denying, countering, affirming, etc. (Martin and White 2005: 36). Examples of Engagement are epistemic modal expressions (*He* ***might*** *have finished his studies by now*), evidential expressions (***Apparently****, he has recovered from his illness*) or denials (*This hotel* ***is not*** *near the sea as you said*). We will not mention the subtypes of Engagement: in this chapter, reference to this category will be restricted to the cases in which it overlaps with Graduation.

Finally, the **Graduation** system is responsible for a speaker/writer's ability to intensify or weaken the strength of the opinions they express, and has Force and Focus as subsystems. Expressions of Graduation differ from those of Attitude in that they do not have intrinsic positive or negative value by themselves, but acquire them in context. Some expressions of Graduation are intensifiers applied to nouns (*real, true, genuine*) or to adjectives (*very*, *really*), and softeners (*kind of, sort of, or something*). Graduation is divided into two broad subtypes: Focus and Force.

Focus involves Graduation according to prototypicality, that is, "by reference to the degree to which they [the entities concerned] match some supposed core or exemplary instance of a semantic category" (Martin and White 2005: 137). Focus is divided into the subtypes **Sharpen** and **Soften**, which indicate proximity and distance, respectively, to a core or exemplary member of the category. Some examples of expressions realizing Sharpen are *real, true, genuine(ly), effective(ly),* and instances of Soften are *kind of, sort of, of sorts, -ish (fourish), bordering on*.

In its turn, **Force** helps speakers or writers modulate the impact of what they say. Force is divided into intensification and quantification. **Intensification** can apply to a quality (*slightly sad*) or to a process (*greatly disturbed me*), but no difference will be made in this respect concerning annotation. Some realizations of intensification are *a bit, somewhat, relatively, fairly, rather, very, extremely, utterly;* self-pronouns when their use is optional (3); the comparative and superlative forms or constructions with adjectives. Intensification may also apply to an entity, as in (4). Apart from linguistic realizations, intensification may be realized by orthographic conventions, such as capitals (5) or exclamation (6). **Quantification** may indicate number (*a few, lots of, many, streams of*), mass/presence (*tiny, small, large, huge*) or extent in space or time (*recent, ancient; nearby, distant*).

(3) He did it *himself.*

(4) This is the *very* book I was reading the other day.

(5) These are **factoids**, <u>NOT</u> **descriptive** passages! (Books no, 1)

(6) the film has remained **just that**. <u>**Fun!**</u> (Movies yes, 1)

3.2 Graduation within the scope of Attitude

Expressions of Graduation often occur within the scope of spans of Attitude, thus emphasizing or downtoning the evaluative meaning of the superordinate spans. For example, in (7), the intensifier *tan grandes* ('so big') emphasizes the meaning of positive Judgement expressed by *similitudes* ('similarities'); In (8), another expression of intensification (*somewhat*) downtones the expression of negative Judgement *mediocre*; and in (9), the quantifier *a little* downtones the Affect expressed by *excited*.

(7) Me **hace gracia** encontrar **similitudes** <u>**tan grandes**</u> entre su discurso y el mío… (Libros yes, 4–11)
'I find it funny to find so many similarities between her discourse and mine…'

(8) Director Mike Newell, known for his **great** work in "Enchanted April" and "Donnie Brasco" does a <u>**somewhat**</u>**, mediocre** job… (Movies no, 1)

(9) I got <u>**a little**</u> **excited** that things were looking up only to find out that it really was nothing. (Books no, 3)

The remainder of this chapter will concentrate on these expressions of Graduation embedded within the scope of an evaluative span of Attitude. In order to carry out a quantitative analysis of the 64 reviews selected, these reviews were annotated by means of the UAM Corpus Tool (2011), a free tool designed for annotation texts, which was created and is regularly updated by Mick O'Donnell at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. The main reasons for choosing this tool were the possibilities that it offers for carrying out quantitative analyses and for designing specific systems of options, in accordance with the systemic-functional orientation of this tool. Moreover, the systems can be adapted to the needs of particular projects and permit multiple-level annotations. For the present analysis, the authors deleted the Engagement option (the resulting system is specified in Figure 1). In this way,

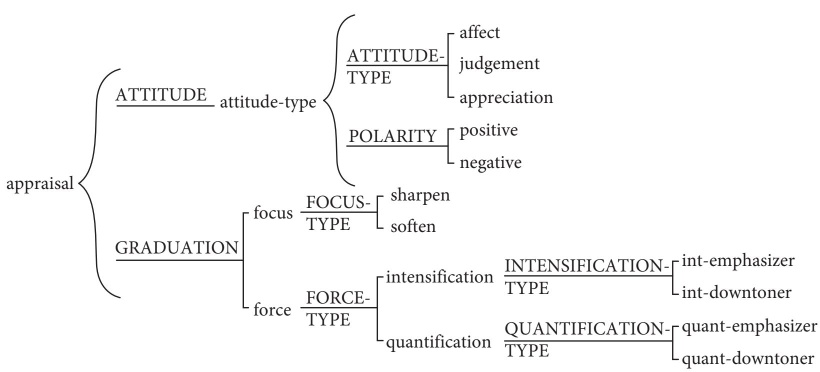

Figure 1. The Appraisal system adapted to the needs of this project

the system allows for labelling according to both Attitude and Graduation. In the case of this project, all the spans were annotated in terms of Attitude, while the annotation of Graduation was restricted to those spans that displayed sub-spans of Graduation embedded in Attitude.

3.2.1 *The syntax of Graduation spans embedded in Attitude spans*

The syntax of the spans of the expressions under study is varied. Many of them are pre-modifiers or post-modifiers at a Group level. Quantifiers are often determiners or modifiers in Nominal Groups (10–11), and intensifiers tend to be premodifiers in Adjectival Groups (12–13), Adverbial Groups (14–15) and less frequently Nominal Groups (16). In other cases, expressions of Graduation are Prepositional Phrases that postmodify Adjectival Groups, as is the case of the underlined expressions in (17–18):

(10) But there are <u>**a lot of**</u> **cracks** in Katherine Watson's progressive thinking too (Movies no, 3)

(11) No encontré <u>**ninguna**</u> **sorpresa** (Películas no, 2–12)
'I didn't find any surprise'

(12) I just felt her other novels were <u>**much more**</u> **exciting and interesting** (Movies no, 17)

(13) a mí me resulta <u>**completamente**</u> **vacuo** (Películas no, 1–9)
'for me it is completely vacuous'

(14) <u>**tan**</u> **bien** hablaban (Libros no, 1–9)
'they spoke so well'

(15) the book starts of **slowly**, and when I say **slowly**, I mean <u>**very**</u> **slowly** (Books no, 3)

(16) While this is no question a noble cause, it was a <u>**significant**</u> **detraction** to the development of the story. (Books no, 11)

(17) **mediocre** <u>**at best**</u> (Movies no, 1)

(18) **impresionante** <u>**de principio a fin**</u> (Libros no, 1–1)
'impressive from beginning to end'

In other cases, expressions of Graduation are clausal constituents, mostly Adjuncts with diverse meanings, such as time (19), quantity (20) or manner (21).

(19) <u>**en ningún momento**</u> **busca la espectacularidad ni el efectismo exagerado** (Películas yes, 4–6)
'in no moment does it search spectacularity nor exaggerated sensationalism'

(20) me ha **gustado** <u>**bastante**</u> (Películas yes, 5–13)
'I have quite liked it'

(21) I <u>**highly**</u> **recommend** *The Da Vinci Code*. (Books yes, 23)

In other cases, the syntactic relation between the spans of Graduation and the superordinate spans of Attitude is more complex. In (22–23), the Graduation span is a discontinuous modifier of an evaluative adjective, which in its turn modifies a noun. The noun itself has no evaluative meaning, but its inclusion in the span is necessary for the quantitative analysis (its exclusion would have provoked the counting of two spans instead of one). In (24–25), the Graduation span and the Attitude span are (part of) different clausal constituents, separated by a copula: the non-evaluative spans *of these theories are* and *que me aportó fueron* ("that it brought me were") were also included in order to have the span counted as one instead of two.

(22) When I stopped reading my husband laughed and said 'That is **<u>the most</u> boring book <u>I have ever heard</u>**'. (Books no, 3)

(23) Julia Roberts without a doubt, is a **good actress <u>depending on what film she does</u>**. (Movies no, 1)

(24) **<u>Very few (if any)</u> of these theories are original** (Books yes, 23)

(25) **<u>lo único</u> que me aportó fueron pesadillas <u>varias</u>** (Libros no, 1–14)
'the only thing that it brought me were nightmares of different sorts'

The Graduation span may also be syntactically superordinate to the Attitude span, even if this hierarchy does not hold for the meaning of these expressions. This tends to occur when Graduation is expressed by Nominal Groups whose head means quantity or degree. In (26), the expressions in bold are Nominal Groups headed by *pages*, but the words *boring* and *excitement* have more communicative weight. Similarly, in (27), *absurdez* ('absurdity') is semantically the key word of the span, even if the syntactic head of the Nominal Group is *grado* ('degree').

(26) I told my husband there is **<u>about 30 pages of</u> boring** and then **<u>about 3 pages of</u> excitement**. (Books no, 3)

(27) ya nos demostró sus **dotes** como **intento** de progre, moderna, feminista (en el **<u>grado</u> de absurdez** del feminismo) (Libros no, 19)
'she already showed us her gifts as an attempt of trendy, modern, feminist (in the degree of absurdity of feminism)'

3.2.2 *The analysis of special cases*

In the analysis of the spans, we met with a number of difficulties, which we report in this subsection together with the solutions adopted. The first problem was that some spans of Attitude had two or more spans of Graduation embedded. In these cases, we only registered one span in the analysis. We might have opted for designing a system that offered the possibility to register more than one Graduation span, by adding another entry called 'Graduation 2' at the same level and with the same subsystems as the 'Graduation' entry, but the increase in complexity would have made the system less manageable. Therefore, in these cases we decided to select the most important span from the communicative point of view. The criteria were the following:

1. Clausal constituents were given priority over modifiers. For example, (28) has two spans of Graduation: an Adjunct of time, which belongs to the category of Force: Quantification: Quant-emphasizer, and a modifier of the Adjectival Group, which belongs to the category of Focus: Sharpen. The annotated span was the first.

(28) **Muchas veces** es **totalmente previsible** (Libros no, 2,5)
'Many times it is totally foreseeable'

2. Postmodifiers were given priority over premodifiers. For instance, (29) and (30) have two Graduation spans, a premodifier (Force: Intensification: Int-emphasizer) and a postmodifier (Focus: Soften). The span registered was the second:

(29) **very predictable in parts** (Movies yes, 5)

(30) **such a disappointing** film **in many levels** (Movies no, 1)

The second problem was posed by the cases in which a Graduation span is subordinate to another Graduation span. In these occurrences, the superordinate span was given priority. For example, in (31), the span was globally considered as Force: Quantification: Quant-emphasizer, that is, *too much* was given priority over its modifier *a bit*.

(31) but seemed that there was **a bit too much whining** about how the rich and the government tend to dismiss the homeless as riff-raff. (Books no, 13)

Thirdly, litotes was considered to be a subtype of downtoning, since an affirmative evaluation is conveyed by negating its opposite (32). In this case, the extension of the Attitude and the Graduation span coincide:

(32) The make-up **wasn't too good** either. (Movies no, 13)

A fourth problem was posed by words and expressions of Attitude that lay within the scope of another criterion of Attitude, such as *a yuletide classic* (Movies yes, 11), *surprisingly well* (Movies yes, 11), *hilariously funny* (Movies yes, 21) or *sorprendido gratamente* ('gratefully surprised') (Libros yes, 4–17). This phenomenon is discussed in Martin and White (2005: 143), who consider that in collocations such as *reasonably happy* and *dreadfully cold*, the adverbs express Graduation and not Attitude, on the grounds that they undergo delexicalization. In their view, collocations such as these are "so fixed and formulaic that the intensifying premodifying epithet no longer carries its full semantic load". We believe that this observation can be extended to less common collocations in which an expression with a lexical meaning of Attitude modifies another. In these cases, the modifying expression was annotated as a span of Graduation: Force: Intensification: Int-emphasizer.

The fifth and last issue to be reported here is the boundaries between Graduation and Engagement. A particularly frequent and complex item is *really.* According to Paradis (2003) it has three values: truth attesting of proposition (33), subjective emphasis of situation (34) and reinforcement of a scalar property (35) (the examples are hers). We considered this adverb as epistemic in the first case, which rarely occurred in the reviews, and as evaluative in the other two, since *really* highlights the intensity of either a situation expressed by a clause or a property expressed by an adjective or adverb. Polarity brought additional complexity to the analysis of this adverb: *really* is an emphasizer in affirmative sentences (36) and a downtoner in negative sentences (37):

(33) Sue and Bill really bought the farmhouse they had been dreaming of.

(34) I **<u>really</u> appreciate** your support.

(35) They are **<u>really</u> nice**.

(36) Dan Brown's knowledge of the early church, art and history **<u>really</u> shines through** in this tale (Books yes, 25)

(37) her character was **<u>just totally</u> generic**, I **didn't <u>really</u> care** for her (Movies no, 1)

Adverbs of certainty have Graduation effects when they modify an expression of Attitude, but we consider that they belong to Engagement, not to Attitude, since the overall meaning of certainty is maintained. This is the case of *definitely* in (38) and *ciertamente* ('certainly') in (39). Adverbs of sincerity also have an intensifying function, but once again Engagement is predominant (40):

(38) Other than that, the book is definitely a **must** read (Books yes, 25)

(39) Las escenas sexuales son ciertamente **inverosímiles**, **sin <u>ninguna</u> base** que la sustenten (Libros no, 1–4)
'The sexual scenes are certainly unbelievable, without any basis that might support them'

(40) Sinceramente, me parece **patético** (Libros no, 1–14)
'Sincerely, to me it seems pathetic'

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Global findings

The overall results of the quantitative analysis of the Attitude spans with Graduation embedded in them are specified in Table 2. Above all, these results display striking similarities between the English and the Spanish reviews: the differences between the percentages in each row never reach 3%, the biggest difference lying in the Int-emphasizers, which display a 2.12% higher frequency in the English reviews. The similarities and differences among subcategories explained in the remainder of this subsection are, therefore, common to English and Spanish.

Concerning the proportion of graduated spans among the total spans of Attitude, it is remarkably higher for Appreciation than for Affect and Judgement: almost half the spans of Appreciation are graduated. That is to say, reviewers tend to emphasize or downtone evaluative expressions referring to the books or movies reviewed or other non-human entities related with them to a higher extent than when the evaluative expressions concern their feelings or human entities such as the author, the actors or other people involved in the product. With regard to the subtypes of Graduation, Force is overwhelmingly predominant over Focus, and

Table 2. Attitude spans with Graduation in the English and Spanish reviews

Attitude		English		Spanish	
		No.	%	No.	%
Total number of spans		820	100.00	1151	100.00
Total no. of spans with graduation		327	39.88	471	40.92
Affect	total	142	100.00	206	100.00
	graduated	53	37.32	77	37.38
Judgement	total	253	100.00	277	100.00
	graduated	90	35.57	97	35.02
Appreciation	total	425	100.00	668	100.00
	graduated	184	43.29	297	44.46
Focus		44	5.37	73	6.34
Focus: Sharpen		28	3.41	42	3.65
Focus: Soften		16	1.95	31	2.69
Force		283	34.51	398	34.58
Intensification		180	21.95	232	20.16
Int-Emphasizer		142	17.32	175	15.20
Int-Downtoner		38	4.63	57	4.95
Quantification		103	12.56	166	14.42
Quant-Emphasizer		83	10.12	136	11.82
Quant-Downtoner		20	2.44	30	2.61

within Focus, Sharpen is more common than Soften, especially in English. Within Force, emphasizers predominate over downtoners in both Intensification and Quantification. These tendencies strongly suggest that reviewers use Graduation so as to intensify the evaluative expressions rather than to hedge them.

This predominance of emphasizers over downtoners is understandable, since reviews are anonymous and their main aim is to give useful opinions to potential consumers of the product. This aim means that sincerity is more highly valued than face-saving, so that the overall positive or negative evaluation is highlighted. There are accumulations of evaluative expressions, as in (41), with the Graduation spans *true gem* (Focus: sharpen) and *that I haven't seen in a long time* (Force: Quantification: Quant-Emphasizer). In certain cases, especially in negative reviews, reviewers even vent their feelings, as in (42), which contains the Intensification: Int-emphasizers *so bad* and *at all*:

(41) The **<u>true</u> gem** of the film, acting wise, was Ken Watanbe. He had a **screen presence** <u>that I haven't seen in a long time</u>. His **charisma (magnetic, charming, forceful, and mysterious**) is what pushed me to **recommend** this movie (Movies yes, 5)

(42) Warning: Spoilers in this, but the story **sucks <u>so bad</u>** I'm doing you a favor!!
I finished reading Jack & Jill about two months ago, the reason I'm writing this review is that the **sour** taste in my mouth that I received reading this book is still there.
I **wouldn't recommend this book <u>at all</u>**, it is **garbage**. (Books no, 24)

4.2 Specific findings

In order to check the degree of uniformity to which the tendencies signalled in 4.1 applied to reviews of different types, an additional search was made, in which the reviews of each language were divided according to both the product evaluated and the positive or negative evaluation. The results of this search are displayed in Tables 3 and 4. These tables uncover a number of cross-linguistic differences, which will be commented in the remainder of this subsection.

Concerning Focus, its frequency is relatively higher in the Spanish reviews of books than in the rest of the subcategories. A reason for this distribution is the frequent reference to parts of the books in these reviews, as in *<u>esa parte del libro no me gusta</u>* ('that part of the book, I don't like') as well as the indication that the comment holds for the whole of the book *impresionante <u>de principio a fin</u>* ('impressive from beginning to end'), while parts of movies are less frequently subject to evaluative expressions. It must also be noted that in both languages, the cases of Focus: Soften are more common in the reviews of books than in those of movies.

Table 3. Spans of Graduation embedded in spans of Attitude in the English reviews classified according to product evaluated and polarity of the review

Graduation	Books-No		Books-Yes		Movies-No		Movies-Yes	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of spans	55	100.00	63	100.00	98	100.00	111	100.00
FOCUS	12	21.82	5	7.94	12	12.24	15	13.51
FORCE	43	78.18	58	92.06	86	87.76	96	86.49
			FOCUS					
Focus: Sharpen	6	50.00	3	60.00	8	66.67	11	73.33
Focus: Soften	6	50.00	2	40.00	4	33.33	4	26.67
			FORCE					
Intensification	25	58.14	45	77.59	51	59.30	59	61.46
Quantification	18	41.86	13	22.41	35	40.70	37	38.54
			INTENSIFICATION					
Int-Emphasizer	19	76.00	33	73.33	44	86.27	46	77.97
Int-Downtoner	6	24.00	12	26.67	7	13.73	13	22.03
			QUANTIFICATION					
Qu-Emphasizer	15	83.33	9	69.23	30	85.71	29	78.38
Qu-Downtoner	3	16.67	4	30.77	5	14.29	8	21.62

Table 4. Spans of Graduation embedded in spans of Attitude in the Spanish reviews classified according to product evaluated and polarity of the review

Graduation	Books-No		Books-Yes		Movies-No		Movies-Yes	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of spans	84	100.00	85	100.00	101	100.00	201	100.00
FOCUS	24	28.57	20	23.53	11	10.89	18	8.96
FORCE	60	71.43	65	76.47	90	89.11	183	91.04
			FOCUS					
Focus: Sharpen	12	50.00	7	35.00	9	81.82	14	77.78
Focus: Soften	12	50.00	13	65.00	2	18.18	4	22.22
			FORCE					
Intensification	32	53.33	25	38.46	57	63.33	118	64.48
Quantification	28	46.67	40	61.54	33	36.67	65	35.52
			INTENSIFICATION					
Int-Emphasizer	24	75.00	17	68.00	41	71.93	93	78.81
Int-Downtoner	8	25.00	8	32.00	16	28.07	25	21.19
			QUANTIFICATION					
Qu-Emphasizer	22	78.57	30	75.00	31	93.94	53	81.54
Qu-Downtoner	6	21.43	10	25.00	2	6.06	12	18.46

With regard to the subtypes of Force, Intensification predominates over Quantification in all the subcategories except for the Spanish positive book reviews. There is a striking difference between these and the English positive book reviews, in which Quantification spans are remarkably low. In the Spanish book reviews, the quantifiers *mucho* ('much, a lot') and *más* ('more') are common, as in *mucho significado* ('a lot of meaning'), *ayuda a comprenderla un poco más* ('it helps to understand it a little more'); other evaluative spans contain quantifiers that point to the amount of people likely to share the reviewer's (or others') viewpoints, as with *para otros lectores es nuevo* ('for other readers it is new') or *no dejará indiferente a nadie* ('it will not leave anyone indifferent'). In its turn, the low frequency of quantifiers in the English book reviews is partly due to the absence of some quantifiers which appear in the other categories, such as *never* or *too many*.

Concerning emphasizers and downtoners in both Intensification and Quantification, downtoners display slightly higher percentages in positive than in negative reviews in all the subcategories except for the Spanish movies: this distribution is in accordance to the global analysis of the data made in Section 4.1, according to which reviewers do not really feel the need to be indirect when the evaluation is negative. This tendency is more marked in Quantification than in Intensification.

With regard to the subtypes of Intensification, the English reviews display a higher frequency of downtoners in books than in movies: the spans of the book reviews often display expressions such as *a bit* or *a little* as modifiers of adjectives, negation with *really* or litotes (as in *didn't rate this book kindly*). In Spanish, the percentage of downtoners in positive reviews of books is higher than in the other categories, although the total number is small. Concerning the subtypes of Quantification, the English positive reviews of books show a higher percentage of downtoners than the other categories, although this frequency is not significant due to the low total number of cases. As for Spanish, the tendency to use downtoners more frequently in positive reviews is combined with their higher frequency in books than in movies.

As an overall comment on the results of these tables, it may be stated the Spanish reviews display a higher degree of dependence on the kind of product evaluated (book or movie) than on the polarity of the review (positive and negative). In the Spanish reviews of movies, the predominance of Force over Focus, Sharpen over Soften and Intensification over Quantification are stronger. That is to say, Graduation spans tend to be more stereotyped in the reviews of the Spanish movies than in the reviews of Spanish books with regard to the categories of the Appraisal framework.

The spans of Graduation were also analyzed in terms of the kind of Attitude expressed by the superordinate span. The results are displayed in Table 5.

Table 5. Graduation spans classified by the type of evaluation of the superordinate span of Attitude

Attitude		**English**		**Spanish**	
		No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**
Affect	Graduated	53	100.00	77	100.00
	FOCUS	10	18.87	13	16.88
	Sharpen	7	13.21	6	7.79
	Soften	3	5.66	7	9.09
	FORCE	43	81.13	64	83.12
	Intensification	28	52.83	25	32.47
	Int-Emphasizer	20	37.74	21	27.27
	Int-Downtoner	8	15.09	4	5.19
	Quantification	15	28.30	39	50.65
	Qu-Emphasizer	14	26.41	32	41.56
	Qu-Downtoner	1	1.89	7	9.09
Judgement	Graduated	90	100.00	97	100.00
	FOCUS	12	13.33	14	14.43
	Sharpen	6	6.67	10	10.31
	Soften	6	6.67	4	4.12
	FORCE	78	86.67	83	85.57
	Intensification	48	53.33	51	52.58
	Int-Emphasizer	40	44.44	43	44.33
	Int-Downtoner	8	8.88	8	8.25
	Quantification	30	33.33	32	32.99
	Qu-Emphasizer	25	27.78	23	23.71
	Qu-Downtoner	5	5.55	9	9.28
Appreciation	Graduated	184	100.00	297	100.00
	FOCUS	22	11.96	46	15.49
	Sharpen	15	8.15	26	8.75
	Soften	7	3.80	20	6.73
	FORCE	162	88.04	251	84.51
	INTENSIFICATION	104	56.52	156	52.52
	Int-Emphasizer	82	44.56	111	37.37
	Int-Downtoner	22	11.96	45	15.15
	QUANTIFICATION	58	31.52	95	31.99
	Qu-Emphasizer	44	23.91	81	27.27
	Qu-Downtoner	14	7.62	14	4.71

In general, the distribution is similar, the main exception being that spans of Affect are more often graduated by means of Intensification in the English reviews and by means of Quantification in the Spanish reviews. This difference is due to the fact that, in the English reviews, expressions of Affect are more often Adjectival

Groups, which tend to be modified by intensifiers (*a little excited, pretty disappointed*), and the other kinds of expressions (mostly Nominal Groups or Verbal Groups) are also often intensified (*great anticipation, mild interest, didn't really care*). In the Spanish reviews, expressions of Affect are more often Verbal Groups graduated by quantifiers, as in *no me ha gustado mucho* ('I didn't like it much'), *esperaba mucho* ('I expected much', i.e. 'I had great expectations'), *disfrutar de todos los detalles* ('enjoy all the details). Nominal Groups are also frequently modified by Quantifiers, as in *da un poco de pena* ('gives a little sorrow'), *unas cuantas risas* ('a few laughs') or *muchísimo sueño* ('an awful lot of sleep'). The non-idiomaticity of the literal translations of some of the expressions to the other language suggests that this difference in the graduation of spans of Affect between the English and the Spanish reviews might be a pervasive difference in the expression of Affect in the two languages, but this statement needs to be supported by further research involving different genres.

Other less important differences are the relatively higher frequency of Focus: Soften in the spans of Affect and Appreciation of the Spanish reviews. These results agree with the observation pointed out before that many spans of the Spanish reviews refer to parts of the product evaluated. Some examples of this kind of spans of Affect are *el final decepciona* ('the end disappoints'), *esa parte del libro no me gusta* ('that part of the book I don't like') or *casi duermo en fases* ('I almost sleep in phases). Examples of softened spans of Appreciation are *el final no te aporta nada* ('The end does not bring anything new'), *sólo la primera parte me pareció sólida* ('only the first part seemed consistent to me').

The distributional differences between the English and the Spanish reviews in the graduation of Appreciation spans deserve specific comments. Quantification is roughly the same in the reviews of the two languages, while Focus is about 3.5% more frequent in the Spanish reviews, and conversely Intensification is 4% more common in the English reviews. In particular, the distributional differences between downtoners in the two languages show opposite tendencies from those found in the spans of Affect and Judgement. The number of quantifying downtoners is comparably lower in the Spanish reviews: in the English reviews, temporal quantifiers such as *at times* are frequent. In contrast, downtoning by means of Intensification is more frequent in Spanish than in English: this difference is largely due to the 13 occurrences of the adverb *bastante* ('quite, rather'), which occurs 13 times as a modifier of an adjective, as in *bastante sencillo* ('quite simple') or *bastante irrelevante* ('rather irrelevant'); however, its English equivalents, *quite, rather* and *somewhat*, occur 4 times altogether.

5. Conclusions and suggestions for further research

The analysis of Graduation spans embedded in Attitude spans in the English and Spanish consumer reviews of books and movies analyzed above show that the global distribution of these spans is strikingly similar in the two languages: spans of Appreciation are more often graduated than those of Affect and Judgement; concerning the subtypes of Graduation, Force is more common than Focus, and the subcategories that reinforce the evaluation (sharpeners of Focus and emphasizers of Intensification and Quantification) are more common than those that weaken the evaluation (softeners of Focus and downtoners of Intensification and Quantification). This high frequency of strengtheners suggests that reviewers want to express their evaluations clearly and that they are not especially concerned about face-saving. This directness is corroborated by the overall larger number of downtoners in positive than in negative reviews.

Some crosslinguistic differences among the Graduation spans have emerged from more specific quantitative analyses. Overall, the Graduation spans that occur in the Spanish reviews are more dependent on the kind of product evaluated: the reviews of movies display higher predominances of Force over Focus, Sharpen over Soften and Intensification over Quantification. At a more specific level, the Spanish book reviews display a relatively high number of spans of Focus due to the frequency of evaluative expressions referring to parts of the book. Moreover, the Spanish positive book reviews have a high number of quantifiers, which account for the high percentage of spans of Quantification. In English, on the other hand, the positive book reviews display fewer quantifiers than the other categories. Some differences have also been reported with regard to the subtypes of Intensification and Quantification.

The extension of this kind of research to consumer reviews of different products might well uncover important differences in the Attitude and Graduation spans due to the product evaluated. Further studies could also consider the expression of Affect in English and in Spanish, so as to provide further evidence of the possibility hinted at in this chapter that Affect in Spanish is more often expressed by Verbal or Nominal Groups graduated by quantifiers, whereas English tends to resort to Intensification to a higher extent. Another possible line of research might well be the comparison between the kind of Graduation spans studied here (i.e. those embeddded in Attitude spans) and independent Graduation spans.

Notes

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2. The system has been designed considering a discussion on the Appraisal Analysis e-mail list initiated by Marta Carretero, which took place in January 2010. We thank Monika Bednarek, Geoff Thompson, Alexanne Don and Donna Miller for their contributions. Any shortcomings and inconsistencies of the resulting system are our responsibility alone.

3. This system, which will be described in more detail in 3.2, is available from: http://www.wagsoft.com/CorpusTool/. Its lack of accuracy in sentence counting results from the use of the full stop as the basic sign for the count: in certain cases, review writers fail to mark sentence boundaries with full stops.

4. In this chapter, the examples quoted from the reviews will be identified by source, a "yes" for positive reviews or "no" for negative reviews, and an identification number. We reproduce all examples verbatim, including typos and grammatical errors. Quite often, the Spanish examples lack accent marks. The only changes we introduce are bold for Attitude spans and underlining for Graduation spans embedded in them, so as to clearly mark boundaries of Appraisal categories.

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CHAPTER 12

Register diversification in evaluative language

The case of scientific writing

Stefania Degaetano-Ortlieb and Elke Teich

In this chapter, we investigate register diversification in evaluative language focusing on scientific writing. For this purpose, we explore selected epistemic and attitudinal variants of evaluative expressions. We consider (1) the situational context of these expressions according to Systemic Functional Linguistics and register theory (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1985; Biber 2006) and (2) selected aspects of their syntagmatic contexts (cf. Hunston 2011). The research questions we pose are (a) which typical evaluative expressions occur in scientific research articles and (b) whether the usage of particular evaluative expressions is rather discipline-specific or discipline-neutral. To answer these questions, we carry out a corpus-based analysis on a corpus of scientific research articles from nine scientific disciplines, combining quantitative and qualitative analytic methods.

1. Introduction

It is now widely acknowledged that the expression of stance, attitude, evaluation and the like is ubiquitous in language. More and more linguists of different denominations are engaged in the analysis of evaluative language, ranging from descriptive linguists over corpus linguists to computational linguists (see e.g., Martin and White 2005; Channell 2000; Hunston and Sinclair 2000; Hunston 2011; Thompson and Zhou 2000; Wilson et al. 2005; Taboada et al. 2011). This increased research activity has sharpened our awareness of the problems inherent in the analysis of evaluative language – problems not unknown in other areas of linguistic study, but brought out very clearly in the analysis of evaluative language. First, the problem of lexical ambiguity seems particularly virulent in analyzing evaluative language, since many lexical items may be attributed an evaluative meaning. Second, and related to the first, there is considerable variation in the expression of evaluative meanings (cf. Hunston 2011 on these issues). As a consequence evaluative language is hard to identify reliably and its variational range is not easy to determine.

Researchers engaging in appraisal analysis, opinion mining or sentiment analysis would all agree that in order to come to grips with these problems, context plays a crucial role. However, context is a problematic concept in itself with only few linguistic frameworks attempting to theorize it. Systemic Functional Linguistics is one of the few linguistic theories in which context assumes a core role (Halliday and Hasan 1985). Another area in which context plays an important role is corpus linguistics. Here, context is typically used in two senses: *syntagmatic context* and *situational context.* The first comes into play in the inspection of keyword-in-context concordances and the calculation of n-gram patterns, which are core methods of exploring the usage (and thus the meaning) of a given expression (cf. also Hunston 2011: 50–61). In the second reading of context, the usage of a linguistic expression is studied according to register, trying to detect the patterns of linguistic variation according to situated use. Here, the notion of context is typically built into the corpus design, corpora containing exemplars from more than one register so as to make possible comparisons. This notion of context has most prominently been employed in corpus linguistics in Biber et al.'s work (Biber 1993, 1995, Biber et al. 1999; Biber 2006).

The present chapter is situated in the tradition of corpus-based register linguistics in terms of methodology and in Systemic Functional Linguistics in terms of theory. Our focus of study is on the variation in evaluative language across specialized scientific registers. We address two kinds of questions:

– What are typical evaluative expressions in scientific research articles?
– Is the usage of evaluative expressions discipline-specific (and thus register-forming) or is it rather discipline-neutral?

We consider two types of evaluative meaning, the epistemic and the attitudinal (Conrad and Biber 2000), focusing on the evaluation of propositions (rather than of entities), and for each we analyze two alternative lexico-grammatical renderings (see (1)–(4) for examples).

(1) Our algorithm is <u>obviously</u> a 2-approximation for the problem.

(2) <u>It is obvious that</u> dynamic backcalculation analysis is more advantageous than the static approach.

(3) <u>Interestingly,</u> these protocols invariably require the use of supersingular curves.

(4) <u>It is interesting that</u> the rates of lexicon growth are roughly similar to each other regardless of the algorithm used […].

(1) and (2) are alternative realizations of epistemic evaluation, which is expressed by an adverbial in Example (1) and by the pattern *it* BE ADJ *that* in Example (2) (see previous work by Hunston and Francis 2000 and Hunston and Sinclair 2000

who identified this pattern as serving the expression of evaluation). Examples (3) and (4) work in the same way for attitudinal evaluation.

The research we report on in the present chapter is situated in the wider context of register analysis in scientific writing where we investigate register evolution in recent time (1970's-present) focusing on what we term 'contact registers', i.e., recently emerging scientific registers that come about through interdisciplinary contact. In our research, we consider the situation of contact between computer science and selected other disciplines, as for example in computational linguistics or bioinformatics (Teich and Holtz 2009; Teich and Fankhauser 2010; Degaetano-Ortlieb et al. 2012). To investigate register formation in such contact situations we built a corpus consisting of English scientific research articles from nine disciplines: five 'seed' disciplines (linguistics, biology/genetics, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering and computer science) and four interdisciplinary fields (computational linguistics, bioinformatics, digital construction/CAD, microelectronics/hard and software codesign) – see Figure 1. The corpus comprises approximately 34 million tokens and is divided into two time slices, the 1970's/80's and the 2000's. It is annotated in terms of sentence boundaries, tokens, lemmata and parts-of-speech.

The two overarching research questions are (a) how the interdisciplinary fields position themselves vis à vis their seed disciplines and (b) whether they create their own, distinctive registers. To approach these questions, we carry out comparative analyses of triples of subcorpora, e.g., linguistics – computational linguistics – computer science, as well as comparisons of the set of all contact registers (B subcorpora) with those of the seed disciplines (A and C subcorpora).

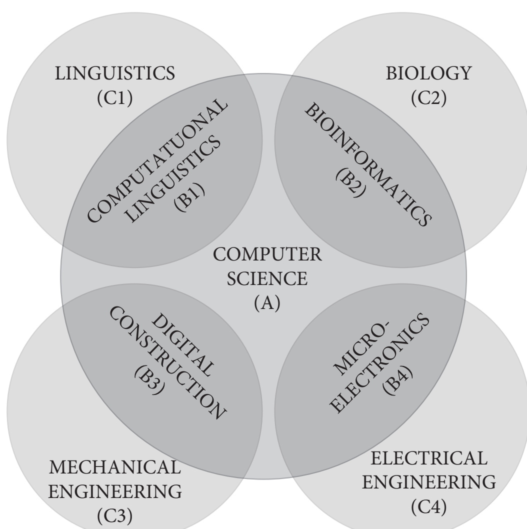

Figure 1. Scientific disciplines in the SciTex corpus

For the present investigation we proceed as follows. To address the question about evaluative expressions specific to scientific language, we compare the SciTex corpus (2000's) with the FLOB corpus, a registerially mixed corpus with text extracts from the 1990's (Mair 1997) in terms of attitudinal and epistemic evaluation (see Examples (1)–(4) above). Second, we compare the different subcorpora of SciTex to see whether there are discipline-specific preferences in evaluative meaning and/or the realizations of these meanings. Furthermore, we inspect more closely the syntagmatic contexts of the two alternative lexico-grammatical renderings under study, looking at their position in the clause (Theme vs. Rheme), their modification patterns (e.g., intensification) and their involvement in logical relations (e.g., contrast, cause, effect).

The chapter is then organized as follows. Section 2 describes the extraction processes. Section 3 presents the results for the comparison of SciTex with FLOB and the comparison of the subcorpora of SciTex. Also, we discuss our findings concerning selected features of the syntagmatic context in which evaluative expressions occur. Section 4 concludes the chapter with a summary and further discussion of the results as well as the methods employed.

2. Techniques for a corpus-based analysis of evaluation

To perform a corpus-based analysis of the selected variants expressing epistemic and attitudinal evaluation, we follow three steps: (1) extraction of occurrences, (2) manual exploration and categorization of variants, and (3) extraction based on the categorization for comparative purposes. In the following sections, the extraction procedures are described in detail.

2.1 Extraction of modal adverbs and evaluative patterns

The first step is to find occurrences of modal adverbs and evaluative patterns in the corpus/corpora. For this purpose, we use the Corpus Query Processor (CQP) (Evert 2005), which allows extraction with regular expressions. For the present investigation, we select two of the most frequently occurring modal adverbs expressing epistemic meaning, *obviously* and *possibly,* and two expressing attitudinal meaning, *importantly* and *interestingly.* To analyze the pattern variants, we select the same lexemes. The following patterns are extracted: *it + be + obvious + that, it + be + possible + that/to*, *it + be + important + that/to*, *and it + be + interesting + that/to*.

Figure 2 shows an example query to extract the modal adverb *obviously* in Theme position. In the first line, the sentence tag is used to make sure that the query begins at the first position in a sentence. To extract instances of *obviously*

	Query building blocks	Explanation	Sample extraction
1	<s>	sentence tag	
2	[pos! = "N.*|DT|P.*|V.*"]{0,3}	possible non-experiential element	*But*
3	@ "(O|o)bviously"	modal adverb	*obviously*
4	within s;	within a sentence	

Figure 2. Example query for the extraction of modal adverbs

in Theme position only, in line two, we search for zero to three possible non-experiential elements, excluding from the query nouns, determiners and personal pronouns, which all indicate an experiential element, as well as verbs. A non-experiential element might be a textual element such as the conjunction *but.* In line three, the modal adverb *obviously* is searched for in lower or upper case, as it may appear sentence-initially. Finally, in line 4 the query is delimited to one sentence, i.e., the boundaries of a sentence should not be trespassed.

The query to extract the evaluative *it*-pattern is structured in a similar way. Figure 3 shows an example. Here, we look again for the first position of a sentence with the sentence tag (line 1), followed by zero to three possible textual or interpersonal elements (line 2), followed by the evaluative pattern (lines 3–7), delimiting the query to a sentence boundary (line 8).

	Query building blocks	Explanation	Sample extraction
1	<s>	sentence tag	
2	[pos!="V.*|DT|N.*|P.*"]{0,3}	possible non-experiential element	*But*
		pattern start	
3	"It|it"	dummy *it*	*it*
4	[pos="VB.*"]	verb be	*is*
5	[] {0,3}	possible modification element	*very*
6	"obvious"	adjective	*obvious*
7	@ "that"	that-clause	*that*
		pattern end	
8	within s;	within a sentence	

Figure 3. Example query for the extraction of evaluative *it*-patterns

2.2 Extracting instances with constraints in syntagmatic context

In order to compare the usage of the selected lexemes and patterns in their wider syntagmatic context (Theme vs. Rheme, modification, logical relations), we formulate more refined queries using CQP macros. For an example see Figure 4. Here, we extract the evaluative pattern with the adjective *important* in combination with a contrast expression relating to the previous discourse and realized by conjuncts such as *however, nevertheless* etc. As the contrast expression may be located at different positions in the sentence, we write queries for each possibility.

