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Volume 8

Discursive Pragmatics
Edited by Jan Zienkowski, Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren

Discursive Pragmatics

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Appraisal

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1. Introduction

Appraisal is a framework for analyzing the language of evaluation. It has emerged from within systemic functional linguistics (see, for example, Halliday 1994; Martin 1992; Matthiessen 1995) and was driven in its early days by work in the field of educational linguistics and the development of Australia's genre-based literacy programs (see, for example, Iedema, Feez & White 1994; Christie & Martin 1997; Martin 2000). It provides techniques for the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts and in groupings of texts. It is concerned with the social function of these resources, not simply as the means by which individual speakers/writers express their feelings and take stands, but as the means by which they engage with socially-determined value positions and thereby align and dis-align themselves with the social subjects who hold to these positions.

The systemic functional linguistics out of which the framework has emerged holds that linguistic phenomena can best be explained by reference to the social functions performed by language, by reference to the functional demands placed upon language by its users (see, for example, Halliday 1971: 330–68). Additionally, it holds that these social functions fall into three broad types: those by which language represents the world of experience (the ideational), those by which social roles and relationships are constructed (the interpersonal), and those by which texts are made coherent, both internally and with respect to the context in which they operate (the textual) (see Halliday 1994). Within this context, the appraisal framework is directed towards developing the account of interpersonal functionality, with extending descriptions and understanding of those aspects of language by which speakers/writers construct for themselves particular identities or personae and by which they position themselves and those they address.

An array of text analytical interests and issues have shaped its development over the past decade or so. However, some three or four of these have had the greatest influence.

In the late 1980s, a group of functional linguists in Australia were exploring modes of narrative and were interested in criteria for articulating a taxonomy of story telling sub-types. They noted, for example, that what they termed the 'anecdote' (Plum 1988; Martin & Plum 1997) had a distinctive evaluative orientation in acting to evoke a shared emotional reaction between narrator and audience. This contrasted with what they termed 'the exemplum', a sub-type concerned with evaluations of human actors in terms of morality, social esteem and social acceptability. At the same time, the group was interested in an observed disjunction between the approach to English literature essay writing adopted by many secondary-level students in New South Wales schools and what was looked for in these essays by teachers. The students devoted themselves primarily to describing how they personally felt about the characters or the plots or the texts as whole, whereas the teachers were looking for analyses of the texts in terms of the insights they provided into the moral order and the human condition (Rothery & Stenglin 1997, 2000). In the early 1990s, other members of the group turned their attention to observed variation in the style of journalistic discourse according to whether the author performed the role of general reporter, correspondent or commentator. They noted that these different 'styles' or 'voices' were associated with certain combinations of different types of appraisal, certain syndromes of choices from the resources of evaluation and stance (Iedema et al. 1994; Martin 2002). This then led to an interest in the role of these syndromes more generally in the discursive construction of authorial/speaker personae and the modelling by texts of 'ideal' or 'intended' readerships/audiences (for example, Fuller 1998; White 2000; Körner 2001; White 2003).

Two central issues ran through these various projects. The first is concerned with the question of the nature of attitude, with how texts activate positive and negative assessments. The second is concerned with how texts adopt a stance towards these assessments and related evaluative meanings, with how these assessments and related meanings are negotiated intersubjectively. It is the answers which the group has proposed for these questions which have given the appraisal framework its current shape. Accordingly, the discussion which follows will be organized around explorations of these two issues.

It needs to be noted that, in concerning itself with questions of attitudinal positioning and the discursive construction of communities of shared values, the appraisal framework addresses an area of linguistic enquiry which has only relatively recently come into the linguistic mainstream. It is only in the last decade or so, for example, that work within corpus linguistic into 'semantic prosodies' has revealed just how thoroughly suffused the language is with attitudinal associations and implications. (See, for example, Sinclair 1991 or Louw 1993). (It is noteworthy that Malrieu in his *Evaluative Semantics* declares that, "Despite this variety of approaches [to dealing with meaning in linguistics], very little attention has been paid to evaluation in language", 1999: 114.) Accordingly, the development of the appraisal framework has required the exploration of new approaches to linguistic taxonomizing and new modes of linguistic argumentation in support of those taxonomies. Inevitably, then, the project remains a work in progress with some of its analytical typologies still having the status of proposals or hypotheses requiring further investigation and testing.

2. Overview

2.1 Attitude – the activation of positive or negative positioning

In their early work into evaluation in narrative and student writing, the Australian group drew on the well-established tradition of research into the language of affect, a tradition which was exemplified by a special issue of *Text* concerned with the "potential of language to express different emotions and degrees of emotional intensity" (Ochs 1989: 1). The group shared with this tradition the view that emotion is crucially implicated in attitudinal assessment, in the activation by texts of positive and negative viewpoints. The group, however, has departed from the tradition in its view that 'affect' in its broadest sense should not be too closely tied to emotion and that, in order to address the text analytical issues with which the appraisal research has been concerned, it is useful to identify additional modes of affectual or attitudinal meaning. (See, for example, Martin 1997, 2000). Specifically, the appraisal framework proposes that attitudinal meanings (positive and negative assessments) can be grouped into three broad semantic domains.

2.1.1 Affect

Firstly there are these fundamentally attitudinal meanings associated with emotion – texts indicate positive or negative views via either reports of the speaker/writer's emotional responses or reports of the emotional responses of third parties. For example (values of Affect are underlined):

(1) I am <u>disappointed</u> and <u>ashamed</u> that two of our most <u>admired</u> and <u>respected</u> sportsmen could behave in such a manner. To play for your country is an honour and a privilege, not a right.   (*The West Australian* – 11/12/98: 12, letter to the editor, Jennifer Black, Riverdale)

The traditional term 'Affect' has been taken up as a label for such meaning.

2.1.2 Judgement

Secondly, there are meanings by which a view is indicated of the social acceptability of the behaviour of human actors, assessment by reference to some system of social norms or morality.

