

# Caroline Coffin & Kieran O'Halloran

## FINDING THE GLOBAL GROOVE:

Theorising and analysing dynamic reader positioning using APPRAISAL, corpus, and a concordancer

*Within critical discourse analysis (CDA), there has been ongoing interest in how texts position readers to view social and political events in a particular way. Traditionally, analysts have not examined how positioning is built up dynamically as a reader progresses through a text by tracing how earlier parts of a text are likely to affect subsequent interpretation. This article shows how APPRAISAL tools (as developed within the systemic functional tradition) can be usefully employed within CDA to do this. Using a story from The Sun newspaper website as illustration, we show how due to a cumulative groove of semantic patterning, the reader is dynamically positioned to interpret a seemingly neutral statement at the end of the story in a negative way. We show how potential analyst 'over-interpretation' can be checked through the use of a concordancer. We also demonstrate how a specialised corpus can go some way to grounding the APPRAISAL analysis in terms of the context of the target readership and the meanings they are routinely exposed to. This we argue facilitates an explanatory critique of the way in which a text is likely to be understood by its target readership in relation to the socio-political-economic context.*

**Keywords** APPRAISAL; corpus linguistics; critical discourse analysis; dynamic reader positioning; evaluative meaning; news texts; explanatory critique

## Introduction

An important goal of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to reveal the way in which the language of a text positions readers to view and evaluate social and political reality in particular ways (e.g., Fairclough, 1992; Mills, 1995). By showing how influential texts such as those in newspapers may influence and shape the valuational viewpoints of their communities of readers, the micro-to-macro analytical framework of CDA (e.g., Fairclough, 2001) provides a means of social critique. Significantly, CDA reader positioning analysis has not focused on dynamic reader

positioning – that is, how positioning is built up as the reader progresses through a text. It is important, however, to consider the cumulative build-up of evaluative meaning since an earlier section of a text may affect how subsequent sections are interpreted. As a simple illustration, let us take a short extract from a news story in *The Sun* newspaper, a UK tabloid. In the story, the Deputy Prime Minister of the UK, John Prescott, is reported to have made a rude hand-gesture:

The gesture is the latest in a series of gaffes by Mr Prescott, dubbed Two Jags for his love of the cars. He has THUMPED a protester during an election campaign, caused a STORM by using two cars for a 250-yard drive, DOZED off at a summit and got a SOAKING by Chumbawamba at the Brits.

(Kavanagh & Lea, 2003)

Signalled by the word ‘gaffes’, many readers would understand from the first sentence above that Mr. Prescott is responsible for the actions that follow and this indeed seems to be the case as indicated by the sequence of clauses in which Prescott is responsible for ‘thumping’, ‘causing a storm’, and ‘dozing off’. We could argue that this sequence of similarly structured clauses creates a kind of vertical ‘groove’ of meaning which reinforces the message that Prescott is responsible for the various gaffes reported in the story. However, if we consider the final clause – ‘and [he] got a soaking by the pop band Chumbawamba at the Brits – we see that Mr. Prescott, rather than being responsible for the ‘soaking’ (caused, in fact, by a member of the pop group pouring a bucket of water over him at a British music awards ceremony), was the recipient of the water. This last incident then is not a ‘gaffe’. However, the construction of the text groove would seem to position the reader dynamically to think that John Prescott was responsible for the soaking he received.

The above is merely an illustration of how readers may be dynamically positioned as a result of textual patterning. Clearly, though, we have not performed anything like a systematic analysis; indeed we were only dealing with an extract from a longer news report. It is to the recent development of a framework within systemic functional linguistics referred to as APPRAISAL (see Martin, 1997, 2000; White, 2003a, 2003b) that we will turn in order to borrow tools to perform a systematic analysis of dynamic reader positioning.<sup>1</sup> In this article, we use a complete news story to illustrate how the APPRAISAL framework can be used systematically to trace the build-up through a text of an evaluative groove and to show how such a groove positions readers to evaluate seemingly neutral sentences in a text.

We use the word ‘groove’ in order to capture the way in which interpersonal meaning through a text can dynamically channel readers to take up an overall evaluative stance towards the content of subsequent text.

As a result of our analysis we propose that APPRAISAL is a useful tool for critical discourse analysts identifying how dynamic reader positioning is built up. Such a claim raises, however, a key issue in CDA: to what extent can analysts make claims about the positioning power of a text for other readers? Many practitioners in CDA argue that all analysis is value-laden (see Gouveia, 2003). We are sympathetic to this argument. If we wish to judge how a text might be positioning readers other than ourselves, we need to put in place mechanisms which help to

reduce as much as possible the intrusion of our own values and idiosyncratic judgments of text meaning which may not be those of other readers. We will explore this issue by showing how the computer technology of a concordancer can substantiate APPRAISAL analysis by helping to reduce an analyst's subjective intrusion.

There is another important methodological point to consider. If we wish to gain an understanding of how a text positions its target readership, a readership that analysts may not be part of, we will ultimately need to connect the linguistic analysis to the context of the target readership. Below, we will show how a specialised corpus can help establish this link in grounding the APPRAISAL text analysis from a more discursive, intertextual perspective and in doing so bolstering it. We also show how, in doing this, explanatory critique of the wider socio-political context in which a text is likely to be read is facilitated.

## The data

The object of our linguistic analysis is a news story published in *The Sun* (May 27, 2003), a UK tabloid newspaper which has a very large circulation of over 3.5 million.<sup>2</sup> This large circulation means *The Sun* has the potential to exert a large influence in Britain, particularly among the working-class readership it targets.<sup>3</sup> The news report relates to the signing of a new European Union (EU) constitution which is concerned with, among other things, making progress in the areas of freedom, security, and justice, and in the fields of common foreign and security policy. Brussels, mentioned in the text, is where the European Commission is based, this being the driving force within the EU's institutional system in that it proposes legislation, policies, and programmes of action and is responsible for implementing the decisions of the European Parliament and the Council. Eastern Europe is also mentioned in the article; a significant issue which faced the EU when the text was written was its imminent expansion to include several countries from eastern Europe such as Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the euro or 'single currency' of the EU is also referred to, having been introduced in 2002 in 12 of the 15 countries of the European Union (including Germany, France, and Italy – countries mentioned in the article).

Consider the last sentence of the report: 'Mr Blair will be expected to sign up to the constitution blueprint by the end of June.' On its own, we felt that such a statement would carry little weight for many readers. Coming at the end of the report, however, we thought it had a particular resonance, which we encourage you to reflect on when you come to it shortly. Here now is the whole text data:

### **Two million jobs in peril**

By GEORGE PASCOE-WATSON  
Deputy Political Editor

TWO million jobs will be lost if Tony Blair signs the new EU treaty, it was feared last night.

A revised draft of the proposed constitution revealed that Britain would be forced to surrender control of its economy to Brussels.

And other key elements of our way of life would be affected even more drastically than first thought.

The draft proved Brussels also aimed to snatch power over UK employment, foreign affairs, defence and welfare.

