

## Beyond Exchange: APPRAISAL Systems in English

J. R. Martin

### EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

\* \* \*

In this chapter Martin examines evaluative lexis expressing the speaker or writer's opinion on, very broadly, the good/bad parameter. His study is set within the systemic functional linguistic tradition; and the account is therefore couched in terms of systems: sets of options which are available to the speaker or writer covering the meanings that can be and are typically expressed in particular contexts, and the linguistic means of expressing them.

The overall system of choices used to describe this area of meaning potential is called APPRAISAL (labels for systems are in capitals). The enormously varied lexical choices within the area are seen as construing (i.e. expressing and simultaneously 'creating') a small range of general categories of reactions. The main category or sub-system is AFFECT, which deals with the expression of emotion (happiness, fear, etc.). Related to this are two more specialized sub-systems: JUDGEMENT, dealing with moral assessments of behaviour (honesty, kindness, etc.), and APPRECIATION, dealing with aesthetic assessments (subtlety, beauty, etc.). Martin links these systems in with other areas of meaning in a number of ways. One of these is through the concept of ENGAGEMENT. This is the system of options for indicating the speaker's degree of commitment to the appraisal being expressed, and is expressed through modality and related systems—thus again underlining the close connection between these different aspects of evaluation.

Another way in which the appraisal systems can be seen to link in is through the technical concept of redundancy: each system 'redundants with' systems in other parts of the lexicogrammar (that is, in oversimple terms, they cover the same semantic area using different linguistic resources). For example, appreciative meanings (*the film was very sad*) are close in semantic terms to mental processes of affection (*the film moved me to tears*)—see Halliday (1994) on transitivity. This leads Martin to postulate an important distinction between inscribed and evoked appraisal. Inscribed appraisal is explicitly expressed in the text (*a bright kid, a vicious kid*), whereas with evoked appraisal an evaluative response is projected by reference to events or states which are conventionally prized (*a kid who reads a lot*) or frowned on (*a kid who tears the wings off butterflies*).

The systemic account of appraisal resources is then used as a basis for an examination of how and why interlocutors engage in appraisal in a number of extracts from spoken and written texts. Martin explores the deployment of the resources as an integral part of the negotiation of meanings that goes on. He demonstrates, for example, the ways in which different contexts are likely to draw on different combinations of options, and examines how speakers can exploit different ranges of appraisal to construct particular personae for themselves. He also emphasizes that the expression of attitude is not, as is often claimed, simply a personal matter—the speaker 'commenting' on the world—but a truly interpersonal matter, in that the basic reason for advancing an opinion is to elicit a response of solidarity from the addressee.

Like Hunston (this volume), Martin is concerned to show both that evaluation is complex in operation, and that it can nevertheless be reduced (in the positive sense, as one reduces a sauce to concentrate the flavour) to a small number of basic sets of options: what appears at first to be an unmanageably diverse group of lexical items turns out to be systematically organized. Crucially, he demonstrates that those sets of options are consistently related to other sets of options in the meaning potential of the language. Viewing appraisal in lexical terms thus does not mean that it is relegated to the fringes, as it can appear to be in traditional accounts of attitudinal vocabulary; instead, it is given full value both as a central aspect of evaluation and as a vital part of the meaning negotiation that is at the heart of all communication.

\* \* \*

### Beyond NEGOTIATION

Within systemic functional linguistics (hereafter SFL), excursions into interpersonal discourse semantics have generally been grammatical in their foundation. That is to say, clause rank interpersonal systems such as MOOD and MODALITY have served as points of departure for the development of discourse models (of speech function, exchange structure, and the like; Halliday 1984; Ventola 1987). Martin (1992a: 31–91 and 461–88) documents one such excursion, developed throughout the 1980s in and around the Department of Linguistics at the University of Sydney. This chapter will address the development of a complementary perspective, founded on 'evaluative' lexis, which has been evolving during the 1990s in the metropolitan Sydney region.<sup>1</sup>

Traditionally then, the grammar-based tradition has focused on dialogue as an exchange of goods and services (Example 1)<sup>2</sup> or information (Example 2), which is

<sup>1</sup> Of the many people involved, I am especially indebted to Joan Rothery and Peter White for their work developing the framework presented here.

<sup>2</sup> Examples 8.1–8.5; 8.9–8.11; 8.14–8.20 are taken from the play *Educating Rita* by Willy Russell. For reasons of space, most stage directions have been omitted and the text has been shortened in several places. A complete analysis of the full text would be different in detail, though not in essence.

either given or demanded in initiations or responses.<sup>3</sup> Dialogue is analysed as a series of moves, which may in some registers be usefully grouped together into an exchange (Ventola 1987; Egging and Slade 1997)—generally on the basis of grammatical evidence such as the mood of the clause (declarative, imperative, etc.), its person, its ellipticity, its KEY (MOOD in relation to TONE; Halliday 1994), interpersonal adjuncts, vocatives, and the phenomenon of grammatical metaphor (direct and indirect speech acts; Martin 1995a). As Martin 1992a reviews, the discourse variables involved are abstracted from the grammar of MOOD, with MODALITY treated as a resource for negotiating the semantic region between positive and negative polarity (after Halliday, e.g. 1994: 88–92, 354–63).