(2) Those who are chosen to represent Australia should not only be <u>talented</u> but they should be <u>above reproach</u>. Sport is supposed to teach <u>honour</u>, <u>fair play</u>, <u>teamwork</u>, <u>leadership</u> and <u>social skills</u>. It is not supposed to "create" or support greed and egos.   (*The West Australian* – 11/12/98: 12, letter to the editor, Jennifer Black, Riverdale)

The term 'Judgement' has been adopted to reference such meanings.

2.1.3 Appreciation

Thirdly, there are meanings by which assessments are made of semiotic and natural phenomena by reference to their value in a given field, perhaps most typically by reference to their aesthetic qualities.

(3) It [the E-type Jaguar] is a <u>masterpiece</u> of styling whose proportions are <u>dramatic...</u>; its <u>crisp</u> details are in <u>complete harmony</u> with the broader outlines of the <u>gorgeous</u> general arrangement...   (*The Independent*, Weekend Review: p. 1 27/01/2001)

The term 'Appreciation' has been adopted to reference these meanings.

2.1.4 Modes of activation – direct and implied

The framework makes a distinction in terms of the way in which such meanings are activated in text. Least problematically they can be activated by explicitly attitudinal terms, terms which generally carry a negative or positive meaning. For example,

(4) Without the intervention of a <u>partisan</u>, right-wing Supreme Court to ensure the election of a Republican, Mr Bush would now be a <u>forgotten loser</u>. The Observer considers his election <u>an affront to the democratic principle</u> with incalculable consequences for America and the world.   (*The Observer*, Jan 21, 2001 – leader page)

More problematic are activations which rely on implication, inference and association, which rely on the reader/listener to interpret the depicted happening or state of affairs as positive or negative according to the value system they bring to the text. For example,

(5) George W. Bush delivered his inaugural speech as the United States President who collected 537,000 fewer votes than his opponent.
(*The Observer*, Jan 21, 2001 – leader page)

Here an essentially 'factual' depiction points the reader towards a negative assessment of Bush and/or the US electoral process and clearly has the potential to activate such an assessment, depending, of course, on the viewpoint the individual reader brings to the text. The sentence, however, contains no explicitly attitudinal (positive or negative) lexis, no meanings which of themselves convey negative assessments.

Clearly such 'implied' appraisal poses major theoretical and analytical problems. In moving from direct to indirect activation, we step here from what certain Anglo-American traditions would see as 'semantics' into what would be seen as 'pragmatics', from meanings seen to be inscribed in the text to meanings seen to be operating only in the context. Accordingly, those operating with analytical philosophical notions of 'semantics' might want to exclude such formulations from treatments of 'evaluative

language', arguing that there is nothing about the actual 'language' here which is attitudinal. While this might be attractive in terms of avoiding complication and providing for more easily replicable analyses of texts, it would mean that much of the evaluative work being done by texts would simply be missed out. Analyses would not only be unable to attend to the role of implied or indirect evaluation generally, but they would also be unable to take account of the often rhetorically crucial interaction between direct and indirect assessment. (For a demonstration of how appraisal analysis can be used to explore this interaction, see Coffin 1997.) Under the appraisal framework, then, such formulations are seen as falling very much within the scope of linguistic analyses of evaluative effects.

In this, the framework stands with writers such as Gruber (1993) and Malrieu (1999). Gruber, for example, includes in his taxonomy of 'Evaluative Units' the use of directly quoted material which is likely to be seen by the reader as evidence of that quoted source's ethical shortcomings. Although the quoted source need not in any way be overtly evaluated, the use of the source's own words still clearly serves an evaluative function. Malrieu provides what is, perhaps, even stronger support, arguing that when expressions are considered in their actual textual context, "it is difficult to conceive of any phrase which would be evaluation free. In context, even adverbs and complement such as 'always' and 'with a knife' have an evaluation" (Malrieu 1999:134). In taking this view of evaluation, the appraisal framework, of course, also takes a lead from corpus linguistic research into 'semantic prosodies', an area of research already mentioned above.

Accordingly, appraisal proposes a distinction between what it terms 'inscribed' evaluation, where the positive/negative assessment is directly inscribed in the discourse through the use of attitudinal lexis, and what it terms 'invoked' evaluation, where it is not possible to isolate such explicitly attitudinal vocabulary. The extract in (5) would thus provide an example of 'invoked' attitude. Considerably more research is required in order to provide a systematic account of the mechanisms by which this process of 'invocation' operates.

2.1.5   Typological criteria

The exact criteria upon which this three-way taxonomy are based remains a central issue for the ongoing appraisal analysis project. The distinction between Affect and the other categories (Judgement and Appreciation) is a relatively unproblematic one. The semantics of Affect is one by which meanings are most typically realized through a verbal process undergone or experienced by a conscious human participant – the reactional Mental Processes of systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 1994) – *Your decision saddens me, I fear ghosts.* But no such canonical realizational mode applies for Judgement and Appreciation, with the picture complicated by the fact that all three categories have diversified realizations as, for example, adjectives (*adored*

leader [affect], *corrupt leader* [judgement], *handsome man* [appreciation]); adverbs (*adoringly, corruptly, beautifully*); nouns (*his love of, tyrant, masterpiece*); and verbs (*I love bagpipe music, he corrupted the political process*).

At this stage there is some evidence suggesting that the distinctions are reflected in patternings in collocational frames. (For more general work on evaluation and collocational frames, see Hunston & Sinclair 2000). We find, for example, that Judgement values are available for the frame, 'It was X-Judgement value of Y to...' ('It was dishonest of him to...', 'It was lazy of her to...', 'It was wise of her to...') while Appreciation values are not. Thus, 'It was thoughtless of you to leave the cat out in the rain' is possible but not 'It was elegant of you to wear that outfit'. Similarly when terms such as 'beautiful' operate as Appreciation, the 'It was X of Y to...' frame is not available ('It was beautiful of you to wear your hair like that.'), but when they operate as Judgement it is available ('It was beautiful of you help out those street kids the way you did.'). More work, however, is required in this area. At this stage the three-way taxonomy is proposed as an hypothesis about the organisation of the relevant meanings, being offered as a point of comparison for those with alternative classifications, as a resource for those who need something to manage the analysis of evaluation in discourse, and as a challenge to those concerned with developing appropriate reasoning.