And it meant Britain would have to dish out generous benefits to millions of migrants from eastern Europe.

They would be allowed to flock here after ten new nations join the EU next year.

*The scale of the masterplan for a United States of Europe triggered outrage last night.*

Critics said booming Britain would be crippled by the sort of economic edicts that have wrecked Germany.

Tory MP David Heathcoat-Amory said: 'We could be facing another two million British workers on the dole.'

'The EU will be driving our employment policies in the same direction as Germany. They are struggling with mass unemployment and their dole queue is rising.'

Mr Heathcoat-Amory sits on the convention thrashing out the constitution but his attempts to limit its powers have been swept aside.

He backed The Sun's call for Britain to be allowed a referendum on joining the treaty. Mr Blair has refused to stage one – although other EU states will get a vote.

A crucial phrase in yesterday's blueprint stated: 'The Union shall work for a Europe of sustainable development based on balanced economic growth with a social market economy.'

Experts leaped on the final three words and warned they would be a death sentence to our freewheeling economy.

Germany has laboured for years under this system which forces firms and individuals to pay high taxes which stifle growth and enterprise.

Dr Madsen Pirie, president of the Adam Smith Institute – a free market think-tank – said the constitution would be disastrous for UK employment.

He said: 'There is no doubt that if we were to sign up to the proposals it would result in large numbers of people being unemployed.'

'The reason we are not in the bad position that most of our European partners are in is because we kept our independence from the single currency.'

'This constitution would make us lose an important part of that independence. We absolutely must have a referendum.'

Patrick Minford, professor of economics at Cardiff University, said: 'This could easily put another two million on the unemployment register.'

'We will bring back mass unemployment just as they have got in Germany, France and Italy.'

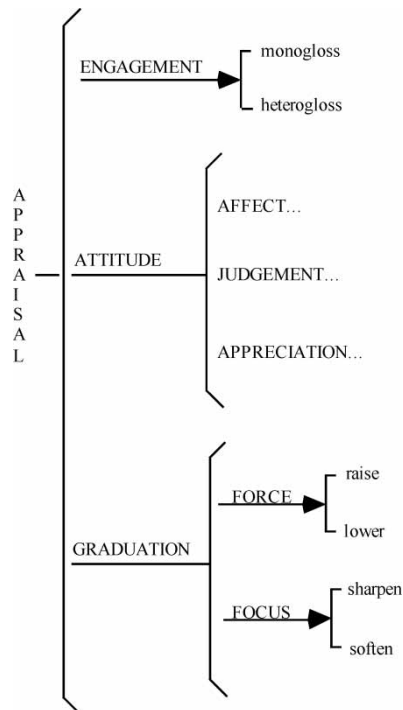
**Mr Blair will be expected to sign up to the constitution blueprint by the end of June.**

(Pascoe-Watson, 2003, our bold)

We feel sure that for many readers, the final sentence, when read after the preceding text, is likely to trigger strong disapproval rather than be read as an impartial, factual statement. But how does the statement lose its neutrality? Impressionistically, we could say that the story is an overtly biased piece of news reporting designed to position its target readers to take a strongly anti-Tony Blair (UK Prime Minister) and anti-EU line, and that this statement is netted into such an overall evaluative perspective. But these are just impressions about the text. We need, then, ways of corroborating, falsifying, or just limiting these impressions by systematically showing how such a perspective is built up through the text and how it may influence the reading of the final statement. This is the aim of the next section.

### An APPRAISAL analysis of dynamic reader positioning

In this section we show how the tools of APPRAISAL serve as a means of tracing the build-up of evaluative meaning and hence a means of providing a systematic linguistic explanation of the positioning power of the final statement of *The Sun* news report. In other words we are interested in using APPRAISAL analysis to corroborate, falsify, or limit our intuitions concerning reader positioning.



**FIGURE 1** An outline of APPRAISAL resources in English.

*The APPRAISAL framework*

In essence, APPRAISAL is a framework for the resources open to language users for giving value to social experience. These resources are set out in figure 1 (see Martin, 1997, 2000; White, 2003a, 2003b for a full account of the framework). Analysts using APPRAISAL argue that it is the cumulative, dynamic dimension of evaluative meaning that positions readers; we have already introduced what we mean by the notion of dynamic build-up of meaning with reference to the John Prescott news story extract.

APPRAISAL analysis proposes that patterns of evaluation in parts of a text serve to build up a particular evaluative position over the course of a text (Coffin, 2002, 2003; Macken-Horarik, 2003a, 2003b; Martin & Rose, 2003). This approach has parallels with Lemke's proposition that 'evaluations propagate or ramify through a text' (Lemke, 1998). In Lemke's approach, however, the focus to date has been on how evaluative stances towards one structural element may transfer to another element within adjacent stretches of text or on how evaluation may flow through cohesive reference chains. In our analysis, we are particularly interested in the territory of 'longer range cohesive propagations' (Lemke, 1998, p. 53) operating across whole texts, which Lemke flags as significant but does not explore in detail. And, unlike Lemke, we have a much greater focus on the target reader of a text when showing how patterns of evaluative patterning combine with intertextually generated evaluative resonances to create a consistent value-orientation stance in the course of a text.

The kind of dynamic analysis we produce below is also a response to ongoing criticism of approaches to text analysis which focus on selected pieces of text as proof of a text's ideological slant and which read off meaning 'without regard to textual modification' (Widdowson, 2000, p. 19; see also O'Halloran, 2003 for a cognitive perspective on these dangers).

The three APPRAISAL systems of most relevance to this article are those of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and GRADUATION. Figure 1 shows these systems in the context of the overall APPRAISAL framework. AFFECT comprises a set of language resources for appraising experience in affectual terms, for indicating the positive or negative emotional effect of an event, as in: 'TWO million jobs will be lost if Tony Blair signs the new EU treaty, it was *feared* [negative AFFECT] last night.'

JUDGEMENT, on the other hand, encompasses meanings which serve to appraise human behaviour by reference to a set of norms about how people should and should not behave. For example: 'Blair's refusal to stage a referendum was regarded as an indication of his *stubborn* [negative JUDGEMENT] personality' (N.B. this sentence was created for illustrative purposes).

GRADUATION comprises a set of resources for grading – 'turning the volume up or down' – as in: 'The scale of the masterplan for a United States of Europe triggered *outrage* last night' (GRADUATION – compare with the less charged item *anger*).

APPRAISAL has not only been designed to account for the way in which patterns of evaluative meaning accumulate through a text but the way in which such meanings are expressed both directly and indirectly. The theory acknowledges that a writer may explicitly signal in the text a direct JUDGEMENT such as the example of Blair's stubbornness above. Alternatively, the text may create the conditions for

the reader to make a particular JUDGEMENT; in such cases the writer has left the JUDGEMENT as indirect in the text. As an example of an indirect JUDGEMENT in the text, consider the following sentence: ‘TWO million jobs will be lost if Tony Blair signs the new EU treaty, it was feared last night.’