(8.1) Exchanging goods and services

FRANK. Would you—erm—would you like to sit down?

RITA. No! Can I smoke?

FRANK. Tobacco?

RITA. Yeh. Was that a joke? Here—d' y' want one?

FRANK. Ah—I'd love one.

RITA. Well, have one.

FRANK. I—don't smoke—I made a promise not to smoke.

RITA. Well, I won't tell anyone.

FRANK. Promise?

(8.2) Exchanging information

RITA. What does assonance mean?

FRANK. What?

RITA. Don't laugh at me.

FRANK. No. Ern—assonance. Well, it's a form of rhyme. What's a—what's an example—

ern—? Do you know Yeats?

RITA. The wine lodge?

FRANK. Yeats, the poet.

RITA. No.

FRANK. Oh. Well—there's a Yeats poem, called 'The Wild Swans at Coole'. In it he rhymes the word 'swan' with the word 'stone'. There, you see, an example of assonance.

RITA. Oh. It means gettin' the rhyme wrong.

FRANK. I've never really looked at it like that. But yes, yes you could say it means getting the rhyme wrong.

What has tended to be elided in SFL approaches to data of this kind is the semantics of evaluation—how the interlocutors are feeling, the judgements they make, and the value they place on the various phenomena of their experience. In Example 8.3, for example, Rita attempts to share her emotional response to her tutor Frank's room and the view from his window with him.

(8.3) AFFECT—emotions; reacting to behaviour, text/process, phenomena

RITA. I love this room. I love that window. Do you like it?

FRANK. What?

RITA. The window.

FRANK. I don't often consider it actually.

In Example 8.4, Frank declares his judgement about the appropriateness of subjecting Rita to his appalling teaching.

(8.4) JUDGEMENT—ethics; evaluating behaviour

FRANK. And the thing is, between you, me and the walls, I'm actually an *appalling* teacher. Most of the time, you see, it *doesn't actually matter*—*appalling* teaching is *quite in order* for most of my *appalling* students. And the others manage to get by despite me. But you're different.

And in Example 8.5, Rita evaluates a non-canonical text she has been reading, again attempting to share her valuation with Frank:

(8.5) APPRECIATION—aesthetics; evaluating text/process, phenomenon

RITA. Y' know, Rita Mae Brown who wrote *Rubyfruit Jungles*? Haven't y' read it? It's a *fantastic* book.

Clearly dialogue of this kind is about more than a simple exchange of goods and services or information. Read more delicately, emotions, judgements, and values are sites around which negotiation might take place. In fact, as we will see below, one of the fundamental aspects of the way Rita talks at this stage in the play is her predisposition to construct solidarity with Frank by explicitly inviting him to share her evaluations. Frank, for his part, consistently refuses to negotiate solidarity on these terms. Alongside our grammar-founded models of exchange then, we need to elaborate lexically oriented systems which tune into these additional dimensions of repartee.

### Modelling APPRAISAL

The term *appraisal* will be used here for the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements, and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations. Comparable regions in alternative frameworks include Labov's work on evaluation and intensity in narrative (e.g. 1972, 1984), Biber and Finegan's studies of stance across a range of registers (e.g. 1988, 1989), and Chafe's research into evidentiality (e.g. 1986).<sup>4</sup> The relevant resources all involve grading, which is to say that the meanings involved can be adjusted by degree to reflect the strength of the evaluation (cf. Martin 1992b). This paper will focus on three systems—AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. AFFECT is the resource deployed for construing emotional responses ('happiness, sadness, fear, loathing', etc.); JUDGEMENT is deployed for construing moral evaluations of behaviour ('ethical, deceptive, brave', etc.); and APPRECIATION construes the

<sup>3</sup> For a valuable deconstruction of this perspective, see Thibault (1992, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> The most relevant work in adjacent disciplines is probably that of Harré (e.g. 1987) and Lutz (e.g. 1988).

'aesthetic' quality of semiotic text/processes and natural phenomena ('remarkable, desirable, harmonious, elegant, innovative', etc.).<sup>5</sup>

Some texts foreground one or another of these three systems. AFFECT stands out in Example 8.6, from the sensitive new age guy (snaggy dad) section of an Australian parenting magazine. Affectual meanings suit affectual grammatical frames (e.g. *I delighted in her, She delighted me, I was delighted by her*, Halliday 1994, Matthiessen 1995).