2.1.6   The interplay between the attitudinal modes

It must be stressed, however, that while the framework extends established notions of the 'affectual' in this way, it still sees the three categories as fundamentally interconnected in that they are all to do with the expression of 'feelings'. It is just that the grounding of that feeling varies across the three modes. Under Affect, the action of emotion is directly indicated – feelings are presented as the contingent, personalized mental reactions of human subjects to some stimulus. But under both Judgement and Appreciation, these 'feelings' are institutionalized in some way and are recast as qualities which inhere in the evaluated phenomenon itself. Thus 'I like that picture' grounds the evaluation in the contingent, individual reactions of the speaker while 'that is a beautiful picture' grounds the evaluation in the 'objective' properties of the evaluated phenomenon itself. Under Judgement, feelings are reconstrued as proposals about correct behaviour – how we should or shouldn't behave. Thus, in 'He cruelly left the cat out in the rain' the negative feeling towards the perpetrator of this act is here reworked as a proposal about what it right and wrong behaviour towards cats. Under Appreciation, feelings are reconstrued as propositions about the value of things. Thus in 'That's a beautiful picture', the positive feeling towards the picture is reworked as a proposal about the picture's aesthetic worth. (For a more extended discussion of Judgement and Appreciation as institutionalizations of feeling, see Martin 2000). The role of Affect at the heart of institutionalized feelings is depicted diagrammatically below.
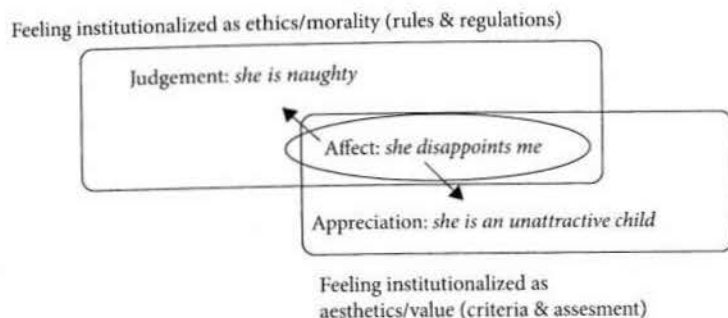
Feeling institutionalized as ethics/morality (rules & regulations)

Judgement: *she is naughty*

Affect: *she disappoints me*

Appreciation: *she is an unattractive child*

Feeling institutionalized as
aesthetics/value (criteria & assessment)

Figure 1. Judgement & Appreciation as institutionalized affect (from Martin 2000)

2.2   Intersubjective stance

In its modelling' of the resources of intersubjective stance, the framework is concerned with formulations which have traditionally been analyzed under such headings as modality (see for example Palmer 1986), polarity (see for example Pagano 1994), evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols 1986), hedging/boosting (Markkanen & Schröder 1997; Hyland 1996; Myers 1989; Meyer 1997), vague language (Channell 1994), intensification (Labov 1984), and meta-discourse (Crismore 1989). Under the appraisal framework, these lexico-grammatically diverse wordings are brought together on the grounds that they are all resources which vary the terms of the speaker's engagement with propositions and proposals, which vary what is at stake interpersonally both in individual utterances and as the texts unfolds cumulatively. These resources of inter-subjective stance are divided into two further broad categories – (a) resources by which the textual voice positions the current proposition with respect to actual or potential alternatives to that proposition (given the label Engagement) and (b) resources which provide grading or scaling (given the label Graduation), either in terms of the degree of the textual voice's personal investment in the proposition (intensifiers/down-toners) or in terms of choices the textual voice makes with respect to the preciseness of focus of its formulations. For reasons of space I will confine myself here to considering only Engagement. (For a full account of both Engagement and Graduation, see Martin & White 2003).

The approach taken to accounting for the intersubjective functionality of these values of Engagement is informed by Bakhtin's now widely influential notion of dia-logism and heteroglossia under which all verbal communication, whether written or spoken, is 'dialogic' in that to speak or write is always to refer to, or to take up in some

way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners. As Vološinov states,

> The actual reality of language-speech is not the abstract system of linguistic forms, not the isolated monologic utterance, and not the psychological act of its implementation, but the social event of verbal interaction implemented in an utterance or utterances.
>
> Thus, verbal interaction is the basic reality of language.
>
> Dialogue […] can also be understood in a broader sense, meaning not only direct, face-to-face, vocalised verbal communication between persons, but also verbal communication of any type whatsoever. A book, i.e. a verbal performance in print, is also an element of verbal communication. […] [it] inevitably orients itself with respect to previous performances in the same sphere […] Thus the printed verbal performance engages, as it were, in ideological colloquy of a large scale: it responds to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, seeks support, and so on.   (Vološinov 1995: 139)

The approach adopted by the appraisal framework holds that the functionality of these resources can only be adequately explained when such dialogistic effects are taken into account. That is to say, it holds that by the use of wordings such as *'possibly'*, *'It is my contention that...'*, *'naturally...'*, *'admittedly'*, *'I believe...'*, the textual voice acts first-and-foremost to acknowledge, to engage with and to align itself with respect to positions which are in some way alternatives to that being advanced by the text.

In this, the appraisal framework represents a departure from much of the modality and evidentiality literature (see for example, Lyons 1977; Palmer 1986; Chafe & Nichols 1986) and at least some of the hedging literature (see Markkanen & Schröder 1997) where accounts of epistemic modals and similar resources, for example, often assume that the sole function of these wordings is to reveal the writer/speaker's state of mind or knowledge, to indicate that the speaker/writer is uncertain or tentative and is not committed to the truth value of the proposition.