	Query building blocks	Explanation
1	MACRO it-pattern-imptheme-contrast-by-conjunct(0)	name of the macro
2	(	start grouping
3	(	start query 1
3a	<s>	sentence tag
3b	@[word="However | Nonetheless | Nevertheless"]	contrast element
3c	[pos!="V.*|DT|N.*|P.*"]0,3	possible non-experiential element
3d	"it" [pos="VB.*"][]0,3 "important" "to|that"	pattern
3e	)	end query 1
4	|	or operation
5	(	start query 2
5a	<s>	sentence tag
5b	[pos!="V.*|DT|N.*|P.*"]0,3	possible non-experiential element
5c	"(I|i)t" [pos="VB.*"]@[]0,3"important" "to"	pattern with to-INF clause
5d	[pos="V.*"] []	verb and further possible element
5e	@[word="however | nonetheless | nevertheless"]	contrast element
5f	)	end query 2
6		query 3
7	)	end grouping
8	within s;	within a sentence

Figure 4. Macro for the extraction of evaluative *it*-patterns with contrast

Consider Example (5), where the contrast element is situated at the first position in the sentence, and Example (6), where the contrast element follows the pattern. Line 3–3e in Figure 4 show the query for the case of Example (5) and line 5–5f for the case of Example (6). To facilitate the extraction the queries are grouped into one CQP macro.

(5) However, it is important to correctly understand the meaning of the lower bound:

(6) It is important to note, however, that V3 and V2 do not necessarily contain all such vertices.

3. Analyses of evaluative expressions in context

In this section we show selected analyses of evaluative expressions in context, starting by looking at scientific vs. non-scientific language (situational context) and moving to comparing the individual scientific disciplines in terms of further syntagmatic constraints. The expressions we consider are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Evaluative expressions under study

	adverb	**pattern**
epistemic	obviously possibly	it BE obvious that it BE possible that/to
attitudinal	importantly interestingly	it BE important that/to it BE interesting that/to

3.1 Analysis 1 – evaluative expressions specific to scientific language

In our first analysis, we address the question of whether the evaluative expressions under study are specific to scientific language. To answer this question, we compare their frequencies in the SciTex corpus (scientific registers) with the frequencies in the FLOB corpus. Since FLOB only contains approximately 1 million tokens, we use a 1 million version of SciTex (2000's). Also, we exclude from FLOB the scientific section (J subcorpus: learned).

Figure 5 shows frequencies per one million words across the two corpora. Considering the evaluative patterns, they occur more often in SciTex than in FLOB, the *important* and *possible* patterns being the most frequent (see (7) and (8) for examples). Thus, we can deduce that the evaluative patterns are rather typical of scientific language.

(7) It is important to consider that our network queues have Poisson arrival rates and exponential service rates. (SciTex)

(8) Studying these equations further, it is even possible to obtain limiting distribution results, as was sketched in [2]. (SciTex)

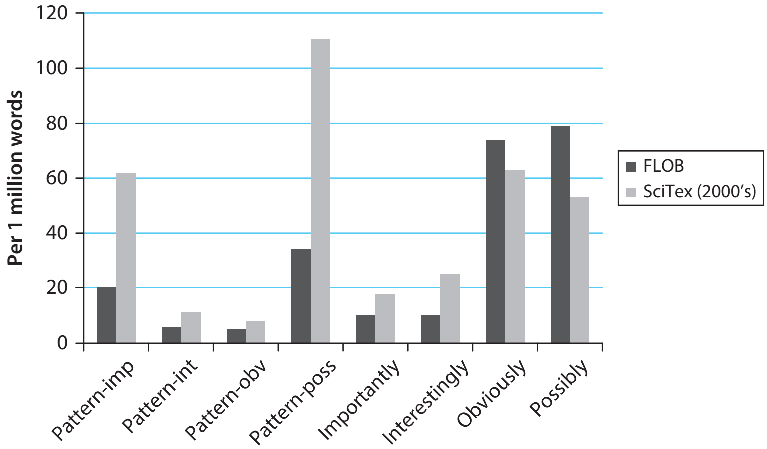

Figure 5. Evaluative patterns and modal adverbs in FLOB vs. SciTex

(9) Interestingly, the same domain is also well known for its interaction with other cellular proteins including Fas. (SciTex)

(10) Stefan obviously understood what I was telling him. (FLOB)

(11) Possibly it did, but Griffiths was one of the few Labour politicians who saw this. (FLOB)

Looking at the modal adverbs, we can see that the modal adverbs *importantly* and *interestingly* are most frequently used in SciTex (see (9) for an example), *obviously* and *possibly* instead are used relatively often in both corpora, but slightly more often in FLOB (see Examples (10) and (11) and again Figure 5). Here, the attitudinal modal adverbs predominate in scientific language compared to non-scientific language, whereas the epistemic ones, which are much more frequent in both SciTex and FLOB, are probably not distinctive for scientific language.

3.2 Analysis 2 – evaluative expressions across scientific disciplines

In our second analysis, we investigate whether the selected evaluative expressions might be discipline-specific or rather discipline-neutral. For this analysis, we use the full version of SciTex (2000's). Figure 6 shows the distribution of the modal adverbs and evaluative patterns under study across the subcorpora of SciTex.

In terms of frequency, linguistics (C1) and biology (C2) as well as computational linguistics (B1) and bioinformatics (B2) make the highest use of these expressions. The engineering disciplines, digital construction (B3), microelectronics (B4),

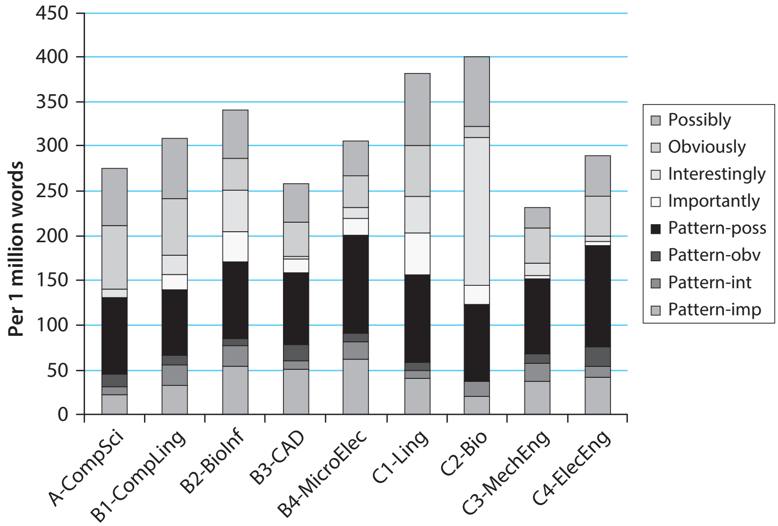

Figure 6. Evaluative patterns and modal adverbs across the SciTex disciplines

mechanical engineering (C3) and electrical engineering (C4), instead, exhibit a less frequent use. Computer science (A) is somewhere in the middle.

When we compare the use of the modal adverbs (light gray shaded) versus the evaluative patterns (dark gray shaded), we can see that for the engineering disciplines two thirds of the occurrences are evaluative patterns and one third modal adverbs. Computer science (A), computational linguistics (B1) and biology (B2), instead, use both variants similarly often. At the same time, for linguistics (C1) and especially biology (C2) the use of modal adverbs is relatively high.

Looking at the concrete expressions, biology (C2) makes extremely high use of the modal adverb *interestingly,* the attitudinal meaning clearly prevailing in this case. This use is in some way also reflected in the contact discipline of bioinformatics (B2), which makes the highest use of *interestingly* in comparison to the other contact disciplines (B1, B3 and B4). Comparing epistemic versus attitudinal meanings, biology (C2) and bioinformatics (B2) are also the ones to make the highest use of attitudinal meaning with approximately 50%, in comparison to the other disciplines, which use only 30% of attitudinal meaning.

As we are particularly interested in the relation of seed disciplines and contact disciplines, we also take a look at the comparison of triples of subcorpora (A-B-C). The most apparent difference between the contact disciplines (B-subcorpora) and the seed disciplines (A- and C-subcorpora) is the relatively high use of the *importance* pattern by the contact disciplines.[1] The modal adverb *importantly* is also used relatively often by the contact disciplines, especially in the comparison of triples with the engineering disciplines (A-B3-C3 and A-B4-C4) (see again Figure 6). This might indicate a need for the contact disciplines to promote importance in their research articles.

We can summarize our findings as follows. Especially for the attitudinal meaning, we observe discipline-specific tendencies (see biology with the adverb *interestingly* or the contact disciplines with the *importance* pattern). The epistemic meanings, especially the *possible* pattern, seem to be rather evenly distributed, thus being rather discipline-neutral. Only computer science makes more use of the epistemic meaning with *possibly, obviously* and the *possible* pattern relative to the other disciplines.

So far, we have concentrated on the situational context of evaluative expressions in scientific language comparing scientific language with non-scientific language and individual scientific registers. In the next section, we inspect the syntagmatic contexts of the evaluative expressions more closely.

3.3 Analysis 3 – evaluative expressions and their syntagmatic context

To investigate whether there are differences in the syntagmatic environments of the two variants under study, we analyze them further in terms of their position in Theme vs. Rheme, their internal modification and their logical relation to the previous discourse. Consider Examples (7) and (9), above, where the evaluative expressions are situated in Theme position and Example (8) with an evaluative expression in Rheme. Note that for this investigation we follow Thompson (2014) in considering the evaluative pattern an *interpersonal Theme* when it occurs clause-initially.[2]

3.3.1 *Theme*

Interpreting the extracted instances, it seems that modal adverbs and evaluative patterns have different preferences in position in thematic structure. Comparing the distribution of the evaluative expressions in Theme vs. Rheme, we can see that there are indeed some differences (see Figure 7). Except for the *possible* pattern, the patterns have a clear preference for the Theme position, whereas for the modal adverbs, there is no uniform picture. The attitudinal ones *(importantly, interestingly)* prevail in Theme position, with an even higher frequency of use in comparison to the patterns. The epistemic modal adverbs, instead, are more often used in Rheme position, however with a much higher use in Rheme for *possibly* and only slightly higher use in Rheme for *obviously.* For the attitudinal meaning (pattern or adverb), we can say that it has a clear preference for the Theme position.

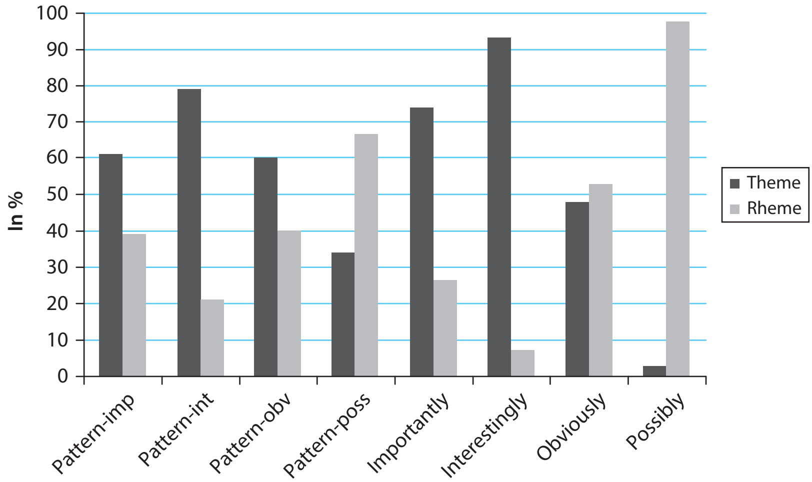

Figure 7. Evaluative patterns and modal adverbs – Theme vs. Rheme in SciTex

When we look at the distribution of the evaluative expressions across the disciplines represented in SciTex, we can detect which disciplines make more or less use of which variant in Theme position. Figure 8 shows that biology (C2), bioinformatics (B2) and linguistics (C1) make the highest use of the modal adverb *interestingly* in Theme; the corresponding pattern, instead, is more evenly distributed across the disciplines. For mechanical engineering (C3), electrical engineering (C4) and computer science (A), the importance meaning prefers the evaluative pattern over the modal adverb in Theme position.

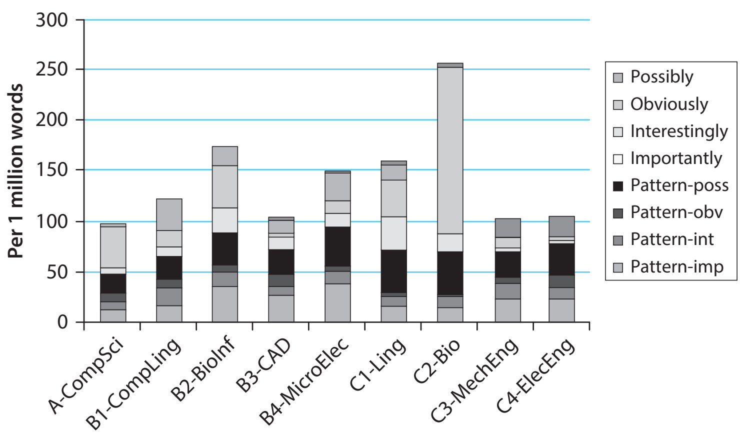

Figure 8. Evaluative patterns and modal adverbs in Theme across SciTex

Therefore, we may say that the use of *interestingly* in Theme position is typical of biology research articles (e.g., see Example (12)). A low use of *importantly* in Theme position, on the other hand, is specific to the engineering disciplines (C3, C4) and computer science (A), but not propagated to the corresponding contact disciplines digital construction (B3) and microelectronics (B4). A relatively high use of *obviously* in Theme position, instead, is specific to computer science (A) (e.g., see Example (13)).

(12) Interestingly, other components of the NuRD complex, such as MBD3 and HDAC1, have been recently localized at mitotic centrosomes (30).
(C2-biology; SciTex)

(13) Obviously, the leaves of T are exactly the super-nodes.
(A-computer science; SciTex)

3.3.2 *Modification*

The inspection of the syntagmatic context of the selected evaluative expressions showed that modification of the evaluative pattern or the modal adjunct may also be a distinctive feature across disciplines. Thus, we analyze modification. As the majority of evaluative expressions occur in Theme (excluding *possibly* approximately 56%), we restrict this analysis to the instances occurring in Theme. The types of modification most frequently occurring are intensification, comparison and negation (see Examples (14)–(17)).

(14) It is also interesting to compare our result to that in [14].

(15) Therefore, it is very important to consider a .smarter and more efficient test vector generation approach.

(16) It is not possible to garble all the words of our background dictionary for constructing the error dictionaries.

(17) Most importantly, it incorporates relevant external ontological identifiers as building blocks in order to represent more complex and expressive relations.

The attitudinal evaluative patterns with *important* and *interesting* are mostly used in combination with the adverb *also* (see Example (14)) and intensifying items such as *very, extremely,* etc. (see Example (15)). The epistemic *possible* pattern occurs with the additive adverb *also* and with negation (see Example (16)). The epistemic *obvious* pattern is too rarely modified to show a tendency. The attitudinal modal adverbs are mostly used with the comparative and superlative items *more* and *most* (see Example (17)). The epistemic ones are again seldom modified and do not show a clear tendency.

Considering the distribution across disciplines (see Figure 9) the following can be observed: (1) computer science (A) uses modification rather seldom in

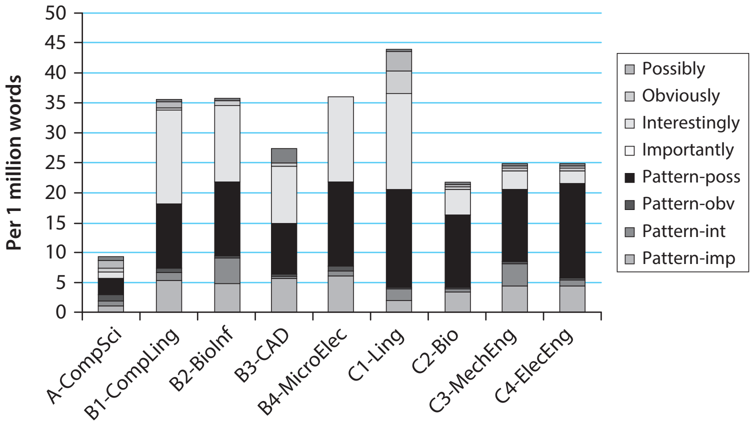

Figure 9. Modified evaluative patterns and modal adverbs in Theme across SciTex

comparison to the other disciplines, (2) the importance meaning (by the pattern or by modal adverb) and the *possible* pattern are relatively often modified across disciplines. The discipline standing out most clearly is linguistics (C1) which exhibits the highest frequency of modification and the greatest variability.

3.3.3 *Logical relation to previous discourse*

Another characteristic usage of the evaluative expressions we observed is the expression of the contrast relation to the discourse preceding the evaluative expression. Out of all discourse markers used with the evaluative expressions under study approximately 33% were of the contrast relation. To extract contrast expressions related to the previous discourse only, we carefully analyzed the syntagmatic environments of the expressions. Here, the contrast relation is expressed either by conjunctions (notably *but)* or by textual conjuncts (e.g., *however, nevertheless).* The conjunctions contrasting the previous discourse must precede the evaluative expression (otherwise the contrast is directed towards the evaluation, cf. Examples (18) vs. (19)), while the conjunct may be positioned more flexibly (see Examples (20)–(23)).

(18) But it is interesting that both examples contain the temporal adverbial siempre 'always'.

(19) It is interesting to note that RPA stimulates RAD51-dependent ssDNA annealing in Saccharomyces cerevisiae (23), but it inhibits CSBcatalyzed ssDNA annealing (Figure 5).

(20) Nevertheless, it is not possible to draw the same conclusion for the outcome of general data training session that is found 50%.

(21) It is nonetheless important to note at this point that although the problem posed by ECM reflexivization is indeed real, it does not represent a universal phenomenon.

(22) It is possible, however, that classification can be tuned for better performance.

(23) It is important to note, however, that a border point is not deleted until all border points are processed.

Considering the evaluative pattern vs. the modal adverb, the contrast element mostly appears with the pattern irrespective of its realization (conjunction or conjunct) (see Figure 10). Thus, the expression of contrast towards the previous discourse has a preference for the pattern. Considering conjunction vs. conjunct, the conjunct prevails over the conjunction for both the pattern and the modal adverb (see again Figure 10).

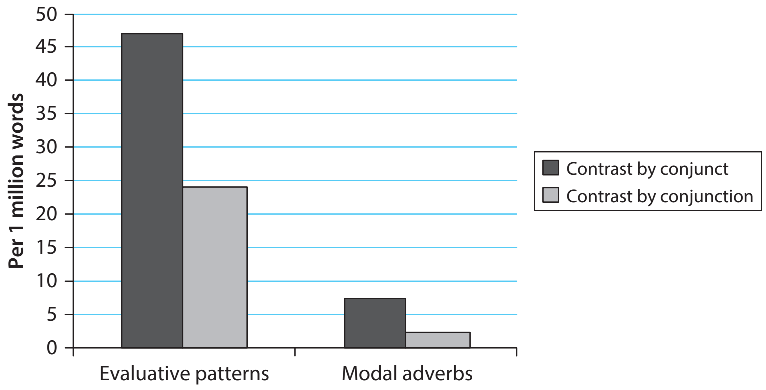

Figure 10. Contrast and evaluative pattern vs. modal adverb in SciTex

Inspecting further the syntagmatic context of contrast expressed by a conjunct, the choice of putting either the evaluative expression or the contrast element in first position is meaningful. In terms of Theme, either the textual or the interpersonal element is then located in first position. For the evaluative patterns, the conjunct is most frequently situated in first position (see Example (24)); only the *important* pattern has a slight tendency in comparison to the other patterns to precede the conjunct (especially in the construction shown in Example (25) with the verb *note*). With the modal adverbs, the conjunct mostly appears in second position (see Example (26)). Of all occurrences with pattern plus conjunct approximately 76% have the multiple Theme structure of *textual*→ *interpersonal*→ *experiential* (see again Example (24)), of all occurrences of modal adverb plus conjunct approximately 92% are of the type *interpersonal*→ *textual*→ *experiential* (see again Example (26)).

(24) [$_{\text{Theme}}$ However, it is possible that the C-terminally truncated protein] exists in mouse and has a biological role.

(25) [$_{\text{Theme}}$ It is important to note, however, that V3 and V2] do not necessarily contain all such vertices.

(26) [$_{\text{Theme}}$ Importantly, however, we] do not assume a tree data structure to represent discourse coherence structures.

Comparing the frequencies of the evaluative expressions across the disciplines for both conjunctions and conjuncts, linguistics (C1) is again the discipline with the greatest variation and the highest frequency of occurrences (see Figure 11). Besides microelectronics (B4), the engineering disciplines (B3, C3 and C4) and computer science (A) make a less frequent use of contrast to previous discourse in the context of evaluative expressions. However, considering the contact disciplines (B-subcorpora), they still have a higher frequency of contrast expressions in comparison to the seed disciplines (apart from computational linguistics (B1) due to the high use of contrast in linguistics (C1)).

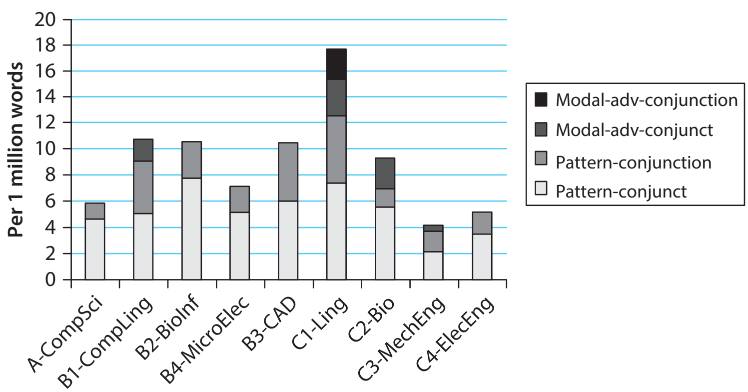

Figure 11. Evaluative patterns and modal adverbs in Theme with contrast across SciTex

4. Summary and discussion

In this chapter, we have dealt with register diversification in evaluative language focusing on scientific writing. We have started by introducing techniques for a corpus-based analysis of evaluation. By means of specific extraction procedures, we were able to detect instances of evaluative expressions in situational and syntagmatic contexts and to analyze them further.

In our analysis we investigated (1) which typical evaluative expressions there are in scientific research articles and (2) whether the usage of evaluative expressions is rather discipline-specific or discipline-neutral. For this purpose, we have studied selected variants of evaluative expressions (evaluative patterns and modal adverbs) expressing epistemic and attitudinal meaning focusing on four lexemes. In the first analysis, comparing the SciTex and the FLOB corpora, we showed that the selected attitudinal and epistemic evaluative patterns as well as the attitudinal modal adverbs are rather typical of scientific language. In the second analysis, we investigated the situational context in more detail by comparing nine scientific disciplines and showing discipline-specific tendencies in the SciTex corpus (e.g., evaluative patterns being rather typical of the engineering disciplines, expression of importance being rather typical of the contact disciplines). In the third analysis, we investigated more closely the syntagmatic context of the selected evaluative expressions, looking at preferences in thematic structure, modification and the relation of contrast to previous discourse. Here, we observed preferences (e.g., evaluative pattern and attitudinal meaning prevailing in Theme, differences in the multiple Theme structure for the variants) as well as discipline-specific tendencies (e.g., relatively high variability in linguistics, a higher use of contrast to previous discourse in the contact disciplines).

In terms of methodology, we have carried out a corpus-based analysis of evaluation combining quantitative and qualitative analytic methods in the consideration of the notion of context (situational and syntagmatic). So far, we have been able to detect tendencies for specific evaluative expressions within and across scientific disciplines. The next steps will be to (1) extend the range of evaluative expressions under analysis, e.g., by considering meaning groups according to Hunston (2004), and (2) to expand the evaluative context, i.e. take into consideration not only the evaluative expressions but also the 'targets' of evaluation. For example, as the analysis in Section 3.2 showed, the contact disciplines have a preference for the importance meaning. One interpretation might be that they have a need to establish themselves as distinct disciplines. However, an analysis of the targets of the evaluation is essential to determine what exactly is evaluated as being important. We have therefore only taken some first steps towards a comprehensive study of evaluative language in scientific registers. Nevertheless, we have shown one possible methodology for a fine-grained analysis of evaluation in the context of register variation.

The methodology and the findings obtained in this study may also serve other, more computationally oriented approaches to the analysis of evaluation such as sentiment analysis or opinion mining, where knowledge about expressions typical of a specific register can be helpful. To make the SciTex corpus a valuable resource for further studies, we will explicitly annotate the evaluative expressions in the corpus analyzed so far in terms of their evaluative meaning (importance, possibility, etc.) and their evaluative type (attitudinal, epistemic). In the near future, the SciTex corpus will then be made available within the CLARIN-D repository (http://clarin- d.net/index.php/de/).

Notes

1. For more results on this comparison for the *it* + BE + ADJ + *to/that* pattern use see Degaetano and Teich (2011).

2. In Halliday (2004)'s analysis only the *it* is considered as Theme.

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CHAPTER 13

The role of negative-modal synergies in Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species**

Laura Hidalgo-Downing

This chapter explores the role of negative-modal synergies in the expression of authorial stance and intersubjective positioning in Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*. As markers of stance, both negation and modality contribute to the expression of evaluation in discourse, though little attention has been paid to the co-occurrence of both types of markers. Drawing on corpus-based methods, I first identify the recurrent discourse pattern which gives rise to a semantic prosody of negative-modal meaning throughout *The Origin of Species* as compared to *The Voyage of the Beagle*. Second, I discuss how this discourse pattern reflects Darwin's positioning in the presentation of his Theory of Natural Selection. An analysis of the resources which express intersubjective positioning reveals the tension between conflicting goals in Darwin's presentation of his new theory, namely, the expression of certainty regarding his insights and discoveries and the need to be cautious in communicating them. Thus, the various patterns of (co)-occurrence of negation, modality and personal pronouns construe specific authorial positions against the backdrop of competing scientific theories and in anticipation of readers' potential disagreement.

1. Introduction

The present chapter explores the role of negation and modality in the presentation and communication of new ideas, more specifically, in Charles Darwin's major work *The Origin of Species* (henceforth *OS*). The use of negation in discourse, particularly argumentative discourse, for the purpose of indicating contrast, the correction of previous assumptions and the defeat of expectations has been widely treated (Pagano 1994; Tottie 1991; Givón 1993; Jordan 1998; Werth 1999; Hidalgo-Downing 2000; Downing and Locke 2006). On the level of evaluation and speaker's attitude, the role of negation in the expression of evaluation and intersubjective positioning has been pointed out by various scholars (see for example, Hunston and Thompson 2000; Martin and White 2005). Scarce attention has been paid, however, to the fact that negation can also play a crucial role in the presentation of new ideas within the discourse itself. Likewise, the complex combined effect of negative particles and modal expressions has not been addressed in detail, although the affinity of both phenomena has been mentioned (in Givón 1993; Halliday 1994; Werth 1999, among others), as has their role in the expression of speaker/writer stance and evaluation. Following previous studies on the pragmatics of negation and the concept of modal synergy (Lyons 1977; Hoye 1997), the present chapter proposes a corpus-based study (see e.g. Sinclair 1991; Rayson 2008) of the co-occurrence or synergy of negative particles and modality as markers of authorial stance and intersubjective positioning in Darwin's *The Origin of Species*.

My aims are the following: (1) to identify the frequency of the negative particle *not*; (2) to identify recurrent patterns of co-occurrence or synergy among negation and modal markers; (3) to identify degrees of subjectivity in the expression of writer stance in Darwin's *OS*; (4) to discuss how this discursive pattern reflects Darwin's characteristic type of authorial stance.

1.1 Motivation and research questions

The present study is part of a broader research project on the linguistic resources which are involved in creativity, understood not only as a process of cognitive and conceptual innovation produced by an individual or group of individuals, but, more importantly, as a process of intersubjective negotiation of meanings and collective co-construction of discourse (see, for example, Carter 2004; Myers 1990, 1994; Nerlich et al. 2009; Teubert 2010b).[1] I first became interested in Darwin as one of the most influential thinkers in the history of mankind, and as a paradigmatic example of a highly creative individual. I began reading *The Origin of Species* and very soon my attention was drawn to the presence and use of negation in this work. For example, already in the Introduction, on page 9, I found the following interesting passage:

(1) Although much remains obscure, and will long remain obscure, *I can entertain **no doubt***, after the most deliberate study and dispassionate judgement of which I am capable, *that the view which most naturalists entertain*, and which I formerly entertained – namely, that each species has been independently created – *is erroneous. I am fully convinced that species are **not immutable***; but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species, in the same manner as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species. Furthermore, I am convinced that Natural Selection has been the main ***but not exclusive*** means of modification. (*OS*. 9, my italics)

What caught my attention in Extract (1) was the recurrence of negative words in combination with expressions of modality and cognition (*I can entertain no doubt…; the view which most naturalists entertain…is erroneous; I am fully convinced that species are not immutable*). I was thus interested in exploring whether this recurrence of negative and modal expressions could be observed throughout the work, and in what way it could support the view that Darwin was extremely cautious in presenting his new theory. Indeed, the difficulties Darwin experienced in the communication of his theory have been pointed out (see, for example, the discussion of this topic in Myers 1990 and in Beer 2009). Certain scholars cited by the latter have even evaluated Darwin's writings as inadequate to express the far-reaching impact of his theory. Rather, I prefer to view Darwin's writings in the light of Gillian Beer's analysis, that is, as a struggle to find the way to express new ideas despite limited linguistic resources and the lack of an adequate conceptual background in the specific social and historical context of his time:

> I came to realize that the intellectual and emotional excitement generated by *The Origin of Species* was partly the outcome of Darwin's struggle to find a language to think in. He was working in a milieu where natural theology had set the terms for natural historians. The key concepts for natural theologians seeking to display God's workings in the material world were design and creation. Darwin, on the contrary, was trying to precipitate a theory based on production and mutation. How to think these ideas against the grain of the language available?
>
> (Beer 1983: xviii)

The present study thus seeks to explain in what way certain linguistic features which belong in the realm of evaluation (negation, modality) are significantly frequent in *OS* as resources used by Darwin to put forward his Theory of Natural Selection. My calculation of the significance of modal expressions and the negative particle *not* was carried out by means of keyword analysis (Rayson 2008), which provided the statistical significance of the relevant expressions in *The Origin of Species* in contrast with a reference corpus, Darwin's earlier work *The Voyage of the Beagle*. For this purpose, I set out to study the frequency and functions of negation and its co-occurrence with modal expressions and first person pronouns to indicate different degrees of subjectivity. The research questions I set out were the following:

1. Is there any difference in the keyness and frequency of the negative particle *not* and of modal and evidential expressions in *OS* as compared with Darwin's earlier work *The Voyage of the Beagle* (henceforth *VB*)?
2. What recurrent combinations of *not* + modal expressions are present in *OS*?

3. What is the distribution and frequency of negation-modality types according to the classification of degrees of subjectivity proposed by Halliday (1994)?
4. What does the combined analysis of negation, modality and personal pronouns reveal about Darwin's type of stance in *OS*?
5. How do these features contribute to the presentation of his new Theory of Natural Selection?

More specifically, I formulated the following hypotheses, based on the expectations I had on reading *OS*:

1.1.1 *Hypotheses*

Overall hypothesis: Negation in combination with modal expressions and personal pronouns performs a crucial discursive role in the presentation of (Darwin's) new ideas.

Sub-hypotheses:

1. The degree of keyness of the negative particle *not* and of a representative number of modal expressions is expected to be more significant in *OS* than in *VB*.
2. The negative particle *not*, in combination with modal-evidential expressions and with personal pronouns (negative-modal synergy), performs a crucial role in the expression of Darwin's stance style, which ranges from strong negative assertion to modalized negations or hedges.
3. A predominance of subjective modality is expected, over alternative objective forms (see Halliday 1994; Thompson 2014).

Thus, Extract (1) already illustrates these functions: Darwin first positions himself with respect to previous theories and corrects them (*the view which most naturalists entertain, and which I formerly entertained … is erroneous*) and introduces his new ideas by means of an implicature which arises from the negative utterance and which is developed in the following discourse:

> (2) *I am fully convinced that species are not immutable*; but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species, in the same manner as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species. (my italics)

In this sense, negation is a complex discourse phenomenon which performs a crucial role in discursive two-part and three-part structures (see Jordan 1998), in which the negative utterance first denies previous discourse or previous assumptions and then paves the way for the new ideas. As such, negation is not merely a logical operator but a powerful foregrounding device (see also Givón 1993; Werth 1999).

1.2 Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and *The Voyage of the Beagle*

The story of how Darwin developed his theory of Natural Selection and finally wrote it down in *OS* also fascinated me. When he was twenty-two he took part in a five-year geographical voyage round the world, which allowed him, as a naturalist, to observe and take specimens and notes of numerous natural phenomena, plants and animals. He collected his observations in the volume *The Voyage of the Beagle*, in which he already hints at his intuition that new species are not created anew when other species become extinct, but that there is a relation between older and more recent species, in the sense that small modifications over time have eventually led to different species. He called this process Natural Selection, and was partly inspired by the way farmers and agriculturists artificially select breeds of plants or animals. What is striking is that it took Darwin twenty years to decide to put his ideas into writing, and he did so only after meeting Alfred Russel Wallace, another naturalist who had reached similar conclusions about the evolution of species at the same time as had Darwin, though his insights were not as detailed and developed as Darwin's. Twenty years passed between the publication of *VB* in 1839 and the publication of *OS* in 1859. Testimonies from his time reveal that Darwin was extremely careful and cautious in presenting his new ideas, as if he already anticipated disapproval and disagreement with a theory which would put a definite end to centuries of creationism (see Teubert's 2010a analysis of what he calls "the language of failure" in Darwin's writings).

2. Theoretical background

In the present chapter I focus on the roles of negation and modality as markers of evaluation. The relationship between negation and modality on the one hand and the expression of stance, evaluation and interpersonal functions on the other has been signalled in the literature (Halliday 1994; Martin and White 2005; Hunston and Thompson 2000; Biber et al. 1999). Evaluation is defined by Thompson and Hunston as follows:

> For us, evaluation is the broad cover term for the expression of speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. The attitude may refer to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values. Modality may be seen as a sub-category of evaluation. (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5)

Thus, Thompson and Hunston bring to the foreground the relation between the concept of evaluation as a broad term which encompasses other related notions such as stance, subjectivity, attitude and viewpoint, and, as such, typically includes markers of modality and negation (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 21–22). In addition, they point out the importance of evaluation for three purposes:

1. To express a speaker's or writer's opinion, and in doing so 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 the discourse. (2000: 21–22)

In the present study, I am particularly interested in exploring the role of modality and negation as contributing to the expression of speaker/writer opinions and the construction of relations with a potential reader. In addition I shall also make reference to negation as an organizational device in the discourse.

I approach the concept of stance by combining observations made by various scholars to the way speakers/writers expresses attitudes, judgements and feelings, regarding the content of their utterances, their interlocutors and their own positionings, what du Bois calls "the stance triangle" (2007: 163). More specifically, I address what is usually understood as epistemic stance, that is, the expression of writer/speaker's attitudes and beliefs, with the discourse function of expressing intersubjective positioning and alignment or disalignment with potential interlocutors. Epistemic stance typically differs from what some scholars call attitudinal stance (Biber et al. 1999; Martin and White 2005), in that the latter kind of stance provides a frame for the proposition it modifies, while attitudinal stance is typically expressed within the proposition itself (by choice at the phrase level). As such, both modality and negation are typical resources for the expression of epistemic stance in discourse (on epistemic stance, see also Bybee and Fleischman 1995; Chafe and Nichols 1986; Palmer 1986).

Both Halliday (1994: 356) and Givón (1993: 169–170) view the semantic domains of modality and negation as different dimensions within complex systems of meaning. Thus, Halliday argues that "Modality refers to the area of meaning that lies within yes and no – the intermediate ground between positive and negative polarity" (1994: 357). He further distinguishes between the two systems of *modalization*, which includes probability and usuality, and *modulation*, which includes obligation and inclination, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. System of types of modality (From Halliday 1994: 357)

Modalization	Modulation
Probability (*maybe*)	Obligation (*is wanted to*)
Usuality (*sometimes*)	Inclination (*wants to*)

Givón's definition of modality provides a clear illustration of how modal and negative operators typically take scope over whole propositions:

> The propositional modality associated with a clause may be likened to a shell that encases it but does not tamper with the kernel inside. The propositional frame of clauses – participant roles, verb-type, transitivity – as well as the actual lexical items that fill the various slots in the frame, remain largely unaffected by the modality wrapped round it. Rather, the modality encodes the speaker's attitude toward the proposition. (1993: 169)

By attitude Givón here refers to two types of judgement, understood as forms of epistemic and deontic modality, not as forms of lexical evaluation (cf. Hunston and Thompson 2000; Martin and White 2005):

> a. Epistemic judgements of truth, probability, certainty, belief or evidence.
> b. Evaluative judgements of desirability, preference, intent, ability, obligation or manipulation. (1993: 169)

According to Givón there are four major epistemic modalities: Presupposition, in which the proposition is assumed to be true, *realis* assertion, in which the proposition is strongly asserted as true, *irrealis* assertion, in which the proposition is weakly asserted as possible or likely (or necessary or desired), and negative assertion, in which the proposition is strongly asserted as false (adapted from Givón 1993: 170).

Thus, in Givón's model, negation and modality are two different options speakers have to express attitude towards a proposition, depending on the estimated strength and nature of the claim.

With regard to negation, Givón argues that negation "is a confrontational, challenging speech act" (1993: 188). Similarly, Martin and White include a category of "Disclaims" in their Appraisal model to describe "those formulations by which some prior utterance or some alternative position is invoked so as to be directly rejected, replaced or held to be unsustainable" (2005: 118). On the other hand, Downing and Locke point out the use of negation for purposes of politeness, as a hedge to avoid making a stronger assertion (2006: 26), as in *I can't say*.

This definition of the discourse function of negation highlights what is known as its presuppositional nature, that is, the capacity of negation to evoke the corresponding positive proposition in order to negate it. Additionally, this also shows the intrinsically dialogic and intertextual nature of negation as a discourse phenomenon, since in order to deny something we must make reference to what is denied, and if what is denied is presented as a polemical issue it will require a positioning on the part of the writer, who will oscillate between strong negative assertion and modalized negative hedges. What the existing literature has not paid sufficient attention to is the fact that negation not only corrects or modifies previous assumptions, propositions or expectations (see Givón 1993; Jordan 1998; Werth 1999; Pagano 1994; Hidalgo Downing 2000) but in so doing it is also a discourse resource for the introduction of new ideas. This typically takes place by means of an implicature. Thus if a scientist claims the assertion in (3) as true:

(3) The earth is not flat.

it may be argued that the function of negation is not only that of correcting and rejecting a previously held assumption (that the earth is flat) but it also paves the way for an alternative proposition, which is suggested by implicature, as expressed in (4):

(4) The earth is round.

I further apply Halliday's (1994: 355) classification of expressions of probability as explicit vs. implicit and subjective vs. objective, Additionally, Hoye's approach to modality based on the study of collocational patterns of modal verb-adverb combinations, which he defines as modal-adverb synergism (1997: 4), is applied to the co-occurrence of a modal with a negative particle; this I shall call modal-negative synergy. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Teubert, in a lecture at the University of Birmingham in 2010, argued that Darwin's discourse is characterized by the presence of a negative semantic prosody which seems to highlight an attitude of expected defeat.

On the basis of the preceding classifications of modality and stance types, I adopt the classification shown in Table 2 in order to analyse and discuss the occurrence and co-occurrence of negation, modality and personal pronouns as indicators of stance types.

Table 2. Degrees of subjectivity in stance (adapted from Halliday 1994: 355)

Category	**Type of realization**	**Example**
Subjective		
(a) explicit	I/we (do not) think, believe, feel I/we+ be+ not+ attribute	I don't think species are immutable. I'm (not) sure
(b) implicit	Not + can (cannot), may, might, could, would, must	Species may not have become extinct. A bat…could not have been formed…
Objective		
(c) explicit	Probably, certainly, possibly + not	Most naturalists probably don't know…
(d) implicit	It's not likely, it's not certain	It is not likely that man should have succeeded in selecting…

3. Data and method

For this study I have used a computer accessible version of *OS* (154,164 words) and of *VB* (192,072 words). In order to check the significance of the particle "not" together with modal expressions in *OS* I have first carried out a keyword search of the two works,[3] in order to confirm whether negation and modality are indeed statistically significant in *OS*. I am here following current research in keyword analysis on the assumption that this procedure is useful in the study of recurrent lexical items in text (see Sinclair 1991; Bondi and Scott 2010; Hoey et al. 2007, among others). As Bondi and Scott point out, the identification of keywords "does not in itself constitute an analysis or an interpretation of the text or corpus. It does, however, point to elements that may be profitably studied and need to be explained" (2010: 3). Although the number of negative words, both grammatical and lexical, which can be studied in *OS* is large, in the present study I have focused on the use of the particle *not*, which is highly significant in terms of keyness in *OS*, and its co-occurrence with modal expressions and first person pronouns or the pronoun *it*. Once the keyword analysis was carried out I was able to make a selection of the modal expressions which are also highly significant in terms of keyness. From the keyword lists and the word frequency lists of both works I selected those items I am interested in analysing and which are relevant in terms of negative-modal co-occurrence in *OS*. I then extracted concordances of the selected words and finally propose a classification of the different discourse functions carried out by the combination of personal pronouns, negation and modal expressions in *OS*.