(8.6) AFFECT—emotions; reacting to behaviour, text/process, phenomena  
 At last, you are in dreamland. My Goddess of Laughter, the Princess-of-all-that-is-Good. Your skin so smooth and soft. The squeals of sheer and utter joy that you unleashed only a few hours ago echo in my mind. I had to come and look at you. It is all I can do not to reach out and kiss you. But my feelings can't afford for you to wake again.  
 You cried so hard after we put you down. My heart hurt. It was all I could do not to rush to your side. And then you screamed your cry. I had to come to your door. You had no idea, but I was only feet away. Wanting. Wanting to hold you in my arms. You would have settled within seconds—but it would have been for my benefit, not yours. (*Mother and Baby*, June/July 1994 Sydney. The Dad Department.)

JUDGEMENT is foregrounded in Example 8.7 (in the longest nominal group I have ever analysed); the columnist is commenting on the reluctance of Australian politicians to introduce tough gun law legislation prior to the infamous Port Arthur massacre. Judgemental meanings suit grammatical frames commenting on behaviour (e.g. *It was cowardly of them to do that; For them to do that was cowardly; I consider that cowardly*).

(8.7) JUDGEMENT—ethics; evaluating behaviour  
 For too long—far too long—capricious, cautious, chicken-livered, cowardly, craven, duck-brained, dim-witted, faint-hearted, gutless, gormless, ignorant, indecisive, irresolute, jelly-backed, limp-wristed, namby pamby, negligent, obdurate, opportunist, perfunctory, poltroonish, pusillanimous, shallow, shameless, spineless, squeamish, timid, weak-kneed, vacuous, backsliding, bending, bickering, cheating, compromising, cringing, deal-doing, dillydallying, dithering, equivocating, failing, faking, faltering, fiddling, fidgeting, grovelling, hesitating, kowtowing, lying, obfuscating, obstructing, oscillating, paltering, pandering, posturing, quitting, quivering, resiling, see-sawing, shilly-shallying, slithering, squabbling, swelling, tergiversating, teetering, tortering, twisting, vacillating, wavering, weaseling, wobbling, yellowing politicians have buckled to the gun lobby. (Mike Carleton, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 4 May 1996. News Review, p. 361)

<sup>5</sup> In terms of the model of interpersonal discourse semantic systems assumed here, APPRAISAL resources are one of three major systems, alongside NEGOTIATION and INVOLVEMENT (as outlined in Martin 1997a). NEGOTIATION is concerned with speech function and exchange structure (Ventola 1987); INVOLVEMENT deals with non-gradable resources for including and excluding interlocutors, as realized through technical and specialized lexis, taboo lexis and swearing, slang (including anti-languages; cf. Halliday 1976), and naming (Poynon 1984). APPRAISAL, NEGOTIATION, and INVOLVEMENT constitute the register variable tenor, which is concerned with the ongoing re/constitutive relations of power (equal/unequal status) and solidarity (near/distant contact) among interlocutors (cf. Poynon 1985; Martin 1992a).

APPRECIATION is highlighted in Example 8.8, from a food writer's review of what is generally acknowledged as Sydney's best restaurant. Realizations of appreciation are generally realized through attitudinal adjectives modifying objects of value in one or another institutional realm.

(8.8) APPRECIATION—aesthetics; evaluating text/process, phenomena  
*Summary*: Wow. Incredible. Amazing. Fantastic. Marvellous. Tetsuya's is a modest, comfortable restaurant with some of the best cooking in Sydney. This is food for a mature and intelligent civilisation, and it deserves any superlative you can throw at it. A new and highly immodest wine list now completes the experience. TERESUYA'S... (Eat Out, Terry Durack, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Tuesday 7 May 1996, Good Living, p. 3)

In a general sense, AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION all encode feeling. AFFECT can perhaps be taken as the basic system, which is then institutionalized in two major realms of uncommon sense discourse. As JUDGEMENT, AFFECT is recontextualized as an evaluation matrix for behaviour, with a view to controlling what people do. As APPRECIATION, AFFECT is recontextualized as an evaluation matrix for the products of behaviour (and wonders of nature), with a view to valuing what people achieve. In Halliday's terms, judgement institutionalizes feelings as proposals (about behaviour), whereas appreciation institutionalizes feelings as propositions (about things). A crude map of these recontextualizations is offered in Figure 8.1.

Alongside these three evaluative resources, we also need to account for systems which adjust a speaker's commitment to what he or she is saying (ENGAGEMENT). In the following example Frank uses explicitly subjective modality metaphors (Halliday 1994: 358) to hedge his reply (exasperating Rita in the process).

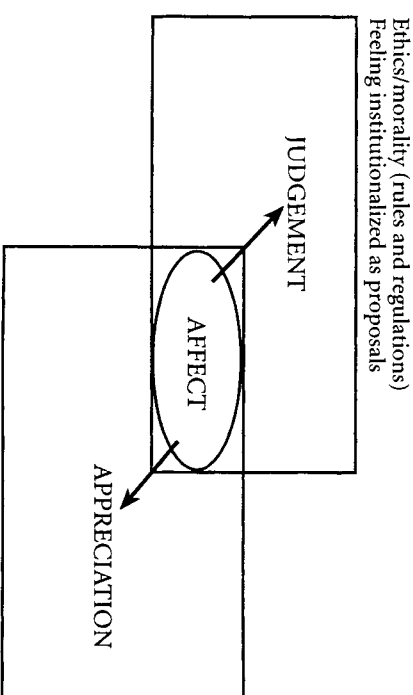


Figure 8.1. JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION as institutionalised AFFECT

(8.9) ENGAGEMENT—resources for construing modal responsibility

RITA. That's a nice picture, isn't it?