3.   Attitudinal assessment – a brief outline

3.1   Affect

The appraisal framework is oriented towards mapping semantic domains as they operate in discourse. Accordingly, as indicated above, the categorizations frequently bring together diverse grammatical structures under single discourse semantic head-ings. Affect is typical in this regard – its values are sometimes construed as qualities (adjectives – 'I am happy about that'), sometimes as processes (verbs – 'This pleases me') and sometimes as comment adjuncts ('Happily...'). They may also be realised as virtual entities (nouns) via nominalization – 'happiness'.

Following Martin (1997) and Martin (2000), the appraisal framework classifies different instances of affect according to the following 6 factors:

i. Are the feelings popularly construed by the culture as positive (enjoyable) or negative ones (unenjoyable)?

ii. Are the feelings represented as a surge of emotion involving some kind of paralinguistic or extralinguistic manifestation (for example, weeping or trembling), or more internally experienced as an emotive state or ongoing mental process?
    –   behavioural surge   *She broke down crying.*
    –   mental process/state   *She was distraught.*

iii. Are the feelings represented as targeting or responding to some specific emotional stimulus or are they represented as a general ongoing mood?
    –   reaction to stimulus   *Her mother's absence is upsetting her.*
    –   undirected mood   *She is sad.*

iv. Where do the feelings lie on a scale from low to high intensity?
    –   low   *I dislike bagpipe music.*
    –   median;   *I hate bagpipe music.*
    –   high   *I detest bagpipe music.*

v. Do the feelings involve intention (rather than reaction), with respect to a stimulus that is not yet actualised (irrealis) as opposed to an actual stimulus (realis)?
    –   realis   *I'm upset by what she said.*
    –   irrealis   *I fear what she might say.*

vi. Finally, emotions can be grouped into three major sets having to do with un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. The un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with 'affairs of the heart' – sadness, anger, happiness and love; the in/security variable covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – anxiety, fear, confidence and trust; the dis/satisfaction variable covers emotions concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect.
    –   un/happiness   *I am sad.*
    –   in/security   *I am anxious.*
    –   dis/satisfaction   *I am bored.*

3.2   Judgement

Judgement is the domain of meanings by which attitudes are construed with respect to human behaviour – approval/disapproval of human behaviour by reference to social

acceptability/social norms; assessments of a person's character or how they 'measure up' to social requirements of expectations. The framework divides these Judgements into those dealing with social esteem and those oriented to social sanction. Judgements of social sanction involve an assertion that some set of rules or regulations, more or less explicitly codified by the culture, are at issue. Those rules may be legal, moral or religious. Judgements of social esteem involve evaluations under which the person judged will be lowered or raised in the esteem of their community, but which do not have legal or moral implications. Thus negative values of social esteem will be seen as dysfunctional or inappropriate or to be discouraged but they will not be assessed as sins or crimes.

Judgements of social esteem can be to do with normality (how usual someone's behaviour is), capacity (how capable they are) and tenacity (how resolute they are). Judgements of social sanction have to do with veracity (how truthful someone is) and propriety (how ethical someone is).

Table 1. Judgement (after Iedema et al. 1994)

Social esteem	positive [admire]	negative [criticize]
normality (custom) 'is the person's behaviour unusual, special, customary?'	standard, everyday, average…; lucky, charmed…; fashionable, avant garde…	eccentric, odd, maverick…; unlucky, unfortunate…; dated, unfashionable …
capacity 'is the person competent, capable?'	skilled, clever, insightful…; athletic, strong, powerful…; sane, together…	stupid, slow, simple-minded…; clumsy, weak, uncoordinated…; insane, neurotic…
tenacity (resolve) 'is the person dependable, well disposed?'	plucky, brave, heroic…; reliable, dependable…; indefatigable, resolute, persevering	cowardly, rash, despondent…; unreliable, undependable…; distracted, lazy, unfocussed…

Social sanction	positive [praise]	negative [condemn]
veracity (truth) 'is the person honest?'	honest, truthful, credible…; authentic, genuine…; frank, direct…;	deceitful, dishonest…; bogus, fake…; deceptive, obfuscatory…
propriety (ethics) 'is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	good, moral, virtuous…; law abiding, fair, just…; caring, sensitive, considerate…	bad, immoral, lascivious…; corrupt, unjust, unfair…; cruel, mean, brutal, oppressive…

(Please note that the lists of terms in the right-hand columns are intended only as a guide to the types of meanings which are involved here and not as some sort of

dictionary of Judgement sub-types. In actual analysis, it is always meaning in context which is addressed. Thus the evaluative meaning of a particular word form may vary from text to text under the influence of co-textual factors.)

Under the appraisal framework, this five-way taxonomy (normality, capacity, tenacity, veracity, propriety) is grounded in the semantics of modalization as articulated by Halliday (1994). That is say, each of the sub-categories of Judgement can be understood as a lexicalization of one of the grammatical categories of modality. This relationship operates in the following proportions: normality is to usuality, as capacity is to ability, as tenacity is to inclination, as veracity is to probability, as propriety is to obligation. In the early work on Judgement (Iedema et al. 1994), the labels for the five sub-types were closer to these modal oppositions, as reflected in Figure 2 below (fate for normality, resolve for tenacity, truth for veracity, ethics for propriety).
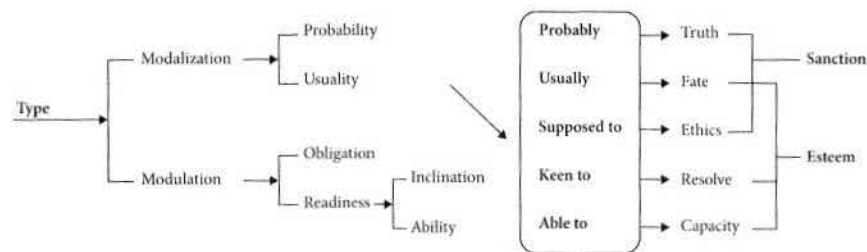

Figure 2. (from Iedema et al. 1994)