There is no direct JUDGEMENT on Blair’s personality here such as we saw with the ‘stubbornness’ example. However this sentence, we would argue, functions as an indirect JUDGEMENT since it is likely to prompt many readers to judge Blair’s action as morally irresponsible (given the cause–effect relation between Blair signing the treaty and 2 million people being made unemployed). Indirect JUDGEMENTS, it has emerged in recent research (e.g., Coffin, 2002), are often accompanied by GRADUATION.

### *Finding the negative semantic groove*

Below is *The Sun* report analysed from the perspective of JUDGEMENT, GRADUATION, and AFFECT. Note that in the analysis, single underlining indicates less morally charged JUDGEMENTS concerning, for example, people’s competence and resolve, whereas double underlining indicates more morally charged JUDGEMENTS concerning ethics and truth (see Martin, 2000 for further detail on different types of JUDGEMENT). Sentences are numbered for ease of reference.

Single underlining = JUDGEMENT (less morally charged)

Double underlining = JUDGEMENT (more morally charged)

*Italics* = Indirect JUDGEMENT

**Bold** = GRADUATION

Wave = AFFECT

+ ve = positive

– ve = negative

1. **Two million jobs in peril**
2. **TWO million jobs** will be lost if Tony Blair signs the new EU treaty (– ve JUDGEMENT of Blair), it was feared last night.
3. A revised draft of the proposed constitution revealed that Britain would be forced to surrender control of its economy to Brussels (– ve JUDGEMENT of Brussels).
4. And other key elements of our way of life would be affected even more drastically (– ve JUDGEMENT of Brussels) than first thought.
5. The draft proved Brussels also aimed to snatch power over UK employment, foreign affairs, defence and welfare (– ve JUDGEMENT of Brussels).
6. And it meant Britain would have to dish out generous benefits to millions of migrants from eastern Europe (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU, as opposed to + ve JUDGEMENT of Britain’s generosity).
7. They would be allowed to flock here after ten new nations join the EU next year (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU).
8. The scale of the masterplan for a United States of Europe triggered outrage last night (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU).
9. Critics said booming Britain (+ ve JUDGEMENT of Britain) would be crippled by the sort of economic edicts that have wrecked Germany (– ve JUDGEMENT of economic edicts and by implication the EU).

10. Tory MP David Heathcoat-Amory said: ‘We could be facing another two million British workers on the dole.’
12. ‘*The EU will be **driving** our employment policies in the same direction as Germany* (– ve JUDGEMENT of the EU).
13. ‘*They are **struggling** with **mass** unemployment and their dole queue is rising*’ (– ve JUDGEMENT of Germany).
14. ‘*Mr Heathcoat-Amory sits on the convention **thrashing** out the constitution but his attempts to limit its powers* (+ ve JUDGEMENT of Mr. H.-A.) *have been **swept aside*** (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU).
15. He backed The Sun’s call for Britain to be allowed a referendum on joining the treaty.
16. ‘*Mr Blair has **refused** to stage one* (– ve JUDGEMENT of Blair)—*although other EU states will get a vote.*
17. A crucial phrase in yesterday’s blueprint stated: ‘The Union shall work for a Europe of sustainable development based on balanced economic growth with a social market economy.’
18. Experts **leaped** on the final three words and warned *they would be a **death sentence*** (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU constitution) to *our **freewheeling** economy* (+ ve JUDGEMENT of Britain).
19. Germany has laboured for years under *this system which **forces** firms and individuals to pay **high** taxes which **stifle** growth and enterprise* (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU).
20. Dr Madsen Pirie, president of the Adam Smith Institute—a free market think-tank—said *the constitution would be **disastrous** for UK employment* (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU constitution).
21. He said: ‘There is no doubt that *if we were to sign up to the proposals it would result in **large** numbers of people being unemployed*’ (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU constitution).
22. ‘The reason *we are not in the bad position* (+ ve JUDGEMENT of Britain) *that most of our European partners are in* (– ve JUDGEMENT of European partners) is because *we kept our independence from the single currency* (+ ve JUDGEMENT). *This constitution would make us lose an important part of that independence* (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU constitution).’
23. ‘We **absolutely must** have a referendum.’
24. Patrick Minford, professor of economics at Cardiff University, said: ‘*This could **easily** put another two million on the unemployment register* (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU constitution).
25. ‘*We will bring back **mass** unemployment* (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU constitution) just as *they have got in Germany, France and Italy* (– ve JUDGEMENT of EU partners).’
26. ‘*Mr Blair will be expected to sign up to the constitution blueprint by the end of June* (– ve JUDGEMENT of Blair).

From a synoptic perspective, table 1 displays the patterns of JUDGEMENT in *The Sun* news report in terms of the targets of the journalist’s appraisal and whether these appraisals are made directly or indirectly.

It shows that the *EU/Brussels/those behind the constitution* is the group most frequently judged. It also shows that many of the JUDGEMENTS present in *The Sun* news story are indirectly rather than directly inscribed, thus indicating a certain subtlety in reader positioning. Furthermore, we can see that all groups and



**TABLE 1** Targets of JUDGEMENT

	<i>direct +ve</i> JUDGEMENT	<i>indirect +ve</i> JUDGEMENT	<i>direct -ve</i> JUDGEMENT	<i>indirect -ve</i> JUDGEMENT
Tony Blair	0	0	0	3
EU/Brussels/those behind the constitution	0	0	1	15
Britain	2	1	0	0
Germany	0	0	0	1
Mr. H.-A	0	1	0	0
EU partners	0	0	1	1

individuals fall into one or other of the two camps – ‘positive’ or ‘negative’. JUDGEMENTS, then, are ‘black and white’ and do not allow for groups to be assessed as a more complex mix of both positive and negative dimensions.

The APPRAISAL analysis of the news report also reveals that GRADUATION and/or values of AFFECT often accompany indirect JUDGEMENT in the text, the former supporting previous research as mentioned earlier (Coffin, 2002). Indeed, stripped of GRADUATION, it is likely that readers would be less inclined to pass JUDGEMENT on a particular sentence. Compare, for example: ‘Critics said booming Britain would be **crippled** by the sort of economic edicts that have **wrecked** Germany,’ with ‘Critics said Britain would be affected by the sort of economic edicts that have not changed Germany for the better.’

From the APPRAISAL analysis, we can see that a cumulative groove of evaluative semantic meaning is built up through the text. Thus, for example, with each repeated association of *Brussels/EU* with destruction to the UK economy and employment (e.g., *snatch power*, *crippled*, *wrecked*, *death sentence*) the reader is primed and positioned to perceive negatively any ensuing proposition concerning *Brussels/the EU*. In particular, repeated use of GRADUATION in association with the potential negative effects of the constitution on the UK economy serves to intensify this position. In this way, clauses which on their own may appear evaluatively neutral or possibly ambiguous are less so from a globally dynamic point of view.