FRANK. Erm—yes, I suppose it is—nice . . .

RITA. It's very erotic.

FRANK. Actually I don't think I've looked at it for about 10 years, but yes, I suppose it is.

RITA. There's no *suppose* about it.

APPRAISAL resources also include systems for grading evaluations (AMPLIFICATION)—turning up the volume as in the first example, or playing things down as in the second.

(8.10) AMPLIFICATION—resources for upgrading or downgrading

RITA. Y' know when I'm in the hairdresser's—that's where I work—I'll say somethin' like, 'Oh, I'm *really* fucked,' y' know, *dead* loud. It *doesn't* half cause a fuss.

(8.11)

FRANK. I've *never really* looked at it like that. But yes, yes *you could say* it means getting the rhyme wrong.

Our concern with appraisal resources grew out of our work on secondary school and workplace literacy, initially out of work on the role of evaluation in narrative (Martin 1996, 1997*b*). Later we turned our attention to appraisal in literary criticism, the issue of objectivity in media, science, and history discourse, the notion of value in creative arts, and the sourcing of responsibility in administrative discourse (for an overview of this research see Christie and Martin 1997). Working within the paradigm of SFL, we wanted a comprehensive map of appraisal resources that we could deploy systematically in discourse analysis, with a view both to understanding the rhetorical effect of evaluative lexis as texts unfold, and to better understanding the interplay of interpersonal meaning and social relations in the model of language and the social we were developing, especially in the area of solidarity (i.e. resources for empathy and affiliation).

#### AFFECT

Affect is modelled here as a semantic resource for construing emotions. For purposes of text analysis and in line with SFL descriptive principles, we have been developing a global outline of this resource. Our approach has been holistic and culture specific, unlike that of Wierzbicka (e.g. 1986), who tends to concentrate on one emotion at a time across languages and cultures with a view to developing a universal set of semantic primitives. Unlike Lakoff (e.g. Lakoff and Kövecses 1987), we have not yet developed detailed studies of the range of items, including lexical metaphor, which elaborate a range of meanings around any one affect variable.

In building up this outline we covered a range of realizations, comparable in general terms to those covered by Biber and Finegan (1989). In Halliday's (1994) terms, these comprise:

- affect as 'quality'
- describing participants      a *happy* boy      Epithet
- attributed to participants      the boy was *happy*      Attribute
- manner of processes      the boy played *happily*      Circumstance
- affect as 'process'<sup>6</sup>
- affective mental      the present *pleased* the boy      Process (effective)
- affective behavioural      the boy *smiled*      Process (middle)
- affect as 'comment'
- desiderative      *happily*, he had a long nap      Modal Adjunct

By way of classifying affect, we drew on the following factors:

1. Are the feelings popularly construed by the culture as positive (good vibes that are enjoyable to experience) or negative ones (bad vibes that are better avoided)? We are not concerned here with the value that a particular uncommon-sense psychological framework might place on one or another emotion (cf. 'It's probably productive that you're feeling sad because it's a sign that . . .').

positive affect      the boy was *happy*  
negative affect      the boy was *sad*

2. Are the feelings realized as a surge of emotion involving some kind of embodied paralinguistic or extralinguistic manifestation, or more prosodically expressed as a kind of predisposition or ongoing mental state? Grammatically this distinction is constructed as the opposition between behavioural (e.g. *She smiled at him*) versus mental (e.g. *She liked him*) or relational (e.g. *She felt happy with him*) processes.

behavioural surge      the boy *laughed*  
mental disposition      the boy *liked* the present/the boy *felt happy*

3. Are the feelings construed as directed at or reacting to some specific external agency (typically conscious) or as a general ongoing mood for which one might pose the question 'Why are you feeling that way?' and get the answer 'I'm not sure'?

reaction to other      the boy *liked* the teacher/the teacher *pleased* the boy  
undirected mood      the boy was *happy*

4. How are the feelings graded—towards the lower valued end of a scale of intensity or towards the higher valued end; or somewhere in between? We don't wish at this stage to imply that low, median, and high are discrete values (as with MODALITY—cf. Halliday 1994: 358–9), but expect that most emotions offer lexicalizations that grade along an evenly clined scale.

low      the boy *liked* the present  
'median'      the boy *loved* the present  
high      the boy *adored* the present

<sup>6</sup> Including relational agnates such as *I'm pleased that . . .*, *It's pleasing that . . .*

5. Do the feelings involve intention (rather than reaction), with respect to a stimulus that is irrealis rather than realis (i.e. do the feelings relate to future, as yet unrealized, states rather than present existing ones)?

realis the boy *liked* the present  
irrealis the boy *wanted* the present

Irrealis affect seems always to be directed at some external agency, and so can be outlined as in Table 8.1 below (setting aside factor 3 above).