The bridge between the underlying grammatical modal options and the lexical categories of Judgement is provided by Halliday's notion of interpersonal metaphor (Halliday 1994). Under Halliday's framework, modal values can be realized 'congruently' (non-metaphorically) by modal auxiliaries (*may, must, might, could* etc.) and adjuncts (*perhaps, possibly, certainly*) and metaphorically through more lexical formulations such as 'It is possible that', 'It is required that', 'I think that…', etc. It is possible to construct a series of realizations for the 'epistemic' modal values of probability, usuality and capacity which begins with congruent realizations (via 'grammatical' formulations) and extends through metaphorical ones (more lexicalized) towards lexis which is clearly appraising in nature. In this way modalizations of probability can be related to lexicalized Judgements of veracity:

> He took the money. (unmodalized)
> He must have taken the money.
> Certainly he took the money.
> It's certain he took the money.
> It's true that he took the money.
> She was honest in stating that he took the money.   [Judgement: veracity]

Similarly, modalities of usuality can be related to Judgements of normality:

> My students dress entirely in black. (unmodalized)
> My students often dress entirely in black.
> It's usual for my students to dress entirely in black.
> It's normal for my students to dress entirely in black.
> It's fashionable for my students to dress entirely in black.   [Judgement: normality]

Likewise for ability and capacity:

> He can go.
> He's able to go.
> He's capable of going.
> He's strong enough to go.
> He's healthy enough, mature enough to go   [Judgement: capacity]

A similar relationship of proportionality holds for the deontic modal values (obligation, inclination) and the Judgement values of propriety and tenacity. Thus inclination can be related to lexicalized tenacity:

> I'll go.
> I'm determined to go.
> I'm intent on going.
> I'm resolved to go
> I'm resolute, steadfast, unyielding, unflinching etc.   [Judgement: tenacity]

And obligation can be related to lexicalized Judgements of propriety:

> Don't do that.
> You shouldn't do that.
> You're not supposed to do that.
> It's expected that you won't do that.
> It'd be unfair for you to do that.
> It's corrupt, insensitive, arrogant, selfish, etc. of you to do that.   [Judgement: propriety]

(For a full account see Martin & White 2003)

3.3   Appreciation

As indicated above, Appreciation is the domain of meanings for construing evaluations of the products of human endeavour such as artefacts, buildings, texts and works of art, and also of natural phenomena and states of affairs. The semantic is one by which such objects are assigned a value (negative or positive) in a given discourse or field of activity. One of the most salient systems for the assignment of such value is that of aesthetics. Human subjects may be 'appreciated' rather than 'judged', but only when

it is, for example, their aesthetic qualities which are being addressed rather than the social acceptability of their behaviour.

The appraisal framework sub-divides Appreciations into those assessments which turn on our reactions to things (do they catch our attention; do they please us?), their composition (balance and complexity), and their value (how innovative, authentic, timely, effective, healthy, relevant, salient, significant etc.). Some illustrative examples are supplied below in Table 2.

Table 2. Values of appreciation

	Positive	Negative
reaction: impact 'did it grab me?'	arresting, captivating, engaging...; fascinating, exciting, moving...; lively, dramatic, intense...; remarkable, notable, sensational...	dull, boring, tedious...; dry, ascetic, uninviting...; flat, predictable, monotonous...; unremarkable, pedestrian ...
reaction: quality 'did I like it?'	lovely, beautiful, splendid...; appealing, enchanting, welcome...	plain, ugly, grotesque...; repulsive, revolting, off-putting...
composition: balance 'did it hang together?'	balanced, harmonious, unified, symmetrical, proportioned...; consistent, considered, logical...; shapely, curvaceous, willowy...	unbalanced, discordant, irregular, uneven, flawed...; contradictory, disorganised...; shapeless, amorphous, distorted...
composition: complexity 'was it hard to follow?'	simple, pure, elegant...; lucid, clear, precise...; intricate, rich, detailed, precise...	ornate, extravagant, byzantine...; arcane, unclear, woolly...; plain, monolithic, simplistic...
valuation 'was it worthwhile?'	penetrating, profound, deep...; innovative, original, creative...; timely, long awaited, landmark...; inimitable, exceptional, unique...; authentic, real, genuine...; valuable, priceless, worthwhile...	shallow, reductive, insignificant...; derivative, conventional, prosaic...; dated, overdue, untimely...; dime-a-dozen, everyday, common...; fake, bogus, glitzy...; worthless, shoddy, pricey...

The fact that affectual values underpin all three sub-categories of Attitude (Affect, Judgement, Appreciation) is perhaps most obviously demonstrated in reaction values of Appreciation such as 'a *fascinating* book', 'a *boring* piece of music'. Such instances, of course, involve lexis which could otherwise be used to realize Affect – 'the book fascinates me', 'that music bores me'. Under the framework, such instances are kept apart on the grounds that there is something rhetorically significant at stake in choosing between explicitly grounding the evaluation in the emotional reactions of an individual

human subject ('That book bores me') and externalizing that feeling by representing it as a characteristic which inheres in the evaluated entity itself. That is to say, it is seen as important to be able to distinguish between construing the emotions someone feels (Affect) and ascribing the power to trigger such feelings to things (Appreciation).

4. Engagement: An overview

As indicated previously, the treatment of the resources of intersubjective positioning developed within the appraisal framework is informed by the view that all verbal utterances are ultimately dialogic. To illustrate this style of treatment I will consider briefly the functionality of the phrase 'there is an argument, is there' in the following short extract from a radio interview. The interviewer quizzes the then conservative Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, about the behaviour of the Australian banks in raising interest rates at a time when they have been making record profits.

(6) *There is an argument, though, is there*, the banks have been a bit greedy I mean, the profits are high and good on them, they're entitled to have high profits, but at the same time the fees are bordering on the unreasonable now.