For example, in isolation, the following clause might appear to be a positive JUDGEMENT of Britain’s generosity to migrants. However, the preceding co-text, with negative JUDGEMENTS of the EU and Brussels in relation to the UK economy, positions readers to interpret this as a negative JUDGEMENT of EU policy, particularly given that there is an ‘economic issue’ here too in providing benefits for migrants: ‘And it meant *Britain would have to dish out generous benefits to millions of migrants from eastern Europe*’ (–ve JUDGEMENT of EU policy). Similarly, the sentence ‘*The EU will be **driving** our employment policies in the same direction as Germany*’ is seemingly neutral on its own. However, the build-up of negative JUDGEMENTS of the EU, in relation to the effect on the UK economy/employment, positions readers to see the statement as indicating further disapproval of the EU.

That is why we have assigned -ve JUDGEMENT to the above sentences; -ve JUDGEMENT has been dynamically assigned. And it is this dynamic aspect of evaluative meaning that, we would argue, positions readers to assign a negative charge to the seemingly neutral final statement in the story: 'Mr Blair will be expected to sign up to the constitution blueprint by the end of June' ( - ve JUDGEMENT).

Analysing this sentence, then, as a morally charged JUDGEMENT when it might otherwise appear as an interpersonally neutral statement (e.g., there is no intensifying presence of GRADUATION) is an outcome of cumulative negative JUDGEMENTS concerning Blair's actions (e.g., refusing to stage a referendum) combined with the constant build-up of negativity, especially through GRADUATION, surrounding *Brussels/the EU* and the potential negative economic effects of the treaty on Britain.

To sum up: we have shown that APPRAISAL is a useful set of tools for systematically revealing a global semantic groove of cumulative evaluation through a text and showing how readers generally can be dynamically positioned to evaluate as negative sentences which would be seemingly neutral out of context. We now move on to consider some potential problems with the analysis and ways of responding to these problems. These problems relate to our subjectivity as analysts and to what extent our reader positioning analysis really is about how the text positions readers generally. The first problem here relates to the partiality of text analysis.

#### *The problem of analyst subjectivity and the partiality of text analysis*

All text analysis is likely to be executed in relation to a goal. And so, in one sense, all text analysis is likely to be partial. Our goal here has been to describe the global negative semantic groove of the text and how this is likely to impact upon the seemingly neutral last sentence. With this interpersonal concern we have focused on APPRAISAL patterns and thus excluded other potential areas of grammatical and lexical analysis. But there is another sense of partiality which is more troubling for text analysis and thus potentially troubling for our APPRAISAL analysis. One criticism that has been levelled at CDA is that practitioners select parts of a text which corroborate their own interpretation while potentially missing features which do not (Widdowson, 1995). They then misleadingly go on to pass off their own analysis as the interpretation which the unsuspecting reader is likely to make.

We acknowledge the prospect of our own partiality in our APPRAISAL analysis. As readers of this article you may feel we have glossed over local parts of the text and left some sentences analytically untouched which you may have assigned evaluative meaning to. Equally, you may disagree with parts of our analysis. But these differences would be local ones to be argued over. In line with our goal, our analysis has stretched across the whole of the text and in doing so we have shown the global groove of evaluative semantic meaning. So, whether all the potential indirect judgements have triggered in us a particular response or not, and therefore whether there are 15 or 17 indirect judgements in the text, etc., this would not affect the fact that there is, at least in APPRAISAL terms, a dominant global groove of negative evaluation throughout the text which we have empirically accounted for.

Let us come back to the phrase, ‘at least in APPRAISAL terms’. Despite making progress by taking into account how the dominant groove of evaluative meaning affects potentially neutral or ambiguous sentences, APPRAISAL is ultimately a text descriptive apparatus, the use of which begs the following question. To what extent is the global semantic groove that we have found a reflex of how APPRAISAL categories are activated by us as analysts through our own idiosyncratic judgements of text meaning? After all, we are interested in how the APPRAISAL analysis is likely to position readers generally, not just us as analysts. We need, then, to find some way of corroborating the analysis which gives us some distance on how we have activated the descriptive apparatus. We are thus in tune with the critical discourse analysts Chouliaraki and Fairclough when they say:

[T]o gain the necessary distance from initial understandings, one has to be aware of the distinctiveness of one’s own language of description (the theoretical framework and the construction and analysis of the research object) and be reflexive in managing their interplay.

(1999, p. 68)

In the next section, we consider ways in which the technology of a concordancer can play an important role in ‘checking’ APPRAISAL and thus in effect can help to reduce the possibility that we are over-interpreting the text from the point of view of a general reader through over-activation of APPRAISAL categories. We say ‘reducing’ rather than ‘removing’ since total value-free analysis is unlikely if indeed it is possible at all.

### **Checking potential over-interpretation with the concordancer**

A concordancer is a piece of software which is used to investigate patterns of meaning in large bodies of texts known as corpora. Typically this applies to searches which explore over one million word banks of undifferentiated texts. However, concordancers can also be useful in the examination of patterns within a single text, pointing to regularities that might otherwise elude the conscious attention of the casual reader. The kinds of pattern that concordancers reveal are what are known as lexico-grammatical patterns, patterns of interrelating lexis (vocabulary) and grammar. So far, we have used APPRAISAL to reveal in *The Sun* text a global semantic groove of negative evaluative meaning. If we use a concordancer and find a corresponding global lexico-grammatical groove of negative meaning, this would support our APPRAISAL analysis and thus help to show we had not over-interpreted the text on behalf of readers generally. Furthermore, this would be strong evidence since a concordancer generates these patterns objectively – the lexico-grammatical patterns that are revealed are not ‘tainted’ by our intrusion as analysts.

To begin with, we used the concordancer to construct a word frequency list (see figure 2). We were then in a position to see whether the high-frequency words