TABLE 8.1. *Irrealis AFFECT*

DIS/INCLINATION	SURGE (of behaviour)	DISPOSITION
fear	tremble shudder cower	wary fearful terrorized
desire	suggest request demand	miss long for yearn for

6. The final variable in our typology of affect groups emotions into three major sets having to do with un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. The framework is based on my general observations of my young sons, when they were in their first stages of socialization (up to about 2 years of age), and in particular on a cycle of demands structuring my elder son's temper tantrums over a period of several months. During these tantrums he would insist on having *baggy* (his blanket), and then when it was proffered and rejected his *bopple* (bottle), and then when this was proffered and rejected *Mummy* or *Daddy* (whichever was not present), and then baggy again, then bopple... for up to an hour. If we take these primal screams as primitives, then a framework involving in/security (blanket), dis/satisfaction (bottle) and un/happiness (Mummy/Daddy) can be entertained. 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; the un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with 'affairs of the heart'—sadness, anger, happiness, and love. Unfortunately we have not been able to develop a more principled basis for classifying emotions in recent years and take little comfort from the array of divergent frameworks available elsewhere in the literature (including the evolving variations in Martin 1992a, 1996 and 1997a)?

<sup>7</sup> Martin 1992a and 1996 reflect a stage in our work when JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION had not been distinguished from AFFECT; Martin 1997a doesn't involve the realis/irrealis distinction, squeezing out surprise and desire.

in/security the boy was *anxious/confident*  
dis/satisfaction the boy was *fed up/absorbed*  
un/happiness the boy was *sad/happy*

TABLE 8.2. *Realis AFFECT*

UN/HAPPINESS	SURGE (of behaviour)	DISPOSITION
<i>unhappiness</i> misery (mood: 'in me')	whimper cry wail	down sad miserable (low) (median) (high)
antipathy (directed feeling: 'at you')	rubbish abuse revile	dislike hate abhor
<i>happiness</i> cheer	chuckle laugh rejoice	cheerful buoyant jubilant
affection	shake hands hug embrace	fond loving adoring
IN/SECURITY <i>insecurity</i> disquiet	restless twitching shaking	uneasy anxious freaked out
surprise	start cry out faint	taken aback surprised astonished
<i>security</i> confidence	declare assert proclaim	together confident assured
trust	delegate commit entrust	comfortable with confident in/about trusting
DIS/SATISFACTION <i>dissatisfaction</i> ennui	fidget yawn tune out	bored fed up exasperated
displeasure	caution scold castigate	cross angry furious

TABLE 8.2. *cont.*

	SURGE (of behaviour)	DISPOSITION
<i>satisfaction</i>	attentive	curious
interest	busy	absorbed
	flat out	engrossed
admiration	pat on the back	satisfied
	compliment	impressed
	reward	proud

As Trekkers (fans of the American TV series *Star Trek*) will no doubt have noted, the framework includes interest (e.g. curiosity) as an emotion in spite of the fact that Spock (a Vulcan/human who has emotions but suppresses them) and Data (an android who has no emotions) often react with 'interest' to a wide range of natural phenomena and human failings. In common-sense terms one might argue that interest is more head than heart; theoretically, however, we are not prepared to invoke a mind/body opposition criterially at this stage of our work (for discussion see Lutz 1986, 1988; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990).

By way of illustrating the application of this framework to text analysis, consider Example 8.11. This text is taken from a state-wide Year 10 English exam in New South Wales, Australia and was published by the New South Wales Board of Studies as one of a number of sample answers to a question about why a short story included in the exam paper ended the way it did. Interestingly enough, the text was evaluated as worthless by the examiners, precisely because it was developed as an emotional response to the story. The student in question has misunderstood her teacher's demand for an individual response as a demand for a personal reaction rather than Leavisite interpretation (for further discussion see Rothery and Macken 1991, Rothery 1994).

(8.11) Year 10 Reference test—English

[Examiner's evaluation] This response has attempted to give a personal reaction to the question asked. The student has concentrated on the literary style of the story but has failed to answer the question or show any understanding of the story.

[Exam Answer] The author has intentionally written the ending this way to create the effect that she wanted. I felt eerie and isolated after reading the ending—'like a padlock snapping open' sounded so lonely and made me feel so afraid.

I also felt very empty after reading the passage. It has such a depressing ending that made me feel afraid and scared. The way 'Click' is written by itself in a sentence and in capital letters added to the emptiness I can really imagine the exact sound it makes, the way it 'sounded through the room.' 'Sounded through the room' is another example of how the author creates the feeling of isolation so carefully displayed. It sounds hollow and dead and creates fear in your mind.