4. Results

4.1 Keyword analysis

Tables 3 and 4 show the degree of keyness of the negative particle *not*, of modal and expressions and of personal pronouns in *OS* vs. *VB* and in *VB* vs. *OS* respectively.

The results in Table 3 show that the degree of keyness in *OS* is highly significant as regards the following words: the negative particle *not*, modal verbs (*can, may, might, will, would, shall, should, ought, have to*), the modal adverbs and adjectives *likely, possibly and possible*, and the verb of cognition *believe*. Among modal verbs, it can be pointed out that *must* and *could* are not significant keywords.

Table 3. Keyness of negation with modal expressions and pronouns in *OS*

Keyword	***OS***		***VB***			**Keyness**
	Token	%	**Token**	%		**Logg**
Will	738	0.49	104	0.08	+	436.09
Can	637	0.43	181	0.14	+	197.82
May	514	0.34	186	0.15	+	109.23
Believe	214	0.14	67	0.05	+	57.93
Shall	93	0.06	18	0.01	+	43.55
Might	175	0.12	59	0.05	+	42.12
Would	498	0.33	259	0.21	+	41.64
Not	957	0.64	581	0.46	+	40.10
Should	206	0.14	83	0.07	+	35.26
Likely	21	0.01	2	0.00	+	15.23
Ought	40	0.03	10	0.01	+	14.54
We	1157	0.77	828	0.66	+	13.21
Possibly	28	0.02	6	0.00	+	11.96
Possible	53	0.04	19	0.02	+	11.46

The results in Table 4 show that significant keywords in *VB* vs. *OS* are the following: the verbs of perception *saw* and *heard*, in the past form, the personal pronouns (*he, him, her, they, I, you, your*). No modal or negative words have a significant degree of keyness in *VB* compared with *OS*.

Table 4. Keyness of negation, personal pronouns and modal/evidential expressions in VB

Keyword	***VB***		***OS***			**Keyness**
	Token	%	**Token**	%		
Saw	112	0.09	12	0.01	+	110.92
He	413	0.33	207	0.14	+	109.20
Him	102	0.08	17	0.01	+	82.65
Heard	55	0.04	2	0.00	+	71.10
They	723	0.57	548	0.37	+	63.03
I	1069	0.85	991	0.66	+	31.02
You	27	0.02	3	0.00	+	26.37
Your	13	0.01	0	0.00	+	20.32
Her	53	0.04	27	0.02	+	13.59

I wish to consider now the frequency of the first person pronouns within *OS*, since, although these are not keywords in *OS*, they may still have a significant presence in *OS* in terms of frequency. Table 5 shows the frequency of *I* and *we* in *OS*, two words which are numbers 17 and 22 in the word frequency list, respectively.

Table 5. Frequency of *I* and *we* in *OS*

	Tokens	%	Number of item in word frequency list
We	1165	0.7542	17
I	1023	0.6623	22

As explained in Section 2 on theoretical concepts and the discussion of the results in 4.2, the frequency of personal pronouns is relevant to the analysis of the degrees of subjectivity which are identifiable in *OS*.

4.2 Types of stance

In this section I present the results of the searches of subjectivity types in *OS*, following the distinctions established in Section 2. Figure 1 shows the frequency of stance types on the cline subjective-objective and explicit-implicit.

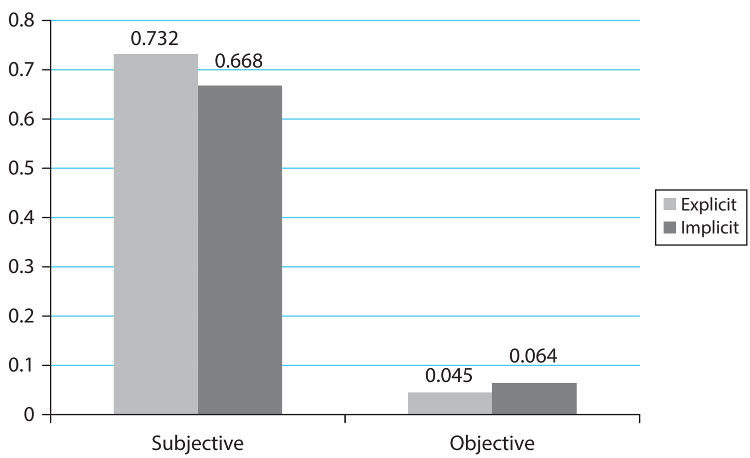

Figure 1. Distribution and frequency of types of negation-modality-stance on the cline Subjective-Objective and Explicit-Implicit in *OS*

Results in Figure 1 show that there is a higher frequency of subjective modality in combination with the negative particle *not*, explicit subjective modality (*I/we don't believe, I can't say*) being slightly higher. The occurrence of objective modality (*it* + *be* + adj.) in combination with negation is, however, much less frequent.

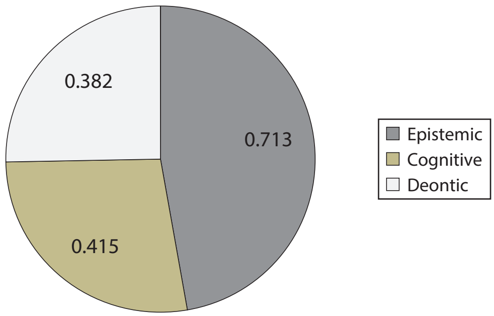

Figure 2. Distribution of main modality-negation synergy types in *OS*

Figure 2 shows the distribution and frequency of the three main modality types, epistemic, deontic and verbs of cognition co-occurring with negation. In combination with negation, epistemic modality is clearly the most frequent type, followed by cognitive verbs and deontic modality. Figure 3 shows stance types in *OS*.

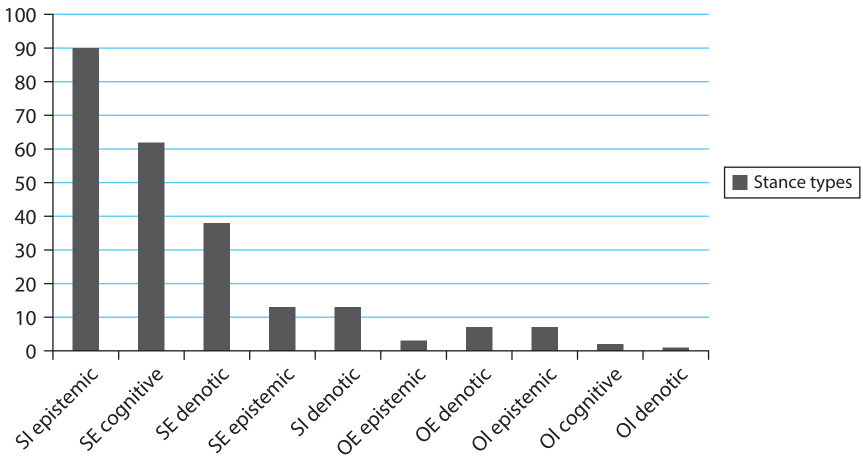

Figure 3. Stance types in *OS* (tokens)

5. Discussion: Discourse functions and types of stance

In this section I discuss the discourse functions of modal-negative co-occurrences which can be observed in *OS* following the classification of stance types provided in Figure 1. For this purpose, I discuss how these choices contribute to the presentation of new ideas in *OS* against the backdrop of previous theories and in anticipation of possible counter-arguments.

5.1 High subjective stance: First person personal pronouns, verbs of cognition, modal verbs and negation

As shown in Figure 1, modal-negative co-occurrences are most frequently of the subjective stance type, that is, combinations of first person pronouns (*I/we*), *not* and verbs of cognition *(think*, *believe*, *feel*, *doubt*), with attributes following the verb *be* (*sure*, *certain*), followed by the occurrence of modal verbs (with first person or third person personal pronouns).

5.1.1 *Co-occurrence of first person pronouns and verbs of cognition and negation*

This pattern of co-occurrence typically expresses the following discourse functions:

- Defeating expectations and contradicting or correcting previous assumptions about the origin of species.
- Concession to previous assumptions.
- Expressing difficulties in coming to conclusions.
- Stating what Darwin himself or other scientists do not know about the origin of species and the process of natural selection.

The first discourse function, the defeat of expectations and correction of assumptions is typically manifested in the combination *I* + verb of cognition (negative polarity), as illustrated by Examples (5) and (6):

(5) …nd natural species for instance, of the many foxes inhabiting different quarters of the world. I do [[not]] believe, as we shall presently see, that all our dogs have descended from any one wild species; bu…

(6) …that these several causes are amply sufficient wholly to stop the action of natural selection. I do [[not]] believe so. On the other hand, I do believe that natural selection will always act very slowly, of…

It is interesting to observe that these uses of negation correspond typically to what Jordan (1998) describes as three-part structures, as in Example (6): a statement or assumption is introduced (these several causes are amply sufficient wholly to stop the action of natural selection), which is then denied (I don't believe so), and thus leads to the new information Darwin wishes to present (On the other hand, I do believe that natural selection will always act very slowly). These three part structures can also be observed in concessions to previous assumptions, as in Example (7) below:

(7) …rd to ducks and rabbits, the breeds of which differ considerably from each other in structure, I do [[not]] doubt that they all have descended from the common wild duck and rabbit. The doctrine of the ori…

A remarkable use of the co-occurrence of negative polarity verbs of cognition together with first person pronouns is its ability to express certain problems Darwin had to face: difficulties in coming to definite conclusions, the lack of sufficient knowledge about the process of natural selection and related aspects of the theory, as well as the lack of knowledge among the scientific community in general. These difficulties are illustrated by Examples (8) and (9):

(8) …oductions have varied. In the case of most of our anciently domesticated animals and plants, I do [[not]] think it is possible to come to any definite conclusion, whether they have descended from one or s…

(9) …andard of comparison, by which to judge of the effects of long-continued use or disuse, for we know [[not]] the parent-forms; but many animals have structures which can be explained by the effects of disuse…

To end this overview of the uses of negation-modality to express explicit subjective stance, it is worth mentioning that this type of stance is also used to doubt or question other theories, as in Examples (10) and (11):

(10) …spect to the difference in the corolla of the central and exterior flowers of a head or umbel, I do [[not]] feel at all sure that C. C. Sprengel's idea that the ray-florets serve to attract insects, whose a…

(11) …new forms may be generated ' without the presence of any mould or germ of former aggregates.' I am [[not]] sure that I understand some passages; but it seems that he attributes much influence to the direct…

Within the same discourse category of subjective modality, implicit realizations are present in the form of modal verbs.

When modal verbs are preceded by first person pronouns, the discourse functions which are typically performed are the following:

– Reference to organization of information
– Presentation of the new theory

This category is typically realized by *I* followed by *will*, as in Examples (12), (13) and (14):

(12) …interbreeding, probably come into play in some of these cases; *but on this intricate subject I will [[not]] here enlarge.* Many cases are on record showing how complex and unexpected are the checks and rel…

(13) …iversities of instinct and of the other mental qualities of animals within the same class. I will [[not]] attempt any definition of instinct. It would be easy to show that several distinct mental actions…

(14) …slaves than they do in Switzerland. By what steps the instinct of F. sanguinea originated I will [[not]] pretend to conjecture. But as ants, which are not slave-makers, will, as I have seen, carry off pu…

The observations which have led to the new theory of natural selection are frequently introduced by the sequence *we* + *need* + *not* + *marvel/wonder/feel surprise*, as in Examples (15), (16) and (17):

(15) …whole groups of species become extinct, accords well with the theory of natural selection. We need [[not]] marvel at extinction; if we must marvel, let it be at our presumption in imagining for a moment th…

(16) …And as the whole amount of modification will have been effected by slight successive steps, we need [[not]] wonder at discovering in such parts or organs, a certain degree of fundamental resemblance, retain…

(17) …their constitutions having been disturbed by slightly different and new conditions of life, we need [[not]] feel surprise at hybrids being in some degree sterile, for their constitutions can hardly fail to…

Among the occurrences of other modal verbs within the category of implicit subjective stance, a relevant aspect of Darwin's style is the use of first person pronouns with the modal verb *could* + *not* to express inability to come to an assessment or conclusion with regard to a scientific or natural phenomenon, as illustrated by Examples (18) and (19), or the process by which initial failure to find the desired phenomenon leads to a subsequent successful finding, as in (20):

(18) …racters. As, however, we never know the exact character of the common ancestor of a group, we could [[not]] distinguish these two cases: if, for instance, we did not know that the rock-pigeon was not feathe…

(19) …for instance, we did not know that the rock-pigeon was not feather-footed or turn-crowned, we could [[not]] have told, whether these characters in our domestic breeds were reversions or only analogous varia…

(20) …ts of view, whence I could examine hundreds of acres of the unenclosed heath, and literally I could [[not]] see a single Scotch fir, except the old planted clumps. But on looking closely between the stems o…

Deontic modals, such as *must*, are used with the discourse function of calling the reader's attention by reminding him/her of facts or evaluating previous arguments, as in (21) and (22):

(21) …species, which, as far as our ignorance permits us to judge, seem to be quite unimportant, we must [[not]] forget that climate, food, &c., probably produce some slight and direct effect. It is, however, fa…

(22) …is thus lessened. Even in the case of slow-breeding animals, which unite for each birth, we must [[not]] overrate the effects of intercrosses in retarding natural selection; for I can bring a considerabl…

A crucial function of negative modals of possibility, especially *could* + *not*, is that of expressing logical deduction, describing what could not have been the case, following logical arguments, as in Examples (23) to (25):

(23) …are never found in fruits which do not open: I should explain the rule by the fact that seeds could [[not]] gradually become winged through natural selection, except in fruits which opened; so that the indi…

(24) …e most different habits of life could not graduate into each other; that a bat, for instance, could [[not]] have been formed by natural selection from an animal which at first could only glide through the a…

(25) …or organ is so unimportant for the welfare of a species, that modifications in its structure could [[not]] have been slowly accumulated by means of natural selection. But we may confidently believe that ma…

An interesting synergy is the collocation *could not possibly*, which occurs several times throughout the work:

(26) …might get an advantage over those producing seed less fitted for dispersal; and this process could [[not]] possibly go on in fruit which did not open. The elder Geoffroy and Goethe propounded, at about t…

(27) …ator are to those of man? If it could be demonstrated that any complex organ existed, which could [[not]] possibly have been formed by numerous, successive, slight modifications, my theory would absolutel…

Finally, *will* + *not* is used to express what Darwin presents as universal truths, predictions or expectations regarding the development of a natural phenomenon, as in (28) and (29):

(28) …f modification will be confined to a single line of descent, and the number of the descendants will [[not]] be increased; although the amount of divergent modification may have been increased in the success…

(29) …oups have gone on diverging in character from the type of their parents, the new species (F14) will [[not]] be directly intermediate between them, but rather between types of the two groups; and every natur…

5.2 Objective stance

Within objective modality or stance, the most frequent markers of stance co-occurring with negation are epistemic and deontic non-verbal markers. Within the former, we find the adverbs *probably*, the adjectives *probab*le, *likely* and *possible*, as in Examples (30) to (32).

(30) …from the analogy of ordinary variations, that each successive, slight, profitable modification did [[not]] probably at first appear in all the individual neuters in the same nest, but in a few alone; and t…

(31) …aedias of China, to be very cautious in transposing animals from one district to another; for it is [[not]] likely that man should have succeeded in selecting so many breeds and sub-breeds with constitution…

(32) …and subsequently have not varied or come to differ in any degree, or only in a slight degree, it is [[not]] probable that they should vary at the present day. On the other hand, the points in which species…

5.3 Bare disclaims (strong negative assertion)

Strong negative assertion (not modalized) is used, first, to defeat expectations and assumptions about the origin of species, and to correct and deny the validity of the creationist argument. These occurrences appear typically in two-part structures, with a positive clause providing background information and the negative clause denying the relevant information, as in Examples (33) to (37):

(33) …that community of descent is the hidden bond which naturalists have been unconsciously seeking, and [[not]] some unknown plan of creation, or the enunciation of general propositions, and the mere putting to…

(34) As species are produced and exterminated by slowly acting and still existing causes, and [[not]] by miraculous acts of creation and by catastrophes; and as the most important of all causes of org…

(35) Thus living plants and animals are [[not]] separated from the extinct by new creations, but are to be regarded as their descendants through c…

(36) We have seen that species at any one period are [[not]] indefinitely variable, and are not linked together by a multitude of intermediate gradations, part…

(37) …are sometimes called accidental, but this is not strictly correct: the currents of the sea are [[not]] accidental, nor is the direction of prevalent gales of wind.

Bare negative assertions are also used in combination with first person personal pronouns, especially *I*, to point out limitations of the research and the theory presented by Darwin, which shows that Darwin feels, on the one hand, that he has reflected and worked for a long time before putting forward his ideas, while, on the other, at times he does not have enough evidence to prove some aspects of his theory:

(38) …pe that I may be excused for entering on these personal details, as I give them to show that I have [[not]] been hasty in coming to a decision. My work is now nearly finished; but as it will take me two o…

(39) …t corresponding ages or seasons, either by the males alone, or by the males and females; but I have [[not]] space here to enter on this subject. Thus it is, as I believe, that when the males and females o…

(40) …hese observations, however, relate to the marine inhabitants of distant parts of the world: we have [[not]] sufficient data to judge whether the productions of the land and of fresh water change at distant…

6. Conclusion

The following conclusions may be put forward from the present study of the co-occurrence of negation and modality in *OS*. The hypotheses have been fulfilled, as I have shown that both the negative particle *not* and selected modal expressions are significant in terms of keyness when compared to a reference corpus. Furthermore, the predominant type of modality and stance has been shown to be of the subjective types, typically realized by the co-occurrence of first person pronouns, verbs of cognition and *not*, followed by the occurrence of modal verbs.

The pattern of co-occurrence or synergy between negation and modality is typically shown to express the following discourse functions:

With regard to subjective modality

1. Confirming certain accepted functions such as that of defeating expectations and contradicting or correcting previous assumptions about the origin of species.
2. Conceding previous assumptions and arguments defended by other scholars.
3. Expressing difficulties in coming to definite conclusions and lacking sufficient knowledge about the process of natural selection and related aspects of the theory.
4. Stating what Darwin or other scientists do not know about the origin of species and the process of natural selection.
5. Questioning other theories.

Within the category of subjective implicit modality, modal verbs in combination with negative polarity are used for the following discourse functions:

1. Referring to the organization of information and calling reader's attention to facts.
2. Presenting his new theory, typically by expressing logical deduction.
3. Using *could* + *not* to describe limitations of the research and inability to come to an assessment or conclusion with regard to some scientific or natural phenomena.

Within the category of objective modality, the most frequent markers of stance co-occurring with negation are epistemic and deontic non-verbal markers to express probability and to call the reader's attention to facts.

Finally, strong negative assertion (not modalized) is used, first, to defeat expectations and assumptions about the origin of species, and to correct and deny the validity of the creationist argument.

The present discussion may be rounded up by considering how these features contribute to Darwin's presentation of the Theory of Natural Selection. The negative-modal synergy is used to express the tension between two underlying discourse meanings:

a. Certainty: By asserting Darwin's convictions against the backdrop of previous theories, especially Creationism, but also other related theories such as that of Lamarcke. (Strong negative assertion)
b. Caution: By providing the reader with the space to dissent and doubt his proposal, by means of numerous modalized denials and subjective stance (frequently co-occurring with *I*/*we*).

Both meanings seem to point to an intersubjective feeling of expected disagreement. Finally, Darwin also makes it clear that much still has to be done, as the scientific community does not have sufficient knowledge and evidence to prove certain natural phenomena.

Notes

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2. For this purpose, I have used the programme Wmatrix, designed by Paul Rayson (2008).

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CHAPTER 14

Exploring academic argumentation in course-related blogs through ENGAGEMENT

Marianna Ryshina-Pankova

This study uses a functional linguistic framework, the system of ENGAGEMENT (Martin and White 2005), to explore academic argumentation in course-related blogs from the standpoint of the ways in which blog writers make space for new knowledge against the background of other knowers' ideas and ways they support their claims with evidence. The results reveal a significant presence of strategies typical of academic reasoning and suggest that it is a pattern of alternation between *expanding* and *contracting* options that lies behind more successful arguments. These findings tentatively confirm the conduciveness of the blog medium for practicing academic argumentation and point out the significance of the ENGAGEMENT framework as an analytical approach to academic argumentation and its usefulness for scaffolding learner argumentative writing.

1. Introduction

Blogs as an online discourse genre have not been necessarily associated with academic writing as they often lack coherence, textuality (Myers 2010) and a focus on substantive content or disciplinary area. And yet, blogs are now often chosen as tools for promoting academic learning in various subject areas. This interest in blogs in the academic classroom is not a coincidence and seems to be due to one of the most crucial features of the medium as space for active engagement with the world, for expression of opinion and reflection, in other words for taking a stance towards any subject matter and towards others, and evaluation, all highly desirable in academic learning. Indeed, research on blogs demonstrates how blogs can promote engagement with the content of the course and class participants and serve as a unique space for new knowledge construction and development of one's own stance on the issues through writing (see Al-Fadda and Al-Yahya 2010 and Hernández-Ramos 2004 on blogs in teaching methods courses; Çuhadar and Kuzu 2010 in information technology; Lawrence and Dion 2010 in political science; Williams and Jacobs 2004 in business administration; Richardson 2003 in English;

Ryshina-Pankova 2011 in history of a cultural phenomenon) and developing academic literacy (Bloch 2007; Bloch and Crosby 2008; Kelley 2008; Lowe and Williams 2004; Wang and Fang 2005). While the discussion in the cited research has primarily focused on the use of blogs for fostering content learning through interactive negotiation of issues with other bloggers, the goal of this chapter is to investigate whether this negotiation exhibits features of argumentation valued in academic contexts and explore the specific kinds of strategies students use to construct more or less convincing scholarly-like arguments, even if brief in length, as they discuss the course-related issues in their blogs.

In contrast to the current majority of studies on blogs that base their conclusions about the role of blog writing for fostering academic literacy on student responses about the usefulness of the medium (e.g., Lowe and Williams 2004; Wang and Fang 2005) or on holistic assessment of the blog entries (e.g., Bloch 2007), I propose to use a rigorous functional linguistic analysis of the blog texts that can yield interesting and useful findings about the potential nature of discourse in this text type and help practitioners use it as a tool for academic writing development. Specifically, I aim to address academic argumentation in blogs from the standpoint of the ways in which blog writers make space for a new knowledge claim against the background of knowledge claims made by other knowers and ways they support their claims with evidence. Evaluation is at the heart of the process of proposing and negotiating between the claims as some of these are presented and justified as more valid, useful, appropriate and thus "better" than others. Investigation of the resources of evaluation can therefore be informative in the exploration of course-related blogs as conducive for the dialogic reasoning typical of academic texts. In order to determine whether argumentative reasoning is in fact, present in blogs, I use ENGAGEMENT (Martin and White 2005) as a discourse-semantic subsystem of the Appraisal framework that enables one to begin with a semantic orientation, i.e., a network of semantic options associated with arguing for one's stance in the context of other perspectives, and end with identification of the ways in which these options are realized through a variety of lexicogrammatical means.

In the context of this study, blogs are defined as chronologically organized entries published online with the goal of discussing class readings and as response to other students' entries on these readings. The blogs analysed were written as part of the written assignments in the course on the representation of witches in history, literature and film. As this course served as the second of the two required Humanities and Writing courses at Georgetown University, it was particularly important to determine whether writing blogs can help students practice argumentative writing strategies that are valued in academic discourse.

2. Blogs as a space for academic argumentation

Let me begin by noting that the choice of 'argumentation' in the title of the heading and the chapter overall is intentional and follows a perspective on argument which presents it beyond being a formal logical structure (e.g., conclusion, premise, inference) and emphasizes its social, dialogic and dynamic nature (e.g., Andrews 2005; Mitchell and Andrews 2000; Prior 2005). The view of the process of argumentation as involving interaction and negotiation of various evaluative stances is well summarized by the following discussion:

> One of the essential characteristics of argumentation is that it always pertains to a specific point of view with regard to a certain issue. The speaker or writer who advances argumentation defends this "standpoint" to a listener or reader who doubts the acceptability of the standpoint or has a different standpoint. The subsequent argumentation is aimed at convincing the listener or reader of the acceptability of the standpoint. (van Eemeren 2001: 11)

Applied to the argumentation in the academic sphere this perspective on argument can be spelled out as the construction of new knowledge through negotiation about it with other knowledge producers. In fact, what makes academic argumentation special is that it requires one to argue for one's position by explicitly engaging with various other expert perspectives on the issue that have been voiced in the past and could potentially be raised in the future as evidence or counter-evidence for one's own line of thinking. Advancing one's point of view and convincingly arguing for one's own claim upon entering academic conversation compels newcomers to engage with, reconcile or distance themselves from other often conflicting stances on the subject matter (Bazerman 1992; Berkenkotter and Huckin 1995; Hyland 2000; Schleppegrell 2004a and b). Argumentation as evaluative integration of the voices of others or breaking from them has been seen as constituting the process of knowledge construction across academic disciplines (Hood 2010).

In the context of higher education, the ability to think and write argumentatively is often considered crucial for academic success, with written argumentation frequently used as the basis for course-related formal assessment. It is typically through the task of academic argumentative essay or research paper that learner argumentative writing is not only assessed, but also fostered. In a standard research project, students need to select, read and analyze various sources, evaluate them by aligning or disaligning themselves with/from them in the act of advancing their own position. In other words, they need to take a stance by making the dialogic nature of knowledge construction explicit. However, this dialogic principle often remains opaque to the students who deal with texts as products behind which the argument authors and argumentative practices may become obscured. This is precisely what can make arguing academically difficult for the learners who, in the words of Groom, often fall between a "solipsistic" position that "(mis)represent[s] the writer as oblivious to the existence or even the possibility, of previous work, other voices, or alternative positions" (2000: 67) and the one that "deni[es] its own subjectivity … [and] fails to make discernible claims of its own, but attempts to mediate arguments exclusively through the words of other authors" (2000: 68). Given that a research paper presents an ultimate challenge in the ability to develop argumentative thinking and writing, are there perhaps intermediary genres that could possibly make the process of argumentation more transparent, more manageable for the students and thus scaffold their learning of academic reasoning? Could course-related blogs serve exactly this kind of purpose?

There are at least three reasons to suggest that some types of blogs might, indeed, be the right medium for preparing learners for the longer and more complex academic argumentation required in research papers. The first reason has to do with the nature of communication in the blogs. Whereas any communication, written or spoken, is fundamentally dialogic (Bakhtin 1986), the interactivity is a particularly prominent feature of the blogs. The audience factor is especially important in the genre that is inherently public and assumes a readership that includes instructors, peers, and possibly participants in a larger blogosphere. Blog writers (for example, Blood, Lingerfelt and Johnson cited in Walker 2005) and education practitioners (Ferdig and Trammell 2004; Lowe and Williams 2004; Oravec 2002; Walker 2005) who have used blogs in their courses point out that this explicitly interactional aspect of blogs requires their authors to engage with the issues they are writing about in more critical and innovative ways so as to be able to establish their own point of view. In the context of the opinions of other knowledgeable bloggers, expression of one's own perspective can no longer be purely subjective. Indeed, it necessitates active engagement with the positions previously established and resolution of the tensions among these perspectives through acknowledgment of the ideas of others, their endorsement or challenge. This is, as was suggested, one of the essential features of academic argumentation.

The second reason for using course-related blogs for fostering argumentation has to do with the nature of the blog participants. If academic argumentation in a research paper requires writers to engage with the positions of powerful experts in an academic field, in course-related blogs writers are involved in both negotiation with the authors of the course materials, often established authorities, and with the opinions of their classmates. Engagement with the opinions of the classmates can be less intimidating since it is easier to argue with non-experts and at the same time more motivating, since arguing with their peers is a familiar practice which students are used to, both in the academic context of oral class discussions and in the context of personal interactions.

Finally, blogs as a medium that offers an opportunity for a non-synchronous response can provide this extra space and time for arguing for one's own opinion that are often lacking in high-enrollment courses or in situations with reticent and shy students (see, for example, Andrews' note, 2000: 10 on this issue). A genuine and lively argument becomes possible when everyone has an opportunity for their voice to be heard. Moreover, because of the time for reflection available to blog writers, blogs might be conducive to a more thorough engagement and argumentation with the perspectives of others.

Practitioners seem to have capitalized on the above-mentioned features of blogs that are beneficial for promoting engagement with the academic issues through blog writing. Without explicitly mentioning argumentation, Hernández-Ramos (2004: 10) noted, for example, that blogs "seem to be an effective tool to encourage higher quality writing". Furthermore, after analyzing student interviews, Kelley (2008) concluded that learners found blogs helpful for developing academic writing. Drawing from student responses, he summarized the benefits in terms of easy access to other bloggers' work that helped learners generate and argue for their own ideas and with the possibility of receiving feedback that was seen as instrumental for improving one's academic writing.

In a few studies, the role of blogs for academic writing development has also been explored through a closer textual analysis of the blog entries. Murray et al. (2007) investigated the results of integrating blogs for academic language learning purposes within a Language and Technology course. In the course, blog writing over the course of a semester was seen as a space to generate ideas for the final academic essay task. Analyzing the blogs and final essays for content and language features, the researchers found that blogs could generally be considered as supporting writing in academic essays. Like academic essays blogs displayed reflections on the important content issues and such elements of academic writing as reference to other readings and an organizational structure with introductions and conclusions. The researchers noted, however, that the writing style of blogs was more informal than required in academic writing and that it was sometimes inappropriately transferred to the formal essay. In the end, the study raised a question about designing such pedagogical tasks for blog writing that would help learners make an easier transition to constructing academically appropriate argumentation.

How blogs can play the role of a middle ground between oral literacy and academic argumentation was further demonstrated by Bloch (2007) and Bloch and Crosby (2008) in their holistic analyses of learner blogs in a composition course. Focusing on the potential of two bloggers to develop an academic argument in their blog entries, Bloch and Crosby point to such evidence of formal academic writing in their blogs as presentation of various sides of a controversial issue through references to course readings and other bloggers' contributions, evaluation of the sides, and establishment of their own perspectives. Analysis of student blogs allowed Bloch and Crosby to show that, despite the oral style that they observed in the blogs, the textuality of this medium could enable learners to use rhetorical strategies very similar to the ones accepted and required in formal academic writing. Bloch and Crosby conclude that pointing out these strategies to the student writers would be an important step in helping them successfully cross the bridge towards mastering academic argumentation.

Staying with the focus on academic written argumentation strategies, this present project expands on these studies by determining, through a rigorous and detailed discourse–semantic and linguistic analysis, the specific type of evaluative strategies blog writers employ to establish and support their own stance on the materials. Additionally, the study presents a discussion of two high- and low-rated blog entries that illustrates how blog writers make these resources work interdependently within their texts and create a more or less coherent and convincing argument.

2.1 Use of blogs in the course

The blog entries under investigation were written for the course entitled "Witchcraft in History, Literature, and Film". This course, which comprises two 75-minute class meetings per week, is offered by the German Department but taught in English and serves as the second of the two required Humanities and Writing Courses in the Humanities curriculum at Georgetown University. The students in the course are mostly freshman and sophomores. The overall goals of the course are to learn about the phenomenon of witch hunting as one of the most disturbing and inexplicable occurrences in human history and to further improve and refine one's writing abilities with particular emphasis on writing within an academic context.

Blogs were used as a way to explore the themes in the first part of the semester that focused on historical and trial records in early modern Europe, with an emphasis on the German situation and the Salem witch trials in 17th-century New England. They were seen as an instrument to foster learners' engagement with the materials, as well as a way to improve their interpretation and writing abilities by raising their involvement in discussing the readings with their peers in the class. Additionally, blog writing was seen as one of a series of academic writing tasks in the course, which also included an introduction to a scholarly book, an abstract, a book review, an annotated bibliography, and which were all designed to help students prepare for producing the final research paper at the end of the course.

Because from the start blog writing was seen as contributing to the academic course-related discussion, the assignment specified the task in more rigid terms than free blog writing as it occurs in the larger blogosphere. In order to foster academic writing and avoid the dominance of the oral discourse features in the blogs that were noted by other researchers (see, for example, Murray et al. 2007 or Bloch and Crosby 2008), blogs in this course were conceptualized as well-informed nuanced responses to the readings that had to point to thematic, argumentative, and genre-specific aspects of the materials. The blog task functioned in the following way. For each set of texts four students were assigned as 'experts' in advance and had to initiate the discussion. Then, the rest of the class would take on the role of respondents and post their own blog entries in which they had to comment on the blogs of the experts and at the same time add a new dimension not mentioned by the other discussants. Students had to post their blog entries once a week for six weeks, the duration of the first unit. They received a holistic grade for all their blog entries and an individual grade for their "expert" entries.

Student involvement in blog writing was fairly high. All 21 students in the course submitted discussion blog entries, with 15 students submitting an entry for each theme throughout the first unit and only two people writing one and two blogs respectively during the semester. The blog entries chosen for this analysis were written by 5 respondents and came from the second part of the first unit that explored the active role of preachers in the discursive construction of the notion of "the diabolical witch". Table 1 presents statistical information about the length of the blogs.

Table 1. Length of blogs by respondents

Number of T-Units	86
Average number of T-Units/text	17.2
Number of words	1737

3. Methodology

In order to explore student argumentation as ways of relating to the positions of the authors of the readings and those of their classmates and ways of formulating their own ideas about the materials the systemic-functional concept of ENGAGEMENT (Martin and White 2005) was used. ENGAGEMENT is a system of semantic choices and a range of their likely linguistic realizations available to the writers for expressing the writer's evaluative stance on an issue in relation to other alternative positions. Because this framework is oriented towards discourse functions that can be realized in a variety of ways across lexicogrammatical systems as opposed to presenting an exact one-to-one match between functions and their linguistic construals, it makes it possible to: (1) comprehensively identify communicative strategies associated with argumentation like making a claim, supporting it through reference to other opinions, disclaiming something etc.; and (2) connect them in a more systematic way to the resources that have traditionally been singled out as typical of academic argumentative and persuasive writing, such as, for example, modality (Palmer 1986), evidentiality (Chafe and Nichols 1986), projection (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) or metadiscourse (Hyland 2005).

The system of ENGAGEMENT as an analytical framework has also been found instrumental in a number of other studies of academic argumentation. Thus, Coffin and Hewings (2005) demonstrate how this framework can capture argumentation strategies typical of online discussion forum entries posted in the context of a University course. Similarly, Wu and Allison (2005) and Wu (2006) point to the use of ENGAGEMENT as a tool for differentiating between successful and less successful argumentative essays by student writers. Chandrasegaran and Kong (2006) employ the framework to investigate realization of stance and stance support in online forum discussions that for them define the nature of argument across contexts.

The most important aspect of academic argumentation seen as establishing one's perspective against the backdrop of other knowledgeable participants' views is captured in ENGAGEMENT by means of three types of textual voices: monoglossic on the one hand, and heteroglossic *expanding* and heteroglossic *contracting,* on the other. Monoglossic statements, also called *bare assertions* (Martin and White 2005: 28), present propositions as facts without recognizing any dialogistic alternatives (see Example (1)). According to Martin and White (2005: 100–102), such propositions are often used when the writer assumes full solidarity with the putative reader and where there is no necessity to recognize the competing positions.

(1) Throughout history, the church has had a tenuous relationship with sexual behavior.

By contrast, heteroglossic statements can be recognized as including the voices of others, as in Example (2), either through an *expansion* strategy allowing the perspective of others as legitimate or supporting one's own or through a *contraction* strategy as an active challenge of the views of others.

(2) **Previous posts have demonstrated** that throughout history, the church has had a tenuous relationship with sexual behavior.

Since the need to bring in the positions of others in order to argue for one's own is crucial for academic argumentation, it is the heteroglossic statements that are the focus of investigation in this study.

Furthermore, Martin and White (2005) describe dialogically expanding resources in terms of such discourse-semantic options as *attribution* that includes *acknowledgement and distancing* of the voices of others and *entertainment*. Attribution is defined as "presenting proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice" (2005: 98) and entertainment is seen as "presenting the proposition as grounded in its own contingent, individual subjectivity… as but one of a range of possible positions" (2005: 98). The contracting choices include *disclaim* as *deny* or *counter* when "the textual voice positions itself at odds with, or rejecting some contrary position" (2005: 97); and *proclaim* as *concur, pronounce* or *endorse* when " by representing the proposition as highly warrantable…the textual voice sets itself against, suppresses or rules out alternative positions" (2005: 98).

The expanding and contracting strategies can be identified through their likely linguistic realizations, as discussed in Martin and White (2005). For example, the contracting disclaim strategy as the textual voice that invokes a different position but does not reject it altogether and offers an alternative position instead is often realized by conjunctions and adverbials of concession such as *although, however, yet, but;* or the expanding attribute strategy that acknowledges the ideas of other knowledge constructors is construed through reporting verbs (or their nominalized equivalents) like *say, report, state, mention*.

The coding began with breaking the blog entries into T-units as main clauses with their subordinate clauses. The clauses were then marked as monogloss or heterogloss with the heteroglossic clauses further coded in terms of the expanding and contracting options in line with semantic and linguistic analyses as discussed in Martin and White (2005). The coding was later triangulated with that of a second researcher. The inter-rater reliability was 90% and disagreements were resolved through discussion. The following sections demonstrate what this kind of tracking could yield with regard to argumentative strategies used by the students in their blogs.

4. Results

4.1 Engagement strategies: Quantitative analysis

Tables 2, 3 and 4 present quantitative information about different kind of strategies that blog writers use to weave the voices of other class participants, authors of the readings, and putative readers into their academically-oriented blogs.

Table 2. Engagement clauses vs. assertions

Heteroglossic clauses	68	79.06%
Monoglossic clauses	18	20.93%

First of all, it is evident from Table 2 that strategies of engagement with the positions of other knowers dominate the blog discourse, with heteroglossic statements comprising 79.06% of all clauses. As students express their ideas about the readings they do so by drawing on various voices of other knowledge constructors.

Table 3. Expanding strategies*

Engagement resources	# of instances	% in reference to the # of T-units
Attribute: acknowledge (authors of the readings)	27	31.39%
Attribute/acknowledge CP**	11	12.79%
Entertain: probability	9	10.46%
Total:	47	
47/81 (total number of engagement instances): 58%		

* The numbers do not add up to 100% because different engagement resources could appear in one and the same clause. If the same type of engagement resource appeared in a T-unit twice, it was counted only once.
** CP refers to the instances where the engagement strategies involved other blog writers as course participants.

Second, Table 3 shows the predominance of dialogic expanding strategies in blogs, with 58% of all engagement instances representing these options. Students construct their blogs by acknowledging or aligning themselves with the opinions of others through the attribution strategy. Furthermore, they consider various interpretations of the issues by using the entertain option. In Example (3), the blog writer references the authors of the documents about witches ("as evidenced by the readings") to support the choice of the topic "Sexual Impropriety and the Church" (the title of the blog entry) as prominent and common across the readings. In the following sentence, the writer references the idea expressed by a different blog participant to further develop his topic, namely to clarify specifically how the church incriminated the witches in terms of sexual deviance.

(3) The idea that the church created of witchcraft, as by the readings, involved a high level of sexual deviance. **As the discussant post "Witchcraft and Sexual Deviance" mentioned**, the church and the public believed that if witches were willing to so publicly flout the word of the Lord, they must also disobey other societal conventions.

The use of the entertain option is illustrated by Example (4). The author uses this argumentative strategy to invite the readers to consider ('entertain') a certain possible scenario, based on the original readings. This scenario works to substantiate her thesis about a new aspect of witch hunting: involvement of ordinary citizens and non-witches who could be accused of being accomplices of witches and thus subject to the same punishments.

(4) The passionate "witch" frenzy grows and finds new victims

For example, **let's imagine** that an old woman from a local village is singled out and accused of "witchcraft." A subsequent legal trial takes place to determine the extent of her "evil doings," and the townspeople call for witnesses as well as additional evidence. The trial concludes, the "witch" receives her "due" punishment – burning, drowning, etc. – however the story is far from over. At this point, the townspeople's suspicions mount as they wonder why some of the witnesses had never spoken earlier …The questions fly, and the fingers point. Suddenly, a rash of additional accusations builds as the witnesses themselves are called to trial on charges of "witchcraft."