There is, of course, a backwards looking 'dialogistic' aspect to the use of this phrase. The interviewer presents himself as 'simply' taking up the words of some other, non-specified prior group of speakers. He represents himself as conveying 'community concerns' rather than his own, individual views. But there is rather more going on here in terms of the way the text recognizes and hence engages with potential alternatives to the current proposition. By such a device the interviewer indicates that this is a contested, debated assessment of the bank's behaviour – he acknowledges that this it is but one of a number of views currently in play in the community. He thereby indicates that he anticipates that at least some elements in society will object to, and challenge such a suggestion. By representing the proposition as 'arguable' in this way, he represents himself as not personally committed to this position and hence signals a preparedness to enter into debate on the issue. In this sense, then, the formulation can be seen as an instance of dialogistic anticipation.

Under the framework, the following options (which may be multiply present in a given utterance) are seen as enabling the textual voice to vary the terms by which it engages with alternative voices and alternative positions.

Disclaim – the textual voice positions itself as at odds with, or rejecting, some contrary position:

- (deny) negation
- (counter) concession/counter expectation

Proclaim – by representing the proposition as highly warrantable (compelling, valid, plausible, well-founded, generally agreed, reliable, etc.), the textual voice sets itself against, suppresses or rules out alternative positions:

- (concur) *naturally..., of course..., obviously..., admittedly...etc.*; some types of 'rhetorical' question
- (pronounce) *I contend..., the truth of the matter is..., there can be no doubt that...etc.*
- (endorse) *X has demonstrated that...; X as compellingly argued...etc.*

Entertain – by representing the proposition as grounded in a contingent, individual subjecthood, the textual voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions – it thereby **entertains** or invokes these dialogic alternatives:

- *it seems, the evidence suggests, apparently, I hear*
- *perhaps, probably, maybe, it's possible, may/will/must*; some types of 'rhetorical' question

Attribute – by representing proposition as grounded in the subjecthood of an external voice, the textual voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions – it thereby entertains or invokes these dialogic alternatives:

- (acknowledge) *X said.., X believes..., according to X, in X's view*
- (distance) *X claims that, the myth that...., it's rumoured that*

4.1   Dialogic contraction and expansion

These various options, then, are seen as enabling variations in stance – they all provide for a different orientation to the heteroglossic diversity in which the text operates. They are further seen as falling into two wider categories according to a broader-scale axis of variation in rhetorical functionality. They are characterized as either 'dialogically expansive' or 'dialogically contractive', with the distinction turning on the degree to which an utterance, by dint of one or more of these wordings, entertains dialogically alternative positions and voices (dialogic expansion), or alternatively, acts to challenge, fend off or restrict the scope of such (dialogic contraction).

Consider the following by way of illustration of this distinction.

(7) (Endorsement) Follain punctures the romantic myth that the mafia started as Robin Hood-style groups of men protecting the poor. He *shows* that the mafia began in the 19th century as armed bands protecting the interests of the absentee landlords who owned most of Sicily. He also *demonstrates* how the mafia has forged links with Italy's ruling Christian Democrat party since the war
(Cobuild Bank of English)

(8) (Distance) Tickner said regardless of the result, the royal commission was a waste of money and he would proceed with a separate inquiry into the issue headed by Justice Jane Matthews. His attack came as the Aboriginal women involved in the demanded a female minister examine the religious beliefs they *claim* are inherent in their fight against a bridge to the island near Goolwa in South Australia.   (Cobuild Bank of English)

Both extracts are obviously dialogistic in that they explicitly reference the utterances and viewpoints of external voices. But there is more at stake here than simple attribution, than a simple multiplying of voices. Extract (7) is an example of a formulation in which a special type of reporting verb has been used (*show, demonstrate*) – one which presupposes the warrantability of the attributed proposition, which, for example, holds it to be true, reliable, plausible or fair. (Reporting verbs of this type have, of course, been widely discussed in the literature on attribution and direct and indirect speech. See, for example, Hunston 2000 or Caldas-Coulthard 1994.) By such 'endorsing' formulations, the textual voice aligns itself with some external voice which is represented as correct, authoritative or otherwise argumentatively compelling, at least in the context of this particular proposition. By indicating in this way a heightened personal investment by the author, by co-opting some authoritative second party to the current rhetorical cause, such formulations set themselves against, or at least fend off, actual or potential contrary positions. That is to say, they increase the interpersonal cost to any who would advance such an alternative. Thus in the above instance, 'show' and 'demonstrate' are employed as the textual voice sets itself against the discredited alternative view of the Mafia as 'Robin Hood types'. Such endorsements, then, can be construed as 'dialogically contractive' – the close down the space for dialogic alternatives.

Extract (8) has the opposite effect. Here, of course, the textual voice distances itself from the proposition framed by 'claim', representing it as, if not doubtful, then at least as doubtable, as potentially open to question. The effect is to invite or at least entertain dialogic alternatives, to lower the interpersonal cost for any who would advance such an alternative. Accordingly, such 'distancing' formulations can be seen as dialogically expansive, as opening up the dialogic space for alternative positions. (It must be stressed that it is not proposed that a verb such as 'to claim' necessary has this function in all cases. The rhetorical potential of such formulations, for example, may vary systematically across registers, genres and discourse domains.)

In this distinction, then, between 'Endorsing' and Distancing' we see the fundamental contrast between dialogic contraction and expansion.

4.2   Further resources of dialogic expansion

The values of 'Acknowledge' and 'Entertain' align with such 'Distancing' formulations in acting to open up the dialogic space to alternative positions.

4.2.1 *Acknowledge*

The category of 'Acknowledge' involves attribution where 'neutral' frames are employed to simply report the words and viewpoints of external voices – by the use, for example, of reporting verbs such as 'say', 'report', 'state' and wordings such as 'according to', 'in her view'. Just as in the case of the other attributions (Distance, Endorse), such formulation are obviously dialogic in that they explicitly introduce an alternative voice into the text. And once again they are dialogistic in an additional sense – in that, by this explicit grounding of the proposition in an individual subjecthood, they represent the proposition as individual and contingent, as but one of a range of possible propositions. Those alternatives to the current proposition are, in this sense, recognized and the heteroglossic context in which the text operates is thereby revealed.