Count	Pct	Word	Count	Pct	Word	Count	Pct	Word
25	5.3079%	the	3	0.6466%	this	2	0.4310%	up
15	3.2328%	of	3	0.6466%	unemployment	2	0.4310%	which
15	3.2328%	to	2	0.4310%	allowed	2	0.4310%	with
11	2.3707%	be	2	0.4310%	another	1	0.2155%	absolutely
10	2.1552%	a	2	0.4310%	as	1	0.2155%	adam
9	1.9397%	would	2	0.4310%	blueprint	1	0.2155%	affairs
8	1.7241%	and	2	0.4310%	brussels	1	0.2155%	affected
7	1.5086%	in	2	0.4310%	could	1	0.2155%	after
6	1.2931%	on	2	0.4310%	dole	1	0.2155%	aimed
6	1.2931%	we	2	0.4310%	draft	1	0.2155%	also
5	1.0776%	constitution	2	0.4310%	economic	1	0.2155%	although
5	1.0776%	for	2	0.4310%	from	1	0.2155%	an
5	1.0776%	have	2	0.4310%	growth	1	0.2155%	aside
5	1.0776%	our	2	0.4310%	has	1	0.2155%	at
5	1.0776%	said	2	0.4310%	he	1	0.2155%	attempts
5	1.0776%	that	2	0.4310%	heathcoat-amory	1	0.2155%	back
5	1.0776%	will	2	0.4310%	if	1	0.2155%	backed
4	0.8621%	britain	2	0.4310%	independence	1	0.2155%	bad
4	0.8621%	eu	2	0.4310%	its	1	0.2155%	balanced
4	0.8621%	germany	2	0.4310%	jobs	1	0.2155%	based
4	0.8621%	million	2	0.4310%	last	1	0.2155%	because
4	0.8621%	they	2	0.4310%	market	1	0.2155%	been
4	0.8621%	two	2	0.4310%	mas	1	0.2155%	being
3	0.6466%	-	2	0.4310%	new	1	0.2155%	benefits
3	0.6466%	are	2	0.4310%	night	1	0.2155%	booming
3	0.6466%	blair	2	0.4310%	other	1	0.2155%	bring
3	0.6466%	by	2	0.4310%	out	1	0.2155%	british
3	0.6466%	economy	2	0.4310%	referendum	1	0.2155%	but
3	0.6466%	employment	2	0.4310%	sign	1	0.2155%	call
3	0.6466%	eu	2	0.4310%	states	1	0.2155%	cardiff
3	0.6466%	is	2	0.4310%	treaty	1	0.2155%	control
3	0.6466%	it	2	0.4310%	uk	1	0.2155%	convention
3	0.6466%	mr	2	0.4310%	un	1	0.2155%	conited

FIGURE 2 Word frequency list for *The Sun* text.

cluster with one another to form some regularity of lexico-grammatical patterning in the text.

We can see in the word frequency list of figure 2 that *the* is the most common word with 25 instances, *of* is the next common with 15 instances, and so on. We chose several of the relatively high-frequency words and, searching for them using concordancer software, we looked to see whether they clustered with one another. This was something of a trial and error process. As figure 3 reveals, we found a strong clustering between two relatively high frequency words: *would* (nine instances) and *be* (11 instances) as well as between *will* (five instances) and *be*. Figure 3 also shows that the clustering takes place in a set of negative predictions, such as: ‘would be affected even more drastically...’

This clustering is significant given that the last sentence of the text contains *will be* and because our APPRAISAL analysis argued that the text cumulatively positions the reader to read the last sentence negatively.

proposed constitution revealed that Britain would be forced to surrender control of its economy. And other key elements of our way of life would be affected even more drastically than first time, defence and welfare. And it meant Britain would have to dish out generous benefits to millions of migrants from eastern Europe. They would be allowed to flock here after ten new nation-wide strikes last night. Critics said booming Britain would be crippled by the sort of economic edicts that were laid on the final three words and warned they would be a death sentence to our freewheeling economic market think-tank - said the constitution would be disastrous for UK employment. He said: 'that if we were to sign up to the proposals it would result in large numbers of people being unemployed from the single currency. "This constitution would make us lose an important part of that independence. "Deputy Political Editor TWO million jobs will be lost if Tony Blair signs the new EU treaty, 2 million British workers on the dole. "The EU will be driving our employment policies in the same direction as it has done in the past - fused to stage one - although other EU states will get a vote. A crucial phrase in yesterday's blueprint was "We will bring back mass unemployment just as they have done in Germany, France and Italy." Mr Blair will be expected to sign up to the constitution blue

FIGURE 3 Clustering between *would* and *be* and *will* and *be*.

titution revealed that Britain would be forced to surrender control of its economy to Brussels. / hought. The draft proved Brussels also aimed to snatch power over UK employment, foreign af and welfare. And it meant Britain would have to dish out generous benefits to millions of migra from eastern Europe. They would be allowed to flock here after ten new nations join the EU ne thrashing out the constitution but his attempts to limit its powers have been swept aside. He bac pt aside. He backed The Sun's call for Britain to be allowed a referendum on joining the treaty. im on joining the treaty. Mr Blair has refused to stage one - although other EU states will get a this system which forces firms and individuals to pay high taxes which stifle growth and enterpr it. He said: "There is no doubt that if we were to sign up to the proposals it would result in larg France and Italy." Mr Blair will be expected to sign up to the constitution blueprint by the enc l be forced to surrender control of its economy to Brussels. And other key elements of our way of ritain would have to dish out generous benefits to millions of migrants from eastern Europe. They ds and warned they would be a death sentence to our freewheeling economy. Germany has labour l: "There is no doubt that if we were to sign up to the proposals it would result in large numbers c nd Italy." Mr Blair will be expected to sign up to the constitution blueprint by the end of June. ..

**FIGURE 4** *To* (infinitive) and *to* (prepositional phrase).

In our trial and error exploration, we also found an additional lexico-grammatical pattern with another relatively high frequency word, *to* (15 instances). In figure 4 below we can see that both *to* as an infinitive and *to* in prepositional phrases have fairly negative co-texts. *To* is also significant for our earlier APPRAISAL analysis since the last sentence of the text contains an infinitive 'to sign up' and a prepositional phrase 'to the constitution'.

Since *constitution* is another relatively high frequency word and is also in the last sentence of the text, we used the concordancer to generate concordance lines for this word as well. The concordance lines (see figure 5) show that there is a negative lexico-grammatical pattern for the first four instances of *constitution*.

Taking all the concordancer evidence for *will* (and the related *would*) + *be*, *to* infinitives, *to* in prepositional phrases, and *constitution*, we can see that there is a global groove of negative evaluative lexico-grammatical patterning which relates to the seemingly neutral lexico-grammatical pattern of the last sentence. Crucially, because lexico-grammatical patterns are objectively generated by the concordancer, its use has helped us to appreciate that our APPRAISAL analysis was not an over-interpretation from the point of view of a general reader. In other words, there really is a global negative groove in the text as revealed by the APPRAISAL analysis. An important corollary is that since there is corroboration of a groove in the text which dynamically positions the general reader, then we are finding support that the dynamic accruing of negative meaning is likely also to be a cognitive reality for readers generally. (This is not to say that the reader has to accept this positioning all the same.) However, the APPRAISAL analysis so far has been concerned with a general reader and has thus not been grounded in the context of the target readership.

last night. A revised draft of the proposed constitution revealed that Britain would be forced to  
 ry sits on the convention thrashing out the constitution but his attempts to limit its powers have be  
 titute - a free market think-tank - said the constitution would be disastrous for UK employment. H  
 ependence from the single currency. "This constitution would make us lose an important part of th  
 Mr Blair will be expected to sign up to the constitution blueprint by the end of June. ...

**FIGURE 5** *Constitution* and negative patterning.

## Grounding the APPRAISAL analysis in the political-economic context of the target readership

A specialised newspaper corpus gives us as analysts insights into what regular readers of a particular newspaper are routinely exposed to. It thus gives us insight, albeit partial, into the kinds of meanings that are likely to be made by the target readership during dynamic text positioning. In order to ground the APPRAISAL dynamic positioning analysis of text in the context of what the target readership is routinely exposed to, we looked at the connotations of lexical items in *The Sun* text which form part of its key semantic field: *Brussels/EU/Europe*. Given that *Germany* is a relatively high-frequency word in this text and could be said to form part of the same semantic field, we also investigated usage of *Germany*. These are not only key lexical items in terms of the topic of the text but also because of their combined relatively high frequency in the text (see figure 2).