Table 4. Contracting strategies

Engagement resources	**# of instances**	**% in reference to the # of T-units**
Proclaim: endorse (authors of the readings)	9	10.46%
Proclaim: endorse CP	3	3.48%
Proclaim: pronounce	4	4.65%
Proclaim: concur	2	2.32%
Disclaim: counter	15	17.44
Disclaim: counter CP	2	2.32%
Total:	35	
35/81 (total number of engagement instances): 43.2%		

At the same time, Table 4 demonstrates a high usage of dialogic contracting strategies that comprise 43.2% of all engagement instances. With these strategies blog writers are able to make their own point clear by explicitly proclaiming their positions through the proclaim: endorse, proclaim: pronounce and proclaim: concur strategies; or by contrasting their views with those of the others that are problematized as needing reexamination or complementation through the disclaim: counter strategy. In Example (5), the proclaim: pronounce option allows the author to present a new aspect of the readings by construing it in an emphatic way as a compelling subjective finding that complements the reflection on the readings by the other course participants.

(5) In addition to acknowledging the extraordinary descriptive abilities of the text's authors, **I took particular note** of the new message that quite forcefully takes shape in Bernardino of Siena's passionate sermon.

In Example (6), the disclaim: counter strategy helps the blog writer to establish his idea as new against the background of other responses to the readings.

(6) **Although the religion motif was not commonly discussed among the discussants**, the relevance of this theme to these various texts need to be brought to attention.

Of all the contracting options, the disclaim one is used most frequently, in 19.76% of clauses, as a principal way of expanding knowledge through constructing one's own ideas in a rhetorically explicit contrastive way. This is very much in line with other studies on academic argumentation that point to the significance of the contrastive epistemological stance for persuasive knowledge construction in academic genres (Barton 1993, 1995; Thompson 2001; Swales 1990; Wu 2006). Interestingly, the proclaim: pronounce and proclaim: concur options were among the least frequent contracting resources used in the data, amounting to only 6.97% of clauses. This may reflect the pressure to write academically that is specified by the task. The proclaim: pronounce (see Example (5)) emphasizes the subjective authority of the writer, a stance that is often avoided in academic discourse in favor of a more objective and neutral textual voice (Coffin and Hewings 2004; Hewings 2004; Schleppegrell 2004a and b). Similarly, the proclaim: concur strategy, as in Example (7), puts the reader into the position of explicit agreement with the subjective position of the author.

(7) The ability of a population to successfully reproduce is **obviously** a crucial aspect of a society's survival.

In academic argumentative writing, however, propositions generally need to be argued for and substantiated through evidence or their force is often modulated by means of the entertain strategy, as in (8):

(8) As the name implies, **it seemed** as if eating children was one of the main focuses of anti-witch writings.

Here, the idea of the author is construed as one possible alternative, which makes it harder to refute than a proposition with a proclaim: concur move that assumes it is universally true.

While the quantitative results may indicate that overall blog authors write intersubjectively and create blogs that employ rhetorical strategies used in academic argumentative writing, thus fulfilling one requirement of the task, in and of themselves these results do not give an indication about how successful these entries are as convincing argumentation in support of one's point of view. In order to establish how these strategies work in tandem to create persuasive arguments one has to explore their use within specific blog entries.

4.2 Engagement strategies: Qualitative analysis of argument construction in blogs

An examination of the interplay of engagement strategies within blogs can help determine how students use them to construct a convincing academic argument in a brief entry. Two blog posts have been selected for such an exploration, a more and a less successful example of written academic argumentation, as evaluated by the instructor of the course.

The first text (Example (9)) represents an argument in support of the idea that witches were portrayed not only as child murderers, as noted by most of the other bloggers, but, more importantly, as a threat to procreation and thus to the society in general. In this course participant's view, it is particularly this motif that justified condemnation of witches and their extermination. How does the author establish and argue for her new perspective on the readings? Analysis of engagement strategies can help us determine how the argument comes about.

(9) <u>A threat to society's survival</u>

Multiple discussants identified (*expand: $acknowledge CP*) child murders as a common appreciation motif. While the child murders occur in frequently throughout the passages, they **seem** to be (*expand: $entertain*) **only** (*contract: $counter*) a piece of the motif. Witches are depicted (*expand: $acknowledge*) as a threat against procreation in general, **not simply** (*contract: $counter*) child murders. The witch **described by Bernardino** (*expand: $acknowledge*) killed thirty children (136) including her own son (137) and Nider **describes** (*expand: $acknowledge*) witches who "devour children" (157).

Further, **however** (*contract: $counter*), Nider **describes** (*expand: $acknowledge*) a man, Stadelin, who caused a woman to miscarry seven times and, along with Hoppo, caused infertility of both people and animals (157–158) **reinforcing** (*expand: $endorse*) that witches threaten reproduction in general. Also linking homosexuality to witches fulfills the same purpose. **In the passages** (*expand: $acknowledge*), witches act entirely against reproduction and societal stability.

This distinction between child murder as a motif and the hindering of procreation and the society's life is important since it more clearly justifies the burning of witches. The ability of a population to successfully reproduce is **obviously** (*contract: $concur*) a crucial aspect of a society's survival. Any threat to a reproduction is a threat society, which **would** (*expand: $entertain*) need to be removed. While child murder is by far one of the most atrocious crimes this alone **would** (*expand: $entertain*) **not** (*expand: $counter*) justify the execution of the young man **described** (*expand: $acknowledge*) in Nider's "The Formicarius" who repented before being burned at the stake. **Generally**

> **speaking** (*expand: $entertain*), if a person repented the church would pardon him or her regardless of how atrocious the crime was. **What makes witchcraft an exception** (*expand: $entertain)***?** **Even** (*contract: $counter*) **if** repenting (*expand: $entertain*), the person could (*expand: $entertain*) still be deceived by the devil again, and would (*expand: $entertain*) return as a threat. Because a threat to society as a whole is far more serious than a threat to individuals, witches could not be tolerated and the removal of witches from society was the responsibility of all the members of the society. Hence **Bernardino emphasizes** (*expand: $endorse*) the importance of everyone's contribution to the condemnation of witches (137).

The author introduces her position by first connecting it to the ideas of other blog writers by means of the attribute: acknowledge strategy, agreeing with them that the child murder motif is typical. However, then she uses the disclaim: counter strategy to supplant the views of the majority of discussants by offering her own new interpretation of the readings, the idea that witches are depicted as a threat against procreation in general. Afterwards, the blog writer provides evidence in support of her position by referencing the textual sources through the attribute: acknowledge and proclaim: endorse strategies: examples of child murders in readings go beyond simple child murders and demonstrate that witches threaten reproduction in general.

Next, the writer reiterates her position evaluatively and extends it by stating that the distinction she identified is instrumental for explaining persecution of witches. She further justifies the significance of the identified motif for actions against witches by enacting concurrence with the reader (*obviously*): even today anyone would agree that a threat to the society as a whole is more dangerous than to individuals. Further, the disclaim: counter strategy is used again, but this time to stress that the aspect identified by the blog writer is not only evident from the descriptions of witches (as in the first paragraph), but also explains actions against them, which are illustrated by reference to the execution of a particular witch (a man in *Nider's "The Formicarius"*). To further explain the burning of witches the author invites the reader to consider a possible scenario, similar to the one in the cited illustration (*Nider's "The Formicarius"*), by means of the entertain strategy that provides more support for her argument: the reason why witches were not pardoned for whatever they were accused of and burnt was because they could allegedly come back as a threat to the society in general, a thesis that the author put forth at the beginning of the blog. The blog writer concludes her argumentation by drawing implications from her explanation: a threat to society in the form of witches necessitated everyone's contribution to their condemnation. This idea is further endorsed by reference to the external source (*Bernardino*).

Certainly, the argumentation is not without some faults. For example, the statement that "linking homosexuality to witches fulfills the same purpose" is not supported by references to the readings. It is not clear who was linking homosexuality to witches and in what context. Nevertheless, overall and in line with the general tendencies reported in the previous section, the author employs various contracting and expanding engagement resources successfully. However, a large part of the successful use of engagement resources seems to be related to how the author structures these strategies throughout the text, namely in a wave-like fashion: from acknowledging the opinions of others, to countering them by offering one's own interpretation, to supporting it by acknowledging other sources. This alternation and strategic organization of contract vs. expand enables the author to present and endorse her idea as a new dimension in an intersubjective dialog with others and in a rhetorically explicit and coherent way. The features identified in this particular example of blog writing resonate well with the definition of academic argumentation as "bringing difference into existence" and establishing one's own voice in relation to other voices in a particular disciplinary field (Mitchell 1994: 21, cited in Coffin and Hewings 2005: 33).

Turning now to the second blog (Example (10)), we can see that its author also makes use of various academically appropriate engagement resources in his writing to develop his point "The hating increases".

(10) <u>The hating increases</u>

As the centuries passed, accounts of witchcraft became more and more specific; details of witches' ceremonies and oaths became more concrete and whatever the condemned humans confessed to was treated as fact. **As discussants correctly pointed out** (*expand: $endorse CP*), Bernardino of Siena, Martin Le Franc, and the anonymous author of the Errores Gazariorum all have an even more aggressive campaign against witches than did the authors of our previous readings. **By depicting** their rituals and customs (*expand: $acknowledge*), they look to paint the most grotesque picture of witches possible. Their frenzied accusations (*expand: $acknowledge*), were some of the main catalysts of the subsequent witch hunts.

The post labeled "Witchcraft as a Problem in Society" clearly **explains** (*expand: $endorse CP*) the contribution that each text makes to the witch hunts. While two of the authors **focused on describing** (*expand: $acknowledge*), in full detail, the shocking and disturbing practices that witches partook of, **the others tried to prove** (*expand: $endorse*) that the witch threat was real. **These last texts sought to explain** (*expand: $acknowledge*) witchcraft so as to convince readers that witches actually existed. As **all posts reiterate** (*expand: $acknowledge CP*), the devil is definitely (*contract: $concur*) at the source of witchcraft.

> **Not only** (*contract: $counter*) is he the one that initiates them into the sects, but he is also the one that gives them their full powers. **According to the authors** (*$acknowledge*), he gave new witches everything they wished as long as they sold their soul to him.
>
> **One final** important **point is brought up by the post** labeled "The Involvement of Children In the Key Rituals of Witches" (*expand: $endorse CP*). **As the name implies** (*expand: $acknowledge*) it seemed (*expand: $entertain*) as if eating children was one of the main focuses of anti-witch writings. Children's blood was used in most of the described (*expand: $acknowledge*) rituals to make killing potions and as sacrifices to the devil. In their confessions (*expand: $acknowledge*) women claimed [odd use of the verb] to kill multiple children, sometimes even their own. Being one of the most horrible actions possible, authors who insisted on witch hunting **used those examples** (*expand: $acknowledge*) constantly, creating high sentiments of hate against the accused because it made them look even more diabolic in the eyes of the innocent.

The author aligns himself with the opinions of other blog writers by acknowledging their ideas with regard to the aggressive and grotesquely repulsive representation of witches by the original authors. He also extends these observations by referencing the readings that provide other illustrations of these ideas. As the author clearly engages with the readings and other blogs by sorting them out with regard to the issue he himself finds significant, namely the increase in accusations of witches, he fulfills one requirement of the blog task to respond to other people's entries. However, this blog post appears to be more a summary of other blog writers' opinions on the readings, rather than argumentation for the author's own original perspective on them. As such this blog neglects the second requirement of the task, that of adding a new dimension to one's entry.

This is, indeed, corroborated by the engagement analysis. This blog entry is overwhelmingly dominated by the use of the attribute: acknowledge strategies, an expanding strategy so prevalent in student blogs (Table 3). In fact, it is references to other blog entries that seem to be the point of departure for this blog's author (except perhaps for the first paragraph that starts with the author's own assertion that is then supported by reference to the other blogs). Significantly, an important resource for introducing a new perspective, the disclaim: counter strategy, does not structure the blog on the macro-organizational level and is used only once at the level of illustration (to reveal additional qualities of the devil). With the predominance of the attribution strategies and a lack of contrast between the ideas of others and the author's own opinion, this blog entry appears as a collection of various comments about the readings that do not add up to a coherent argument where a new claim is expressed and defended. Relating the analysis of this specific blog entry to the quantitative results of the entire data set, one may hypothesize that with 20.98% disclaim: counter strategies of the total number of engagement instances (17/81, see Table 4) the blog writers in the class are not using enough of the contracting strategies, which may make some blogs look more like summaries rather than arguments.

We can conclude that in order to engage in learning content in terms of reconstruction of knowledge as adding one's own perspective on it and to produce an academically valued argumentation one needs to keep a balance between certain engagement strategies. Indeed, this balance can be described in terms of alternating between dialogically expansive and dialogically contracting strategies. The dialogically expansive strategies that include attribute: acknowledge, attribute: endorse and entertain allow for alternative positions whereas the dialogically contractive ones like proclaim: endorse, proclaim: pronounce, proclaim: concur and disclaim challenge or restrict the scope of such positions and thus enable promotion of one's own view on the matter. Whereas we can say that the first blog displays a pattern of alternation between these two types of strategies, the second one is limited in its predominance of the dialogically expansive strategies.

4.3 Pedagogical implications

How would one help learners shape blog writing as knowledge constructing academic arguments, even if in a brief form of a blog entry? One approach would be to raise awareness of learners about the crucial importance of a contrastive perspective for constructing new knowledge or adding new ideas in academic writing that, in ENGAGEMENT terms, is realized by the disclaim strategy. The importance of the contrastive presentation for making persuasive academic arguments has been noted by other discourse analysts in their studies (Barton 1993, 1995; Swales 1990; Thompson 2001). Barton (1993) goes as far as to suggest that the ability to take such a stance acts as a gate-keeping mechanism in American collegiate settings.

However, it is not only the presence of the disclaim move but also its positioning in the argument that makes argumentation successful. In Example (9), this move is introduced in the very beginning of the blog and thus organizes the entry on the macro level establishing a claim to new knowledge from the start. This can be contrasted with the use of the same strategy in Example (10) where a contrastive stance marks an issue as new on the local level of a sentence buried in the middle of the blog entry. Similar observations are made by Wu (2006), whose analysis of the high-rated argumentative essays revealed the importance of presenting a contrastive position in the introductory segments of the texts.

Furthermore, what makes an argument convincing is the ability to support knowledge claims by using the attribute option to make references to the primary or secondary sources, a strategy used in Examples (9) and (10). So, persuasive argumentation is precisely about the alternation of expansion and contraction options or of challenging the knowledge claim of some and acknowledging and aligning oneself with others. This is again corroborated by the results in Wu (2006). She describes successful arguments not only as containing contrastive or problematizing claims but also as those where these statements are further supported by appropriate attribution that can be traced back to the data or opinions of the experts in the field.

Raising awareness about how to argue academically could be accomplished by demonstrating to the learners some models of successful argumentation (see, for example, Chang and Schleppegrell 2011 for a similar suggestion). A blog model could be presented to the course participants with the goal of analyzing some of its engagement strategies and their functions (space does not allow me to briefly demonstrate and discuss such a model).

Another crucial consequence of the ENGAGEMENT approach to academic argumentation is that it leads one to recognize an intimate relationship between cognitive evaluation and reasoning and its verbal realization. Even though the point of departure for the ENGAGEMENT analysis is the discourse-semantic strategies, these are ultimately construed in language. Drawing learner attention to the linguistic construal of evaluative and argumentative steps as enabled by the meaning- and function-oriented analytical framework could help students improve their ability to produce academic arguments. The role of quoting verbs and their nominalized forms, concessive constructions, or modal verbs and questions for constructing an argument can be clarified to the students in conjunction with their respective discourse functions of acknowledging other sources, partially accepting the value of the counter-claim and then opposing it, or mitigating one's claims and opening the space for possible scenarios. "Making the linguistic basis of the rhetorical moves explicit" that is proposed by Chang and Schleppegrell (2011: 150) for L2 learners may very well prove to be a useful step in teaching argumentation to the L1 writer. Demonstrating a close connection between evaluating and reasoning and linguistic means for bringing these about appears to be even more urgent when one considers extensive research on the interconnectedness or even inseparability of cognitive and linguistic development and the crucial role of language in knowledge construction (e.g., Christie and Martin 1997; Halliday 1993; Halliday and Matthiessen 1999; Lemke 1988, 1990; Vygotsky 1987).

5. Conclusion

Despite the small number of investigated blog entries written in response to a topic that appeared to be relatively less popular with the students, the results of the ENGAGEMENT analysis point to a significant presence of strategies typical of academic reasoning in blog writers' entries. The quantitative analysis reveals that, given an explicit assignment to take a stance and establish a new position on the readings against the backdrop of their classmates' opinions on them, blog writers fulfill it by employing various expanding and contracting dialogic strategies that help realize argumentation moves in a way typical of academic writing contexts. So, establishing a claim to new knowledge occurs by contrasting it with other opinions, and supporting one's claims is realized by making references to the ideas of other knowers. At the same time, a more detailed qualitative analysis demonstrates that a simple inclusion of various engagement strategies does not necessarily result in a coherent and successful argument. What matters is a pattern of alternation between the expanding and contracting options.

These results tentatively point to the conduciveness of the blog medium to practicing academic argumentation. On the one hand, blog writing seems to urge students to view their responses to the readings in terms of a dialog with other discussants and thus makes the process of negotiation or argumentation more transparent than in traditional written essays that presuppose the course instructor as the only audience. On the other hand, unlike in oral class discussions, the blog medium enables students to take time to shape their entries in a way typical of written academic arguments. In sum, blogs seem to potentially offer both: the high interactivity of spoken discussions and a space for formulating one's ideas in ways valued in academic writing.

While the analytical approach to argumentation proposed in the study may not be considered a typical way of looking at argumentation, it was chosen because it emphasizes a feature considered crucial in the context of academic argumentation, specifically in humanities, oriented towards construction of new knowledge: the dialogic nature of an evaluative stance. Explicit engagement with other knowers or experts in the field and evaluation of their ideas are argumentation practices typical of knowledge construction in social sciences (Hood 2010). Thus, using the APPRAISAL framework and specifically ENGAGEMENT in the context of academic learning as complementary to a more traditional analysis of argumentation (for example, with Toulmin's 1958 model) may satisfy the need discussed by Prior (2005) for treating argumentation as practices that differ across contexts and hence require varying approaches for their analysis. Selecting the ENGAGEMENT framework has further implications for teaching academic argumentation.

This framework can enable instructors to identify for the beginning writers the important discursive moves necessary for developing an argument and their typical linguistic realizations that can scaffold learners' own argumentative thinking and writing.

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CHAPTER 15

Multimodal analysis of controversy in the media

Ruth Breeze

In a world dominated by the Internet, it is becoming increasingly important to develop analytical tools that can take in multiple dimensions of media texts. This chapter presents a multimodal analysis of a corpus of online newspaper texts about controversies surrounding the wearing of religious items by Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, which received considerable media coverage in Britain in early 2010. Although the text itself generally provides a balanced account of the issues, a comparison of the results across modes shows that the groups are evaluated differently in visual images, headlines and direct quotations. This study represents a step on the road to devising an integrative model for multimodal analysis.

1. Introduction

A considerable proportion of the vast volume of research into media language over recent years has given primacy to the printed text, which has been analysed at many levels, in terms of text linguistics, cohesion, lexical choice or macrostructure, and as a manifestation of ideological discourses operating on a societal plane. Even studies that focus specifically on how meaning is made generally take only one mode of media discourse into account at any given moment, usually centring on the printed word of media texts. However, in a world dominated by the Internet, it is becoming increasingly important to take in more aspects than the written word when analysing media phenomena. The aim of the present study is to use a small sample of texts on a controversial issue to trial a methodology for the multimodal analysis of online newspaper texts, focusing particularly on the evaluative function of the different elements.

2. Multimodal analysis

From a practical point of view, it is much easier to study printed text than to take multiple dimensions of media production into account: text remains stable over time, and a wide range of tools has been developed to extract data susceptible to analysis. Moreover, as linguists and discourse analysts, we are uniquely qualified to deal with written language. However, a glance at a media text in its natural environment – the page of a newspaper, a magazine article – should be enough to tell us that by focusing so narrowly on the written text, we are not doing justice to the media phenomenon in its fullest manifestation. The headline, the photographs, the page design, all contribute to the way that the text is presented to the readers, and this may influence the way readers draw on the text to build their own understanding of the phenomena that are represented on the page. Moreover, in a world that is increasingly dominated not by the printed media but by online communication, an exclusive focus on printed text is becoming somewhat anachronistic. A page in an Internet newspaper not only contains all the various modes of expression found on the printed page (headline, text, photograph or image, caption, advertising, layout) but also adds a few more (hyperlinks to related stories, discussion boards or comment boxes, hyperlinks of a ludic nature, interactive advertising, and so on). In such a scenario, text occupies a smaller proportion of the reader's attention, while headlines and images are foregrounded, and cumulative effects or interactions between different modes becomes increasingly important.

In what follows, I shall build on Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 21), who discuss how semiotic resources, which they term "modes", are deployed to convey meaning. Modes are resources which allow the simultaneous realization of discourses and types of interaction. In their view, modes are combined in "designs", which are more or less deliberate combinations of different resources that are then "produced" on the page or screen and "distributed" to their addressees. This process can be understood as being stratified, beginning with content and discourse and moving through design to production and distribution. At each stage, there is input, but also feedback from other strata, since the designer is influenced by what he/she knows it is possible to produce, the producer interprets the designer's instructions but also adds meanings that flow from the physical process of articulation, and so on. Values and ideas, as well as availability of resources, will shape what is generated in the different modes (the writer's own ideas and his/her suppositions about what he/she is supposed to write will have a bearing on the text, the photographer will influence the images, the subeditor the headlines, the page designer the layout, and so on). The end-product of this will then be "read" by its addressees, who will bring their own resources into play in order to interpret it.

Given the complex nature of this process and the multiple participants, one could question the extent to which this complex process results in a coherent whole or "design". Analysts have often assumed that the different elements do offer a certain coherence and consistency, but there is an evident danger of over-interpretation here, which is particularly acute in the case of media texts that are produced by several different professionals working to a tight deadline. In Kress and van Leeuwen's view (2001: 20), multimodal phenomena involve the combination of several semiotic modes in the design and production of an event, and these modes may reinforce each other, fulfil complementary roles, or be hierarchically ordered. However, it is perhaps equally likely that the messages conveyed through different modes may be contradictory or inconsistent in the meanings and evaluations that they offer. Newspaper headlines do not always provide an accurate summary of the events reported in the article, and photographs are not always what they purport to be, just as the text itself is not always a reliable account of the events, quotations from participants are not a literal reflection of what they said, and so on (Richardson and Meinhof 1999). It is possible that an article which offers a balanced assessment of an issue might be found to have a headline with negative overtones, or a photograph that appears to show a positive vision of a particular issue, simply because of the time pressures in the production process. None the less, despite the apparently arbitrary nature of some of the combinations of text and image found in the media on a day-to-day basis, one may speculate that some configurations that might be thought of as "accidental" on one level actually reflect societal patterns of meaning-making and evaluation that operate on a broader scale.

Against this background, I decided to investigate multimodal reporting in the British online media, concentrating my attention on a particular controversial issue that hit the headlines in early 2010. The aim of this study was to develop a framework for multimodal analysis of online news articles, and to use this in a test case to compare the way different groups are represented in this medium, and to assess the extent to which this representation embodies coherent or contradictory evaluative patterns.

A key concept in any study of multimodality is that of the "mode". My starting point is the definition by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 21) of modes as semiotic resources which allow the realization of discourses together with types of interaction. When dealing with online newspapers, the most important modes in the case of a particular section or article are the text, the photographs or images, and the headline. Headline and text are separate modes, because although both are realized through printed words, they formulate discourse in a different way, use a different code, and have a different communicative function. Arguably, text could also be subdivided into subcategories (opinion, narrative, personal testimony, and so on, could be described as modes); however, for the purposes of this study, it proved impracticable to make such a division, since one newspaper text often has features of two or more of these, and it is unlikely to prove useful to separate them. The only exception to this was the specific attention paid to the role of direct quotation, which was taken to have particular relevance for reasons which will be set out below. Page design and hyperlinks were not taken into account in this study: they may also have semiotic significance, but they tend to be generic to the publication rather than specific to the particular article. This probably means that they tend to have a less important role in meaning-making as far as specific issues are concerned, and more relevance in terms of the online newspaper and its relationship with its readers across topics and sections. In short, the modes identified for research purposes were text in general, direct quotation of participants, headlines, and images.

In all of this, my main interest was to study how controversial issues were represented and evaluated in the different modes, and to explore any interactions or contradictions between modes, to determine whether the different modes supported or reinforced each other, or whether they tended rather to undermine or contradict each other. In other words, the aim was to investigate whether the modes signified in a way that was parallel (monologic, convergent) or whether they send messages that appeared to lead in different directions (heteroglossic, divergent). As I mentioned above, it is commonly assumed that the different modes are organized to transmit a single message expressing a consistent evaluation of the issue. Multimodal texts are thought to orchestrate specific effects by operating on various semiotic levels through different modes in a coordinated way. Since communication is understood to realize particular metafunctions, it may seem reasonable to take for granted that multimodal communication presupposes an integration of modes to a specific communicative end (O'Toole 1994: 169; Lim 2004: 222). This can be seen particularly clearly in the case of textbooks, for example, in which the image supports the explanations in the text, or in the case of advertisements, where messages that might initially appear contradictory tend to be resolved in a meaning that promotes the product through multiple semiotic layers (Royce 1998: 205), and through processes of inter-semiotic parallelism and polysemy (Liu and O'Halloran 2009: 368). However, in the case of online newspapers, which are produced under extreme time pressure through the coordinated actions of a team of diverse professionals, it is possible that contradictory or arbitrary messages and evaluations may be transmitted. In other words, co-occurrence of language and image may not always constitute a coherent multimodal message, and readers may make inferences that go beyond the visible and textual evidence simply because their expectations call for some logical connection or parallel (Liu and O'Halloran 2009: 379). At the very least, we should not assume that seeming contradictions should be resolved in an intentionally orchestrated overarching meaning on the level of a particular news story, and we should endeavour not to overinterpret image-text relations that may be arbitrary. On the other hand, the possible inconsistencies that arise could indeed be significant in a broader view, because they provide insights into the way a particular newspaper, or even a particular sector of society, tends to view specific issues. For example, if we encounter instances where photographs appear to give a biased view, which undermines the balanced analysis provided in the text, we might come closer to understanding the dynamics of media discourse and its workings in society.

The different properties of text and image have been analysed in depth by authors such as Stöckl (2004, 2010) and Burger (2008). Stöckl (2010: 48–49) shows that images are dense in meaning and immediate in their cognitive and relational effect, but semantically vague and open-ended. A newspaper photograph may provoke an extreme negative reaction, or may generate a positive sensation and evoke sympathy or complicity, but usually does not prompt the viewer to undertake extensive analysis. By contrast, text is slow and abstract, but its linear, logical qualities and clear space-time orientation give it high definition and univocality. Evaluations in text can be simple, but they may also be extremely complex and nuanced. Building on this, and following the principle that headlines constitute a separate mode from text, it is possible to see that headlines in the English-language media stand somewhere between text and image, since they are eye-catching and make an immediate impact, yet are often impressionistic or allusive, even ambiguous, and may have emotive rather than ideational force (see Table 1).

Table 1. Characteristics of images, text and headlines in online newspapers

Image	Text	Headline
Eye-catching	Linear	Eye-catching
Relational	Slow	Emotive
Immediate	Abstract	Simultaneous
Emotive	Analytic/explicit	Impressionistic
Holistic/planes	Precise	Allusive
Simultaneous	Structured	Ambiguous
Open-ended	Indirect	
Ambiguous	Multimodal	
Concrete	Heteroglossic	

Nonetheless, the effects may vary across different instances. Moreover, the evaluative impact of each element (image, text, headline) may vary according to the relative salience of each one in a given case (Kress and van Leeuwen 1998: 200), and the way in which they are grouped together.

I therefore decided to analyse the principal modes through which online newspapers express information and opinion. As explained below, I used different discourse analytical techniques to examine the text, headlines and images of news reports and opinion articles, and then compared the results obtained from investigation of each mode.

3. Sample and study

To carry out this study of multimodality in the online press, it was necessary to identify an issue that might bring to light contrasting evaluative discourses operating in different modes. It was therefore important to identify a topic that was polemical, and that might have a significant visual dimension. Since racism and bias against particular ethnic and religious groups have been identified as operating in covert form even in the mainstream media (van Dijk 1991, 1998; Richardson 2004), this appeared to offer a promising area for the study. In early 2010, the issue of the burka came to prominence in continental Europe, and was also a frequent subject in the British media. At the same time, several test cases were receiving considerable public attention, involving Sikhs and Christians who claimed the right to wear items of dress or jewellery for religious reasons, in contravention of dress codes in schools or workplaces. The decision was therefore made to examine the media reporting concerning the wearing of religious symbols by these three religious groups (Muslims, Sikhs and Christians). Searches were conducted on the online versions of four major British newspapers, namely the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Sun* and the *Mirror*. These newspapers were selected because of their open availability, and because of their political and socio-economic profiles: two are quality broadsheets and two are popular tabloids, on the one hand, while two represent a more right-wing stance and two lean more to the left.

My search was directed to find references to the wearing of religious symbols by Sikhs, Christians and Muslims in news and opinion articles published in these newspapers during the period from 1 January to 30 June 2010. The results yielded 100 articles which mentioned or focused explicitly on the wearing of religious symbols by Sikhs (turban and kirpan) (12); Muslims (burka and niqab) (58); and Christians (cross or crucifix) (30). The articles contained a total of 25,923 words. Nineteen of the articles could be classified as opinion articles, while the others were news or feature articles. None of the articles was a leader. Headlines and text were analysed in all cases, and photographs when available. A brief overview of the articles used is provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of articles by newspaper and religion

Newspaper	No. of words	Articles: Sikhs	Articles: Muslims	Articles: Christians
Daily Telegraph	11,568	4	13	6
Guardian	43,940	7	22	16
Sun	7,207	0	14	4
Mirror	2,208	1	9	4

Regarding methodology, since different modes were to be explored, a range of methods had to be used, which could be combined under the heading of multimodal discourse analysis. For the text, a frames analysis was used, combined with quantitative and qualitative investigation of direct quotations attributed to the participants. For the headlines, categories were devised based on appraisal analysis and stance analysis. For the images, categories based on distance and angle were used.

4. Text analysis

4.1 Evaluative elements in text

For the textual analysis, the present study sets out from a cognitive analytical perspective informed by critical discourse analysis (van Dijk 1998) and frame theory (Entman 1993), adapting this approach specifically to the peculiarities of newspaper texts, which rarely provide a fully developed evaluation of a particular issue. Newspaper articles, with the possible exception of columns and leaders, tend to be heteroglossic in nature, containing a range of unresolved or even contradictory propositions or evaluations that bear traces of different discourses that have social currency (Maher 2001). In view of this, I applied the methodology described by Rojecki (2005: 67–68), which sets out from an identification of what could be termed "framing elements", such as evaluative statements or causal connections, and proceeds to quantify their presence in the texts and assess the extent to which they form coherent frameworks within which an issue can be understood.

I conducted an initial reading of the entire corpus in order to identify the interpretive or non-factual elements that could potentially be functioning as part of an evaluative framework. These elements were listed, and then compared with each other so that I could prevent duplication and discard elements that occurred infrequently. Each article was coded for the evaluative elements which it contained, in order to determine how many articles contained each of the elements that had been identified. The number of times one element occurred within a particular article was not counted.

Table 3. Rank order of elements in corpus

Rank	Element	No. of articles where element occurs
1	"people have the right to wear RS"	43
2	"RS pose a threat to (mainstream) values"	32
3	"other EU countries are intolerant"	31
4	"RS pose safety or security problems"	28
5	"the state persecutes religious believers"	24
6	"different religions are being treated differently"	21

Table 3 shows the rank order of the most frequently occurring evaluative elements overall in this sample. It is noticeable that the element "people have the right to wear religious symbols" is particularly prominent. However, detailed examination of the corpus showed that this element was more frequent in the context of Sikhs and Christians, and less so in the case of Muslims. The issue of "different religious groups being treated differently" occurs more frequently in the reporting of cases concerning Christians. Comparisons are often made between what seems to be lenience when enforcing dress codes on Muslims or Sikhs, and apparent strictness towards Christians. Moreover, it is noticeable that the elements referring to religious symbols as "constituting a threat to safety" or "contradicting values", are mentioned most frequently in the case of Muslims. It is possible to conclude that text is multilayered, but usually gives different points of view: both sides of the question are represented. It is significant that people's right to wear RS is the most frequent element encountered in all three cases, although this is often found in combination with negative appraisals of wearing RS. However, it is also interesting that text concerning Sikhs is likely to mention Britain's tradition of tolerance, while text concerning Muslims is likely to mention a "threat" to security or to values, and text concerning Christians is often partisan and expresses a view supporting or opposing the wearing of religious symbols.

4.2 Voice

One important aspect of media texts is the way in which they may quote from their sources (Ducrot 1984). In my case, it was particularly important to establish how the actual participants in the various cases, that is, the wearers of the RS, were given a "voice" in the text. A quantitative study was carried out of the number of words attributed in direct quotation to the wearers of RS, to their supporters, and to their opponents. In general, the newspapers had far more direct quotations from wearers of RS and their supporters in the case of Sikhs and Christians, and more quotations from opponents of the wearing of RS in the case of Muslims.

Table 4 shows the number of words attributed to members of three different categories: wearers of RS, supporters of those who wear RS, and people who are against the wearing of RS. In a few cases, one person met the criteria for the first two categories, so an attempt was made in each instance to determine whether he or she was speaking personally as a wearer, or as a supporter of the right to wear this symbol in general. As will be seen, the number of words attributed to the different categories of speaker varies greatly across the four publications. However, as we shall see, the number of words is not necessarily indicative of the position adopted in the article in question.

Table 4. Number of words in direct quotations attributed to participants

	Wearer of RS	In favour of wearing RS	Against wearing RS
Telegraph			
Sikhs	187	407	0
Muslims	6	149	310
Christians	382	409	257
Guardian			
Sikhs	79	160	0
Muslims	0	49	954
Christians	285	365	41
Sun			
Sikhs	0	0	0
Muslims	604	14	307
Christians	232	44	0
Mirror			
Sikhs	0	7	0
Muslims	8	0	113
Christians	54	202	0

It is important to mention that just because certain actors are quoted extensively does not mean that the newspaper is validating or even propagating their opinion. In fact, the opposite may be the case, since some of the long quotations in the present sample can only be understood as "scare quotes": the most striking example of this is the considerable space that the *Guardian* devotes to citing far-right politicians. In general, the function of direct quotations attributed to participants in the reported events seems to be to make an impact on the reader, either appealing directly in a positive way, or shocking the audience and provoking a negative reaction. However, one important point emerges from this sample, which is that except in the *Sun*, the voices of Muslim women who wear the burka or niqab are almost entirely absent: others talk about them, but their views are not given at first hand.

4.3 Headlines

The headlines from all the articles were examined and categorized according to the principles of appraisal analysis (Martin and Rose 2003; Martin and White 2005) and categorization of stance (Hyland 2005). Predictably, the two popular newspapers (*Sun* and *Mirror*) opted for sensational lexis with a heavy affective load in many cases, particularly in the case of stories about Muslims, which often had headlines containing phrases such as "burka rage", "burka backlash" and "race hate". However, the two more serious newspapers (*Guardian* and *Telegraph*) also made such choices at times. The *Guardian* printed some provocative headlines in the case of all three religious groups, whereas the *Telegraph* published occasional provocative headlines on stories about Muslims and Christians, and opted for neutral or "feelgood" headlines in the case of Sikhs.

Headlines that made the newspaper's own stance very clear were mainly found in the *Guardian*, which published several headlines that drew attention to "Islamophobia", as in the example "All parties must stand up to Islamophobia", and declared that "Europe must not ban the burka". Nonetheless, the *Guardian* seemed openly to oppose Christians who wore religious symbols, with several headlines to that effect, such as "Secret Christian donors bankroll Tories", "There is no case for faiths to get special treatment in court" and "BA should be free to ban the cross". The *Mirror* came out in the opposite direction, with a headline associated with the story about the Christian nurse who was fired for refusing to take off a cross, that declared boldly "Remind me, what country am I living in?" Headlines in the *Telegraph* were occasionally partisan, but only on the subject of Muslim dress: "It's not in our interest to ban the burka", or "Tearing veils off women will help no one". The *Sun*, too, offered a partisan headline on the subject of the French burka ban: "Freedom? Equality? Not for Muslims". Otherwise, the overwhelming majority of the headlines in all the newspapers were neutral, expressed no particular opinion, and refrained from using emotive vocabulary.

4.4 Images

The articles were all associated with photographs, except in the case of the *Mirror*, which routinely only includes a brief text with a headline in the online "news" section where these articles were published.

The difficulty of identifying and classifying evaluation in images has been discussed by many authors (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001; O'Halloran 2004; Stöckl 2004). I first carried out a qualitative examination of the images associated with the articles about the different religious groups, in order to identify possible evaluative features. Attractive colours and appealing images were mainly associated with Sikhs, whereas photographs showing Muslims tended to use darker colours and favoured use of oblique angles. Christians were photographed in portrait or close-up mode, in a simulation of direct eye-contact with the reader. In this, the way in which the people were photographed seemed to be of key significance. Not only was there an obvious contrast between "offer" and "demand" photographs (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 121–130), but in the case of the "demand" photograph, there appeared to be a major difference between photographs with "parallel gaze", in which the viewer is addressed with a "visual 'you'" who is on equal terms, and other photographs in which high-angle shots make the viewer seem to be looking down on the person photographed, or oblique shots position the subject at an angle to the viewer. It was also notable that the most predictable format for a photograph in a human interest story (close-up, parallel gaze) was generally used to accompany articles about Christians, but was far from being the norm as far as Muslims were concerned. Table 5 summarizes the characteristics of photographs featuring members of the three religious groups. It should be noted that the table only includes photographs representing members of the religious groups in questions. Photographs of other actors, such as politicians, are not included in the analysis, nor are photographs of objects. It should be noted that close-up is defined as head or head and shoulders; full figure as whole body occupying the frame (sometimes known as medium long-shot); middle distance as full human figure occupying about half the height of the frame (sometimes known as long-shot).

Table 5. Analysis of images of people wearing RS

	Colour: >30% Colour	**Distance:** C: Close-up FF: Full figure: MD: Medium distance	**Eye contact:** P: Parallel O: Oblique S: Smile	**Posture:** BC: Back to camera FT: Face turned away FL: Face wholly covered
Sikhs (6)	6	3C; 3FF	3P; 2S	0
Muslims (24)	9	13C; 9FF; 2MD	7P; 7O; 3S	2BC; 4FT; FC
Christians (10)	7	7C; 2FF; 1MD	5P; 2O	0

It can be seen from Table 5 that of the six photographs showing Sikhs, all had colour in over 30% of the image, three were close-ups and three full-figure shots, and the subjects of three made parallel eye contact with the reader, while two were smiling.

Although the table suggests that many photographs of Muslims showed women with a parallel gaze, some of whom were smiling, it should be noted that all of these were from the *Sun*, while none of the other newspapers included photographs of Muslim women in these poses. It was notable that both the *Telegraph* and the *Guardian* recycled the same agency photographs to accompany different stories. The *Telegraph* favoured a photograph of a woman's head, completely covered except for the eyes, which are looking up to the reader from a lower position. This image occurred four times in the present sample, in association with various different, unrelated reports. The *Guardian* used two images more than once: a photograph of a burka-wearer by the Eiffel Tower, with her back to the camera, and a photograph of a burka-wearer in profile, looking down. The subservient or gaze-avoiding posture and dramatic colour scheme of many of the pictures seem to tell a story of their own: unlike text, which has to spell out its ideas in a logical and coherent fashion, images transmit messages in an implicit manner (Naciscione 2010). It appears that here, although the writer subscribes to principles of tolerance and laisser faire (if a woman wants to cover herself up, she has the right to do so), the photographs are sending an implicit message that the burka is a symbol of subservience or rejection of western values.