This is what makes the passage so effective—the way the mood of the characters is portrayed so clearly. I enjoyed this passage immensely the ending was very clear and well written.

A reading of AFFECT in Example 8.11 is provided in 8.11a below. Realizations of AFFECT have been placed in small caps throughout the text, followed by features designating the relevant variable from Tables 8.1 and 8.2 in square brackets.

(8.11a)

The author has intentionally written the ending this way to create the effect that she wanted. I FELT EERIE [insecurity: disquiet] and ISOLATED [insecurity: disquiet] after reading the ending—'like a padlock snapping open' sounded so LONELY [insecurity: disquiet] and made me FEEL SO AFRAID [disinclination: fear]

I ALSO FELT VERY EMPTY [unhappiness: misery] after reading the passage. It has such a DEPRESSING [unhappiness: misery] ending that made me FEEL AFRAID [disinclination: fear] and SCARED [disinclination: fear]. The way 'Click' is written by itself in a sentence and in capital letters added to the EMPTINESS [unhappiness: misery] I can really imagine the exact sound it makes, the way it 'sounded through the room.' 'Sounded through the room' is another example of how the author creates the FEELING OF ISOLATION [insecurity: disquiet] so carefully displayed. It sounds HOLLOW AND DEAD [t-insecurity: disquiet] and creates FEAR [disinclination: fear] in your mind.

This is what makes the passage so effective—the way the mood of the characters is portrayed so clearly. I ENJOYED [happiness: affection] this passage immensely the ending was very clear and well written.

Generally, in Example 8.11, the affectual realizations act prosodically to construe a negative reaction, involving insecurity and unhappiness (as summarized in Table 8.3)—begging the question as to why the writer's final comment reconstructs her reaction as one of having enjoyed the story immensely (for discussion of the English curriculum producing heteroglossic responses of this kind, see Cranny-Francis 1996).

TABLE 8.3. *Summary of AFFECT in Example 8.11*

Reaction of reader	AFFECT
EERIE	[insecurity: disquiet]
ISOLATED	[insecurity: disquiet]
LONELY	[insecurity: disquiet]
AFRAID	[disinclination: fear]
EMPTY	[unhappiness: misery]
DEPRESSING	[unhappiness: misery]
AFRAID	[disinclination: fear]
SCARED	[disinclination: fear]
EMPTINESS	[unhappiness: misery]
ISOLATION	[insecurity: disquiet]
HOLLOW AND DEAD	[t-insecurity: disquiet]
FEAR	[disinclination: fear]
ENJOYED	[happiness: affection]

In Table 8.3, the phrase *hollow and dead* was labelled [-insecurity: disquiet], with ' standing for token. The point of this coding is that the phrase *hollow and dead* does not directly construe affect, but rather implies an emotional response on the part of the writer—and that the phrase makes an important contribution to the emotional impact of the response. By way of exploring the issue of direct and implied affect, consider Example 8.12. This text is taken from a junior secondary geography classroom, although the geography teacher reads it as an inappropriate incursion of subject English discourse (since the student has reacted to one season's weather instead of explaining climate). To begin, only direct realizations of affect have been considered.

TASK: Explain the climate of Sydney (year 8 Geography) [Teacher's comment: 'You need to write a geography paragraph on temperature and rainfall... not an English essay']

(8.12) Explicit evaluation only

Sydney is a beautiful place to visit it has one thing that I DON'T REALLY LIKE [unhappiness: antipathy] that is the weather. It's climate is always different one day it could be raining and the next day it would be so hot that you would have to have a cold shower. I LIKE [happiness: affection] Sydney's weather when it is NICE [happiness: affection] and Sunny I LIKE [happiness: affection] Summer that is my FAVORITE [happiness: affection] season of the year, because it is mostly Sunny. Although this year in Sydney It wasn't as sunny as I thought it would be. Because half of Summer it was either raining or was very windy and very cold.

This reading is a conservative one in the sense that it ignores the emotional impact of ideational meaning that might be read as implicating affect. For example, sunny weather and beautiful places can be associated with happiness, just as wind, rain, and cold weather can be associated with unhappiness. Of course we need to be cautious about reading position when analysing ideational meaning as tokens of affect in this way—it's easy to imagine scenarios in which rain would bring great joy (for farmers at the end of a drought for example). But in the context of the reading position naturalized by Example 8.12, the reading of tokens in Example 8.12a is a plausible one.

(8.12a) Highlighting ideational 'tokens' of AFFECT

Sydney is a BEAUTIFUL [-happiness: care] place to visit it has one thing that I DON'T REALLY LIKE that is the weather. IT'S CLIMATE IS ALWAYS DIFFERENT ONE DAY IT COULD BE RAINING AND THE NEXT DAY IT WOULD BE SO HOT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE TO HAVE A COLD SHOWER [-unhappiness: antipathy]. I LIKE Sydney's weather when it is NICE and SUNNY [-happiness: care] I LIKE Summer that is my FAVORITE season of the year, because it is mostly SUNNY [-happiness: care]. Although this year in Sydney IT WASN'T AS SUNNY AS I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE [-unhappiness: antipathy]. Because half of Summer it was EITHER RAINING OR WAS VERY WINDY AND VERY COLD [-unhappiness: antipathy].