In view of our sample news report, the most appropriate corpus to consult was the *sunnow* corpus, a sub-corpus of the 450 million word Bank of English corpus, which is made up of *The Sun* and its Sunday version, *The News of the World*. The current *sunnow* corpus has editions of *The Sun* and *News of the World* from the period 1999–2003 and has a total of around 45 million words. Our use of this corpus was based on the hypothesis that, although within a specific news report a word or phrase may not be used in an overtly negative (or positive) way, there may be many other instances in *The Sun* where such a phrase is regularly used in negative (or positive) contexts. If so, it could be the case that regular *Sun* readers absorb such negative values over many different readings of the newspaper and hence project negativity onto its use in a particular news report.

Because of the frequency of occurrence of *Brussels/EU/Europe* in the corpus, we restricted our search to a 10% random sampling of the total number of instances. The results showed that contrary to expectation the terms *EU* and *Germany* frequently appeared in neutral or positive contexts with only a small percentage occurring in negative contexts. The next expression in the key semantic field we decided to carry out a search on was *United States of Europe*. This phrase did not immediately hold any particular connotations for us as non-regular readers of *The Sun* newspaper. Figure 6 shows a set of concordance lines for *United States of Europe* in the *sunnow* corpus.

The lines in figure 6 show that many of the local lexico-grammatical environments for *United States of Europe* indicate negative evaluation, e.g., *hopeless dream of*, *bleak plan for*, and *fanatics who believe*. For places where the lexico-grammatical environment does not yield a clear perspective on how expressions are being evaluated, the co-text can be expanded. In the Bank of English, for example, co-texts consisting of five screen lines can be activated, as shown in the following expanded co-text for the first line:

[F]or the same wages paid for one Austrian worker, an employer can get eight from the Czech Republic. The elite in Brussels have been busy for years building towards their ambition of a United States of Europe, stretching from Shetland to the borders of Russia. They have demolished national independence in critical areas, and paid not the slightest attention to genuine fears and problems.

- towards their ambition of a United States of Europe, stretching from Shetland  
 could pave the way for a United States of Europe. British people have made  
 leader's bleak plan for a United States of Europe came as a hammer blow to  
 the road towards a Federal United States of Europe. Hague has never tried to  
 forming into a giant United States of Europe -with the same tax and  
 attacks to push for a United States of Europe. <p> The former Italian  
 were evidence we need a United States of Europe.4 <p> COMPLETE WOBBLERS  
 The empire-builders want a United States of Europe. Thank goodness you have  
 thirds say there will be a United States of Europe within the next 20 years.  
 for a hopeless dream of a United States of Europe. He is certain to pay the  
 was the first step to a United States of Europe - which would cost  
 or a state in a newly-formed United States of Europe? These are the central  
 Just as many are against a United States of Europe under a federal  
 pressure to become part of a United States of Europe. Martin Phillips gives 20  
 for EU leaders' dreams of a United States of Europe. Now analysts want to  
 the creation of a United States of Europe. The battle is now on to  
 SANTER leads the drive for a United States of Europe, and says: 'We must  
 elected government running a United States of Europe. Or we can leave the EU  
 hurl Britain into a growing united states of Europe run under the same  
 to set the pace for a United States of Europe. A triumphant Mr Blair  
 fanatics who believed in a United States of Europe.' And he warned pro-EU  
 the EU is the creation of a United States of Europe. Countries can either be  
 stride along the road to a United States of Europe. It demands the same tax

**FIGURE 6** Concordance lines for *United States of Europe* from the *sunnow* sub-corpus of the Bank of English.

In the above, it is clear that *United States of Europe* is construed with fairly negative attitude and expanded co-texts for the other lines reveal a similar pattern. All 33 instances that were generated by the concordancer were negative. *United States of Europe* then carries what is known in corpus linguistics as a negative semantic prosody (Louw, 1993). This suggests also that regular readers of *The Sun* will recognise the phrase *United States of Europe* as having a negative semantic prosody. This potentially predisposed them to evaluate this expression negatively when they came across it in *The Sun* report.

Finally, though we used the *sunnow* corpus to reveal a negative semantic prosody for *United States of Europe*, we cannot yet know for sure that this semantic prosody is more likely to be associated with *The Sun* than with other newspapers. As a control we investigated *United States of Europe* in a 32 million-word corpus of news texts in the Bank of English from another newspaper – *The Guardian*. We found no negative instances of *United States of Europe*. So, while a negative semantic prosody for *United States of Europe* may not be solely specific to *The Sun*, nevertheless our comparison here shows us that we might well have under-interpreted it from the perspective of the target readership.

Since corpus evidence shows that regular readers of *The Sun* are routinely exposed to a negative semantic prosody for *United States of Europe*, we can now start to connect the APPRAISAL analysis (-ve JUDGEMENT of EU via GRADUATION) to potential meanings generated by target readers:

8. The scale of the masterplan for a *United States of Europe* triggered outrage last night (-ve JUDGEMENT of EU via GRADUATION).

Outline: negative semantic prosody for a target audience.

Aside from *United States of Europe* carrying a negative semantic prosody, we also found in a search of the *sunnow* corpus that *Brussels* frequently occurs in negative contexts, many of which relate to the euro currency and claims about the negative effects on economic and employment circumstances were the UK to adopt it. This is also reflected in *The Sun* text (*surrender control of its economy to Brussels, snatch power over UK employment*). Out of the 104 lines that we sampled, we found 53 where *Brussels* occurred in negative co-texts (51% of the lines). We also checked this result against *The Guardian* sub-corpus. Out of the 198 lines sampled we only found 8 (4% of the lines) where there were negative co-texts and some of these were because of quotations from other sources. The results of this search showed that *Brussels* very rarely occurs in negative co-texts in *The Guardian*.

Again, through use of the specialised corpus, we are able to ground the APPRAISAL analysis in the context of the target reader:

3. A revised draft of the proposed constitution revealed that Britain would be **forced** to surrender control of its economy to *Brussels* (-ve JUDGEMENT of Brussels).
4. And other key elements of our way of life would be affected **even more drastically** (-ve JUDGEMENT of Brussels) than first thought.
5. The draft proved *Brussels* also aimed to **snatch** power over UK employment, foreign affairs, defence and welfare (-ve JUDGEMENT of Brussels).

With this knowledge of how *Brussels* is treated routinely in *The Sun*, we have additional insight into the position of *Brussels* in the text in early sentences, i.e., where it is likely to have most impact. In this sense we can see how the -ve JUDGEMENTS of Brussels in relation to potential negative effects on the UK economy are even more charged just by use of the metonym, Brussels, for the European Commission.