From this, it is possible to conclude that the photographs used in conjunction with the articles in this study tended to tell a rather different story from the text. The photographs associated with these news stories tend to have divergent effects in the case of the three religious groups. Sikhs are felt to be photogenic, and the images accompanying stories about them are picturesque. Muslim apparel presents a challenge to the photographer, and many of the images are disconcerting or even sinister, mainly with more than 30% of the image in dark colours or black, and with subjects who do not make eye contact with the reader, or who do so by looking upwards or sideways at the camera. That this type of image is not an inevitable artefact of the burka itself is amply demonstrated by the *Sun*, which features a considerable number of positive, colourful images of Muslim women in burkas or veils, who are smiling, and who make eye contact with the reader. It was also noticeable that the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* both tended to reuse certain negatively charaged images of burka wearers, which could contribute to the reinforcement of a stereotypical view of this social group. Finally, in the case of Christians, the photographs tended to comply with the more usual newspaper practice in human interest stories, by showing the subjects in close-up or portrait style, making parallel eye contact with the reader. Given the subject matter, it is perhaps inevitable that the "normality" of the images of Christian subjects contrasts with the "exotic" nature of the photographs taken of the other two groups. However, the lack of parallel eye contact in the case of Muslim women, except in the images from the *Sun*, marks a striking difference which merits further discussion. On the one hand, the woman who wears a burka does so precisely because she wishes to avoid the public gaze. In a sense, the images which show such women with their face completely covered, their back to the camera, or turning away, give a true reflection of the semiotics of this form of dress. On the other hand, the persistent use of these images in the press is likely to reinforce stereotypes about burka wearers, and is certainly not conducive to breaking down barriers surrounding Muslim women.

This study of the images echoes the message transmitted through the use of direct "voice" in these articles, in which Muslim women are shown to be almost wholly silent. Not only do they lack a media "voice", they also lack a media "face", in the sense that their images are often covered or obscured, they may have their back to the camera so that eye-contact is ruled out, or they may be photographed looking upwards in a position that indicates subservience. The only notable exception to both of these trends was a single, long article, published in the *Sun*, which included several close-up or portrait shots of a woman in a burka who is smiling and making eye-contact with the reader, going out with her family, and so on. This feature article contains a long interview in which she explains her opinions about wearing the burka, and tells stories about the prejudices she has had to combat in France.

5. Discussion

In the case that was selected here, namely the wearing of religious symbols by three different groups, it is evident that my analysis of the evaluative discourses used would vary, depending on which modes of expression are in focus. A cognitive frames analysis of the text alone shows that the reporting is fairly balanced, and that most journalists favour a neutral or non-committal stance, preferring to mention the arguments used by both sides in the dispute, and, where possible, provide direct quotations from their representatives. However, a study that takes in the use of images and headlines, such as the present paper, paints a rather different picture. In what follows, I shall review the main findings drawn from analysis of each mode.

A quantitative analysis of the propositions expressed in the text demonstrates that the actual reporting is reasonably balanced and neutral. At least in terms of the actual ideas expressed in the text, almost all articles contain an attempt at explaining several points of view on the controversial topic at issue, and tolerance of different viewpoints is a major theme in most reports. The writers take care not to give one-sided negative or positive evaluations of the phenomena at hand. Representatives of both sides of the question are generally quoted directly. However, there is noticeably a lack of direct representation of one category of participant in the events reported, namely Muslim women who wear the burka or niqab.

On the other hand, the headlines of the articles across all the newspapers are often more emotive, and sometimes more partisan. This is arguably extremely important, since headlines make an immediate impact, and in an online format they may be the only part of the report that is visible before the page containing the story itself is called up. As we have seen, despite the balanced reporting, the headlines in some newspapers presented a biased evaluation of the issue, or tended to provoke strongly negative emotional reactions. For example, a report in the *Guardian* which is headed "Europe must not ban the burka" actually presents several complex arguments about the interaction between individual freedom and women's rights, and is by no means in favour of the burka. However, readers who only see the headline will not receive this impression.

Finally, the photographs associated with these news stories often have different effects. Sikhs are evidently highly photogenic, and images of Sikhs are often colourful action shots or full body shots with parallel eye contact. Burkas are indisputably a challenge to the photographer, and although it may be inevitable that such images lack colour or facial expressiveness, the type of angle used is particularly striking, with a prevalence of back views or high-angle shots. On the other hand, Christians are closer to the usual newspaper "human interest" subject that invites readers to identify with the subject, and their images tend to invite sympathy or complicity with the reader. Although the contrast between exotic and everyday images may well be an artefact of the subject itself, one aspect is particularly significant: except in the *Sun*, Muslim women photographed in these newspapers never make parallel eye contact with the reader. The persistent use of shots from a high angle or with no eye contact, or even back views, is not likely to break down stereotypes about burka wearers. On the basis of the current sample it would be no exaggeration to say that Muslim women are not only voiceless, but also often faceless, in the mainstream media.

Previous authors have drawn attention to the iconicity and indexicality of photographs, which "come with an implicit guarantee of being closer to the truth than other forms of communication" (Messaris and Abraham 2001: 217). Photographs tend to diminish the likelihood that viewers will question a particular vision of the events, since it is more difficult to question what one can see than to doubt a proposition. This means that the role that photographs play in the framing process tends to be that of narrowing down the possible interpretations and swaying the viewer/reader towards a particular view. Although Barthes (1977: 39) concluded that text generally "anchors" the implicit meanings of images to help readers form the appropriate inferences from the "floating chain" of possible concepts that are signified, it is likely that this applies more strictly to carefully developed media products, such as advertisements, and is less applicable in the case of items that are produced under pressure by diverse teams of professionals, such as online news.

Messaris and Abraham (2001: 221) have shown that television images may activate stereotypes in direct contradiction to the explicit messages contained in the spoken text of the broadcast. It may thus be possible to claim that images can also "anchor" text, or rather, that images may complement, colour or undermine the messages that are being transmitted verbally. As van Dijk noted (1988: 18), "symbolic racism allows for subtlety, indirectness, implication. It may, paradoxically, be expressed by the unsaid." In the case of the groups represented in this study, it is possible that the message of openness and tolerance expressed in the text is undermined by the alienating evaluative effect of the images that are frequent in some of the newspapers.

6. Conclusions

The present study set out to trial a methodology for the multimodal analysis of online newspaper texts, using a small sample of texts on a controversial issue. The conclusions, obtained by applying different methodologies to the different modes and then contrasting the results, are interesting in themselves. However, they also point to the initial problem posed at the beginning of this chapter, which is that of conducting a multimodal analysis and trying to interpret the way divergent messages may be transmitted through different modes.

When analysing these multimodal texts, it is not appropriate to assume coequal status between the different modes. On the one hand, photographs and headlines are salient, and constitute the locus of attention on the screen. Photographs have a heavy interpersonal and emotive load, while headlines may be emotive and connotative, ideational but ambiguous. Text is mainly ideational, but also contains interpersonal and emotive elements. To understand how meaning is constructed and communicated through media texts, we must take into account what is expressed in these different modes, and how the mode of expression affects the kind of effect that is produced. For example, the choice of dramatic photographs might tend to undermine the tolerant message expressed in the text, and repeated use of the same photograph in different contexts might tend to reinforce stereotypes. However, it is not clear which of the messages will prevail in the reader's understanding of the issue, or indeed how the reader will integrate the different aspects that are juxtaposed on the screen.

A new, integrative model is required that can account for all these modes and their simultaneous operation. To build such a model, a more comprehensive theory of reader response needs to be developed. More empirical evidence is needed about how people read or use online newspapers, and how they may be influenced by them. Our intuition might be that headlines and photographs are more salient, but it remains to be established how much they contribute to the developing social understanding of issues that are in the public eye. The mismatch which is often evident between text, which is analytical and tolerant, and photographs, which tend to reinforce prejudices, poses certain difficulties of interpretation for the reader. Whichever mode he/she encounters first, he/she will undertake a process of recontextualization rather than co-contextualization (Liu and O'Halloran 2009: 385) to try to "make sense" of the article, which may not actually result in a coherent outcome. It is interesting to think that the rational cognitive message is transmitted through text, but that this may be undermined by a more visceral, emotive message sent through images. Assuming a naive reader response, the result could be intellectual assent to the principles of tolerance, undermined by emotional discomfort with situations that one is supposed to tolerate. However, without further inquiry into the dynamics of reader response, it is not easy to deliver a definitive verdict on this point.

From the discourse analyst's point of view, it is possible to conclude that further empirical research of this kind is needed in order to test appropriate methodologies for multimodal investigation, and to foster our own developing understanding of online news as a multimodal phenomenon.

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CHAPTER 16

The expression of evaluation in weekly news magazines in English

Elena Martínez Caro

This chapter investigates the expression of evaluation in a corpus collected from weekly news magazines in English in an attempt to address two main research questions. I investigate, first, the linguistic patterns regularly associated with the expression of evaluation in this written register and, second, the place of evaluative expressions in this discourse type and the implications for the organization of the text. The analysis has identified five main patterns associated with evaluation: copular constructions, cleft constructions, lexical means, markers of modality and other devices, such as conditional or comparative clauses in contexts of evaluation. For the second question, evaluation has been found to concentrate in some texts either at the end or at a point where it reflects the views of a third party in the story. However, there is insufficient evidence to claim that in news magazines evaluation tends to occur at boundary points in the text.

1. Introduction

This chapter examines the expression of evaluation in weekly news magazines in the English language. The concept of evaluation has been referred to differently in the linguistics literature as 'affect' (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989), 'stance' (Biber et al. 1999; Conrad and Biber 2000), 'evaluation' (e.g. Thompson and Hunston 2000, among others), 'appraisal' (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005), '(emotional) intensity' (Labov 1984) and others.

Evaluation is a wide area of language covering linguistic devices ranging from the use of lexical items to grammatical constructions and pragmatic-discourse strategies. Since the chapter focuses on the written language, it thus excludes mention of phonological resources covering intonation, voice quality, sound symbolism or repetition and other phonological devices (cf. e.g. Ochs and Schieffelin 1989: 13; and see Escandell et al. and Estebas, this volume).

Although there have been serious attempts at describing these meanings in language (cf. notably, Ochs 1989; Hyland 1998; Thompson and Hunston 2000;

Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2008a), the work on evaluation is still relatively new and there is still a need for a more refined description of the expression of evaluation in different registers. This chapter aims to contribute to a better description of evaluation in the written register of news magazines.

The outline of the chapter is as follows. Section 2 presents the framework of the study in relation to the notion of evaluation on which the study is based and outlines the two research questions which the chapter addresses. Section 3 discusses the data and methodology used in the study. Sections 4 and 5 present the findings of the study with regard to the two research questions: Section 4 gives an outline of the linguistic patterns associated with the expression of evaluation in news magazines, while Section 5 relates the place of evaluating expressions with the organization of the text and discusses other linguistic devices found that help the writer in the discourse organization. Finally, Section 6 outlines the main conclusions of the study.

2. Background

Evaluation has been defined in the recent literature in the field as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5). It thus covers different areas of grammar and discourse and may be associated with distinct meanings or parameters, partly depending on the wider or narrower perspective on this area of language. Bednarek (2008b) and Martin and White (2005; cf. also Martin 2000), in the framework of appraisal theory, for instance, offer detailed taxonomies of evaluation (see especially Thompson, and Macken-Horarik and Isaac, this volume).

In the present study I adopt a narrow view of evaluation, in which this notion covers three main parameters: (a) the parameter of *value*, relating to the opposition good/bad (positive/negative), (b) the parameter of degree of *certainty* or *likelihood*, involving oppositions such as probable/improbable or certain/uncertain, and (c) the parameter of *importance* or *relevance*, as in the oppositions important/unimportant, worth/not worth, deserving attention/not deserving attention, and others (cf. Thompson and Hunston 2000: 23–25). In this view, meanings associated with evaluation may encode positive or negative evaluation, covering positive or negative feelings, opinions, attitudes, judgements, assessments of importance or certainty, and the like.

Taking this as my starting point, in the analysis of the data for the present chapter I have tried to address two research questions: (1) what linguistic patterns are regularly associated with the expression of evaluation in the written English of weekly news magazines?, and (2) do evaluative comments by writers in weekly news magazines tend to occur at boundary points in the text or, specifically, concentrate towards the end of their stories?

3. Data and methodology

The data on which the analysis is based consist of authentic examples in English taken from two weekly news magazines: *Time*, the world's largest weekly news magazine, based in New York City, and *The Economist*, a British publication based in London. A total of 30 news articles have been analysed, 15 for each magazine, on topics covering science and research, social affairs, politics and international relations, environment, economy, culture and obituaries. The total amount of words analysed was 31,095. The Appendix provides the list of articles collected in the corpus with full title, author (if given in the article) and date.

The texts were chosen and collected from the online edition of the two news magazines in the last trimester of the year 2011 and the beginning of 2012,[1] bringing out texts dated in the year 2011 and the two first months of 2012.[2] All the examples shown in the article have a key name given in brackets, related to the full title of the article presented in the final Appendix.

Weekly news magazines can be characterized as belonging to the general register of news(paper) discourse (cf. e.g. van Dijk 1988; Semino 2009), sharing its basic linguistic features in general. They are carefully-edited texts, claiming a relatively objective presentation of information and with a clear general purpose: "to convey and evaluate information about recent events and newsworthy people" (Biber et al. 1999: 9). However, the language of newspapers is a heterogeneous and complex object of analysis, where the prototypical text type is the news report (Semino 2009) but by no means the only one. Consequently, one should distinguish between 'news stories' in the sense of 'hard news' from 'soft news', typically presented in feature articles, "longer pieces which combine accounts of events with commentary, analysis and background information" (Semino 2009: 442). The articles analysed here are generally of the latter type, comment or summary articles, and their difference from the more prototypical news reports has a clear impact on the kind of evaluative expressions found.

Given the nature of the analysis for the present research, the texts were analysed manually for expressions of evaluation and the position of these in the overall structure of the text. The different linguistic strategies found in the expression of evaluation by the writer were classified into patterns or groups, depending on the nature of the strategy, and sometimes further into subgroups. When looking at the discourse organization of the article, a macrolinguistic perspective was adopted to try and identify possible clusters of evaluative expressions at certain points in the text but also those linguistic devices which expressed evaluation having, at the same time, an impact on the discourse organization.

4. Linguistic patterns and strategies in the expression of evaluation in news magazines

In this Section I present the main findings from the corpus analysis arising from the identification and classification of expressions showing evaluative meanings. A series of linguistic patterns which tend to reoccur in this type of register have been identified in an attempt to discover regularities in the linguistic expression of evaluation in news magazines. The work is along the lines of Hunston and Sinclair (2000), who, in an attempt to provide a 'local grammar of evaluation', identify certain linguistic patterns containing adjectives as typically used to evaluate. The patterns that they recognize are the following: (1) *IT* + link verb + adjective group + clause (as in *It was certain that he was much to blame*), (2) *THERE* + link verb + *SOMETHING/ANYTHING/NOTHING* + adjective group + *ABOUT/IN* + noun group/*-ing* clause (as in *There is nothing sacrosanct about this unit of analysis*), (3) link verb + adjective group + *to*-infinitive clause (as in *Horses are pretty to look at*), (4) link verb + adjective group + *that*-clause (as in *I'm fairly certain that he is an American*), (5) pseudo-clefts (as in *What's very good about this play is…*), and (6) patterns with general nouns (as in *The surprising thing about chess is that computers can play it so well* or *The important point is to involve them in the decision*). Their idea is that these patterns can be used in corpus linguistics to identify evaluative items "and to demonstrate that it is possible to parse sentences which contain the patterns using a local grammar of evaluation" (2000: 84).

In this study the linguistic patterns identified in association with evaluation are not limited to those necessarily containing adjectives as evaluative items. Likewise, it is important to realize that a single instance or pattern of evaluation (such as the ones described below) can encode more than one evaluative meaning. For instance, copular constructions, described in 4.1 (pattern A), may combine with the use of identifying constructions, described in 4.2 (pattern B), and with the occurrence of adjectives, described in 4.3 (pattern C).

4.1 Pattern A: Copular constructions

Copular constructions are widely used in news magazines to evaluate entities and states of affairs of different types. The most common copular verb, by far, is *be* (as in 1), but others such as *appear*, *seem*, *look*, *remain* and *become* are also widely used, indicating current (2 and 3) or resulting processes (4).

(1) "She*'s* a monster"; … "The way she raised her kids *is* outrageous" (Parenting)[3]

(2) With not much land and lots of people, pollution *looks* inevitable. (Netherlands)

(3) But according to Paul Townsend of Crowd Dynamics, a consultancy that has worked on the pilgrimage, the risks *remain* significant. (Pedestrians)

(4) Some countries praised for their breakneck economic growth, such as Angola and Equatorial Guinea, are oil-sodden kleptocracies. Some that have begun to get economic development right, such as Rwanda and Ethiopia, have *become* politically noxious. (Africa)

The verb *prove* is used significantly often, as a resulting copular verb (moderately) common in written formal registers such as news discourse and academic writing (Biber et al. 1999: 436, 445):

(5) China has *proven* inept and pointlessly confrontational in its push to seize control of the South China Sea. (Syria)

(6) But support for a variety of fonts was to *prove* a key feature of the Macintosh (Steve Jobs)

Other interesting items used as semi-copular verbs in the texts are *work* and *represent*, as in the following examples:

(7) That *works* better than trying to overtake. (Pedestrians)

(8) The majority decision nevertheless *represents* a "monumental loss" for opponents of gay marriage, says Chad Griffin, the board president of the California-based American Foundation for Equal Rights (Gay marriage)

Since copular constructions are among the devices most commonly associated with the expression of evaluation in English (cf. e.g. Hunston and Sinclair 2000), it is not surprising that a number of linguistic (sub)patterns can be identified related to them. They are described in the following discussion.

4.1.1 TO BE *(or other copular verb) with adjective phrase or noun phrase with adjective modifier*

This is the most basic type of evaluative pattern involving a copular construction, where an adjective phrase or noun phrase containing an adjective and following the verb expresses an attribute of the subject.

(9) The "Retina" display on the iPhone 4S *is one of the sharpest and most vivid around*. (Tablets)

(10) Overall, the study found, Internet dating *is a good thing*, especially for singles who don't otherwise have many opportunities to meet people. (Online dating)

4.1.2 *Copular construction with subject extraposition*

Subject extrapositions – where a clausal subject is extraposed to postverbal position and a dummy *it* is inserted in the place of the subject – are often found in English in the expression of evaluation. Hunston and Thompson (2000: 3), for instance, give examples of extraposition for expressing an opinion of goodness or desirability and of certainty. The common pattern is *IT* + copular verb + adjective phrase + extraposed clause.

(11) It would be nice, though, if voters evaluated presidents' foreign policies on the basis of whether they had won the respect of the world and advanced American interests internationally. (Syria)

(12) In other words, it's hard to tell whether Jim and Sue will be happy together (Online dating)

(13) … it is surprising things have taken so long to boil over. (Publishing)

(14) But it was inevitable that comparisons would be drawn between Mr Cook's understated approach on stage and that of Steve Jobs (Steve Jobs)

As is illustrated in (11) and (12), these patterns often have an *if* or *whether* clause as extraposed subject. As will be mentioned in 4.5, conditional clauses have been frequently found in the corpus associated with the expression of evaluation. Other elements introducing the extraposed clause are *to*-infinitive or a *that* clause (where the *that* may be omitted, as in 13).

4.1.3 TO BE *in combination with* THE (+ *adjective*) + *general noun*

General nouns such as *problem, thing, issue* and *aspect* are frequently used in copular patterns containing noun phrases modified by adjectives and expressing evaluation (cf. Hunston and Sinclair 2000: 90; Mahlberg 2005). The adjectives may be found in a superlative form, as in (15) and (16) (cf. Section 4.3 on the superlative).

(15) At a company like Apple, thousands of ideas bubble up each year for new products and services that it could launch. *The hardest thing* for its leader is to decide which ones merit attention. (Steve Jobs)

(16) … *the easiest way* to boost speed is to add memory (Tablets)

(17) *The first thing* to understand about all of Apple's portable devices – whether iPods, iPads or iPhones – is that performance is subservient to efficiency. (Tablets)

This pattern very often comes in combination with a *to*-infinitive clause following the copula (15, 16) or complementing the general noun in the noun phrase itself (16, 17).

The word *the* does not introduce the general noun in all cases:

(18) Another striking – and often underappreciated – aspect of Mr Jobs's success was his ability to say no. (Steve Jobs)

As instances of the so-called *th*-cleft (Martínez Caro 2010), examples of this pattern are further discussed in the following section (4.2) on clefts and related constructions.

4.1.4 *MAKE + noun phrase + adjective*

In this pattern, the entity or situation which is qualified comes as the object of *make*, in what has been called a 'resultative' construction.

(19) In particular, boffins think it could help *make emergency evacuations safer*. (Pedestrians)

(20) The recession has only *made the situation worse*. (Child abuse)

(21) Part of the problem is not having a clear idea of how many pilgrims will turn up, which *makes planning difficult*. (Pedestrians)

The adjective following that object, representing the attribute assigned to it, is often found with a marker of comparison, as in (19) and (20).

4.1.5 *TO BE WORTH*

The expression *be worth* in English has an intrinsic evaluative meaning, related to the parameter of value (thus similar in meaning to *be valuable* and *deserve* (*something*)). It is followed by an *ing*-form of the verb.

(22) … the vast distances where a bigger car's greater comfort *is worth* paying for (Electric cars)

4.1.6 *Existentials and related constructions*

Existential constructions, which contain a copular verb preceded by the dummy use of *there*, have been found in the expression of evaluation, mostly introducing a whole state of affairs in the discourse.

(23) "There is a willingness to get more and more dense in the space." (Pedestrians)

(24) … it might be a good idea to be more conscious of eating habits in social situations. Just remember, *there's no harm in passing up that extra cookie*. (Overeating)

Included in this group are event-reporting or thetic utterances (Siewierska 1991: 162), which contain an evaluative expression, often an adjective modifying the noun describing the single participant in the situation. In the following examples the event-reporting utterance is distinguished in italics:

(25) Stroll up and down the train and *a wider variety of characters appear*. (India)

(26) But regardless of whether things have gotten better or worse, *a significant problem remains*. (Child abuse)

(27) *Drought and famine persist*. (Africa)

4.2 Pattern B: Clefts and other focus constructions

Clefts and other focus constructions are patterns which often occur in combination with evaluative elements in news magazines. The evaluation expressed by these constructions tends to associate with judgements of importance (relevance or significance), rather than with value meanings of the type of good-bad. The writer thus expresses a judgement on what for him/her is a relevant piece of information regarding the issue being discussed.

Following mainly Collins (1991), clefts are classified in terms of the introducing element in the constructions as *th*-clefts, demonstrative clefts, *it*-clefts and *wh*-clefts (cf. also Biber et al. 1999: 961 and Martínez Caro 2010).

4.2.1 *TH-clefts*

Th-clefts are introduced by a noun phrase containing the definite article *the* and a general noun (cf. 4.1.3 above; Martínez Caro 2010).

(28) The problem is, the more closely evolutionary biologists study animals, the more they discover that at least some nonhuman species exhibit the very same talents, even if in a rudimentary way. (Animal friendship)

(29) "… The difference is," he said, "they wanted to keep it to themselves." (Gay marriage: end of text)

(30) But the benefit, she says, is that dating online gives you access to a lot more people than… (Online dating)

With the different types of cleft there is an implication of *uniqueness* or *exclusiveness* which is absent, or not necessarily present, in the non-cleft form (cf. e.g. Huddleston 1984: 466 and Collins 1991: 69). In (30), for instance, the implicit meaning is "this and only this is the benefit of online dating". The relevant element emphasized by the writer is provided after the copula.

4.2.2 *Demonstrative clefts*

This is a cleft construction with a singular form of the demonstrative (*this* or, more often, *that*) as subject (Biber et al. 1999: 961).

(31) this, not the shortage of petrol, was for many Kenyans the real energy crisis. (Maathai)

(32) This was the moment when everyone assumed that the presidency would someday be his for the asking. (Kennedy)

(33) That's an important lesson for those who have to work at night (Night shift)

(34) But crying is completely normal for babies; that's what they do. (Child abuse)

This construction is particularly effective for offering a link with what precedes in the immediate linguistic context and so combines the evaluative function with one related to the organization of the discourse (see also Section 5).

4.2.3 *IT-clefts*

It-clefts are introduced by a dummy *it*. Here the important element (or focus) is placed towards the beginning of the construction after the copula. Both single entities (35 and 36) and whole propositions (37) can be highlighted.

(35) It was Chappaquiddick as much as anything else that sabotaged his most serious attempt at the White House: his fight in 1980 to push Carter aside. (Kennedy)

(36) It's parents, in fact, who are most often to blame for children's injuries. (Child abuse)

(37) Perhaps it's because we don't know his fate that Wallenberg remains such a powerful a figure. (Wallenberg)

4.2.4 *WH-clefts*

Wh-clefts with an evaluative meaning are generally introduced by *what*, followed by the copular verb and with a noun phrase or clause at the end (cf. Hunston and Sinclair 2000: 89f).

(38) What is certain, though, is that Apple will finally give the iPad a decent screen (Tablets)

(39) What intrigued Hu and his team the most was the cumulative effect that night work had on diabetes risk. (Night shift)

(40) Whether it's right or left does not matter; what does is that it is the unspoken will of the majority. (Pedestrians)

As can be seen in some instances, the *wh*-cleft (like the other types of cleft) often transmits a sense of comparison or opposition with other possibilities mentioned (40) or simply expresses an implicit rejection of other possibilities (39).

4.3 Pattern C: Lexical markers

By contrast to most of the other devices discussed in this chapter, this is a lexical, rather than a grammatical, strategy, based on the sense relations among the words in the lexicon.

4.3.1 *Adjectives*

The use of adjectives or epithets is probably the most obvious way to express evaluation in language.

(41) The exhibition is *compact*, *accessible* and *alive* with *grace* notes. (Israel)

(42) … parents can get *frustrated*, *exhausted* and *angry*. (Child abuse)

(43) *highly motivated* entrepreneurs and *increasingly prosperous* consumers. (Africa)

(44) A *relatively subtle* American policy… has proven *extremely effective*. (Syria)

Adjectives (in italics in the examples) are often premodified by adverbs to create lexically-complex noun phrases (43 and 44).

The use of the superlative form of the adjective is a common strategy in combination with evaluative adjectives.

(45) just months after one of *the messiest* episodes in his public life. (Kennedy)

(46) When it comes to child abuse, the first year of life is *the most dangerous* for children. (Child abuse)

(47) the Hamaoka plant in Shizuoka prefecture, which is reckoned to pose *the greatest* risk to Tokyo should a quake strike nearer the capital. (Japan)

4.3.2 *Nouns*

Not only adjectives but also nouns can be used to overtly express evaluation in news magazines. In this use, abstract nouns often show an inherent evaluative meaning, systematically associated with a positive (*worth* and *dignity* in 50) or, more commonly, negative meaning (cf. 48 and 49), irrespective of the context in which it occurs (Channell 2000; cf. also Alba-Juez and Martínez Caro 2011).

(48) a region blighted by *corruption*, *piracy*, *poverty* and *disease* (Africa)

(49) In Hungary, like much of Europe, *intolerance*, *racism* and *xenophobia* is on the rise. (Wallenberg)

(50) about the *worth* and *dignity* of gays and lesbians as a class (Gay marriage)

Although most of these nouns are abstract, some concrete nouns can be used with the same function, cf. nouns such as *fractures*, *burns*, (abdominal) *injuries* and *bruises* (Child abuse) or *thugs* (China 2).

Others are not abstract either but are used as referential expressions to explicitly refer, positively or negatively, to a known entity, as in the following nouns from the article on Steve Jobs: '*Guru*, *magician-in-chief*, *genius*, his great *rival*, the undisputed *champion*' (Steve Jobs).

4.3.3 *Verbs*

Several verbs found in the articles showed an inherent evaluative meaning, typically associated with negative value (although cf. 54). Some examples are shown here:

(51) the secret Mossad operation that *stalked* and *captured* Nazi war criminal Adolph Eichmann from his refuge in Buenos Aires, and *smuggled* him to Israel to stand trial for his role in organizing the Final Solution. (Israel)

(52) Unrestrained industrialisation is *poisoning* crops and people. (China)

(53) …to *bully* other countries into supporting our goals (Parenting)

(54) In hard times it is not about to make life harder for industries that *boost* state coffers and supply jobs. (Netherlands)

It is interesting to notice that the *negative* value of entities and situations expressed by writers tends to be more frequently marked than the positive. In the case of these verbs, they tend to associate with a negative, rather than a positive, evaluation.

4.4 Pattern D: Markers of modality

These are grammatical evaluation markers encoding meanings of modality, expressing attitudes concerning the status of information (epistemic modality).

4.4.1 *Modal adverbs*

Sentence adverbs expressing meanings of modality are a very productive strategy in news magazines. Meanings range from the parameters of certainty or likelihood (thus epistemic meanings, cf. 55 and 56) and surprise or disbelief (57 and 58) to importance (59) and affective opinions (60). These meanings are encoded by adverbs in *-ly* in all the following examples:

(55) … but *surely* that's just biology at work. (Animal friendship)

(56) It *definitely* wasn't love at first sight, she said (Online dating)

(57) Yet, *oddly*, it is so far proving less contentious than the Olympics … (Olympic vs. royal)

(58) *Bewilderingly*, says Goshi Hosono, a politician recently appointed to oversee Tokyo Electric Power (TEPCO, the utility that runs the plant), the vehicle got stuck in traffic. (Japan)

(59) …*fundamentally*, how does online dating differ from traditional, face-to-face encounters? And, *importantly*, does it lead to more successful romantic relationships? (Online dating)

(60) *Unfortunately*, it is not possible to look at the expression pattern of genes in Neanderthals, and it probably never will be. (Humanity)

Some further adverbs, having a more local function in the sentence, some of them intraphrasal, may also have an evaluative (not strictly modal) meaning, indicating focality: *especially*, *even*, *only*, *also*, *just*, etc.

(61) their vision, *especially* compared with the lack of it in politics, is daring. (Japan)

(62) *Only* Mr Kan can make sure that the good ideas which emerge do not sink into the Tokyo swamp of bureaucrats and politicians. (Japan)

(63) The favor was, well, *just* a favor. (Animal friendship)

4.4.2 *Modal verbs*

Modal verbs can also indicate the writer's attitude towards that which s/he is reporting.

(64) It remains to be seen whether his disciples who are now running the show can make equally smart choices, and whether Apple will be able to prosper without its magician-in-chief at the helm. The lukewarm response to this week's launch of its new iPhone 4S *should* give some cause for concern. (Steve Jobs)

(65) Unfortunately, it is not possible to look at the expression pattern of genes in Neanderthals, and it probably never will be. But it *might* be possible, as knowledge advances, to reconstruct part of it from a better understanding of that extinct species's DNA.

4.4.3 *Other expressions of modality*

Other expressions, distinct from modal adverbs or verbs, have been found that express evaluation in relation to modality. Some examples, with the relevant expressions in italics, are given here:

(66) *No wonder* Dr Maathai found herself on a collision course with Kenya's new masters, (Maathai)

(67) *Against all expectations*, Western influence suddenly seems to be winning out even in Myanmar. (Syria)

(68) *To some extent*, this reflects a smart, subtle foreign-policy presence in which we have done a vastly better job of looking at what other countries actually want, and seeing where our interests align, rather than trying to bully other countries into supporting our goals. *To some extent*, it's luck: the Arab spring happened. (Syria)

(69) "… In 1948, *thanks God*, history gave us a gift: We got our own country. …" (Israel)

(70) *It's not coincidence that* abusive head injuries peak in the first few months of life when babies typically cry the most. (Child abuse)

(71) it is not even clear that Mr Kan will get emergency budgets approved by the Diet, *let alone* be able to promote decentralisation and sound energy initiatives. (Japan)

4.5 Pattern E: Further devices

In this Subsection certain grammatical constructions are presented that tend to co-occur with evaluative expressions: conditional and comparative constructions, oppositions and expressions with an inherent evaluative meaning

4.5.1 *Patterns with conditional clauses*

Interestingly, conditional constructions have been often found in combination with copular constructions in evaluative contexts:

(72) *If anyone deserves that title* it was Mr Jobs. (Jobs)

(73) *If there's one thing online dating does better than any matchmaker or network of friends who are eager to set you up with that "someone who's perfect for you,"* it's finding you lots and lots of candidates. (Online dating)

(74) *Had it not been for that night*, he almost certainly would have been a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972. (Kennedy)

4.5.2 *Comparisons and oppositions*

Oppositions in which one element is highlighted, often in combination with copular and conditional clauses, have been also found in the expression of evaluation.

(75) The evidence of recent American foreign-policy effectiveness *isn't that* we've shot a lot of bad guys. *It's that* when our UN ambassador calls the Chinese and Russian vetoes of action on Syria "disgusting", she's speaking for the overwhelming majority of the world, and they are in the isolated minority. (Syria)

These comparative constructions and oppositions are particularly common in obituary articles. In the obituary article on Ted Kennedy in *Time* these abound, based on the obvious comparison between Ted and his brothers.

(76) Jack's death was more than a personal tragedy for Ted. It was a watershed. … It marked the beginning of his transformation into a true public figure. (Kennedy)

(77) More than either of his brothers, he took the mythology and shaped it into something real and enduring. (Kennedy)

Other comparisons in the same article are based on the opposition to other people with whom he interacted in politics or another field.

(78) But if Kennedy knew how to play ball with the other side, he also knew how to play hardball. (Kennedy)

Similarly, in the article on Steve Jobs, an attempt to explain Jobs' geniality, there is a constant, sometimes implicit, comparison between Steve Jobs and any other outstanding person in his professional field or other.

(79) *Few corporate leaders in modern times have been as dominant – or, at times, as dictatorial – as Mr Jobs.* (Steve Jobs)

(80) In those days of green-on-black displays, when floppy discs were still floppy, *he was among the first to appreciate* the potential that lay in the idea of selling computers to ordinary people. (Steve Jobs)

(81) But it was also because in an industry dominated by engineers and marketing people who often seem to come from different planets, he had *a different and much broader perspective*. (Steve Jobs)

4.5.3 *(Idiomatic) expressions with an intrinsic evaluative meaning*

To round off Section 4, I consider here other expressions found which have an intrinsic evaluative meaning: combinations of verb and complement (82–85), with a frequent negative meaning, and expressive 'asides', separated from the rest of the sentence by commas, conveying the writer's attitude on the content of what s/he is reporting (86–87).

(82) She certainly had *courage galore* (Maathai)

(83) the schedule may be *taking a toll* on their health (Night shift)

(84) Simply not sleeping when you're supposed to, or not getting enough sleep, can also *wreak havoc* with your metabolism, … (Night shift)

(85) Partly, Mr Salmond is *making mischief*: (Olympic vs Royal)

(86) Her stories of … of not allowing playdates or sleepovers or television or computer games or even school plays, *for goodness' sake*, have left many readers outraged but also defensive (Parenting)

(87) *Who knows*, there may be another people-pleaser who will thank you for it. (Overeating)

5. The place of evaluation in news magazine articles and implications for the organization of the text

Among the three functions that evaluation is used to perform, Thompson and Hunston (2000: 6) mention, together with the function of expressing opinion and that of maintaining relations, that of organizing the discourse. Although, following one view, evaluation tends to be found throughout a text rather than being confined to one particular position in it, it may also be true that in particular texts evaluation may adopt an important role by the position in which it is placed in that particular text. Sinclair (1987) states that evaluation, in writing as in speech, "tends to occur at boundary points in a discourse, thereby providing a clue to ('monitoring') its organization" (quoted in Thompson and Hunston 2000: 11). Labov (1972) sees evaluation as the most important point in a narrative besides the basic narrative clause. As such, he thinks that, although occurring throughout the whole narrative as a type of 'secondary structure' alongside the narrative structure itself, evaluation also tends to 'cluster' at various points, one of which is the 'coda', the end of the narrative, and another the 'abstract', the beginning of it.

With this in mind, the texts for the analysis of this study have been looked at in an attempt to identify possible patterns of evaluation concentrating at particular points in the texts and, possibly, at the end of them. Whereas the patterns encoding evaluative meanings seen in Section 4 commonly represent *local* devices of evaluation, seen at a microlinguistic level, here I discuss strategies having to do with the macrolinguistic structure of the text in relation to evaluation. The following questions are taken as a guide for the analysis deriving from this Section: (a) How does the position of evaluative expressions relate to the overall organization of the text?, and (b) do these expressions systematically occur at boundary points of the discourse as has been suggested (cf. e.g. Thompson and Hunston 2000)?

After the examination of the articles from the corpus, it seems to be the case that in *a few* texts the concentration of evaluation in terms of personal judgements given by the writer is found towards the end of the text. A case in point is the article on overeating, from which I reproduce here the last paragraph, with the evaluative expressions in italics:

(88) *So*, *especially* for people-pleasers with weight problems, *it might be a good idea* to be more conscious of eating habits in social situations. *Just* remember, *there's no harm in* passing up that extra cookie. *Who knows*, there *may* be another people-pleaser who will thank you for it.

However, in other texts the tendency is not so clear. Of the 30 texts, only in seven does evaluation seem to concentrate towards the end (last or last two paragraphs), whereas in two more texts, evaluation tends to cluster in the penultimate paragraph. This, in my opinion, is not a significant number to make any concluding generalization. A greater number of texts would be needed to investigate the real impact of this factor on the building of this type of text.

The opposite tendency – that of finding a cluster of evaluative devices at the beginning of the text, the 'abstract' in Labov's (1972) terms – is also a possibility. The following example:

(89) Spending four days on a crowded, grubby train as it trundles over 4,200 kilometres, past 615 stations, and through eight states in India, *is a lesson in endurance.* (India)

is the very first sentence of a text providing an, at least in part, subjective picture of the experience of travelling on a long-distance train crossing a large part of India. By choosing the evaluative expression to initiate his/her account, the author of the article provides the main idea summarizing his/her main impression that such a trip may have, for the first time, on a westerner.

Evaluation in news magazines not only expresses the writer's judgements but can also be used to report someone else's opinion. At points in the text where these third party's opinions are given, there is also a concentration of evaluative expressions. A common device here is the use of direct speech with inverted commas or reported speech associated with a use of *that*-clauses. A case in point is the article on gay marriage, particularly rich in evaluative expressions reporting a third person's (or third persons') judgement, from which the following paragraph has been extracted:

(90) *But* for many, including Mohler, the *worst* aspect of the case was the *sweeping* language with which Reinhardt *dismissed* the gay-marriage opponents' reasons for passing Prop 8. The judge called it *little more than bigotry*. "*The most important issue for me, the most troubling*," Mohler says, "is the conclusion that anyone who wants to defend traditional marriage does so *out of animus against others*. *That is neither true nor fair*. And *it's the kind of judicial reading of motivations that* leads to courts ruling on areas outside their area of knowledge or expertise."

5.1 Evaluative markers that help organize the discourse

Another reflection of how evaluation may be used to perform discourse-organizational function is how certain evaluative elements act as guiding elements for the reader to better interpret the structure of the text. There may be a combination of functions being performed by a single instance of evaluation, such as the expression of the writer's judgement with that of organizing the discourse (cf. Thompson and Hunston 2000: 6). In the remaining of this Section, I discuss some examples of this phenomenon from the corpus.

With the use of items such as *one* (implying that other cases are going to come), *(an)other* and *further*, followed by a general word, the writer may organize the information s/he wants to present in his/her article, grouping the items of information that belong together and assigning the right importance to one of them. For instance, in (91) the writer chooses the expressions *one problem*, *another problem* to announce to the reader the importance of a discourse topic which, once introduced, is maintained in the following discourse:

(91) Trying to capture every element of pedestrian movement in an equation is horribly complex, however. *One problem* is allowing for cultural biases, such as whether people step to the left or the right, or their willingness to get close to fellow pedestrians. [Discussion on this follows.]

[Beginning of next paragraph] *Another problem* with assuming people act like particles is that up to 70% of people in a crowd are actually in groups. [Discussion about this continues in this paragraph.] (Pedestrians)

Another pattern involves the use of certain items in evaluative structures such as *th*-clefts (4.2.1) which explicitly indicate a temporal sequencing in the story reported, or are more directly related to how the text is constructed, such as *first/second…, then, later*.

(92) The *first* thing to understand about all of Apple's portable devices – whether iPods, iPads or iPhones – is that performance is subservient to efficiency. (Tablets)

Superlatives are used in the expression of evaluation, as we saw above (4.3.1). They have also been found as mechanisms that single out an important piece of information, introduced and maintained as a discourse topic in the following discourse.

(93) But the Senate hearings on Thomas started at a particularly bad moment for Kennedy, just months after one of the *messiest* episodes in his public life. (Kennedy)

The episode mentioned in this obituary article on Ted Kennedy, from 2009, is clarified in the next sentences (five in total) and maintained in the entire paragraph.

Apart from encoding attitudinal meanings, the use of attitudinal modal adverbs (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 969f; Downing 2001) and conjunctions may also contribute to organize the discourse. In the following extract on online dating the italicized items are stance adverbs and a conjunction which the writer uses to introduce the main research questions that the study on which the story of the article is based seeks to answer:

(94) The extensive new study published in the journal *Psychological Science in the Public Interest* sought to answer some critical questions about online dating, an increasingly popular trend that may now account for 1 out of every 5 new relationships formed: *fundamentally*, how does online dating differ from traditional, face-to-face encounters? *And*, *importantly*, does it lead to more successful romantic relationships?