Note that the analysis of evoked affect in Example 8.12a treats units of varying length as implicating affect, whereas inscribed affect in Example 8.12 was associated with specific lexical items and their amplification. This raises an issue as to the appropriate unit of analysis as far as the realization of affect is concerned. Given

the prosodic nature of interpersonal realization it is unlikely that this issue can be resolved in constituency terms; for practical coding purposes I have tried to work with the smallest domains that can be associated with a particular affect value. A relatively full reading of affect in Example 8.12 is offered in Example 8.12b below, including what we will refer to technically as inscribed and evoked affect.

(8.12b) Full reading—inscribed (explicit) and evoked (implicit) AFFECT

Sydney is a BEAUTIFUL [-happiness: affection] place to visit it has one thing that I DON'T REALLY LIKE [-unhappiness: antipathy] that is the weather. IT'S CLIMATE IS ALWAYS DIFFERENT ONE DAY IT COULD BE RAINING AND THE NEXT DAY IT WOULD BE SO HOT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE TO HAVE A COLD SHOWER [-unhappiness: antipathy]. I LIKE [happiness: affection] Sydney's weather when it is NICE [happiness: affection] and SUNNY [-happiness: affection] I LIKE [happiness: affection] Summer that is my FAVORITE [happiness: affection] season of the year, because it is mostly SUNNY [-happiness: affection]. Although this year in Sydney IT WASN'T AS SUNNY AS I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE [-unhappiness: antipathy]. Because half of Summer it was EITHER RAINING OR WAS VERY WINDY AND VERY COLD [-unhappiness: antipathy].

The analysis suggests that affect (and appraisal systems in general) can be directly construed in text, or implicated through the selection of ideational meanings which redound with affectual meanings. Beyond this, where affectual meaning is evoked, a distinction can be drawn between metaphorical language<sup>8</sup> which in a sense provokes an affectual response (e.g. Springsteen's *At night I wake up with the sheets soaking wet and a freight train running through the middle of my head*) and non-metaphorical language which simply invites a response. As far as reading affect is concerned, inscribed affect is more prescriptive about the reading position naturalized—it is harder to resist or ignore; evoked affect on the other hand is more open—accommodating a wider range of reading positions, including readings that may work against the response otherwise naturalized by the text (for further discussion see Martin 1996).

#### JUDGEMENT

Unfortunately space does not permit the detail of the very partial exploration of AFFECT undertaken above for other APPRAISAL systems. Our framework for JUDGEMENT is outlined in Table 8.4 (for exemplification see Iedema *et al.* 1994, Martin 1995b). As noted above, JUDGEMENT can be thought of as the institutionalization of feeling, in the context of proposals (norms about how people should and shouldn't behave). Like AFFECT, it has a positive and negative dimension—responding to positive and negative judgements about behaviour. Media research reported in Iedema *et al.* (1994) has suggested dividing judgements into two major

<sup>8</sup> Extended metaphors can perhaps be read as amplifying the relevant affect; for example, the final stanza of Springsteen's 1984 'I'm on Fire'—*Sometimes it's like someone took a knife baby, edgy and dull and cut a six-inch valley through the middle of my soul. At night I wake up with the sheets soaking wet and a freight train running through the middle of my head. Only you can cool my fire. I'm on fire.*

groups, social esteem and social sanction. Judgements of esteem have to do with normality (how unusual someone is), capacity (how capable they are), and tenacity (how resolute they are); judgements of sanction have to do with veracity (how truthful someone is) and propriety (how ethical someone is).<sup>9</sup>

TABLE 8.4. *A framework for analysing JUDGEMENT in English*

Social Esteem 'venial'	Positive (admire)	Negative (criticize)
<b>normality</b> (fate) 'is he or she special?'	lucky, fortunate, charmed... normal, average, everyday... in, fashionable, avant-garde...	unfortunate, pitiful, tragic... odd, peculiar, eccentric... dated, daggly, retrograde...
<b>capacity</b> 'is he or she capable?'	powerful, vigorous, robust... insightful, clever, gifted... balanced, together, sane...	mild, weak, wimpy... slow, stupid, thick... flaky, neurotic, insane...
<b>tenacity</b> (resolve) 'is he or she reliable, dependable?'	plucky, brave, heroic... dependable... tireless, persevering, resolute...	rash, cowardly, despondent... unreliable, undependable... weak, distracted, dissolute...
<b>Social Sanction</b> 'mortal'	Positive (praise)	Negative (condemn)
<b>veracity</b> (truth) 'is he or she honest?'	truthful, honest, credible... real, authentic, genuine... frank, direct...	dishonest, deceitful... glitzy, bogus, fake... deceptive, manipulative...
<b>propriety</b> (ethics) 'is he or she beyond reproach?'	good, moral, ethical... law-abiding, fair, just... sensitive, kind, caring...	bad, immoral, evil... corrupt, unfair, unjust... insensitive, mean, cruel...