The negative semantic prosodies we have found for *United States of Europe* and *Brussels* (especially its negative link with the economy) relate to the last sentence of the text; *constitution* is an EU constitution after all. Thus, from the point of view of the target readership they not only interact with the -ve JUDGEMENTS and -ve GRADUATION of individual sentences but also with the global semantic and lexico-grammatical text groove. Indeed, the clustering of negative items to create a mutually supporting web of negativity is a phenomenon that has already been identified in corpus research, with Louw (1993, p. 173) arguing ‘that in many cases semantic prosodies “hunt in packs” and potentiate and bolster one another’ (see also Channell, 2000). Finally, there may still be words or expressions that we have under-interpreted as carrying negative semantic prosodies for target readers which would impact upon *constitution* in the last sentence. But if there are more, their discovery will only serve to support our overall argument rather than detract from it and thus further ground our APPRAISAL analysis in the context of the target reader.

We now indicate how this context-grounded APPRAISAL analysis facilitates a critical discourse perspective on the text.



## APPRAISAL-informed explanatory critique

### *Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) and explanatory critique*

In using APPRAISAL to describe the text and then go some way to grounding this analysis in terms of the context of the target readership, we have in effect been working with the description and interpretation stages of CDA as defined in Fairclough (2001). The other stage of Fairclough's model, explanation, is where critique of the relationship between text and context occurs. Chouliaraki and Fairclough on explanation:

We see CDA as a form of what Bhaskar (1986) calls 'explanatory critique' [which] takes the general form of showing (a) a problem, which may be either cognitive, for example, a misrepresentation, or an unmet need . . . (b) what obstacles there are to it being tackled; in some cases (c) what the function (including ideological function) of the misrepresentation or unmet need is in sustaining existing social arrangements [sic]; and (d) possible ways of removing the obstacles.

(1999, p. 33)

Given that Chouliaraki and Fairclough are explicit that critique can relate to the 'cognitive problem of misrepresentation' or 'unmet need', it is odd to read later in their book that explanatory critique is only tenuously related to a target reader's understandings of a text, if at all:

We are aware that many analyses carried out within CDA have been partial . . . and have not included analysis of understandings. However, CDA does not itself advocate a particular understanding of a text, through it may advocate a particular explanation.

(Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 67)

Our argument is different. To ground explanatory critique truly in context, rather than examining the text as a 'static object', explanatory cognitive critique should not ignore how meanings are likely to be dynamically and intertextually accrued in the reading of a text by its target readers. This is not to say that with our analysis we have reached an actual understanding by an actual target reader. This would, of course, be impossible without interviewing such a reader. Nevertheless, we are 'advocating' a particular dominant, dynamic positioning of the text, based on appraisal analysis, corroborated by a concordancer and empirically grounded in the context of the target readership via use of a specialised corpus. This gives us evidence to posit a likely, dominant, dynamic understanding. And because we do this, our explanatory critique can be more cognitive than an explanation that does not take account of likely, dominant, dynamic understandings.

### *Cognitive problem of representation in The Sun article*

With the above in mind, let us perform an explanatory cognitive critique in relation to the 'cognitive problem of representation' as referred to by Chouliaraki and

Fairclough (1999, p. 33). Absent from the text is the representation of a positive or neutral opposing expert voice, a voice which might set out potentially positive economic outcomes for the UK from signing the new EU constitution; the two experts indicated are in fact exponents of right-wing economics. Their credibility is connected with their status (as president and professor) and as Lemke (1998, p. 52) points out, 'the evaluation of the Sayer as reliable' propagates to increase the evaluation in the projected proposition ('projective evaluation'). An explanatory critique not grounded in likely, dynamic, dominant understanding might well suggest (in order to 'remove the obstacle') that the text be more balanced by providing a neutral or positive expert voice. An appropriate place for such a voice would presumably be at the end of the text, alongside the anti-EU constitution voices. But given the dynamic groove of negative meanings, it is unlikely that such a positive voice would register so strongly with the target audience. Indeed, even if the positive voice occurred near the beginning of the article, it would still be competing with *Brussels*, strategically located for impact (deliberately or not) in the initial part of the text, and its cueing of a negative semantic prosody with regard to negative effects on the UK economy.

A major cognitive problem, then, with this text is not so much lack of representation of other voices – it is to do with the dynamic positioning of the semantic groove which enables intertwining of -VE JUDGEMENTS, GRADUATION, and negative semantic prosodies with regard to effects on the UK economy. It is these phenomena taken together which mean habitual target readers stand a good chance of producing a dynamic understanding of the text which is knitted into an extant anti-European-economic-integration ideology, one regularly promoted in *The Sun* as our corpus investigation indicates. As a result of this, an alternative voice in the text stands a good chance of being obscured in reading by the target reader if not overridden. Our explanatory critique thus shows the text's representational problem, albeit in a more cognitive way.

#### *The Sun article's unmet need*

The EU's roots are in socio-political reconciliation (in the aftermath of World War II and particularly as a result of conflict between two of the most significant powers of Europe, France and Germany).<sup>5</sup> Forms of socio-political unity in the EU continue to be stressed and are indeed reflected in the constitution draft *The Sun* article refers to. Nevertheless, in the news report, it is almost exclusively the economic dimension of the constitution and the hypothesised negative impact of economic integration which is evaluated. This economic framing of the EU, as our corpus evidence suggests, has been built up over a period of time and doubtless has been inculcated through additional forms of mediation (see Graham, 2002, for discussion of the production and distribution processes by which evaluative patterns may be globally inculcated). *The Sun* is sceptical of forms of European economic integration since these are often characterised by higher levels of job protection and (perceived) bureaucracy. Given that *The Sun* has been in the ownership of the global media mogul, Rupert Murdoch, for around 30 years, this is perhaps not surprising.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, in addition, our explanatory cognitive critique highlights the following: rather than 'meet a need', by expanding *Sun* readers' understanding of a highly

complex socio-political phenomenon (as represented by the EU constitution), it is clear that the reductive and simplified nature of the article is likely to reinforce an economic and thus narrow understanding of how the EU operates. Indeed, this narrowness is reinforced by the writer promoting the view that being British involves a shared, homogenous economic identity, reinforced through the use of collective (and coercive) pronoun use: ‘our freewheeling economy’; ‘our employment policies’; ‘we kept our independence from the single currency’.

## Conclusion

This article has demonstrated how APPRAISAL analysis can be used in CDA to show systematically how readers can be dynamically positioned to view seemingly neutral sentences in a negative way. By extension, APPRAISAL analysis could be used to show how readers are dynamically positioned to read seemingly neutral sentences in a positive way. We have shown, then, that linguistic analysis can help to illuminating how a writer’s (conscious or unconscious) use of lexico-grammatical and semantic patterning may act as a groove to direct the reader to interpret subsequent text in a particular way. Martin (1996) has referred to this linguistic persuasive process as naturalising a reader position.