4.2.2 *Entertain*

Formulations which actively 'entertain' dialogic alternatives include

- deductive formulations such as *it seems, apparently, the evidence suggests*;
- forms which represent the proposition/proposal as more or less likely, including modals of probability, as well as certain 'rhetorical' uses of questions.

In such contexts, the proposition is shown to be grounded in the subjecthood of the textual voice since it provides assessments of the proposition's likelihood or evidential basis. Grounded in this way, the proposition is shown to be contingent and associated with an individualized point of view. As such, it is revealed to be but one of a number of possible alternative position. In this way, these alternatives are entertained or acknowledged and the dialogic space for those alternatives is thereby expanded.

4.3 Further resources of dialogic contraction

4.3.1 *Pronounce*

Under the appraisal framework, 'Pronouncements' are formulations which involve certain types of intensification, authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations. For example: *I contend…, The facts of the matter are that…, The truth of the matter is that…, We can only conclude that…, You must agree that…*, intensifiers with clausal scope such as *really, indeed* etc. and, in speech, appropriately placed stress (e.g. 'The level of tolerance *is* the result of government intervention').

For example, the phrase, 'It is absolutely clear to me' in the following performs this function

(9)   *It is **absolutely** clear to me that* what Charlotte was arguing was that Crouching Tiger was a bad film to which liberal audiences imputed a significance shaped by their own prejudices about Chinese cinema and the Chinese in general.
(Letter to the www.dimsum.co.uk website from
Ian Katz, features editor, the *Guardian*.)

Such intensifications and interpolations are dialogically motivated. The textual voice doesn't indicate this heightened personal investment in the proposition in a communicative vacuum. Rather it does so against some opposed dialogic alternative – here against a contrary view of what 'Charlotte' was arguing. Thus such formulations are dialogic in that they acknowledge an alternative while simultaneously acting to challenge or fend it off. They are dialogically contractive by dint of this action of confronting and fending off the contrary position.

4.3.2 *Concur*

The 'Concur' option involves wordings such as *of course* and *naturally*. These formulations are like 'Pronouncements' in that they also provide for the textual voice to explicitly convey its investment in the viewpoint being advanced and thereby to confront or rule out possible alternatives. They differ, however, in that they represent the proposition/proposal as uncontentious within the current communicative context, as a 'given', as being in accord with what is generally known or expected. The textual voice is represented as taking up a viewpoint held by people generally, and hence the reader/listener. Consider by way of example the use of 'of course' in the following.

(10)   When, belatedly, their selectors chose Paul Adams, who would assuredly have won them the second Test in Johannesburg, their attack became 'very good' in the opinion of Trevor Bailey, who has seen a few in his time. *Bailey, **of course**, was that rarity, a cricketer who at his best was world-class with both bat and ball.*
(From the Bank of English OzNews corpus)

Here the writer represents himself/herself as simply agreeing with the reader, as recounting a view (that Bailey was a cricketing rarity) which is already held by the dialogic partner and by people in general. The location of the current proposition within a dialogistic exchange is thus employed to increase the cost of any subsequent challenging or rejecting of the proposition.

4.3.3 *Disclaim (Deny and Counter)*

The final dialogistically contractive option is supplied by meanings by which some prior utterance or some alternative position is invoked so as to be directly rejected, replaced or held to be unsustainable. Obviously to deny or reject a position is maximally contractive in that, while the alternative position has been recognized, it is held not to apply – the alternative position is thus directly confronted. This is the domain of negation and concession/counter-expectation. The term 'Disclaim' is used to reference such formulations which operate in this way, with two further sub-types identified.

4.3.4 *Disclaim: Deny (negation)*

From the appraisal framework's dialogistic perspective, negation as a resource for introducing the alternative positive position into the dialog, and hence acknowledging

it and engaging with it, and then rejecting it. Thus in these interpersonal/dialogistic terms, the negative is not the simple logical opposite of the positive, since the negative carries with it the positive, while the positive does not reciprocally carry the negative. This aspect of the negative, though perhaps at odds with common-sense understandings, has been quite widely noted in the literature – see for example, Leech (1983: 101); Pagano (1994); Fairclough (1992: 121). Consider, for example, the following extract from an advertisement placed in magazines by the British Heart Foundation.

(11)   We all like something to grab hold of. But sometimes you can have too much of a good thing. And a man whose table diet consists of double cheeseburgers and chips can end up looking like a tub of lard. *There's nothing wrong with meat, bread and potatoes.* But how about some lean meat, wholemeal bread and jacket potatoes?

Here the denial, 'There is nothing wrong with meat, bread and potatoes', is clearly dialogic in the sense that it invokes, and presents itself as responding to, claims/beliefs that 'There is something wrong with meat, bread and potatoes'. A prior and alternative position is thus clearly engaged with dialogistically.

4.3.5   *Disclaim: Counter*

Related to such negating formulations are those which represent the current proposition as replacing and supplanting a proposition which would have been expected in its place. Consider, for example

(12)   They [Kevin and Ian Maxwell, sons of Robert Maxwell] have a lot to prove in the coming years. Now they will not only seek to make their own fortunes but to clear their father's besmirched name. They grew up to see him as the eternal outsider, the man who had fought Establishment prejudice and pettifogging bureaucracy to get where he was. Sure, he broke rules. Yes, he ducked and dived. Admittedly, he was badly behaved. ***But*** *look at what he had achieved. From nothing, he had become a multinational businessman with an empire stretching across the world, the confidant of statesmen and just as famous himself.*
                                                (From the Bank of English UKMags corpus)

The extract (from *The Times*) is concerned with the notorious British businessman, newspaper magnate and former Labour MP, Robert Maxwell (now deceased) and his two sons, Kevin and Ian. In the extract, the writer seeks to explain, even justify, why the two sons might have continued to regard their father favourably, despite the negativity with which Maxwell had come to be viewed generally. (Maxwell had been found after his death to have secretly diverted millions of dollars from two of his companies and from employee pension funds in an effort to keep his business empire solvent.) For our current purposes we are concerned with the latter part of this sequence, the utterances which follow 'But' – 'But look at what he had achieved. From nothing he had become

a multinational businessman...' The textual voice is here setting itself against what is represented as a generally applying negative view of Maxwell. By the formulation, the negative view is held not to apply, at least for Maxwell's sons. Thus through a dialogic interaction, a certain view is referenced and then rejected.