These items help the writer give the necessary importance to the topics associated with these questions which will be taken up again at various points in the text.

As an example containing a conjunction (*but*) with a textual function, consider the following from the Kennedy text:

(95) Over the next nine years, they had three children: Kara, Edward Jr. and Patrick. (Joan also suffered three miscarriages.) *But* by 1982, the combination of her prolonged struggle with alcohol and his infidelities led them to divorce. (Kennedy)

Not only linguistic items but also grammatical constructions involving some kind of evaluation may be used for organizing the discourse. Among these are presentative and existential constructions and other event-reporting utterances (Siewierska 1991), which 'announce' the introduction of a new discourse topic which will be maintained in the subsequent linguistic context.

(96) But regardless of whether things have gotten better or worse, *a significant problem remains*. Much of that problem may have to do with a **lack of parental understanding of infant development**.

It's not coincidence that abusive head injuries peak in the first few months of life when babies typically cry the most. "Crying makes parents very frustrated and they can sometimes lose it," says Leventhal.

But crying is completely normal for babies; that's what they do. Prevention programs that explain why babies cry and how to cope – put the baby down in a safe place and just walk away to defuse your stress – have been rolled out in North Carolina, Pennsylvania and British Columbia. (Child abuse)

In this extract, on child abuse associated with the crying of the baby in its first months of life, the use of the all-new utterance (in italics) serves to inform the reader of the existence of an important problem, not yet considered. In the following sentence, the problem (in bold) is specified, and in the following paragraphs it is further explained and its relation to the subject of the article justified.

Finally, focus constructions such as identifying constructions or *th*-clefts and *wh*-clefts can have this same discourse-organizational function. In (97), extracted from a text discussing some research into crowd dynamics and ways in which engineering firms can develop better planning of locations where crowding is expected, the writer uses one of these constructions, an identifying *th*-cleft construction with an element of evaluation, to introduce the topic of the ongoing discourse: the *haj* or Muslim pilgrimage to the Mecca.

(97) *The biggest test possible of these tools and techniques is the* haj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia that Muslims are expected to carry out at least once in their lives if they can. (Pedestrians)

The *haj* is maintained as the discourse topic in the present paragraph and the three following ones until the end of the text.

6. Conclusion

This study has investigated the expression of evaluation in weekly news magazines in English, concentrating on the parameters of good-bad, certainty and importance. Among the most common devices, grammatical ones such as the use of copular constructions and clefts, markers of modality such as attitudinal adverbs and modal verbs and the use of other patterns in combination with evaluation (like comparative structures or conditional clauses) have been considered. As lexical markers of evaluation, the use of adjectives, nouns and verbs with an intrinsic evaluative meaning is also a common and productive strategy.

In terms of the places where evaluation tends to cluster, it has not been possible to clearly demonstrate that evaluation tends to occur at boundary points in the text, such as the end position, although in a few texts this was indeed the case. Rather, in texts from news magazines evaluation seems more commonly expressed throughout the whole text. Only in a few cases was evaluation confined to certain specific places in the text, associated with the end or, less commonly, beginning of the text or at a point in the article where the writer attributes evaluation to a third party.

A further point was the identification of elements provided by the writer expressing both evaluation and contributing to the organization of the text, like signposts guiding the reader in its interpretation.

Finally, one interesting issue which this study has not addressed concerns the linguistic differences between news reports in daily newspapers and (weekly) news magazines in terms of evaluation and other aspects, although that goes beyond the scope of the present study. Most of the literature on newspaper discourse seems to have focused on the language of news reports in daily newspapers, and, although both text types do indeed share linguistic features and are by and large concerned with a relatively objective presentation of information (Biber et al. 1999: 9), it would be interesting to investigate whether and to what extent evaluation plays a more important role in the news magazines texts.

Notes

1. Although the collection was always from the online edition, some of the articles are originally presented in the print version of the news magazine.

2. With two exceptions: one text (Kennedy: see final Appendix) from August 2009 and another one from October 2010 (one of the texts on Wallenberg).

3. The information in brackets after the example refers to the key word(s) given to the article, based on its title, where the example has been extracted. In most examples – except for those where the whole text of the example deserves attention – the words related to the discussion are distinguished through italics.

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Appendix

List of texts collected and analysed

The list, alphabetically ordered, provides the date of collection of the article and key name in parenthesis (used in the examples shown in the text). Notice that only the *Time* articles regularly indicate the full name of the author of the article, whereas *The Economist* either does not mention it (in articles coming from the print edition) or only gives the author's initials.

Time

Alaskan Survives on Frozen Beer for Three Days While Stuck in Snowdrift, by Nick Carbone. December 7, 2011 (Alaskan)

As Russians Protest Vote Results, Putin Sends in the Storm Troopers, by Simon Shuster. December 7, 2011 (Russians)

China: A Top Corruption Fighter Takes Mysterious 'Stress' Leave, by Austin Ramzy. February 8, 2012 (China 2)

Does Online Dating Make It Harder to Find 'the One'? Why online dating is great for meeting lots of people, but not necessarily the one you want, by Alice Park. February 7, 2012 (Online dating)

Friendship. The Science of Animal Friendships: How Beasts Can Be BFFs. (This week's TIME cover story reveals that true friendship, marked by generosity, sacrifice and commitment, once thought to be the province of humans, exists among the lower species too.), by Jeffrey Kluger. February 9, 2012 (Animal friendship)

How People-Pleasing May Lead to Overeating. Two new studies remind us that eating habits may be strongly influenced by people around us, by Alexandra Sifferlin. February 2, 2012 (Overeating)

Israel. The Art of Nazi Hunting: How Israel's Mossad Found Adolf Eichmann, by Karl Vick. February 9, 2012 (Israel)

McDonalds's Latest Makeover: Good Intentions or Bad Spin? Incremental health improvements are still progress, no matter how calculating the hamburger giant might be, by Josh Ozersky. December 7, 2011 (McDonalds')

Parenting. Tiger Moms: Is Tough Parenting Really the Answer? by Annie Murphy Paul. January 20, 2011 (Parenting)

Study: Child Abuse Affects More U.S. Kids than SIDS. (Parents are usually the perpetrators of abuse, largely because they are unprepared to deal with kids' crying. How a little education could help reverse the trend.), by Bonnie Rochman. February 6, 2012 (Child abuse)

Ted Kennedy, 1932–2009: The Brother Who Mattered Most, by Richard Lacayo. August 26, 2009 (Kennedy)

The Gay-Marriage Decision: Is It Too Narrow to Reach the Supreme Court? by Michael A. Lindenberger. February 7, 2012 (Gay marriage)

When Is an iPad Not an iPad? When It's Sold in China, Says Court, by Matt Peckham. December 7, 2011 (iPad)

Why American Presidents (and Some Oscar Winners) Live Longer, by Maia Szalavitz. December 7, 2011 (American Presidents)

Why Working the Night Shift May Boost Your Risk of Diabetes, by Alice Park. December 7, 2011 (Night shift)

The Economist

China: The paradox of prosperity. For China's rise to continue, the country needs to move away from the model that has served it so well. Jan 28th 2012 (China)

Crowd dynamics. The wisdom of crowds. The strange but extremely valuable science of how pedestrians behave. Dec 17th 2011 (Pedestrians)

Electric cars. Hiriko vert, by C. F. Jan 27th 2012 (Electric cars)

Japan's unhelpful politics: Rebuilding Japan – or ruining it. A precarious future for the country, but its politicians are self-absorbed. Apr 28th 2011 (Japan)

Olympic Britain v royal Britain.The risks and rewards of hosting the 2012 Olympics and a royal jubilee in austerity Britain. Dec 31st 2011 (Olympic vs. royal)

Pollution in the Netherlands: Dirty dikes. The green image of the Dutch is at odds with the reality. Feb 4th 2012 (Netherlands)

Raoul Wallenberg: Remembering Raoul by A.L.B. Oct 15th 2010 (Wallenberg)

Remembering Raoul Wallenberg: A necessary example of tolerance, by A.L.B. Feb 1st 2012 (Wallenberg)

Riding India's railways: All aboard the Vivek Express, by A. R. (DIBRUGARH to KANYAKUMARI). Feb 1st 2012 (India)

Scientific publishing: The price of information. Academics are starting to boycott a big publisher of journals. Feb 4th 2012 (Publishing)

Steve Jobs: A genius departs. The astonishing career of the world's most revered chief executive. Oct 8th 2011 (Steve Jobs)

America, Syria and the UN: This is what foreign-policy success looks like, by M. S. Feb 7th 2012 (Syria)

Tablet computers. Difference Engine: The iPad's third coming, by N. V. Dec 2nd 2011 (Tablets)

The hopeful continent: Africa rising. After decades of slow growth, Africa has a real chance to follow in the footsteps of Asia. Dec 3rd 2011 (Africa)

The nature of humanity: What's a man? Studies of brain genetics are starting to reveal what makes humans human. Feb 4th 2012 (Humanity)

Wangari Maathai: Wangari Maathai, Kenyan environmentalist and political activist, died on September 25th, aged 71. Oct 8th 2011 (Maatthai)

CHAPTER 17

Evaluative phraseological choice and speaker party/gender*

A corpus-assisted comparative study of 'register-idiosyncratic' meaning in Congressional debate

Donna R. Miller and Jane H. Johnson**

This chapter continues investigation into register-idiosyncratic features of evaluation in parliamentary debate (Miller 2007; Miller and Johnson 2009a, 2014), reporting findings regarding the phraseology *it is * time to/for/that* in a corpus of US congressional speech on the Iraq war. Quantitative data are tested for saliency against both general and political corpora. Qualitative analysis focuses on the enactment of APPRAISAL systems (Martin and White 2005). Methodology involves "shunting" (Halliday 2002 [1961]: 45), and a focus on "coupling" (Martin 2000: 163–164) which affords attitude (Martin and White 2005: 62 ff.; Miller and Johnson 2014). The chapter examines how appraisers' choices are affected by party/gender, recognizing that choice may transcend register boundaries due to both the 'repertoire' of the individual and his/her ideologically saturated 'reservoir' of culturally specific ways of meaning (Martin 2010: 23).

1. Situating the study

1.1 Preliminaries

This chapter must be seen in relation to the series of studies we have been performing into what we have called the *register-idiosyncratic* features of evaluation and stance in the political-institutional register of congressional debate, using APPRAISAL systems, as these have been modelled within Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL).[1] Our research fully supports the Hallidayan standpoint on the need to conflate linguistic theory and practice, but treatment of its ample theoretical underpinnings here is necessarily constrained.[2]

The chapter is structured as follows: in the next 3 sub-sections we 'situate' the study, in terms of the research questions and issues involved, our methodology and vis-à-vis the research design, focussing on the corpus/corpora being probed. In Section 2 and 3 selected results of our quantitative and qualitative investigation into the phraseologies *it is * time to/ for/ that* are offered and, in closing, we offer some parting thoughts on what we have done, but also failed and/or still need to do.

1.2 Aim(s) and issues

This most recent investigation in our research aimed to further test the central, and thus far tenable, hypothesis that certain choices in evaluative "ways of saying and meaning" (Hasan 1984) might just be *register-idiosyncratic,* though possibly transcending register boundaries. Indeed, our choice of the term, idiosyncratic, rather than the more usual 'specific', is meant to acknowledge the typical overlap in words and meanings of various registers, or what might be termed their 'hybridity'. The hypothesis is clearly rooted in the correlation between lexicogrammatical choice and register, with register being "defined as the local resetting of the global probabilities of the system" (Halliday 2002 [1996]: 408), due to situation-specific conditionalization (Matthiessen 1993), and focus being on "what choices in meaning call on what features in the grammar for their realization" (Halliday 2002 [1984]: 310).

Our global objectives also include: adding to the results of myriad prior studies of function 'bundles' (Halliday 2002 [1985]: 262), or 'clusters', as these relate to register (e.g. Biber and Conrad 1999; Biber et al. 1999; Partington and Morley 2004; Hyland 2008); adding to our growing typology of preferred resources for evaluation and intersubjective positioning in *this* register, and so also ultimately contributing to the modelling of its cline of instantiation concerning 'stance' (Martin and White 2005: 164; and see Thompson, and Macken-Horarik and Isaac, this volume).

More 'local' aims include, beyond seeing if patterns and their prosodies prove statistically 'salient', qualitatively ascertaining to what extent speaker voice and value position distinctions may depend on both who is doing the appraising (e.g., identifying variations according to gender and socio-political positioning (cf. Bevitori 2007, 2010; Miller and Johnson 2009a, 2014), and who/what is being appraised. In more recent theoretical Bernstein-inspired terms, one speaks of investigating speaker 'individuation' and 'affiliation', according to which phraseological instantiation is seen as being activated by (and perhaps also transcending register boundaries due to) the identity-linked 'repertoire' of the individual, as well as his/her cultural identity, or 'reservoir' of culturally aligned/affiliated ways of saying/meaning (Martin 2010: 23).[3] We choose to view these in terms of characteristic (individual/cultural) semantic styles (Hasan 1984).

One needs to keep in mind, however, that ideologically saturated evaluative choices, as is true of all systemic choices, can be motivated by factors that also motivate selections in other systems (e.g. Coffin and O'Halloran 2005) and that such choices also influence others at a local level, irrespective of register variety (Tucker 2006: 963). In addition, such choices can also be said to "choose the speaker" (Thompson 2014: 39), i.e. to influence how s/he will speak. That is, certain contexts typically oblige certain meanings and wordings to be made.

Clearly the issues to be engaged with in tackling the questions before us are both intricate and to some extent indeterminate. But this is an inevitable part of what must be a dynamic, and so necessarily touch-and-go, process of corpus-assisted language (and register) description. And yet, as Halliday assures us, "[s]ystemic grammatics is not uncomfortable with fuzziness. […] it is an essential property that a grammatics must have if it is to have any value for intelligent computing" (2002 [1996]: 417).

1.3 Methodology

Our work focuses on the investigation of certain phraseologies which were found to be frequent in our corpus. Phraseology, the tendency of words to "go together and make meanings by their combinations" (Sinclair 1996: 82), is a phenomenon in which "meaning is attached to frequently-occurring sequences rather than to their constituent lexical or grammatical items" (Hunston 2003: 32). It has been found that certain phrases form a recognizable 'pattern' (Hunston and Francis 2000), made up of both lexical and grammatical words, whereas others feature grammatical words found to have a strong mutual attraction. Biber (2009) distinguishes between 'multiword collocations' – sequences of lexical words alone – and multiword formulaic sequences, sequences of lexical and grammatical words. Taking as our own starting point a particular formulaic sequence of essentially grammatical words, we focus in this study on how they may be seen as probabilistic for the register (cf. Halliday 1991).

The phrase we chose to concentrate on, *it is * time to/ for/ that*, occurred in a text selected at random from our corpus (following Hunston 2004) and was subsequently found to be frequent in the corpus as a whole. It became the focus of subsequent comparative, corpus-assisted investigation using primarily Wordsmith Tools 5.0 (Scott 2008) and Xaira (Burnard and Todd s.a.) and its non-obligatory, often considerably expanded, co-text was probed for probabilistic attitudinal features and evaluative patterns. No description of the ATTITUDE system will be offered here, since it is described by Thompson (this volume). However a brief word on Engagement will be given in Section 3.1 below with regard to our qualitative findings.

We may describe what we are doing as a corpus-assisted, comparative, axiological discourse analysis, working within a CADS framework (see Partington 2004: 19, and 2008 for overview) – which indeed a number of scholars have been practising for some time now (e.g. Miller 1999; Morley and Bayley 2009) – but working within the SFL perspective. More specifically, we move between software-gleaned quantitative data and qualitative approaches to evaluation enactment, requiring the compilation of specialized corpora and the use of others for comparative purposes, and a qualitative analysis of evaluation and stance, "*however* expressed in the semantics of a text" (Lemke 1990: 446–447; Miller 2006: 261). We also focus on the combination of meanings enacted through the "coupling" (Martin 2000: 163–164; Bednarek and Martin 2010: 19) of ideational meaning and appraisal, posited as inviting/affording attitude (Martin and White 2005: 62 ff.; cf. Miller 2006, 2007; Miller and Johnson 2009a, 2014).[4]

Using the corpus as an "echo chamber" (after Thompson and Hunston 2006: 13), we have purposefully "shunted" (Halliday 2002 [1961]: 45; Miller 2006: 248), not just *between* corpora, but, *within* these, from clause, or concordance line, to *co*-text, and also *con*- and *inter*-text in order to engage with "[…] the discourse background against which linguistic choices […] can be better understood" (Thompson 2008: 399; see also Thompson 2001; Miller 2006; Coffin and O'Halloran 2006; Bednarek 2008; Miller and Johnson 2009a, 2014).

The problems inherent to corpus-assisted Appraisal analysis are well-documented (also in Miller and Johnson 2009a, 2014). Indeed, as Hunston (2004) recognizes, evaluation analysis is "[…] by no means open to automation" (2004: 169), since in-built interpretation fuzziness abounds, making a close analysis of co-, con- and intertext vital. Corpus-assisted appraisal investigation therefore requires much manually-intensive probing of circumscribed amounts of text, or very 'ticklish trawling' (Miller 2000; Miller and Johnson 2009a), in order to give a sense of that 'cumulative groove' (Coffin and O'Halloran 2005: 143) of meaning patterning dynamically construed over stretches of texts – a necessary requirement for the proper identification of motivated patterns of function bundles.

We began our series of phraseological investigations by analysing our randomly chosen text, a one-minute speech given by Dennis Kucinich (Democrat representative for Ohio) on July 22nd 2003.[5] Previous research focused on phrases containing *must* (Miller and Johnson 2014), the uses of which were found to be substantially register-idiosyncratic, although parallel gender, ethnicity and political party predilections for certain ways of saying also emerged. Other, still unpublished, studies, focusing on phrases such as *it* + BE + *adjective* have also been performed (Miller and Johnson 2009b).

The phrase we are examining here is found in the opening of the speech: "Mr. Speaker, *it is time for* the United States to get out of Iraq". Before providing quantitative details however, we shall first describe the corpus and comparative corpora.

1.4 Research design and data: The corpus/ corpora

Kucinich's one-minute speech was taken from the specially compiled House of Representatives corpus (henceforth HoR), originally a subcorpus of the CorDis corpus, drawn from the complete 2003 sessions of the US House of Representatives (17 million words of raw data) as transcribed in the Congressional Record, and consisting of speeches concerning the Iraq war, thus being fully representative of congressional discourse at least as regards this topic.[6] The HoR corpus consisted of almost 1.5 million tokens and, like the rest of the CorDis corpora, was encoded according to TEI standards, PoS tagged, and XAIRA-readable.

Compilation of the HoR corpus was done by highlighting occurrences of *Iraq** in the texts and saving in electronic form the whole speech or debate containing these. A typical House of Representatives session in fact features self-contained one-minute speeches, five-minute speeches, and sixty-minute speeches, delivered by the designees of the majority and minority party leaders, as well as debates on resolutions or amendments, and other sundry business. This means that some speeches in the corpus, delivered by a single speaker, may be described as monologues while the debates are more clearly dialogic in nature.

Our corpus was compiled from the transcript of texts originally in spoken form, being examples of a 'broad transcription', distinguishing "different speakers' utterances, dividing these into sentences or prosodic units, and dividing the latter into words, with a disambiguation of homophonous elements with distinct orthographical forms" (Aston and Burnard 1998: 26). These transcriptions do not give a true representation of the event (Slembrouck 1992), having no extralinguistic multimodal information, yet this 'contaminated' text type is sufficient for our purposes (Miller 1999: 390–391), also because the speeches in the Congressional Record are better described as previously prepared, rather than transcribed from spontaneous speech.

Our main comparable corpus was the House of Commons subcorpus on the topic of Iraq (henceforth HoC), also part of the CorDis project, amounting to nearly 1 million tokens.

Other corpora were selected in order to provide benchmarks for comparison as regards written and spoken text, register-specific (political, journalistic) and general language, and language variety (UK vs. US English). These included: two other corpora from the CorDis project (PapEd – see Murphy 2009: 187 – and

PapNews: collections of newspaper editorials and news reports, respectively, from both British and US sources); a specially compiled corpus of US Presidential speeches and televised debates (PD), dating between 1961 and 2008 (Bayley 2007: 55); a subcorpus of the same (PD Part), consisting of presidential nomination acceptance speeches and debates alone, and a corpus of UK parliamentary debates (EU) (1992–1999) on the subject of the European Union. These contained on average over 500,000 tokens each. Moreover, two much larger publicly available corpora were also consulted: the spoken section of the British National Corpus (BNC – c. 10 million tokens) and the spoken section of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (CoCA – c. 80 million tokens at the time of the study).

Though relative figures per thousand words will be given in the following sections as regards quantitative findings in these corpora, quantification of evaluative mechanisms in the selected sequences in these corpora was not part of our study. Unlike HoC, which to a certain extent has also been examined for evaluative data, these corpora were merely used as a starting point for comparison of phrase occurrence with HoR.

2. The study: *it is * time to/ for/ that*: Quantitative findings

The phrase *it is * time to/ for/ that* (figures always include the contracted form *it's*) is, as the data in Table 1 clearly shows, decidedly more recurrent in spoken discourse, and particularly US political discourse.

Table 1. *it is * time to/ for/ that* across corpora

Corpus	Per thousand words (ptw)
PD ALL	0.18
PD PART	0.17
HoR	0.13
CoCA (sp)	0.04
EU	0.04
HoC	0.03
PapEd	0.01
BNC (sp)	0.01

Indeed, in some of the additional corpora the phrase is almost a mantra:

(1) Here is something that can really help our country: *It is time* for universal voter registration. *It is time* for a nationwide comprehensive health program for all our people. *It is time* to guarantee an end to discrimination because of race or sex by full involvement in the decision making process of government by those who know what it is to suffer from discrimination. And they'll be in the government if I am elected. *It is time* for the law to be enforced.
[Carter, acceptance speech, July 15, 1976]

More specifically, with reference to our main corpus for investigation here, the HoR corpus, the phrase is significantly more used by Democrats (0.15 ptw compared with 0.07 ptw for Republicans), who were of course the minority party at this point in time, and particularly by Female Democrats (0.18 ptw, compared with Male Democrats, 0.14 ptw). Moreover, it was the Female Democrats who had more to say proportionally on the subject of Iraq than any other subgroup.

The actual number of occurrences distinguished according to party and sex is shown in Table 2, with abbreviated references thus: Democrat Males (DEM M); Democrat Females (DEM F); Republican Males (REP M) and Republican Females (REP F).

Table 2. Occurrences of *it is * time to/ for/ that* in HoR

Party/Sex	**DEM M**	**DEM F**	**REP M**	**REP F**
Hits	82	33	42	2
Total	115		44	

In contrast, our main comparative corpus, HoC, shows that, while the governing party, Labour, particularly the males, had the most to say about Iraq on the whole, it was the Conservatives (total 0.06 ptw), fairly equally divided between the sexes (Males 0.06 ptw, Females 0.07 ptw), who used the phrase proportionally more (vs. Labour (0.02 ptw).

Liberal Democrat women in particular seem to feature strongly, using the phrase 0.10 times per thousand words, though in proportion they make little contribution to the HoC corpus, since they actually say very little about Iraq. When they do speak, however, they often use the phrase. To sum up then, findings demonstrate that it is a phrase typical of the Opposition.

3. The study: *it is * time to/ for/ that*: From quantitative to qualitative findings

3.1 An overview of interpersonal meanings in the corpora

The phraseologies, *it is * time to/ for/ that* act to 'up the ante' interpersonally. As noted, they are more typically chosen by members of the party in opposition, almost invariably to attack the other side and strongly critique a current state of affairs. As has been shown above, the bundles are essentially a HoR thing, and within HoR, a Democrat thing. Our focus here is thus on HoR, its Democrats, and the 33 Female Democrat instantiations of the phrases, to see if political affiliation, but also gender variables, do make a qualitative difference.

Grammatically *it is * time to/ for/ that* is a fronted highlighting of postposed Processes for the doing of which it is said to be time. Interpersonally, it is a metaphor of Mood: a declarative that proposes, typically demanding the start of (currently *irrealis*) ways of doing and so also, quite often, an end to *realis* ways of doing, or not doing.

Attitudinally all instances can be said to enact invoked, or less often inscribed, negative or positive judgement of the social sanction type: on the propriety of the doing and/or on veracity. This finding confirms previous ones regarding other phraseologies (cf. Miller and Johnson 2009a, 2014) and also on evaluation in deliberative debate generally speaking (Miller 2007). We suggest that such judgement is a textbook illustration of 'institutionalized' affect: (dis)satisfaction with the way things are (cf. Martin 2000: 147, Figure 8.1).

The ENGAGEMENT system, significantly enacted by the speakers, needs to be cursorily sketched. Drawing on the work of Bakhtin (e.g. 1981), the system models how intersubjective relations of alignment and dis-alignment are linguistically construed, negotiated (or not) and made rhetorically functional. It is concerned with speaker-hearer positioning in terms of the interrelated notions of: *heteroglossia*, i.e., the outside voices explicitly engaged with in the text; *dialogism*, or alternative positions which the text can be seen to assume or invoke; and *alignment*, i.e., what may be thought of as the 'model' or 'implied' reader or hearer, the ideal recipient whose accurate understanding every speaker always more or less imagines. Select patterns of linguistic resources realizing such positioning have been probed in an attempt at accounting for how relations of status, power and solidarity are textually enacted.

The basic distinction in the ENGAGEMENT system is two-fold: utterances that make no reference to others' voices or points of view are 'monoglossic', while 'heteroglossic' is the label given to those that do give space to dialogic alternatives (Martin and White 2005: 99–100). Monoglossic assertions, as White (2003) points out, construct the speaker as having the status and moral authority not only to assert and assess, but to do so in a way which chooses *not* to recognize, and so to suppress, alternative viewpoints. They are essentially non-negotiable (cf. note 10).

The heteroglossic category is then broken down into the contracting and expanding types, according to the degree to which utterances are closed or open to alternative speaker positions. Figure 1 roughly maps these.

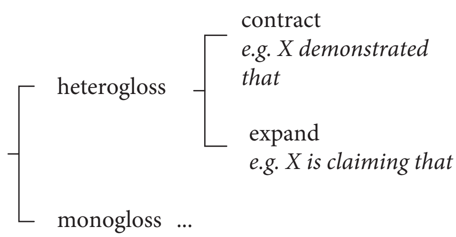

Figure 1. Engagement: monogloss vs. heterogloss: contract and expand (from Martin and White 2005: 104)

Of course this is a patent over-simplification, both of a very complex interpersonal phenomenon and of the system that has been modelled to account for it. With reference to these basic distinctions, our data reveals a significantly habitual choice for monogloss – a finding we hypothesize as being linked to the semantics of the phraseology itself – except perhaps in the case of overt subjectivization, to which we return below. Further distinctions will be glossed as they arise.[7]

3.2 What is it time for who to do?

As Martin and White (2005: 62 ff.) have noted, ideational meaning is selected by speakers with regard to the attitudes it may engender, so in this study we again focused attention on transitivity structure, experiential meaning being seen as coupling with appraisal, indeed 'inviting' or even 'provoking' it.

Let us begin with Doers. In our data, the phraseologies probed are typically followed either by explicit naming of *who* should be doing *what* or more implicit mechanisms, e.g., nominalizations and/or omitted explicitly suggested Doers, e.g.:

(2) Now, *it is time* for a little fairness and equity here (HoR, dem m)

Passive instances obscure Doers in an analogous fashion, e.g.:

(3) But *it is time* for the American people to be informed (HoR, dem m)

An initial fairly rough comparative count of Processes and participants in HoR and HoC yielded an overwhelming dominance of material Processes in both corpora, though greater in HoR: 66%, vs. 48% in HoC (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, Chapter 5, for the model of process types employed here). This finding is at least in part due to the nature of the phraseology itself: a way to urge high priority doing. It also links up to the US cultural value of *just do[ing] it*! This accent on doing is at times bumped up – in HoR only however – with an explicit 'rhetoric of anti-rhetoric' (cf. Miller 1996), another US 'reservoir' staple, which we will have more to say about below.

3.2.1 *Who should be doing the doing?*

Who should be doing the doing that is being urged is both explicitly and implicitly instanced in both corpora, explicitness being noticeably higher, however, in HoC (66%, vs. 43% in HoR).

In HoR it is mainly the House itself and/or the nation and/or its administration that is pinpointed, though this is done explicitly only in 20% of all instances. Implicit construals of HoR itself as Doer are significantly high, nearly 70% of all implicit instances, and comprise HoR itself, followed by the nation, its administration, its people etc.[8] Unsurprisingly, explicitness is dominant in the *it is * time for* phraseology – where the 'us' in 'for us', reiterated explicitly only 18 times but more often clearly implied, is easily interpretable – while implicitness, again predictably, emerges as prevailing in *it is * time to*.

There is no highly significant quantitative party and/or sex distinction with reference to explicit and implicit 'who' in HoR, excepting a slightly higher frequency of implicitness in female Democrat interventions: almost 79%, vs. almost 72% for males. Qualitatively, however, two instances may be offered to exemplify the extremes of the evaluative style cline going from (especially female) Democrat to Republican male:

(4) the American people look to us to do the job of the people and to protect and safeguard our homeland. *It is time* that our words and intentions are reflected in the amount of funds that we appropriate in the name of homeland security (HoR, DEM F)

Here, 'wishy-washy liberal' concerns, such as representing the people and being transparent and consistent, are represented. Compare the lengthy Republican male intervention that contains the (imprecise) attribution:

(5) *it is time* for the peace of our time (HoR, REP M)

Space precludes full citation of this lengthy and rambling intervention, but it works – within the co-textual analogy being drawn between (and negative judgement being passed on) the appeasing behaviour of Chamberlain vis-à-vis Hitler in 1938 and the UN's conduct vis-à-vis Saddam in 2003 – to explicitly distance the speaker from the cited concern with peace. Example (4) above is also a clear instance of the 'rhetoric of anti-rhetoric', mentioned above and discussed further below.

In contrast to HoR's striking (and once again confirmed in this corpus) self-referentiality, in HoC the finger indicating responsibility is invariably pointed outside its own boundaries, both nationally and internationally. Only twice is it the House itself that is indicated as the putative Doer. In a full 23 of the total 32 instances, the government is designated as responsible, explicitly 13 times. Three times the US is pointed to, from both sides of the House, and not favourably.

In previous studies of other phraseologies (e.g., Miller and Johnson 2014), 'who' findings have led us to suggest a then-current HoC identity crisis, predictably perhaps, considering both the subject matter and the parties in government and in opposition. With *it is * time* too there is evidence of such political insecurity: in the comparable amounts of government (and Blair)-bashing coming from both sides of the House.

3.3 Coupling evaluation and transitivity in HoR

We analyzed transitivity in the HoR Democrat instances in greater detail, sticking systematically to grammatical reactances in categorizing.[9] Grammatical metaphors of course lend themselves to diverse semantic readings, as in:

(6) *It is time* that we unite in this recognition and recognize the sacrifice that all pay for our freedom (HoR, REP M)

The first Process is classified as material, but unpacking the nominalization would give us a co-representational wording of the kind: "It is time that we all recognize…", as in the second Process, i.e. mental. Grammatical metaphor also teams up with numerous lexical metaphors to 'provoke' the evaluation being enacted in the corpus, e.g.:

(7) *It is time* to stop the roller coaster ride of the past decade and settle down into a steady forward path. (HoR, REP M)

Clearly invoked here is the speaker's negative judgement on the propriety of any sort of reckless haste.

A full 68% of all Processes construed by female Democrats were classified as material, in contrast to 58% of those chosen by male Democrats, an unexpected finding only to those who still subscribe to the folk wisdom which grants higher proactivity to males. Male Democrats construe three times the proportion of mental and relational Processes that females do, but the frequency of verbal and causative types – these last coupling with diverse Processes – is comparable for both sexes.

The topics addressed are quite similar for males and females as well; coupling these with causation, we find an unsurprising focus on making the war (and Bush policies) end and ensuring there be accountability at home and peace abroad. Examples will follow in looking at judgement of veracity below.

3.3.1 *Appraising veracity and propriety*

As said, veracity figures high on the evaluative chain of concerns. Analysis yielded over 23% of all instances of *it is * time to/ for/ that* in HoR enacting negative judgement on veracity, chiefly moral judgement on the lying (e.g. concerning WMDs) at the root of the war in Iraq – and its perpetrators. Of these, 78% have Democrat speakers. Of the Democrat instances enacting veracity, 30% are female and 23% male, so it emerges as moderately more of a female Democrat thing. Plausibly it may be seen as a marker of personal 'repertoire' too: not all Democrats choose to enact it. But it also belongs to their available 'reservoir' of culturally idiosyncratic ways of saying and meaning with reference to 'truth', as Americans first perhaps, and then Democrats (cf. Miller 2004).

Various Process types couple co-textually with such judgement, 'inviting' it. The 'who' may be explicit, as in:

(8) *It is time* for the president to swallow his pride, admit that things are not going well in Iraq and ask for international support (HoR, DEM F)

where the material Process of the grammatical metaphor is co-representational with 'be less proud', relational, and the other two processes are verbal, the first of which invokes negative judgement on veracity.

But the 'who' is more often implicit, and in co-text seems to, also implicitly, involve causation and Initiators, as in the following DEM F instances:

(9) *It is time* to get the facts (material, possibly causative + material: *time for us to get/ X to give us / for us to make X give us the facts*)

(10) *It is time* for the truth about the Iraq war to be made known (causative + mental: *that X allows Y to know*:)

(11) *It is time* for an end to the Bush administration's secrecy (causative + material: *that X may make the secrecy end*)

Male Democrat interventions also yoke various Process types to evaluation of veracity. They too often select for largely implied causation and for doings that are also conventionally metaphorical:

(12) *It is time* to stop the madness. *It is time* to hold President Bush accountable for his words and his deeds. (material: *for us to make the madness end*; and causative + relational: *for us to make Bush be accountable*)

(13) what led up to the grossly unjust 'war' in Iraq. *It is time* for Congress to shed light upon what I believe we all (material for causative + relational: *make X be known*)

(14) *it is time* to face the facts. The American people were misled (material for mental, *confron*t)

In any case, it is evident that the realized belief and value systems – the cultural reservoirs – of Democrats of both sexes emerge as being very similar indeed.

Negative judgement on propriety is also enacted by both sexes, and with reference to numerous Bush administration policies. Compare the following instances that critique the executive's policy on Iraq:

(15) *It is time* for the Administration to reexamine its policy in Iraq. *It is time* for the US to make changes to assure success (DEM F)

and the albeit less elaborated:

(16) *It is time* for the United States to get out of Iraq. (DEM M)

In (15), grammatical parallelism intensifies, i.e., 'flags' the engendered judgement (Martin and White 2005: 66), as it indeed often does in parliamentary discourse (Miller 1999, 2007).

Also compare the following pair, demanding that monies be spent on domestic needs instead – note in (18) the more generalized appropriation of a constituent's letter, with which the speaker categorically aligns himself:

(17) *It is time* for the United States to put all that money that we are spending abroad right here at home to create energy independence (DEM F)

(18) Too much of taxpayers' money has been squandered on this war already. *It is time* to hold George Bush accountable. By granting him this request, the American people, through Congress, are doing him a huge favor, and I might add, doing the American people something much less than a big favor. (DEM M)

Democrat males and females also concur on the need for the US to stop its unilateral decision-making, but more fine-tuned analysis reveals a qualitative difference that space allows us to summarize only. Females tend to enlist abstract humanistic tenets in their argumentation, notions such as duty, responsibility, sincerity, friendship and collaboration – a finding consistently emerging from our phraseology studies, and demonstrating agendas that have a longer shelf-life than is typical of transitory political scenarios (cf. Cheng 2004):

(19) I believe *it is time* for the President of the United States to take to the bully pulpit and restore the value to the United Nations, restore our friendship with the United Nations, and begin to put together before the U.N. Security Council a sincere effort, a sincere offering that we would like to collaborate in building the peace. There is no shame in working with friends or collaborating. There is no shame in promoting the United Nations (DEM F)

Compare the more to the point, indeed almost brusque:

(20) *It is time* to get the U.N. in and the U.S. out, to bring our troops home and to end this sorry exercise in preemption and unilateralism (DEM M)

Such marked 'female' humanitarianism inserts itself into the long co-existing competing US discourses of self-interest vs. the common good (Miller and Johnson 2009a), although, as Bevitori (2007) notes, it is also in evidence in certain HoC female Labour MP discourse. Further study is still needed to be able to say to what degree this gender-based finding may be fortuitous or not.

3.4 Additional specifically gendered findings

3.4.1 *The rhetoric of anti-rhetoric*

Explicitly asserting the meaning that actions speak louder, and better, than words is an overwhelmingly female Democrat thing with these phraseologies. An intensified tricolon, in which the female humanitarianism just briefly discussed also features, perfectly exemplifies the 'rhetoric of anti-rhetoric' mentioned above, which of course in itself invokes negative judgement on empty talking, and talkers:

(21) Yes, I support the Congressional Black Caucus statement of principles. I also believe *it is time* to do more than ask tough questions. *It is time* to do more than talk about the troops, as if they were some inanimate body. *It is time* to come to grips with our duty to protect the troops, not only in the field, but here at home (DEM F)

Figure 2 compares the phenomenon, first with respect to party, then gender, and finally, contrasts female incidence for both HoR parties. It clearly exhibits the degree to which female Democrats are not just more fed up with being lied to than their male counterparts but are also more sick and tired of the empty words being bandied about.

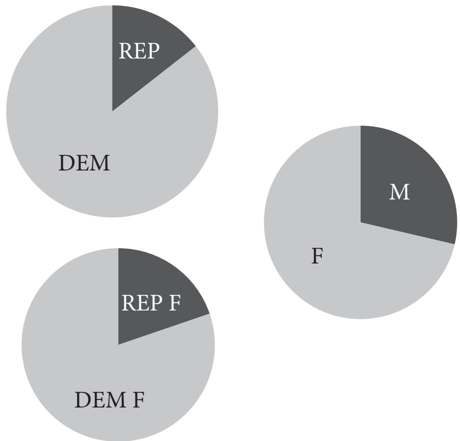

Figure 2. The rhetoric of anti-rhetoric in HoR

3.4.2 *Subjectivization*

The kind of subjective explicit metaphor of modality in evidence in the last example with 'I believe' is a mechanism that has consistently proven in our past studies to be more of a HoR than a HoC thing, more of a Democrat than a Republican thing, and most of all a female Democrat thing (see Miller and Johnson 2014). In terms of the ENGAGEMENT system, it could be seen as an expanding mechanism that 'entertains' other viewpoints. Further examples, also illustrating negative judgement on veracity/ propriety, include:

(22) And *I think it is time* to call him to account for his hypocritical comments and his effort to stifle important and legitimate debate

(23) I am proud that we will take the lead in rebuilding Iraq, but like so many Americans, *I think it is time* that we rebuild America, too

(24) *I think it is time* now that we address the inequity. *I would say it is time* we free

And yet, we suggest it is a moot point as to whether this finding is linked to what gender studies have traditionally pointed up as a penchant for less assertive and more tentative languaging on the part of females, or if, as Bevitori (2010) suggests, such subjectivity may not actually bump up the forcefulness of the proposal being made, thus heteroglossically *contracting*, rather than expanding, the speaker's positioning.[10] Intonation data would undoubtedly help to clarify the point, but in reading their stance as speakers, we need to recall that these are the voices of women with power – and that our corpus evidence shows they are not reluctant to wield it linguistically.[11]

4. Parting thoughts

In closing each of our studies of phraseologies in these corpora, we are wont to pose a question concerning our aims and results, to wit: can the findings be seen to have demonstrated what might be called 'register-idiosyncratic phraseologies'? We are also wont to answer, 'yes', but then again, 'no'.

On the affirmative side, with reference to the function bundles probed here, globally the data support that these are significantly frequent in deliberative discourse. On the other hand, it is equally evident that they are also significantly frequent in US political discourse by and large, and not just in what we might dub the sub-register of congressional debate. Another unambiguous result is that, within this sub-register, findings substantiate predilections for certain ways of meaning/saying both in terms of individual and social subjectivity (repertoire/reservoir) and in terms of party and sex, although these categories are permeable, i.e., not mutually exclusive.

Appraisal analysis has undoubtedly evinced a high incidence of the prosodic pattern of judgement across the corpora. But it must equally be recognized that congressional debate is largely *about* judging (Miller 2007; Miller and Johnson 2009a, 2014). In short, in what has perceptively been called 'deliberate dispute' (Adams 1999), this finding is only to be expected.