We have also made the point that critical discourse analysts are faced with a difficult task when trying to establish how a text positions readers, particularly when analysts are not members of a target readership. Whilst recognising that not all texts will have well-established grooves of semantic or lexico-grammatical patterning, in the case of *The Sun* news article we were able to check the subjective element of APPRAISAL analysis through the use of concordancing techniques. We then showed how specialised corpora of news texts provide insight into the kinds of evaluative meanings that target readers are routinely exposed to, which may be meanings missed by non-insider readers/analysts. As a result we were able to go some way to grounding the APPRAISAL analysis in the political-economic context of *The Sun* text (while recognising that the academic ideal would involve empirical research with actual target readers and how they interact with *The Sun* text). Doing so has facilitated explanatory cognitive critique of the text in relation to context. Crucially though, this explanatory cognitive critique has been in relation to how the text is likely to be read in context. Finally, as a result of our APPRAISAL analysis and our use of corpus-based empirical evidence, we argue the following: reader positioning analysis of texts in CDA needs to be dynamic reader positioning analysis which in turn can lead to a proper explanatory cognitive critique because the latter is based on likely dominant dynamic understandings.

## Notes

- 1 Small capitals are used to distinguish APPRAISAL systems as semantic systems.
- 2 This is the figure for January 2003. See: <http://media.guardian.co.uk/presspublishing/tables/0,7680,893996,00.html>
- 3 Just over half of *The Sun*’s readers are in working class occupations, and only about 10% are in the professions or in management (Whiteley, 2000).

- 4 The EU now consists of 25 countries (see <http://europa.eu.int>).
- 5 In the period 1870–1945, France and Germany fought each other three times, with large numbers of fatalities. Following World War II, a number of European leaders promoted the idea that lasting peace was best established through forms of economic and political unity. It was this conviction which led the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, to propose the substantial economic integration of the coal and steel industries of Belgium, West Germany, Luxembourg, France, Italy, and the Netherlands. This took place in 1951. As France and Germany were at the birth of economic integration, this idea is more entrenched on the whole in these countries than in the UK. In any case, the UK has traditionally had strong political and economic ties with non-European, Anglo-sphere countries such as the USA. The UK did not join a political and economic form of European integration until 1973.
- 6 Rupert Murdoch, as an advocate of free-market economics and deregulation, played an important role in supporting and shoring up the success in the 1980s of the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher's brand of free-market economics ('Thatcherism') engendered profound changes in British socio-economic life, leading to a free-market, enterprise-driven, short-term contract economic culture which is currently more pronounced than in many other countries of the EU.

## References

- Bhaskar, R. (1986). *Scientific realism and human emancipation*. London: Verso.
- Channell, J. (2000). Corpus-based analysis of evaluative lexis. In S. Hunston & G. Thompson (Eds.), *Evaluation in text: Authorial stance and the construction of discourse* (pp. 38–55). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Coffin, C. (2002). The voices of history: Theorising the interpersonal semantics of historical discourses. *Text*, 22, 503–528.
- Coffin, C. (2003). Reconstruing the past: Settlement or invasion? In J. R. Martin & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Critical approaches to the discourse of history* (pp. 21–246). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Oxford: Polity.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power* (2nd ed.). Harlow, UK: Longman.
- Gouveia, C. (2003). Critical discourse analysis and the development of the new science. In G. Weiss & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Critical discourse analysis: Theory and interdisciplinarity* (pp. 47–62). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.
- Graham, P. (2002). Predication and propagation: A method for analysing evaluative meanings in technology policy. *Text*, 22, 227–268.
- Kavanagh, T., & Lea, M. (2003). The same two you, John. *The Sun*. Retrieved 6 June, 2003, from <http://www.thesun.co.uk>
- Lemke, J. L. (1998). Resources for attitudinal meaning. *Functions of Language*, 5, 33–56.
- Louw, B. (1993). Irony in the text or insincerity in the writer? In M. Baker, G. Francis, & E. Tognini-Bonelli (Eds.), *Text and technology: In honour of John M. Sinclair* (pp. 157–176). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Macken-Horarik, M. (2003a). APPRAISAL and the special instructiveness of narrative. *Text, Special Issue, Negotiating Heteroglossia: Social Perspectives on Evaluation*, 23, 285–312.
- Macken-Horarik, M. (2003b). Envoi: Intractable issues in appraisal analysis? *Text, Special Issue, Negotiating Heteroglossia: Social Perspectives on Evaluation*, 23, 313–319.
- Martin, J. R. (1996). Evaluating disruption: Symbolising theme in junior secondary narrative. In R. Hasan & G. Williams (Eds.), *Literacy in society* (pp. 124–171). London: Longman.
- Martin, J. R. (1997). Analysing genre: Functional parameters. In F. Christie & J. R. Martin (Eds.), *Genres and institutions: Social processes in the workplace and school* (pp. 3–39). London: Pinter.
- Martin, J. R. (2000). Beyond exchange: APPRAISAL systems in English. In S. Hunston & G. Thompson (Eds.), *Evaluation in text* (pp. 142–175). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, J. R., & Rose, D. (2003). *Working with discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Mills, S. (1995). *Feminist stylistics*. London: Routledge.
- O'Halloran, K. A. (2003). *Critical discourse analysis and language cognition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Pascoe-Watson, G. (2003). Two million jobs in peril. *The Sun*. Retrieved May 27, 2003, from <http://www.thesun.co.uk>
- White, P. R. R. (2003a). Appraisal: The language of evaluation and stance. In C. Verschueren, J. J. Östman, J. Blommaert, & C. Bulcaen (Eds.), *The handbook of pragmatics* (pp. 1–27). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- White, P. R. R. (2003b). Beyond modality and hedging: A dialogic view of the language of intersubjective stance. *Text, Special Issue, Negotiating Heteroglossia: Social Perspectives on Evaluation*, 23, 259–284.
- Whiteley, P. (2000, April 11). Paper politics. *The Guardian*. Retrieved December 2, 2004, from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,3984707,00.html>
- Widdowson, H. G. (1995). Discourse analysis: A critical view. *Language and Literature*, 4, 157–172.
- Widdowson, H. G. (2000). On the limitations of linguistics applied. *Applied Linguistics*, 21, 3–25.

---

**Caroline Coffin** is a senior lecturer at the Centre for Language and Communications at the Open University, UK. Her area of interest is functional linguistics and discourse analysis. Publications include *Applying English Grammar: Functional and Corpus Approaches* (Hodder-Arnold, 2004, with Hewings and O'Halloran) and *Analysing English in a Global Context* (Routledge, 2001, with Burns). [email: c.coffin@open.ac.uk]

**Kieran O'Halloran** is also a lecturer at the Centre for Language and Communications at the Open University, UK. His main areas of interest are critical discourse analysis and corpus stylistics. Publications include *Critical Discourse Analysis and Language Cognition* (Edinburgh University Press, 2003) and *Applying English Grammar: Functional and Corpus Approaches* (Hodder-Arnold, 2004, with Coffin and Hewings). [email: k.a.ohalloran@open.ac.uk]

---