4.4   Engagement resources – summary

The following table provides an overview of the resources of Engagement.

Table 3. Engagement resources

Dialogic contraction

Disclaim:
> Deny: e.g. *It is a review which <u>doesn't</u> consider the feelings of the Chinese community.*
> Counter: e.g. <u>*What is surprising is*</u> *to find such offensive opinions in the Guardian..*

Proclaim:
> Concur: e.g. *The Premier, <u>of course</u>, wants us to think what a fine anti-racist fellow he is.*
> Pronounce: e.g. <u>*It is absolutely clear to me that*</u> *what Charlotte was arguing was that Crouching Tiger was a bad film.*
> Endorse: *Dr Ruffman's work has* <u>shown</u> *that parents or carers who talk to their children about mental states -thoughts, beliefs, desires and feelings end up with children who know much earlier in life what another person is thinking.*

Dialogic expansion

Entertain: e.g. <u>*Perhaps*</u> *the most telling thing about Charlotte Raven's review of Crouching Tiger isn't in the review itself but in the one line preamble on the Guardian website.*

Attribute
> Attribute/Acknowledge: e.g. *It <u>states</u>: "Crashing bore, wooden drama: Charlotte Raven dares to differ from the unanimous acclaim for Ang Lee's Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon".*
> Attribute/Distance: e.g. *and someone <u>went as far as to suggest that</u> by using the phrase "it seemed to contain multitudes" to describe the performance of the cast, Charlotte was alluding to Western images of "Chinese masses".*

5.   Conclusion

This, then, in outline is the model provided by the appraisal framework of some of he key resources of evaluation and stance. In its taxonomy of values of Attitude it provides an account of the options available for construing different types of positive or negative assessment. In its notion of direct versus invoked attitude, it provides an account of the options available for activating these assessments. By its account of the resources of Engagement, it offers a framework for exploring how the textual voice positions itself with respect to such assessments, a framework for characterizing the different intersubjective stances available to the textual voice.

It is not possible or appropriate in the current context to go beyond this descriptive outline and to set about demonstrating applications of the framework to text analytical issues. For such demonstrations, see, for example, Iedema et al. 1994; Eggins & Slade 1997; Christie & Martin 1997; White 2002; Martin & White 2003; Macken & Martin 2003). By way of conclusion, however, it may be useful to note that the applications which have been developed to this point have attended to the following types of issues:

– differences in attitudinal profiles (different patterns of occurrence of attitudinal subtypes) by which individual texts or groupings of texts (for example those representing a given register or genre) can be contrasted;

– patternings within a text of the occurrence of attitudinal values by which functional stages can be identified;

– associations between given social actors and particular types of attitudinal assessment;

– the role of implicit or invoked attitude in providing for the strategic impersonalization of texts;

– the association of particular patternings of dialogistic resources with rhetorical effects such as the construction of authorial personas or the modelling of an 'intended' audience;

– patterns of interplay between Attitude and Engagement which reveal the ideological assumptions operating in the text.

The ongoing research project out of which the appraisal framework has emerged is one which seeks to provide a systematic account of the social semiotic principles by which attitudinal assessments are activated and negotiated in texts and by which those texts construct for themselves communities of shared feelings, values, tastes and beliefs. In this it provide an account in which the lexico-grammatical, semantic and the social and contextual are integrated, and by which, therefore, it becomes possible to provide linguistically based explanations of such social effects as attitudinal positioning, the construction of authorial personae and negotiations of solidarity.

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Cohesion and coherence

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1.   Introduction

Linguists use the two notions of cohesion and coherence to refer to the (linguistically encoded or just assumed) connectedness of spoken as well as written discourse or text. Of course, connecting relations also hold among elements of structure within grammatical units such as word, phrase, clause or sentence. But these intra-sentential relations are different in kind because they are determined by phonological and grammatical rules and described, *inter alia*, as syntactic-semantic relations of valency, dependency, constituency, modification. Cohesion, operating inter-sententially, and coherence are key notions in text and discourse analysis, as well as in pragmatics because they also relate to the complex interrelationship between form, meaning and use of linguistic expressions in specific (social) contexts.

Native speakers have intuitions about which sequences of utterances do or do not constitute discourse or text. If, by way of an experiment, we deliberately distort a perfectly comprehensible and acceptable text by, e.g. changing the order of its utterances or its linguistic, situational or socio-cultural context, the effect will be one of confusion on the part of our hearers or readers. They may still understand each individual utterance but not the resulting string of utterances as a whole, i.e. as one unit with a definite function in its environment. In the eye of the language user who is trying to interpret them, they do not 'hang together' in a reasonable way. I.e., they do not display order and do not form a meaningful gestalt that fits both into the linguistic environment as well as the social situation, serves the accepted communicative goal and contributes to the topic at hand; in other words, they are not coherent. Accordingly, the defining characteristic of such instances of discourse or text is coherence, which itself rests on text-forming resources such as cohesion and general structural properties determined by register or genre.

Though both cohesion and coherence refer to meaning resting on relations of connectedness (between individual propositions and sets of propositions), which may or may not be linguistically encoded, they are descriptive categories which differ in kind. Cohesion refers to inter-sentential semantic relations which link current items with preceding or following ones by lexical and structural means (cf. below). Cohesion is a kind of textual prosody. Since J. R. Firth, who perceived prosodic effects as phonological colouring, we use *prosody* to refer to the property of a feature to extend