In addition, it is also necessary to consider the extent to which our findings to date may be skewed by the Field variable of the 2003 subject matter, combined with the specific Tenor variable of the political parties then in power and in opposition. For instance, it is unsurprising that there was a significantly high frequency of veracity evaluation given the profound lack of trust in the Bush administration's 'proof' of Saddam's having WMDs. It is also a sign of those times that the propriety of following that administration's lead was so ardently contested, and on both sides of the Atlantic.

We have also put forth, and not for the first time, an argument for gendered languaging, but one that is soundly based on quantitative data. This comprises Democrat female appraisal of veracity, their partiality to a rhetoric of anti-rhetoric and decided inclination to subjectivize the proposal that *it is * time to/ for/ that*.

So, although these findings confirm results of previous studies, we need to admit that they may have been biased by the Field and Tenor considerations put forward above. This inevitably brings us to acknowledging the need to test these findings further, and even more importantly *elsewhere*: no longer in a corpus of debates on the subject of Iraq with the political power divisions of 2003, but in corpora focusing on different subject matter in a congress and parliament with different governing parties – an outsized aim which at this point, however, strikes us as essential. Our hope, and, hunch, is that party/gender findings to date will be substantially corroborated, but nonetheless more and diversely contextualized evidence is needed. So this, ideally, is where we go from here.

Notes

* We use the terms gender and sex interchangeably, blaming the literature!

** Although this chapter is the product of continuous co-operative research and writing, Sections 1.1, 1.2, and 3 and 4 may be largely attributed to Miller, while Sections 1.3, 1.4 and 2 are to be credited to Johnson.

1. For the model see Martin and White (2005); recent examples of our applications are Miller (2007); Miller and Johnson (2009a, 2014).

2. Cf. but one recent reference for Halliday's long-standing position on 'appliable linguistics': "There is no cleavage between pure and applied in linguistics; on the contrary, each flourishes only where the other is also flourishing" (2007 [1960]: 173). For a richer theoretical panorama, as well as a description of the Contextual Configuration of this register, see Miller and Johnson (2009a, 2014).

3. We have seen, however, that in practice the two categories are not always easily distinguishable, perhaps inevitably; to be useful analytical tools, we suggest they need to be 'coupled'.

4. See Zappavigna et al. (2010) for different combinations of meanings through coupling.

5. The text of the speech itself is in the Appendix.

6. The CorDis research project was funded by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research, Ministry Protocol no. 2004105247. It focused on compiling and analysing corpora of different text types on the subject of the war in Iraq (newspapers, TV news, parliamentary sessions, and press briefings), in both English and Italian.

7. See Martin and White (2005: 134) for an overview of the more delicate options in the system of heterogloss.

8. As in past studies, implicit instances of who is responsible for doing are interpreted with reference to our knowledge of the institutional authority to do. Thus, though direct responsibility for a policy being discussed may be the US administration's, if it is a policy linked to the outcomes of the Bill being debated prior to vote, then HoR itself is included. This of course makes for multiple categories, and indeed the 'who's are 186, while the concordances are 159.

9. Grammatical reactances are criteria that help the analyst distinguish between different Process types.

10. It should also be admitted, as Marín Arrese also notes (2011), that certain aspects of the categories of expansion and contraction as modelled in Engagement are sometimes less than consistently clear-cut and fail-safe. However, we also need to acknowledge the intrinsic complexity of the resources of intersubjective stance, as well as the inherently indefinite nature of any descriptive model, which is always open to further refinement.

11. Page (2003) found, albeit in a completely different context, that females are much more subjectively explicit in the enactment of affect; though she does not explicitly locate her findings with Engagement, the implication is that such explicitness bumps up speaker contraction. Affect, however, is a sphere typically left to females, while judgement is much less so.

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Appendix

MR. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, *it is time for* the United States to get out of Iraq. But this administration, whose entry strategy was based on falsehood, with no exit strategy, has trapped our troops in Iraq and exposed them to greater harm. The total number of American casualties is now 232.

Here is what *needs to be done* diplomatically: the United Nations *must* be brought in. Negotiations for an exit *must* begin now. An exit agreement with the United Nations *must* involve the U.S. letting go of the contracting process; Halliburton, Brown and Root, et cetera. The U.S. *must* also take over the management, accounting, and distribution to the Iraqi people of the oil. Additionally, a transition from U.N. control to a self-determining governing structure by and for the Iraqi people *must* be planned. Finally, the administration, which unwisely ordered the bombing, *must* fund the reconstruction.

It was wrong to go into Iraq. It is wrong to stay in Iraq. U.S. out. U.N. in. *Let us* support our troops by bringing them home.

CHAPTER 18

Evaluation in emotion narratives

Manuela Romano

Narratives are cognitive means of organizing and constructing our experience in a particular way. In emotion narratives, narrators do more than report propositional information; they need to attract the listener's empathy and understanding. By applying sociocognitive and functional models of language and discourse (Herman 2003; Redeker 2006; Bernárdez 2008) in order to complement the Labovian approach to narratives, this study shows (i) that, in this specific text type, evaluation – the expression of the narrator's emotions – is not an independent section, but suffuses the whole texts from beginning to end, and (ii) that the recurrent linguistic and pragmatic strategies chosen in order to disclose highly personal information – discourse markers, repetitions, repairs, profusion of details, etc. – are related to the specific linguistic activity and discourse context.

1. Introduction[1]

The starting point of this work is the finding that oral narratives of highly emotional content do not show clear sections where evaluative information is included. The specific contextual features of these texts, that is, their highly emotional content in the main, but also their spontaneous character and the specificities of the discourse situation, purpose and participants, clearly influence their broken or non-linear structure, as well as the linguistic and pragmatic devices chosen by narrators to share their emotions and create a "community of shared feelings" (Martin and White 2005: 5). A narrative without evaluation clearly contains the referential meaning necessary to understand the events being recounted, but not the information that explains why the narrator is telling the story, why the events are so important for him/her and, therefore, why they are worth listening to and, hence, invite the listener to share the set of values and attitudes the narrator is disclosing.

Previous work in the field (Romano and Porto 2010, 2013; Romano et al. 2013) has shown that almost every line in these narratives seeks for the construal of understanding and empathy from the hearer, and this is the reason why evaluation is not a distinct segment in the structure of narratives, as it is in the Labovian paradigm (Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972, 1982, 2007), but is embedded throughout the whole narrative from beginning to end. Thus, the expression of the narrator's shared emotions or feelings, i.e. *evaluation*, in the texts under study becomes the backbone of the narrative.[2]

Following Martin and Rose's idea that feelings and values are negotiated with interlocutors (hearers or readers) and that interpersonal meanings are not only realized locally but tend to "sprawl out and colour a passage of discourse" (2003: 54), I show how self-disclosure, revealing information about oneself, is achieved as an interactive and dynamic process. I study how narrators of emotionally charged events set out to resolve the tension between the desire to share their experiences and the desire to protect them from others, as well as the tension between what they want to tell and the way in which the story can be told, that is, the specific linguistic and pragmatic devices speakers can choose in order to make the story come out as disclosure while building bridges with the recipient of their story. These linguistic and pragmatic resources include 'expressive phonology' (such as changes in pitch and loudness, lengthening of syllables or whole words, long pauses, deep respiration and clicks); profusion of details; repetitions, re-doings and repairings of information; the insertion of dialogue or a specific use of discourse markers, among others.

The main aim of this study is, thus, two-fold: (i) first to show the main features and broken nature of the narratives under study, and (ii) second, to describe some of the most productive strategies narrators use in order to express evaluation. In order to achieve the first objective, in Section 2, the specific features of Spanish oral emotion narratives are described and defined within a 'continuum of narratives' (Ochs and Capps 2001). And in Section 3, I analyse the structure of a prototypical sample narrative following Redeker's (2006) functional-cognitive model of discourse segmentation, especially suitable for broken or non-linear discourse. As for the second aim, Section 4 examines examples of some of the most productive linguistic and pragmatic strategies used by narrators to share emotions. Finally, Section 5 brings together the main conclusions of the work which support the approach to discourse – and more specifically to oral narratives – as a highly complex and dynamic system, in which a series of incomplete, fragmented stories compete for the hearer's attention and finally emerge into a final story through the interaction of cognitive-linguistic, discursive and sociocultural factors.

2. Data

The narratives under study belong to the Narrative, Discourse and Cognition Corpus,[3] a corpus of Spanish oral narratives recorded and transcribed from the late night radio program *Hablar por Hablar*[4] (Cadena SER radio network, 2006–2007). This program contains natural, unplanned discourse in which people feel free to talk about their most intimate worries or problems in a completely anonymous setting. Because of this last feature, the corpus does not include details about the narrators (exact place of origin, age, socio-cultural background, etc.), except their gender and that they are all native speakers of Peninsular Spanish. For the present study, 10 narratives were selected randomly from the corpus (5 told by men and 5 by women), with an average length of 491 words, including a total number of 4912 words.

In view of the specific, non-prototypical discourse context in which these narratives take place, they show some significant features that must be considered in order to better understand how evaluation is expressed through the texts.

In the first place, compared to other similar agony column radio programmes, *Hablar por Hablar* shows a particularly non-collaborative or non-interactional layout. People call either to share their problems with the listeners overtly or in response to previous callers seeking advice, but the presence of the radio presenter is barely noticeable and passive, using continuers only to help narrators proceed with their stories and decide whether they have come to an end or not. The narratives are, thus, delivered with almost no interruptions and anonymous listeners can only provide indirect feedback by calling back later during the same programme or some days or even weeks later, but the texts are only produced and listened to once. Therefore, there is no face-to-face physical interaction, no common spacial location nor shared perceptual knowledge.

Secondly, narrators and listeners in such a communicative setting are also non-prototypical discourse participants. On the one hand, narrators reveal highly personal and intimate details to strangers, and the main purpose of their narratives, i.e. seeking for empathy, help, comfort, etc., is not immediately fulfilled. On the other hand, as participants are complete strangers and have no possibility of incrementing knowledge online as in a face to face communication, the role of hearers is somewhere in between a prototypical listener feeling empathy with narrator and an overhearer, anonymously listening to a private story. Hearers can only rely on a shared collective knowledge (Shank and Abelson 1977; Herman 2003; Bernárdez 2008) to build the final emergent story.

In the third place, although the oral narratives under study are clearly monologic, they also construct dialogic relationships and so they have been defined along a 'continuum of narratives' (Ochs and Capps 2001; Romano 2008), somewhere in between monologue and dialogue, following Ochs and Capps's (2001) five parameters to define a narrative along a cline from monologic to dialogic or interactional poles: *tellability*, *tellership*, *embeddedness*, *linearity* and *moral stance*.

1. On the one hand, as in monologic narratives, the texts under study display highly *tellable* stories or events. If not, why would 600,000 people listen to anonymous stories every night from 1:30 to 4:00 in the morning? The answer lies in the highly significant character of the events, they are events that touch our lives, that are of highly personal relevance: people who suffer bullying, young people who have problems with their parents and vice versa, gamblers who have ruined their lives, all sorts of infidelities, divorces, mothers searching for children they had to abandon, and so on and so forth.
2. Also, as in prototypical monologic or default narratives, oral emotion narratives are very low in *telling* or *co-tellership*. Because of the specific contextual features mentioned above, there is only one active teller or narrator plus highly passive listeners.
3. Regarding the parameter of *embeddedness*, radio oral narratives are also closer to the monologic pole, as they are highly detached from their surrounding discourse and social context, they are not *embedded* in any kind of physical-interactional speech event; there is very little surrounding discourse, only some continuers from the presenter of the programme, as has already been mentioned.
4. On the other hand, emotion narratives are *nonlinear*, fragmented, and therefore, they come closer to the dialogic pole. Because of their emotionality and spontaneity, the structure of these narratives is continuously broken by different parenthetical material such as commentaries, digressions, flashbacks, flashforwards, etc., which are contained in the many side-stories of the narratives, as will be shown in detail in Section 3.
5. Finally, narrators carefully 'couch' the relevant information regarding *moral stance*, that is, they "construct moral frameworks for interpreting events" (Ochs and Capps 2001: 47). In oral emotion narratives, the contents and purpose of the stories clearly influence their form. Stories are full of uncertainty, self-doubt, confusion, regret, etc., expressed through a wide variety of strategies: unfinished sentences, interruptions, re-doings, pauses and contradictions, typical of dialogic discourse. The line between good and evil does not seem to be clear. Tellers call to come out with worries and feelings, without wanting to be judged about their problems, just listened to, understood.

In sum, oral emotion narratives are low in *tellership*, *embeddedness*, *linearity* and expression of *moral stance*, and very high in *tellability*. This means that, regarding their values in *tellability*, *tellership* and *embeddedness*, the texts come closer to the monologic pole. Nevertheless, they are still dialogic because of the values of the parameters *linearity* and *moral stance*, and also because of the specificities of discourse context – the layout of the radio program and main purpose of the stories – narrators feel listeners are 'present' and that their presence matters.

The fact that linguistic activity influences linguistic forms (Bernárdez 2008) and that almost all language is subjective (Langacker 1990, 1999) are shared premises within linguistics today. In this sense, the particular features of the contextual factors, and participants, together with the main purpose of the narratives influence the linguistic and pragmatic strategies used by narrators to share feelings. Examples of these strategies are: a specific narrative structure (Romano et al. 2013) and a specific use of structural and modal discourse markers which help to guide the listeners' attention throughout the different stories (Romano and Porto 2010, 2013; Cuenca et al. 2011), among other strategies discussed in Section 4.

Finally, even though some of the features of the narrative texts under study clearly depart from those of prototypical Labovian narratives, they are still narratives. The sequential and causal order of the events being told is continuously broken, but hearers can still make sense of the stories by using other linguistic and pragmatic devices provided by the narrator. Moreover, a narrative's main function or purpose, that of telling a story and making sense of the world through it, is also at the heart of emotion narratives.

In order to understand how evaluation sprawls through the whole text, let us, first, have a closer look at a prototypical narrative from the corpus, that of HbN3: '*Hijo no quiere salir*' (Son won't go out).

3. Sample narrative '*Hijo no quiere salir*'

Previous work in the field has shown that in oral emotion narratives the evaluation section is completely scattered through the structure, from beginning to end (Romano 2008; Romano et al. 2013). The narratives under study, therefore, depart from Labov and Waletzky's (1967) model of narrative structure found in more prototypical – less emotional – narratives of personal events.

Labov and Waletzky (1967) point out that of the six different sections they devised (see Figure 1) only the four central ones (orientation, complication, evaluation and resolution) are essential parts in every narrative.

However, of these four, evaluation is the definitional core of an oral narrative of personal events, in particular when the events recounted are of a highly emotional nature. A narrative formed by an orientation, a complication and a resolution contains the referential information necessary to understand the events being

1. Abstract: What is the story about?
2. Orientation: Who, when, what and where?
3. Complication: And then, what happened?
4. Evaluation: And so what?
5. Resolution: Then, what happened in the end?
6. Coda: Signals the end of the story

Figure 1. Labov and Waletzky's six sections of a prototypical narrative

told, but it is in the evaluative sections or commentaries that we find the reasons for telling the story; that is, the main point of the narrative.

Even though some of these sections can be easily identified in the oral emotion narratives under study, namely a beginning or onset, an orientation, and a complication (Romano et al. 2013), these sections are always broken into several subsections and often overlap, whereas evaluation, the backbone of the narrative, is scattered throughout the whole text. The methodological tools provided by Redeker's (2006) functional-cognitive model are much more flexible than those provided by the Labovian paradigm, and thus more appropriate to explain the broken, non-linear structure of emotional narratives. Redeker's model is especially useful to distinguish idea units, the internal segmental structure of the narratives and the most salient relations between those units or segments. The model differentiates paratactic and hypotactic transitions (Redeker 2006: 344). Paratactic transitions occur between segments that follow each other at the same level, i.e. one segment is completed and followed by the next one, such as end of segment (es), next segment (ns) and return to previous segment (pop). In addition, I have distinguished the opening (op) and final closure (cl) of the narratives. Hypotactic transitions involve the interruption or suspension of a segment with further digressions or interruptions, specifications, definitions, paraphrases, explications, background information, comments, repairs and quotes. Both paratactic and hypotactic transitions signal segments including feelings, explanations and self-justifications that pop into the narrators' minds as they try to organize their stories.

In this section I aim to show the global structure of a sample narrative, HbN3, a narrative told by a mother who calls the radio program because her son does not want to go out after his girlfriend died in a car accident two years ago. The text consists of 430 words segmented 17 times into 5 stories. This means that the main story (S1) is presented and resumed in 8 independent sections or chunks; sub-stories S3 and S4 in 2 sections; and S5 in 3 (see Table 1).[5]

Table 1. Structure of HbN3

S1	Main Story	'My son just won't go out'	1 / 8–13 / 19 / 24–26 / 35 / 44 / 47–51 / 54
S2	Background information	'His girlfriend died in a car accident two years ago'	2–6
S3	Purpose for calling	'I don't know what to do, I need help'	7 / 14–17
S4	Expanding information	'We have a very close relationship, we talk a lot'	18 / 27–34
S5	Expanding information	'He is a very good, hardworking son that helps us at our country house'	20–23 / 38–43 / 52–53

In the English version of the structure of HbN3 (Example (1)), we can see the different stories, as well as the (discourse) markers that signal paratactic transitions (in italics); that is, the opening (op) of the narrative, the opening of the different side stories or next segments (ns), the end of these segments (es) and, finally, the returns to the previously opened narrative sections or spaces (pop).[6]

(1)[7]

1	*I*'ve got a son who … (click)	S1	op
2	*well, it's now* … *about* two years since he had a … a girlfriend.	S2	ns
3	They were going to get married and … had already everything		
4	and it turns out that … mmm… the day before Epiphany (deep breath)		
5	well in the car she was		
6	and … she had an accident and died.		es
7	*I'd like to* know what …	S3	ns/es
8	*Because* there is no way to get him out … since then	S1	pop
9	He's absolutely mmm … inside the house,		
10	he doesn't want to go out (deep breath),		
11	he's very anxious		
12	and … and it's always the same		
13	and there's no way (deep breath).		es
14	*Then I'd like to mmm* …	S3	pop
15	let's see if he can go out … and mmm …		
16	then he I do think that then if …		
17	if he met a good girl that he … he liked,		es
18	*Because* I speak a lot with him … and he and … mmm … tells me … (click)	S4	ns/es

19	*But* … there is no way to make him go out nor … (deep breath).	S1	pop/es
20	*And* it's a pity	S5	ns
21	*because* he's mmm … such a good son,		
22	he's an angel (deep breath),		
23	very hard working … (stutters),		es
24	*But* no… no… no… he doesn't want to go out,	S1	pop
25	he's anxious, always the same, thinking … (sigh)		
26	and there is no way.		es
27	*I do* speak a great lot with him (deep breath)	S4	pop
28	And I tell him "but come on, it's about time to …" mmm … well for him to have a girlfriend.		
29	He's 38 years old (deep breath)		
30	And he says that … that		
31	"Yes, if I … but if I meet a good girl" (deep breath)		
32	"But …, it's only that. but if you don't go out how will you meet her if the g …		
33	"Here, here she won't come to pick you up" (deep breath)		
34	"I see but, … it's only that I don't …"		es
35	*There's no way*… there's no way that he goes out and mmm …	S1	pop/es
36	*I would like* to know well what …	S3	ns
37	what can I do to make him go out		es
38	*We do* have a very big garden	S5	pop
39	His father and I, he doesn't let us do a thing		
40	He does everything … (deep breath),		
41	he cleans the swimming pool …, mows the lawn …		
42	He does everything.		
43	He doesn't (stutters), he doesn't think more than that		es
44	*I mean, but* about going out and so, nothing.	S1	pop/es

(RP) What was he like before the accident? [8]

45	Well he is joyful … and … and so and *mmm* ….		
46	He used to have friends and …		
47	*But now mmm no*,	S1	pop
48	it's only that he's not the same.		
49	No, no, there's no way.		
50	He gets into his room and so (deep breath).		
51	When he just finishes mmm … being in his …		es

52	*He* doesn't even let us take out the garbage (*very fast*).	S5	pop
53	He takes it out, he … waters the plants. He's always busy.		es
54	*and* … he thinks about nothing else.	S1	pop/cls

The main structural features of the emotional narratives (Romano and Porto 2010; Romano et al. 2013), closely related to their high level of spontaneity and the emotionality of their contents, are:

1. Narratives are highly fragmented. Narrators continuously leave or interrupt the temporal and causal line of the texts with different parenthetical material, such as commentaries, digressions, flashbacks, feelings, etc., contained in the different stories and sub-stories. These narratives, therefore, enclose many markers of doubt, recapitulation, regret, etc., containing their most inner feelings, as will be shown in Section 4.
2. The beginning of these narratives is usually delayed by markers functioning as stallers, which help the narrators organize their ideas and gather strength before they start the narration of the painful events. Repetitions, re-doings, clicks and audible breaths thus accumulate in the opening sections. In the sample narration HbN3 the narrator enters directly into the main story, but after only 4 words she stops and interrupts the segment with a pause followed by a discourse marker (*bueno* 'well') and a non-linguistic marker, in order to reorientate her thoughts and speech (*Tengo un hijo que…* (click)…*bueno…*) 'I have a son that … (click) … well…') in lines 1–2.
3. Closings are also quite vague. In the sample narrative, the closing is the utterance *y… no piensa en otra cosa* ('and… he thinks about nothing else') (line 54), which refers to the central topic or problem of this narrative: her son doesn't want to go out. This phrase represents the narrator's main aim for telling her story. It is the 'narrative anchor' (Dancygier 2007); that is, the main idea that helps to keep the main story together in spite of all the interruptions and is repeated – in different wordings – 17 times throughout the narrative (lines 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 19, 24, 26, 32, 35, 37, 44, 49, 50 and 54). Closings in emotion narratives are also evaluative in the sense that the purpose for calling the radio program is not always clear even to the narrator: to let out feelings, searching for understanding, help, etc. We only know that the narrative has ended because there is a very long pause and the journalist asks speakers directly whether they have finished.
4. Internal segments or sub-stories are more clearly marked than openings and closures. As mentioned before, different narrative spaces or sub-stories are continuously interrupted and left open by introducing new spaces or stories and by resuming stories left behind. In order to guide the listeners through

this chaotic structure and call their attention, narrators use different strategies such as deictic changes and explicit phrases, in addition to discourse markers. In HbN3 the main story (S1) is interrupted six times, in lines 2, 14, 20, 27, 36 and 52; and the transition to a different sub-story is always clearly marked: *hace ya como dos años* ('about two years ago'), *y entonces* ('and then'), *y* ('and'), *yo sí* ('I do') and *él no* ('he doesn't'). The closings of these sub-sections are signalled by different means, among them intonation, in lines 6, 18, 23, 34, 43 and 53, respectively. S1 is resumed again by means of various markers: *porque* ('because') in line 8; *pero* ('but') in lines 19 and 24; *no hay forma* ('there's no way') in lines 35 and 49; *o sea* ('I mean') in line 44; and *y* ('and') in line 54.

4. Evaluation: Sharing feelings

Having described the specific features of the text type under study, let us examine the main linguistic and pragmatic resources narrators use in order to share their feelings and so involve the listener, while guiding them through their maze of thoughts or stories. In this section, examples are drawn from sample narrative HbN3, as well as from other narratives in the corpus. The main aim of these narratives, as already mentioned, is to build bridges with the recipients of their story and narrators need to vent their feelings while appealing to the listener's empathy or understanding. Thus, in addition to the highly tellable contents of these narratives a series of linguistic and pragmatic strategies will be used by narrators to determine the attainment of their goal, that is, to attract the listener's attention.

The main strategies used by narrators or speakers to express evaluation or emotion (Tannen 1989; Ochs 1989; Ochs and Schiefflen 1989; Bamberg 1997; Athanasiadou and Tabakowska 1998; Planalp 1999; Harkins and Wierzbicka 2001; Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2008, among others) include: expressive lexis and canonical phrases; expressive phonology (such as changes in pitch and loudness, lengthening of syllables or whole words, long pauses, deep respiration and clicks); profusion of details; repetitions, re-doings and repairings of information; the insertion of dialogue or a specific use of discourse markers, among others. This section illustrates some of the most evaluative and involving devices among these, which show the state of despair and confusion of narrators, namely (i) the use of pragmatic markers functioning as stallers (long pauses, deep respiration and clicks); (ii) the profusion of details; (iii) repetitions, re-doings and repairings of information, and (iv) the insertion of dialogue.

4.1 Pragmatic markers as stallers

Long pauses followed by deep breathing and all types of clicks, nervous laughs, stuttering, or sounds appear in the ten narratives under study. These pauses and markers clearly involve the listener in the story, but even more, they function as emotional stallers or delayers, expressing highly evaluative meanings such as despair and confusion. They appear throughout the whole structure of the narratives, from the opening to the end, giving narrators time to think and helping them get ready, take breath and gather strength to start the recounting of the painful events, as well as to proceed throughout the whole narrative. As already mentioned, emotion narratives have vague endings, they usually end abruptly, with a very long pause or deep breath; that is, they are left open, probably because the narrator is unsure about the reason for calling the radio or does not know where to stop nor where to head to because of the emotions involved, because the events being told are still active, or because of the passivity of the listener. We only know the radio narrative has finished because of a sudden and long silence after which the presenter decides to finish the story with a simple "Thank you, is that all"? There is no other formal sign or coda telling us the narrator has finished. As an example, see lines 1 to 23 in HbN3 (*Son won't go out*), in which the narrator uses 38 pragmatic markers of this kind: 24 medium to long pauses (1/2 second or more), 2 clicks, 5 deep breaths or sighs, 1 stuttering and 6 interjections or 'mms', in 23 lines, 197 items. This means that 19.2% of the words/items in the text are pragmatic, all indicating evaluative comments or emotions.

4.2 Profusion of imagery and details

A second recurrent strategy used by narrators to call the hearer's attention is the profusion of imagery and details. As mentioned, narrator and listener are complete strangers, and therefore the narrator has to provide the listener with the background knowledge necessary to understand the current state of affairs of the story, as well as the emotional response to it by the narrator. This is why emotion narratives are usually full of details regarding who, when, what and where. The insertion of details by the narrator, even though presented in a non-linear, chaotic way, has thus a double function: first, to be properly understood and second, to involve the listener in the emotional plot from the very beginning of the recount. Details, writes Tannen (1989: 135), "create images, images create scenes and scenes spark emotions, making possible both understanding and involvement". Images, in addition, provide a space for internal evaluation, they lead listeners to the conclusions that narrators want them to understand, to the way the speaker wants to present his or her self-image to the hearer. As we know, helping the audience make their own interpretations through images is much more effective than stating meaning in a more neutral, expository style.

Details, then, that might seem irrelevant to listeners at first sight are performing different functions or purposes (Tannen 1989: 140), from setting the scene of the events, contributing to the main point of the story, to providing a sense of credibility and giving the 'desired' or 'appropriate' self-image of the narrator. In the case of lines 18 to 29 from HbN4 (*Natalia gave her son for adoption*), Natalia 'literally' takes the listener straight into the hospital room where her son was born 18 years ago. The listener is told, with great precision, about both the external situation being evaluated (exact day, time, rainy weather, baby's eyes, etc.) and the internal feelings of narrator (her sadness, loneliness, etc.).

(2)

18 I mean, the day I gave birth, I couldn't leave my son …
19 It was a *Sunday, 24th of April*,
20 I was *alone*,
21 in the *hospital*,
22 ehh … and it was *raining*,
23 it was a *rainy day*
24 and at *quarter to three* well, my son was born,
25 and … a *beautiful boy*
26 he had such a *look*, Paqui,
27 his *eyes* … wanted to conquer the world,
28 and I couldn't, I couldn't, I couldn't let them take my son away on that day
29 and I kept him with me for *1 month and 8 days*.

4.3 Dialogue

A third strategy, closely related to that of evoking imagery and scenes, is the use of reported speech or dialogue. The narrator creates a dynamic, interactive setting by giving voice to different people or actors. Again, this is a way of presenting events and their emotional implications for the narrator in a subjective way. As in the case of details, conveying ideas as dialogue rather than statements creates dramatic tension that helps to frame information more effectively and enhance the feelings behind the events being recounted. Examples can be seen in narrative HbN3, lines 31–43, and in HbN1 (*Miriam is with a married man*), lines 50 to 65 below. In this reported dialogue, we can 'feel' the emotions and tension of both women who, after sharing the same man for fifteen years, decide to continue with the same life and man:

(3)
50 And then well she said to me well
51 "*I don't know oh, I'm a bit suspicious*
52 *and I wanted to ask you if you are sleeping with my husband*" (click)
53 I, the answer I gave her was well that, and well that,
54 without saying clearly mmm things well mmm,
55 we told each other everything with our eyes.
56 She says "*you stand in my place*".
57 And I say "*and you in mine*".
58 We gave each other a hug
59 and things remained there.
60 I deduced that the few words were unnecessary.
61 And, and when I to him, when I went downstairs I told him
62 "*look, this is what has happened*",
63 I mean, "*if now when you go upstairs she says something to you,*
64 *well you need to know what it's all about*".
65 And she didn't say anything.

4.4 Repetitions and repairs

For the last 30 years scholars have insisted on the fundamental character of repetition in discourse (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Hymes 1981; Tannen 1989). Many of the functions of the fixed or formulaic language studied by these scholars, such as facilitating discourse production, comprehension, connection, interaction and involvement, are present in the emotion narratives analysed. Nevertheless, in addition to the above functions, we find others which are specifically related to the purpose of creating interpersonal involvement with the listener. Repetitions and repairings of information, in these narratives, usually serve as a resource for the narrator to gather time and strength to formulate the contents of the events, and to keep the narrative process going in spite of the difficulties coming from the disclosure of the painful and personal events being told and the impersonality of the speech setting (Section 2). Again then, as pragmatic markers, these linguistic strategies serve an evaluative function, that of presenting or couching the information to be given in the desired way, making the point of the narrative clear, while attracting the listener's attention towards the most salient narrative segments.

In this sense, it is interesting to see how the utterance *y no hay forma* ('and there is no way'), repeated – with the very same words – up to seven times in HbN3, is the main topic or narrative anchor (Dancygier 2007) of the narrative: the fact that the narrator's son does not want to go out is almost formulaic, functioning as an internal transition or structural marker, as a return (pop) device in lines

8, 19, 24, 35, 49, and as section closer in lines 13 and 26; but functioning, above all, as a modal marker expressing the narrator's desperation. As an example of a concatenation of repetitions (italics), re-doings and repairings ([..]) see below, lines 36–52 in HbN4.

(4)
36 *I hope* [..]
37 *I don't hope* he's had a lot of money
38 *I don't hope* [..]
39 *I just hope* he's been happy.
40 Because *the day* I see him, it's the first thing I'm going to ask him …
41 That at least this sacrifice *has been* … *has been* worth it
42 And tomorrow then I'm going to [..] to take him [..]
43 Because I already told them.
44 "*The day* he's 18, he'll have *a letter* there".
45 They have to do everything possible to get *the letter* to that kid.
46 And I as well … to take *a letter* to him
47 explaining the present situation,
48 what my life is like,
49 tell him he has a sister …
50 *and* … *and* if he wants to ha [..] talk to me,
51 I am here to explain anything to him,
52 and with my arms wide open.

Especially interesting are the repetitions of *I hope*, *day* and *letter*. Like the expression *and there's no way* (HbN3), they function as narrative anchors of the story (Dancygier 2007). These words encompass the narrator's feelings and anxiety of the last eighteen years: hoping she made the right decision, waiting for the day her son is 18, and giving him 'the' letter she's imagined writing so many times with all her emotions, explanations, justifications, etc.

5. Conclusions

This study has shown, first, that in oral emotion narratives, evaluation is not a distinct section, but permeates the whole texts from beginning to end. This is why a more flexible model of discourse structure such as Redeker's (2006) is more appropriate for the description of these texts. Second, it has shown that the highly emotional contents of the radio narratives, as well as their naturalness, explain their distinctive features – their non-linear, fragmented structure – as well as the recurrent linguistic and pragmatic devices used by narrators to share their feelings:

profusion of pragmatic markers, details, dialogue, repetitions and repairs, in the main. The idea that linguistic activity and use influence the choice of linguistic form and structures has thus been corroborated.

The apparent contradiction between the clarity and coherence tellers need to make their stories clear and the complexity of perspectives that are opened as soon as the evaluative/emotional contents enters narrators' minds can be understood by comparing these narratives to the behaviour of synergetic complex systems, always changing unpredictably, depending on the interaction of their more external socio-cultural parameters – the specificities of the discourse context – with their more internal cognitive-linguistic parameters – linguistic and pragmatic strategies.

In short, this study aims to throw light on how we talk about ourselves, our society and our culture by bringing together work within socio-cognitive and functional models of language and discourse.

Notes

1. This study has been carried out under the funding of research project FFI2009-13582/FILO, Spanish Ministry of Education and Science and FFI2012-30790 MINECO.

2. Similar concepts to evaluation are involvement (Tannen 1989) or affect (Martin and White 2005).

3. *Narrative, Discourse and Cognition* (FFI2009-13582) Research Project.

4. Which could be roughly translated as 'Talking for the sake of talking'.

5. In fact, each of them could be further segmented in a more fine-grained analysis.

6. A detailed analysis of the structure of these texts can be found in Romano et al. (2013), and analyses of the specific discourse markers which help to guide the listener's attention, in Romano and Porto (2010), Romano and Porto (2013) and Cuenca et al. (2011).

7. Original texts of all the narratives are in the Appendix. Narrations are presented in a structured format, roughly one idea and intonational unit per line.

8. (RP) stands for radio presenter. Notice that lines 45 and 46 have not been included in the analysis since they correspond to a direct answer to presenter's question. The narrator, immediately after line 47, returns to her story.

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Appendix (original Spanish texts)

Example (1): HbN3, *Hijo no quiere salir*

1 *Tengo* un hijo que… (click)

2 *bueno, hace ya… como* dos años que tenía una … una chica.
3 Se iban a casar y … ya tenían todo
4 y resulta de que mmm… la víspera de Reyes (respiración)
5 pues iba en el coche ella
6 y … tuvo un accidente y murió.

7 *Quería* saber a ver que …

8 *Porque es que* no hay forma de sacarle de casa… desde entonces.
9 Está totalmente mmm… metido en casa,
10 no quiere salir (respiración),
11 está agobiadísimo
12 y … y siempre igual
13 y no hay forma (respiración).

14 *Entonces yo quería que mmm …*
15 a ver si puede salir … y mmm …
16 ya él yo ya creo que ya si…
17 si encontrara una buen chica que le… le gustara,

18 *Porque* yo hablo mucho con él … y él y … mmm … me cuenta (click)

19 *Pero* … no hay forma de hacerle salir a ningún sitio ni … (respiración).

20 *Y* es una pena
21 porque es mmm… un hijo tan bueno,
22 es un cielo (respiración),
23 muy trabajador… (titubea),

24 *Pero* no… no… no… no quiere salir de casa,
25 está agobiado, siempre lo mismo, pensando … (suspiro)
26 y no hay forma.

27 *Yo sí* hablo muchísimo con él (respiración)
28 Y le y le digo “Pero bueno, ya es hora de que …” mmm … pues tenga una chica.
29 Tiene 38 años (respiración)
30 Y dice que … que
31 “Sí, si yo … pero si encuentro una buena chica” (respiración)
32 “Pero … es que, pero si no sales de casa cómo la vas a encontrar si la chi…
33 “Aquí, aquí no va a venir a buscarte” (respiración)
34 “Ya pero … es que no …”

35 *No hay forma*, no hay forma de que salga y mmm …

36 *Me gustaría* saber a ver qué …
37 qué puedo hacer para que salga.

38 *Si* tenemos una parcela muy grande.
39 A su padre y a mí no nos deja que hagamos nada.
40 Él lo hace todo … (respiración)
41 limpia la piscina …, siega el césped …
42 Hace todo.
43 No (titubea), no piensa ná más que en eso,

44 *O sea*, pero de salir y de eso nada.

(RP) ¿CÓMO ERA ANTES DEL ACCIDENTE ÉL?

45 Pues él es alegre … y… y eso y mmm.
46 Tenía amigos y …

47 *Pero ahora mmm no*,
48 es que es no es el mismo.
49 No, no, no hay forma.
50 Se mete en su habitación y así (respiración).
51 Cuando ya termina de mmm … estar en la …

52 *No* nos deja ni sacar la basura a la calle (muy rápido).
53 Él la saca, él … riega … Siempre está liao …

54 *Y* … no piensa en otra cosa.

Example (2): HbN4, *Natalia dio a su hijo en adopción*

18 O sea, yo el día del parto no me pude separar de mi hijo …
19 fue un *domingo 24 de abril*.
20 Yo *sola* …

21 en el *hospital* …
22 ehh… y *llovía* …
23 era un día que *llovía*
24 y a las tres menos cuarto pues nació mi niño
25 y … un niño *precioso*
26 tenía una *mirada*, Paqui …
27 unos *ojos* … se querían comer el mundo
28 y no pude … yo no pude … que me quitaran a mi niño aquel día
29 y lo tuve conmigo *un mes y ocho días exactamente* …

Example (3): HbN1, *Miriam está con un hombre casado*

50 Y luego ya pues me dijo pues
51 "*no se ay yo es que estoy un poco con la mosca detrás de la oreja*
52 *y quería preguntarte si te acuestas con mi marido*" (click)
53 Yo, la respuesta que le di pues fue tal y bueno pues,
54 sin decirnos mmm claramente las cosas pues mmm,
55 nos lo dijimos todo con la mirada.
56 Dice "*tú ponte en mi lugar*"
57 Y digo "*y tú en el mío*".
58 Nos dimos un abrazo
59 y ahí se quedó la cosa.
60 Yo deduje que las pocas palabras sobran.
61 Y, y cuando le, bajé abajo le dije a él
62 "*mira esto es lo que ha pasao*",
63 digo, "*si ahora cuando subas te dice algo,*
64 *pues que sepas por dónde van los tiros*".
65 Y no le dijo nada.

Example (4): HbN4, *Natalia dio a su hijo en adopción*

36 Espero que …..
37 yo no espero que haya tenido todo el dinero del mundo …
38 no lo espero …
39 solamente espero que haya sido feliz
40 porque el día que lo vea es lo primero que le voy a preguntar…/
41 que por lo menos este sacrificio haya sido/ … merecido la pena
42 y mañana pienso ir pues … a llevarle,
43 porque ya les dije:
44 "el día que cumpla 18 años él tiene una carta allí",
45 que hagan todo lo que sea para que él le entreguen esa carta a ese niño
46 y yo pues también de llevarle una carta,
47 explicándole cuál es la situación actual,
48 qué es de mi vida,
49 decirle que tiene una hermana
50 y … y si él quiere ten … / hablar conmigo,
51 aquí estoy yo para explicarle lo que sea
52 y con los brazos abiertos …

CHAPTER 19

Evaluative discourse and politeness in university students' communication through social networking sites

Carmen Santamaría-García

This chapter explores evaluative discourse on social networking sites (henceforth SNSs), paying special attention to the role played by the expression of attitude and positive politeness in the management of interpersonal rapport. The corpus for the study consists of a random sample of 100 messages exchanged among university students in the United Kingdom and the United States on a particular site, i.e., Facebook, during the two-year period 2010–2012. Analysis is approached from the theories of appraisal (Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2008) and politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987); and the methodology for processing the data borrows quantitative techniques from Corpus Linguistics. The findings indicate that specific contextual features of SNSs seem to trigger the production of attitudinal meanings of affect, judgement and appreciation, which are exploited for the relational work involved in the construction and maintenance of positive face.

1. Introduction and aims of the study

Social networking sites can be distinguished, as Yus (2011: 11) suggests, from other social networks on the internet as "a sub-group of all the possible scenarios available for Internet-sustained social networks." They offer distinctive features such as the display of pictures and personal data in users' profiles, prompts such as the "what's on your mind" question or the "like" button and the possibility to send text or chat messages either to selected addressees only or simultaneously to all the contacts (labeled *friends*) on a public wall. The page layout makes this information easily available and visible while communication is taking place, which stimulates a dialogic orientation towards the interactional and the interpersonal, as will be discussed when commenting on the distinctive features of SNSs in Section 3.

The possibilities offered by SNSs have changed the way students interact for doing relational work. They no longer need to use the phone or share the same physical context with other students in order to engage in informal chat with their community because technology has provided other means for interaction. Internet-mediated interaction (IMI) has become a common means for everyday casual communication among students all over the world, at least in those areas where internet-connected computers are easily accessible. The increasing use of last generation cell phones, which feature applications for SNSs, is also motivating students' constant connection and availability through these sites. They even seem to prefer IMI to face-to-face interaction for some communicative purposes. A survey conducted by Yus (2011: 7) shows that 55.3% in a group of 56 students in lower secondary education think that virtual interaction presents advantages over face-to-face interaction, such as more freedom for expression, due to the fact that they are freed from their physical appearance and from the consequences of the immediate physical reaction of addressees.

Leaving students' preferences and the factors related to them aside, the aim herein is to explore the use of evaluation and its connection with politeness strategies in the discourse of SNSs for the management of interpersonal rapport. The specific features of SNSs will also be explored in order to explain the reasons underlying users' motivation for their choice of evaluation and politeness resources. Evaluation is used as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5). Rapport management is used to refer to "the management of interpersonal relations: the use of language to promote, maintain or threaten harmonious social relations", following Spencer-Oatey (2000: 3). In order to achieve the stated aim, the occurrences of evaluation and politeness strategies in the data will be identified and described, considering whether and how these choices are motivated by the IMI context of SNSs.

2. Theoretical framework: Politeness and appraisal theory

The framework used for this study benefits from the combination of politeness and appraisal theories. A justification for their relevance will be summarized below.

Politeness theory, as developed by Brown and Levinson (1987), has provided a useful theoretical framework for the study of the management of face and interpersonal rapport. Although it has been further developed in a more discursive approach in works such as Watts et al. (2005) or Lakoff and Ide (2005) and severely criticized (e.g., Eelen 2001; Watts 2003; Mills 2003; Locher and Watts 2005), critiques have not destroyed the model but triggered new trends in research in theoretical, descriptive, comparative and historical perspectives (such as Lakoff and

Ide 2005 or Spencer-Oatey 2000). Politeness theory will be used here in order to account for various aspects underlying the evaluative function of language and how it is exploited for the management of face and interpersonal rapport. The connection of evaluation with politeness addresses a need already pinpointed by Channell (2000: 55): "The whole area of evaluative language seems to require tying up with the notion of 'facework' employed by Brown and Levinson (1987) in their explanation of politeness." This observation motivated my research, connecting both theories, i.e. politeness and appraisal, in order to find out how attitudinal meanings and politeness strategies are combined for the expression of evaluation while doing relational work.

The concept of *face* is central for an understanding of the processes involved in such work. Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) borrowed the concept from Goffman (1967) and defined it as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself." They made a distinction between *negative* and *positive* face. *Negative face* is "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition", whereas *positive face* includes "the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61). Speakers may choose to produce positive politeness strategies, "oriented toward the positive face of Hearer" or negative politeness strategies "oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (or redressing) H's negative face" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70). In the context of SNSs we can expect users to give priority to their friends' and their own needs for positive face because establishing and maintaining relationships requires of various social skills matching positive politeness strategies, such as claiming common ground, conveying cooperation and fulfilling hearer's wants. Positive politeness will be, therefore, the focus of this study, including the strategies and substrategies briefly summarized in Table 1.

Appraisal is the system for the expression of evaluation developed by Martin and White (2005) within the framework of Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), (Halliday (2004 [1994/1985]). Their model shares many concerns with the work on evaluation by Thompson and Hunston (2000), who distinguish three main functions of evaluation, i.e. expressing opinion, maintaining relations and organizing the discourse. These functions can be seen to be performed for the construction of communities of friends in the data collected from SNSs. When friends use evaluation for expressing opinions they are building a "communal value-system" (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 6) which will have, as a result, the construction and maintenance of relations. It is also of interest to mention here the potential of evaluation to persuade or manipulate the reader (as observed by Carter and Nash 1990 or Hoey 2000). Persuasion of friends through evaluation may result in a common way of interpreting reality and hence, in keeping a community together. Martin and White (2005) identify as concerns

Table 1. Positive politeness strategies according to Brown and Levinson (1987: 102)

Positive politeness strategies	
1. Claim common ground	Convey X is admirable, interesting
	1. Notice, attend to H (his interest, wants, needs, goods)
	2. Exaggerate interest, approval
	3. Intensify interest to H
	Claim in-group membership with H
	4. Use in-group identity markers
	Claim common point of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, empathy
	5. Seek agreement
	6. Avoid disagreement
	7. Presuppose/ raise/ assert common ground
	8. Joke
2. Convey that S and H are cooperators	Indicate S knows H's wants and is taking them into account
	9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants
	Claim reflexivity:
	10. Offer, promise
	11. Be optimistic
	12. Include both S and H in activity
	13. Give (ask for) reasons
	Claim reciprocity:
	14. Assume or assert reciprocity
3. Fulfill H's want (for some X)	15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

for appraisal theory "the construction by texts of communities of shared feelings and values, and (…) the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments" (2005: 1), concerns shared by this study on how texts construct communities of friends on SNSs. Appraisal resources include **attitude**, (for the expression of meanings of **affect**, **judgement**, and **appreciation**), together with **engagement** and **graduation** resources, used "for adopting a position with respect to propositions and for scaling intensity or degree of investment respectively" (Martin and White 2005: 39). Affect, judgment and appreciation are the three regions of attitude concerned, respectively, with "our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgments of behavior and evaluation of things" (Martin and White 2005: 35). As Martin (2000: 147) explains, "In a general sense, affect, judgement and appreciation all encode feeling". Affect is taken as "the basic system", which is then "institutionalized" as judgement or "feelings as proposals (about behaviour) or as appreciation, or "feelings as propositions (about things)", using Halliday's terms. Engagement deals with "sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse," while graduation "attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred" (Martin and White

2005: 35). See Table 2 for an overview of appraisal resources (this is adapted from Martin and White 2005: 38, but includes *surprise* as a distinct category for affect – see Bednarek 2008: 161).

Table 2. Overview of appraisal resources

Appraisal		
Engagement	Monogloss	
	Heterogloss	
Attitude	Affect	Happiness/ unhappiness, In/security, Satisfaction/ dissatisfaction, Surprise
	Judgement	Social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) Social sanction (veracity, propriety)
	Appreciation	Reaction, Composition, Valuation
Graduation	Force	Raise
		Lower
	Focus	Sharpen
		Soften

This chapter will focus on attitude (including meanings of affect, judgement, and appreciation), leaving the study of engagement and graduation aside, because the main interest here is to explore the role played by the expression of attitude and its relationship with politeness strategies. Therefore, the tuning of voices or the graduation of their intensity will fall outside the scope of this study but may help to give a more detailed picture of appraisal resources in future research. The category of affect will be explored by realizations of happiness/unhappiness, in/security, satisfaction/dissatisfaction and other feelings that can be associated with them and are included in the inventory by Martin and White (2005: 48–51) and in the modifications by Bednarek (2008: 142–182), who adds the meaning of surprise as a different category. I have followed Martin and White's inventories (2005: 52–58) for categories of judgement including social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) or social sanction (veracity, propriety) and for the categories of appreciation (reaction, composition, valuation).

When taking a close look at the data, I found some practical problems in applying the categories in the appraisal model. One of the most recurrent difficulties was related to indirectness and has been observed by Thompson (this volume, p. 49): "an expression of one category of appraisal may function as a token (an indirect expression) of a different category; and that token may itself function as an indirect expression of yet another category, and so on." He argues for a coding system which includes information on the different component categories. For example, an expression of appreciation which can be read as a token expressing judgement can be coded as "t-judgement [appreciation]." Following this observation, I decided to incorporate tags for indirect realizations of attitude in the coding system for the mark up of the data.

I would also like to suggest the need for the inclusion of emoticons as a way of portraying emotions, or affect, which has not been previously discussed in the above mentioned models of appraisal (cf. Bednarek 2008: 150). Emoticons are the representation of facial expressions which can be related to mental disposition terms expressing emotional reactions such as happiness, sadness, anger, etc. They seem to function as signals of facial expressions by signalling the emoter's emotional reactions and could work the same way as interjections and facial expressions do, according to Wharton (2009: 14), by encouraging the hearer "to construct a higher level explicature". The choice of emoticons will depend on the mental disposition of the emoter and can be interpreted by a process of explicature together with the meaning derived from a particular co-text and context. For example, an utterance followed by a sad face such as "Oh, no :-()", which was expressed as a reaction to the destruction caused by Hurricane Irene, can be interpreted, and hence classified in my analysis, as "affect-dissatisfaction-displeasure", communicating an emotional reaction and mental disposition of sadness. Without this emoticon, "Oh, no" could be classified, instead, as "appreciation-reaction-negative impact", expressing a feeling as a proposition "about things" (using Halliday's terms, as quoted by Martin 2000: 147), rather than an emotional reaction by the speaker. The different possibilities of analysis for this example illustrate the subjective nature of the decisions that must be undertaken in the process of categorization, due to the "fuzzy nature of emotion lexis" (Bednarek 2008: 152).

From this procedural account on the interpretation of emoticons, it follows that emoticons function by triggering a meaning subsumed under the core category of affect, recontextualizing meanings of judgment and appreciation as emotional reactions and giving this character even to utterances with no apparent expression of affect, such as "I'm here :)", which adds happiness to a proposition.

3. Data and method

The corpus for analysis consists of a random sample of 100 messages, containing 248 evaluative utterances (1,414 words based on a UAM Corpus Tool count, ignoring the names of the users), which have been circulating among university students in the United Kingdom and the United States through a particular SNS, i.e., *Facebook*, during the two-year period 2010–2012. I have collected data as a natural observer of the interaction among either friends or friends of friends in my contact list. In order to conform to ethical considerations, I only selected messages made public on users' walls, the public space visible to all friends, and asked them later for permission to use their messages for my research. I also sent them a copy of this article, in order to both guarantee their permission and check my interpretation of their messages. The modest size of the sample is in line with the "somewhat critical attitude towards large-scale corpus analysis" (Bednarek 2008: 142) due to the qualitative character of SFL. It may be at least enough to illustrate recurrent behaviour among users of SNSs. My aim was not to collect a representative sample of the whole group of SNS users but to explore particular individuals' discourse on SNSs in an attempt to find out common patterns of evaluative language that may account for the pervasiveness of appraisal resources on SNSs. After all, it is the actions of individual members which contribute to those of the groups. As Eelen (2001: 145) points out: "groups as such do not act, only their individual members do. So, in the end even the most extremely 'socio'-oriented framework needs to say something about individual behavior."

The methodology for collecting, describing and marking up data for analysis combined quantitative and qualitative techniques together with concepts from Corpus Linguistics (CL), Conversation Analysis (CA) and Discourse Analysis (DA), which were connected in "a bricolage process of producing a suitable method of analysis", quoting Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 2) as discussed in Santamaría-García (2011: 346). Marking up of categories with UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell 2011) facilitated their automatic retrieval and exploration for statistical results. CA was used for the description of interaction units in the corpus at the levels of turn, pair, and sequence. Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model for DA together with Tsui's (1994) taxonomy of discourse acts have guided the analysis of acts, moves and exchanges together with their segmentation in initiations, responses or follow ups, which have been further classified into types and subtypes of acts (elicitations, informatives, requestives, etc.).

The mark up of the corpus includes tags for politeness and appraisal, starting with the categories presented in Tables 1 and 2 but incorporating subcategories for appraisal following Martin and White (2005), Bednarek (2008) and Thompson (this volume). Therefore, the data has been tagged with categories related to the following:

1. Politeness strategies, following Brown and Levinson (1987) for positive and negative strategies and substrategies.
2. Appraisal categories in Martin and White (2005), Bednarek (2008) and Thompson (2011) for attitude: affect, judgement, appreciation and subcategories within them.

The mark-up in the corpus can be illustrated with Example (1), containing a tagged segment which is followed by an explanation of its analysis.

(1) FILE 09/11 (UK)
  a. Last day of the hols! :0(
     <Exchange: Initiation> <Discourse act: Expressive> <Affect: Dissatisfaction, displeasure> <Positive politeness: In-group identity markers (Affective language, abbreviation + Emoticon)>
  b. Dislike button needed :o(
     <Exchange: Response> <Discourse Act: Request + Expressive> <Affect: Dissatisfaction, displeasure > <Positive politeness: In-group identity markers (Emoticon) + Joke>

In the exchange initiation in (1) the first user produces an expressive act with an evaluative span of affect of the dissatisfaction, displeasure type. This meaning is derived by the combination of "Last day of the hols!" with an emoticon for a sad face. The emoticon portrays an emotion of frustration by the participant, which would not be portrayed in "Last day of the hols!." Without the emoticon, this utterance could be analysed as "appreciation of negative reaction" because the emotional reaction would appear attached to the entity (day) as a property (last) and detached from the feeling of the human participant. Regarding politeness, the act contains affective markers of "in-group identity" for positive politeness, realized by the abbreviation "hols" for "holidays" and by an emoticon. User 2 replies with an expressive request showing dissatisfaction of the displeasure type, which is marked for positive politeness with an emoticon and a touch of humor, as this user expresses his reaction by adhering to FB users' movement requesting a dissatisfaction, "I don't like this" button.

The formulation of hypotheses for this study combine politeness and appraisal theories under the guide of CA methodology, with an interest in discovering possible phenomena and practices in the data, in order to establish evidence that there is a participant-relevant practice. According to my experience as a participant observer on SNSs, I expect users in the corpus to make very frequent use of positive politeness strategies realized by means of appraisal resources for the construction of communities of shared feelings and values. More specifically, the expectation is that users will exchange expressions of affect, with a higher frequency than appreciation or judgement, as realizations of positive politeness strategies, which will contribute to building rapport and solidarity in their communities. On the other hand, I do not expect many occurrences of negative politeness strategies, due to the fact that students do not have as a priority the preservation of their territories, which are already preserved at the safe comfort zones behind their computers. Needless to say, there may be situations of bullying and abuse on SNSs in which students' personal territories can be seriously threatened. However, in this study I will not consider cases of abuse and will only make reference to interaction in communities of friends.

4. Distinctive features of SNSs that facilitate the production of appraisal and positive politeness

The exploration of some of the distinctive features of SNSs in previous work attempting a description of the genre, using Bhatia's (2004) approach, has led to the definition of the communicative purpose of SNSs as the construction of social relations by sharing individuals' stance toward life (Santamaría-García 2013, forthcoming). These distinctive features seem to facilitate and even encourage the production of evaluation and positive politeness for the construction of communities of friends with shared feelings and values. They are summarized below in relation to SNSs' potential to implement the following: (i) interactional versus transactional function of language, (ii) interpersonal versus ideational meaning, (iii) dialogic orientation.

4.1 Interactional vs. transactional function

The interactional function is used "to establish and maintain social relationships" (Brown and Yule 1983: 3), in opposition to the transactional one, used to convey "factual or propositional information" (Brown and Yule 1983: 2). SNSs seem to be taking up the role initially confined largely to the oral culture (either face-to-face or phone delivered) for establishing and maintaining social relationships. They provide a space for sharing evaluation of real life situations and are, therefore, being used to create a feeling of community through IMI. As Martínez and Wartmann (2009: 4) claim: "Students use these sites to interact and bond with other students, to share experiences, and to participate in the new online college 'community' that is understood by students to be real."

The peculiarity of SNSs, in contrast to other means of oral communication, is that one user can address a whole community of friends at the same time. Friends are a community of contacts who may only be acquaintances but are linked by "positive affective involvement", using the terms provided by Eggins and Slade (1997: 52) to refer to the dimensions of social identity. Once they get the status of "friend", they tend to behave as such, so as not to lose this condition, which involves doing relational work by making use of appraisal and politeness resources.

4.2 Interpersonal versus ideational meaning

Once a community of friends is created, interaction will be usually aimed at keeping the friend status, which results in the use of an extensive range of language resources for construing interpersonal meaning, as the manifestation of the purpose "to act on the others" (Halliday 2004: xiii). The interpersonal metafunction deals with "meaning about roles and relationships (e.g. status, intimacy, contact, sharedness between interactants)" (Eggins and Slade 1997: 49). The use of emoticons, and prompts, such as the "what is on your mind" question or the "like" button, invite users to express their attitude which will invite other users' contributions, contributing to the building of rapport and solidarity. This happens because, as Martin and White (2005: 95) observe: "when speakers/writers announce their own attitudinal positions they not only self-expressively 'speak their own mind', but simultaneously invite others to endorse and to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing." It seems that FB designers have made the same observation and have introduced prompts that stimulate engagement through the expression of attitude.

4.3 Dialogic frame

One of the most significant features of SNSs that also seems to be responsible for their increasing success is their implementation of a dialogic frame, which facilitates dialogue between users and their communities, even when the individuals are not engaged in the dialogic activity simultaneously. The wall keeps and shows the latest contributions of our friends creating a "heteroglossic" framework of different voices. Whereas writing has typically been an asynchronous communication mode with addressees out of sight, SNSs bridge the gap between writing and speech to some extent. Friends are visible by means of pictures and we are even told whether they are connected at the same time, therefore facilitating their presence in our minds and dialogues. Moreover, the creation of a socially significant community of friends with shared knowledge stimulates dialogue and facilitates engagement among users. Facebook facilitates this process of sharing contextual information by providing the option to send the location of users and to inform about their presence at several public places automatically. For instance: "David has just checked in at Munich airport" or "David has been at Russell Hotel." Comments on the activities are still the responsibility of individuals: "BEST. WEEK. EVER!" (stops and capitals in original), "Having teeth out is poo:(." However, the expression of evaluation is also facilitated by the "like" button, which can be clicked to express a quick and automatic dialogic engagement of users (Santamaría-García 2013: 468–469). This button also seeks agreement, a politeness strategy which serves to "claim common point of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge, empathy" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 102). It may serve to express different meanings, as can be illustrated with some examples.

Generally speaking, this prompt is an invitation to react to anything previously said and acts as an emotional trigger, motivating the users' expressions of attitude. "I like this" can be interpreted as affect, judgment, or appreciation, depending on the context. In the following example, the fact that (b) likes a summons for help in an area devastated after the effects of Hurricane Irene, can be taken as a token of judgment, evaluating the action of helping as good behavior.

(2) FILE 09/11 (US)
   a. Hi Everybody. Please read this. Your help is needed with the clean-up from the floods that ravaged Schoharie and Greene counties from Irene. YOUR help. The time is not later, it is now. Willing to give some time? Call Sarah Goodrich, who is coordinating volunteers in the town of Schoharie, 518.470.0014
   b. "Like" button.

Users may combine the automatic click with free language use. For example, in the following exchange, (b) expresses affect of satisfaction, pleasure type towards (a)'s comment by clicking the "like" button and by adding "YES YES YES!."

(3) FILE 1/11 (2) (UK)
   a. strokes are gonna tour the UK in july pal. we are there!! x
   b. ("Like" button) YES YES YES!

The "like" button together with emoticons for facial expressions also prove useful resources for the construction of solidarity, as allies of the two principles on which solidarity is constructed according to appraisal theory, i.e. proliferation and contraction (Martin and White 2005: 29). Proliferation "refers to the idea that the closer you are to someone, the more meanings you have available to exchange" and contraction "refers to the amount of work it takes to exchange meanings, and the idea that the better you know someone the less explicitness it takes" (Martin and White 2005: 30–31). When you are close to someone, according to these principles, you may even not say anything, but use simply a smile or any other body gesture to show attitude, and you will be properly understood. On SNSs, you may even not say anything, but use an emoticon or click the "like" button and be contributing to building solidarity, by virtue of the principles of proliferation and contraction.

Thus, from this review of features, it seems that the use of language on SNSs for interactional and interpersonal functions, together with a dialogic frame that allows for simultaneous communication with many addressees connected by positive affective involvement, can be seen as major factors in the frequent use of evaluation and positive politeness, as resources for building rapport and solidarity in the community. The reviewed features may also explain the "overabundance" of politeness resources and can be added to the "absence of contextual cues", observed by Yus (2011: 275) as an explanation: "On the Internet, there is an absence of contextual cues that normally facilitate, in physical environments, the choice of a particular (im)polite strategy. This may lead to an overabundance of overt expressions of politeness."

5. Results: Appraisal and positive politeness in the construction of communities of shared feelings and values

Analysis of the data attempts to show the connection between the special features of SNSs, described in the previous section, and the use of politeness and evaluation, looking for evidence supporting the hypotheses of this study. The results show that appraisal resources are exploited mainly for the expression of affect together with positive politeness. Affect is expressed more frequently than judgement and appreciation. It is present in 64.11% (n = 159), of the total number of evaluative utterances (n = 248) containing attitude, while judgement features in 21.77% (n = 54) and appreciation in 14.11% (n = 35). Table 3 presents the results for the analysis of different types of attitude.

Table 3. Types of attitude

Attitude type	Percentage	N
Affect	64.1%	159
Judgement	21.8%	54
Appreciation	14.1%	35
Total	100%	248

Each of the categories has been further divided into subcategories, with the results shown in different tables: Table 4 for affect, Table 5 for judgement and Table 6 for appreciation. Regarding affect, the expression of un/happiness (48%, n = 77), dis/inclination (21%, n = 33) and dis/satisfaction (20%, n = 31) are the most frequently produced in the data. Users show a tendency to use SNSs especially for the expression of happiness (84%, n = 65) versus unhappiness (16%, n = 12) with many expressions for cheering friends (51%, n = 33) and showing affection (49%, n = 32) such as "Chin up" or "Free hugs" respectively. Inclination (21%, n = 33) is used for expressing good wishes for friends (e.g. "It'll settle down soon"), with no instances found for expressing lack of desire. Within the category of dis/satisfaction, satisfaction (58%, n = 18) is slightly more frequent than dissatisfaction (42%, n = 13), especially for expressing pleasure (78%, n = 14), such as "BEST. WEEK. EVER" or "Glad you are having a fab time."

Table 4. Realization of affect in the data

Affect		Percentage	N
Affect-type		N = 159	
	un/happiness	48.4%	77
	dis/satisfaction	19.5%	31
	in/security	6.9%	11
	dis/inclination	20.8%	33
	surprise	4.4%	7
Affect-1-type		N = 77	
	happiness	84.4%	65
	unhappiness	15.6%	12
Happiness-type		N = 65	
	cheer	50.8%	33
	affection	49.2%	32
Unhappiness-type		N = 12	
	misery	100.0%	12
	antipathy	0.0%	0
Affect-2-type		N = 31	
	satisfaction	58.1%	18
	dissatisfaction	41.9%	13
Satisfaction-type		N = 18	
	interest	22.2%	4
	pleasure	77.8%	14
Dissatisfaction-type		N = 13	
	ennui	0.0%	0
	displeasure	100.0%	13
In/security-type		N = 11	
	security	18.2%	2
	insecurity	81.8%	9
Security-type		N = 2	
	quiet	0.0%	0
	trust	100.0%	2
Insecurity-type		N = 9	
	disquiet	100.0%	9
	distrust	0.0%	0
Dis/inclination-type		N = 33	
	inclination/desire	100.0%	33
	disinclination/non-desire	0.0%	0

Analysis of judgement reveals that the expression of social sanction (60.4%, n = 32) is more frequent than the expression of social esteem (39.6%, n = 21). In the sample, the expression of social sanction of propriety features highly (68.8%, n = 22) as a means to express and negotiate what counts as appropriate behavior in the community: "How very corporate, Jen." It is used mainly for positive praise of friends' behavior (65.0%, n = 13). Negative condemnation features less (30.0%, n = 6) and refers to third parties. Here is an example of the latter, criticizing the behavior of an Indian rich man on a news report article: "And he says he 'bleeds for India' and he wants to help pave the way for a better life for the country's poor…hey, he could have probably fed half of India with what he spent on this little house…." Regarding social esteem, tenacity (57.1%, n = 12) is the most frequent category, as friends usually comment on their plans and what they have decided to do and are doing at the moment: "I'm also helping to collect school supplies."

Table 5. Realization of judgment in the data

Judgment		Percent	N
Judgment-type		N = 53	
	social-esteem	39.6%	21
	social-sanction	60.4%	32
Social-esteem		N = 21	
	normality	4.8%	1
	capacity	38.1%	8
	tenacity	57.1%	12
Normality-type		N = 1	
	positive-normality-admire	100.0%	1
	negative-normality-criticise	0.0%	0
Capacity-type		N = 6	
	positive-capacity-admire	33.3%	2
	negative-capacity-criticise	50.0%	3
	question-implicit-capacity	16.7%	1
Tenacity-type		N = 11	
	positive-tenacity-admire	90.9%	10
	negative-tenacity-criticise	9.1%	1
Social-sanction-type		N = 32	
	veracity	31.2%	10
	propriety	68.8%	22
Veracity-type		N = 8	
	positive-praise-truth	50.0%	4
	negative-condemn-truth	37.5%	3
	question-implicit-praise	12.5%	1
Propriety-type		N = 20	
	positive-praise-ethics	65.0%	13
	negative-praise-ethics	30.0%	6
	question-implicit-ethics	5.0%	1

Turning to appreciation, the categories of reaction (48.6%, n = 17) and valuation (34.3%, n = 12) are the most frequently produced, as shown in Table 6. Within reaction, expression of impact (88.2%, n = 15) is higher than quality (11.8%, n = 2) and expression of negative (86.7%, n = 13) is more frequent than expression of positive impact (13.3%, n = 2). However, when valuation is expressed, positive valuation (63.6%, n = 7) is more frequent than negative (36.4, n = 4). This means that users tend to choose reaction resources when something produces a negative impact on them (e.g. "It's truly shocking how horrible it is", "it's pretty devastating stuff") while the tendency is to use valuation for positive appreciation ("The good thing about Schoharie is that they are pretty well organized").

Table 6. Realization of appreciation in the data

Appreciation		**Percent**	**N**
Appreciation-type		N = 35	
	reaction	48.6%	17
	composition	17.1%	6
	valuation	34.3%	12
Reaction-type		N = 17	
	impact	88.2%	15
	quality	11.8%	2
Impact-type		N = 15	
	positive-impact	13.3%	2
	negative-impact	86.7%	13
Quality-type		N = 2	
	positive-quality	100.0%	2
	negative-quality	0.0%	0
Composition-type		N = 6	
	balance	33.3%	2
	complexity	66.7%	4
Balance-type		N = 2	
	positive-balance	100.0%	2
	negative-balance	0.0%	0
Complexity-type		N = 4	
	positive-complexity	0.0%	0
	negative-complexity	100.0%	4
Valuation-type		N = 11	
	positive-valuation	63.6%	7
	negative-valuation	36.4%	4

Some turns contain a combination of several meanings simultaneously, like the following example, in which (b)'s turn combines (i) affect with the expression of happiness (feeling good), (ii) appreciation, of the type of composition, complexity (hard work routine), (iii) inclination, (*looking forward to teaching*), (iv) affection shown by crosses and greetings

(4) FILE 09/11 (UK)
  a. Hello Fee! How are you? How is it getting back at work? hope all is well xxxxxxx
  b. I'm good thanks. Always hard getting back into work routine but looking forward to starting teaching in a couple of weeks x how's you? X

Example (5) shows two expressions of affect and one of appreciation in a single message: (i) happiness (playful onomatopoeia simulating the ring of a telephone and affective nickname for Fiona), (ii) inclination and disposition ("thinking of you" and an emoticon at the end of the sentence), (iii) an expression of appreciation of positive emotional reaction to Barcelona ("Lovin it"):

(5) FILE 09/11 (UK)
  a. *Woop a woo wooo fee fee, thinking of you* whilst I'm here in Barcelona! *Lovin it*, beach an las ramblas today :)

Affect and appreciation are mainly realized directly. There are some exceptions, such as formulae for expressing the feeling of surprise ("I can't believe it", "Oh, no") by means of judgment of veracity. Some appreciations of things can also be read as expressing affect, such as "BEST. WEEK. EVER", which shows the feeling of satisfaction and pleasure of the user and is coded as an indirect expression of affect. The expression of judgment, however, gets more indirect realizations (although only a total of seven in the data). The following extract shows an instance of an indirect expression of judgment of social esteem related to normality (how unusual someone is) realized by affect ("I don't like"), reacting to other's behavior and conveying it is odd, peculiar or eccentric:

(6) FILE 09/11 (US)
  a. I like Charlie, don't like your thesis frustration so much. Have a beer!

In the following example, judgement of the same type (social esteem related to normality) is realized by means of appreciation ("School is so difficult. New Head and loads of changes") and by reacting to these difficulties and changes, (a) criticizes the new situation at work and the people in charge, who produce a negative effect on her feelings:

(7) FILE 09/11 (UK)
  a. School is so difficult. New head and loads of changes. I'm just miserable. xx

Considering now the realization of politeness strategies, the results show a high total number, with 181 instances of different positive politeness strategies scattered through the 100 turns in the sample (see Table 7). However, only 2 instances of negative politeness of apologizing have been found. "Claim common ground" is the most frequent strategy (69.1%, n = 125), especially for claiming common point of view (48.8%, n = 61) of the type "presuppose, raise, assert common ground", by means of which friends share the information needed for the construction of a community of feelings and values. For instance, friends claim common point of view and raise common ground on several issues regarding the best procedure to help the damaged communities after Hurricane Irene: "If you want to help in Schoharie, it's important to get in touch with Sarah Goodrich before you arrive, since parking is difficult and they are trying to stay organized."

Intensification shows the highest percentage of occurrence within "convey x is interesting" (63.2%, n = 24) with the use of intensifiers ("I'm *just* miserable", "I'm *so* sorry", "She is *really* smart"), capitalization ("Your help is needed. YOUR help"), phonic lengthening ("Whaaaaat"). The two last examples show how gradation can be applied to otherwise invariable parts of speech. (More examples can be found in Maíz-Arévalo and Santamaría-García 2013: 76.)

When considering "convey cooperation", the more frequent substrategy is "taking H's wants into account" (50.0%, n = 13), which serves the expression of empathy feelings: "Chin up. It'll settle down soon", "You need to take it easy, kiddo".

Fulfilment of H's wants includes expressions of cooperation such as "With you on that, Zemie".

Exploration of the combination of positive politeness strategies with the expression of attitude has shown that a very high percentage of the strategies in the data (96.1%, n = 174) contain attitude, with the following distribution of categories. Affect is included in 57.5% (n = 104) of the cases (out of the total number of occurrences of politeness strategies, i.e. 181), judgement in 22.1% (n = 40) and appreciation in 16.6%. (n = 30). Claiming common ground is the strategy that is more frequently realized by the expression of affect, judgement and appreciation, especially with the function of "presuppose, raise, assert common ground" which serves to inform the community of friends in order to construct a community of shared knowledge. See Table 8.

The high number of positive politeness strategies in the data (n = 181 in 100 turns) indicates the usefulness of SNSs as a medium in which users can satisfy their need for positive face, fulfilling the three broad mechanisms for positive politeness, i.e. to "Claim common ground", "Convey that S and H are cooperators" and "Fulfill H's want". The results of the analysis of the combination of attitudinal meanings with politeness strategies shows that users of SNSs rely heavily on the expression of attitude (96.1%) in order to build positive face while doing relational work within their community.

Table 7. Realization of politeness in the data

Politeness strategies	Percent	N
Positive-politeness-type	N = 181	
claim-common-ground	69.1%	125
convey-cooperation	14.4%	26
fulfill-h's-want	16.6%	30
Claim-common-ground-type	N = 125	
convey-x-is-interesting	30.4%	38
claim-in-group-membership	20.8%	26
claim-common-point-of-view-etc	48.8%	61
Convey-x-is-interesting-type	N = 38	
1-notice-attend*	21.1%	8
2-exaggerate	15.8%	6
3-intensify	63.2%	24
Claim-in-group-membership-type	N = 25	
4-identity-markers	100.0%	25
Claim-common-point-of-view-etc-type	N = 61	
5-seek-agreement	6.6%	4
6-avoid-disagreement	3.3%	2
7-raise-assert-common-ground	80.3%	49
8-joke	9.8%	6
Convey-cooperation-type	N = 26	
taking-H's-wants-into-account	50.0%	13
claim-reflexivity	38.5%	10
claim-reciprocity	11.5%	3
Taking-H's-wants-into-account-type	N = 12	
9-knowledge-and-concern	100.0%	12
Claim-reflexivity-type	N = 10	
10-offer-promise	50.0%	5
11-be-optimistic	20.0%	2
12-inclusion-of-h	0.0%	0
13-give-ask-reasons	30.0%	3
Claim-reciprocity-type	N = 0	
14-reciprocity	0.0%	0
Fulfill-H' s-want-type	N = 30	
15-sympathy,-understanding	100.0%	30
Negative-politeness	N = 2	
don't-impinge	100.0%	2
Don't-impinge-type	N = 2	
apologize	100.0%	2

* The strategies of positive politeness are preceded by the numbers used by Brown and Levinson (1987: 102).

Table 8. Realization of attitude by means of positive politeness strategies

Attitude-type	**Positive politeness strategies (n = 181)**		
	Claim common ground	**Convey that S and H are cooperators**	**Fulfill H's want**
Affect			
N = 104	N = 66	N = 16	N = 22
57.5%	63.5%	15.38%	21.15%
Judgement			
N = 40	N = 28	N = 7	N = 5
22.1%	70.0%	17.5%	12.5%
Appreciation			
N = 30	N = 23	N = 3	N = 4
16.6%	76.7%	10%	13.33%
Total			
N = 174	N = 117	N = 26	N = 31
96.1%	67.0%	14.94%	17.81%

The following fragment from the data attempts to illustrate the correspondence which can be observed between positive politeness strategies and appraisal resources of attitude. Speaker (b)'s turn is analyzed according to politeness and appraisal meanings. As above, the strategies are preceded by the numbers used by Brown and Levinson (1987: 102).

(8) FILE 09/11 (US)

a. [Summons for help in an area devastated by floods. Also included above in Example (1)]
Hi Everybody. Please read this. Your help is needed with the clean-up from the floods that ravaged Schoharie and Greene counties from Irene. YOUR help. The time is not later, it is now. Willing to give some time? Call Sarah Goodrich, who is coordinating volunteers in the town of Schoharie, 518.470.0014

b. I like this. (Click of the "like" button by Eva)
Eva was just there today helping to gut a house. It's pretty devastating stuff. I'm also helping to collect school supplies, which is apparently needed; One of my friends is making another trip up there Monday.

Table 9 shows the realization of positive politeness with appraisal resources by means of different types of attitude. As a response to the summons for help by user (a), user (b) claims common ground with user (a) and her community of friends. With "I like this", resulting from a click of the "like" button, she is expressing a literal meaning of affect of the satisfaction, pleasure type. She is attending to and noticing her addressee's want for positive face by conveying that helping is

Table 9. Illustration for the correspondence between positive politeness strategies and appraisal resources

Instance	Positive politeness strategies	Appraisal: Types of attitude
User (a). (Summons for help in an area devastated by floods)		
User (b) I like this (Click of the "like" button by Eva)	**Claim common ground** Convey X is admirable, interesting: 1. Notice, attend to H (his interest, wants, needs, goods) Claim common attitude: 5. Seek agreement 7. Assert common ground Convey that S and H are cooperators Indicate S knows H's wants and is taking them into account	T-judgment, social sanction, propriety (good behavior) [Affect]
Eva was just there today helping to gut a house.	**Claim common ground** Convey X is admirable, interesting: 1. Notice, attend to H (his interest, wants, needs, goods) 3. Intensify interest to H Claim common attitude: 5. Seek agreement 7. Assert common ground Convey that S and H are cooperators Indicate S knows H's wants and is taking them into account 9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants	T-judgment [Appreciation] Social esteem, tenacity (resolute), (positive, admire)
It's pretty devastating stuff.	**Claim common ground** 3. Intensify interest to H Indicate S knows H's wants and is taking them into account 9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants	T-affect [Appreciation] (Unhappy)
I'm also helping to collect school supplies, which is apparently needed;	**Claim common ground** Convey X is admirable, interesting: 1. Notice, attend to H (his interest, wants, needs, goods) Claim common attitude: 5. Seek agreement 7. Assert common ground Convey that S and H are cooperators Indicate S knows H's wants and is taking them into account 9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants	T-judgment, [Affect] Social sanction, propriety (positive praise)

Table 9. (*continued*)

Instance	**Positive politeness strategies**	**Appraisal: Types of attitude**
	Fulfill H's want (for some X) 15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)	
One of my friends is making another trip up there Monday.	**Claim common ground** Convey X is admirable, interesting: 1. Notice, attend to H (his interest, wants, needs, goods) Claim common attitude: 5. Seek agreement 7. Assert common ground Convey that S and H are cooperators Indicate S knows H's wants and is taking them into account 9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants 15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)	T-judgment [Appreciation] Social esteem, tenacity (resolute), (positive, admire)

admirable and interesting (strategy 1). She is also claiming common point of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge and empathy with user (a), by seeking the agreement of other users (strategy 5) and by presupposing/raising common ground, i.e. an interest to help (strategy 7), "indicating that S and H belong to the same set of persons who share specific wants, including goals and values" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 103). All these meanings are realized by means of "I like it", a literal expression of affect, which, in this context, can be interpreted as a token for judgement of social sanction, showing propriety, i.e. helping is considered to be good behaviour. Likewise, the following utterances in Eva's turn serve her purpose to claim common ground by means of strategies 1, 5 and 7. Moreover, she conveys that S and H are cooperators and indicates that S knows H's wants and is taking them into account by asserting her concern for H's wants (strategy 9): "Eva was just there today helping to gut a house. It's pretty devastating stuff." The use of intensification in these utterances helps to increase the interest and sympathy with H (strategy 3 for claiming common ground). Both utterances can be considered indirect expressions of attitude. The first can be considered an indirect judgement of social esteem, tenacity, by referring to a resolute form of behaviour: "Eva was just there today helping to gut a house" by means of appreciation (unbalanced composition). The second "It's pretty devastating stuff" is an indirect expression of affect, unhappiness by means of appreciation, negative reaction.

In the last two utterances, Eva produces another strategy (number 15) by fulfilling H's want for cooperation: "I'm also helping to collect school supplies, which is apparently needed; One of my friends is making another trip up there Monday." These literal acts of affect (satisfaction) express indirect tokens of judgement of social sanction, propriety (positive praise).

As a result of the analysis presented here, it seems that, in order to fulfill the three broad mechanisms for positive politeness mentioned above, speakers exploit appraisal resources to express attitude, (affect, judgment or appreciation), which allows them to evaluate and share the results of evaluative appreciations with their community.

6. Conclusions

The use of positive politeness strategies and appraisal resources for the expression of attitude are stimulated by the special context of IMI in the interaction on SNSs. These sites facilitate the establishment and maintenance of personal relations in communities of friends by means of several distinctive features such as their orientation to the interactional and interpersonal in a dialogic frame together with the fact that the whole community is connected by positive affective involvement and can be addressed simultaneously. These features trigger the use of attitudinal meanings and positive politeness, which occur frequently in the data. Attitude is expressed in a total of 248 of evaluative utterances in the one hundred turns analysed. It is mainly exploited for the expression of affect (64.1%, n = 159), with lower percentages for judgment (21.8%, n = 54) and appreciation (14.1%, n = 35). These meanings frequently intervene in the expression of positive politeness for the construction of common ground (67.0%, n = 117), conveying cooperation (14.9%, n = 26) and fulfilling addressee's wants (17.8%, n = 31), essential components for the management of interpersonal rapport among students. Affect is present in 57.5% (n = 104) of the 181 positive politeness strategies in the data, judgement in 22.1% (n = 40) and appreciation in 16.6% (n = 30).

The fact that the one hundred turns analyzed contain 181 strategies of positive politeness (versus 2 instances of negative politeness), indicates the usefulness of SNSs as a medium in which users can satisfy their need for positive face. The results from the analysis of the combination of politeness strategies with attitudinal meanings shows that the users of SNSs rely heavily on the expression of attitude in order to build positive face for relational work, as a total of 174 (out of 181 positive politeness strategies, 96.1%) contain attitudinal meanings.

It is worth mentioning that the expression of affect and appreciation, frequently triggered by the "I like" button may convey an indirect meaning of judgement, contributing to building the systems of values for social sanction and social esteem in groups of friends and taking the responsibility for such judgements off the friends' shoulders. This might mean that users are more open to the expression of feelings and the appreciation of things but prefer to use more indirect ways to express judgements, thus avoiding the responsibility implicit in judgement of people's behaviour. The "I like" button provides a resource for such avoidance. The productivity of the "like" button and emoticons to express attitude also helps to build solidarity among users by virtue of the two principles that serve to its construction according to appraisal theory, i.e. proliferation and contraction.

This chapter has suggested some areas of interest for further research with more data in order to describe the ways in which students' identities and personal relationships are shaped and realized by the expression of appraisal and politeness. This would throw light on the underlying systems of values of the group under study. The analysis of engagement and graduation, which have been beyond the scope of this chapter, would also deepen our understanding of the role of appraisal in communication on SNSs.

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