Social esteem involves admiration and criticism, typically without legal implications; if you have difficulties in this area you may need a therapist. Social sanction on the other hand involves praise, and condemnation, often with legal implications; if you have problems in this area you may need a lawyer. The kind of judgement speakers take up is very sensitive to their institutional position. For example, only journalists with responsibility for writing editorials and other comment have a full range of judgemental resources at their disposal; reporters write

<sup>9</sup> At this level of delicacy the types of JUDGEMENT are related to MODALITY (Halliday 1994), 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.

ing hard news that is meant to sound objective have to avoid explicit judgements completely (Iedema *et al.* 1994).

One genre that foregrounds JUDGEMENT is the panegyric—as exemplified in Example 8.13 (Elizabeth Taylor's tribute to Michael Jackson from the notes to his *History* CD). Given Jackson's institutional claim to fame, one might have expected a text focusing on social esteem (capacity and normality), with respect to his extraordinary musical achievements—and certainly these are considered. But even more foregrounded in the text is the question of social sanction (propriety and veracity)—quite understandably as Taylor works to absolve Jackson with respect to the then rampant media attention on the nature of his relationships with young boys.

(8.13)

Michael Jackson *History*: past, present and future. Book 1. Epic 1995.

Michael Jackson is, indeed, an international favorite for all ages, and incredible force of incredible energy. In the art of music, he is a pacesetter for quality of production, in the vanguard for high standards of entertainment.

What makes Michael more unique may be the fact that all of his accomplishments, his rewards, have not altered his sensitivity and concern for the welfare of others, or his intense caring and love for his family and friends, and especially all the children of the world over. He is filled with deep emotions that create an unearthly, special, innocent, childlike, wise man that is Michael Jackson. He is so giving of himself that, at times, he leaves very little to protect that beautiful inner core that is the essence of him. I think Michael appeals to the child in all of us. He has the quality of innocence that we would all like to obtain or have kept.

I think Michael is like litmus paper. He is always trying to learn. He has one of the sharpest wits, he is intelligent, and he is cunning—that is a strange word to use about him, because it implies deviousness and he is one of the least devious people I have ever met in my life.

Michael is highly intelligent, shrewd, intuitive, understanding, sympathetic, and generous to almost a fault of himself. He is honesty personified—painfully honest—and vulnerable to the point of pain. He is also very curious and wants to draw from people who have survived. People who have lasted. He is not really of this planet. If he is eccentric it's because he is larger than life.

What is a genius? What is a living legend? What is a megastar? Michael Jackson—that's all. And just when you think you know him, he gives you more...

There is no one that can come near him, no one can dance like that, write the lyrics, or cause the kind of excitement that he does. When I hear the name Michael Jackson, I think of brilliance, of dazzling stars, lasers and deep emotions. I think he is one of the world's biggest and greatest stars, and it just so happens that he is one of the most gifted music makers the world has ever known.

I think he is one of the finest people to hit this planet, and, in my estimation, he is the true King of Pop, Rock and Soul. I love you Michael.

Elizabeth Taylor

The second and third paragraphs of this tribute are analysed for JUDGEMENT in Table 8.5. As the genre dictates, the judgements are overwhelmingly positive. As far



as normality is concerned, Jackson is unique, unearthly, and special as for capacity, he is accomplished, wise, witty, and intelligent; with tenacity, he is always trying to learn—Taylor construes Jackson's social esteem as high indeed.

TABLE 8.5. JUDGEMENT in Example 8.13

Inscription/Evocation	JUDGEMENT
unique	+ normality
accomplishments	+ capacity
sensitivity	+ propriety
concern	+ propriety
caring	+ propriety
love	t-+ propriety
filled with deep emotions	t-+ propriety
unearthly	+ normality
special	+ normality
innocent	+ propriety
childlike	+ propriety
wise	+ capacity
so giving	+ propriety
beautiful inner core	t-+ propriety
appeals to the child . . .	t-+ propriety
innocence that we would . . .	+ propriety
always trying to learn	t-+ tenacity
sharpest wits	+ capacity
intelligent	+ capacity
cunning	+ capacity
deviousness	-veracity
least devious	-veracity

Note: Appraiser: E. Taylor; appraised: M. Jackson. The symbol 't-' denotes a token of evoked JUDGEMENT; the symbols '+', and '-,' denote positive and negative JUDGEMENT.

In the analysis I have placed *cunning* among the positive capacities, which is where Taylor aligns it—alongside wit and intelligence and stripped of negative connotations (. . . *cunning—that is a strange word to use about him, because it implies deviousness and he is one of the least devious people I have ever met in my life*). Taylor's choice of the term, and the way she shapes its meaning to fit her tribute is intriguing. If the positive judgements all around the term weren't enough to colour it as positive, why not edit it out of the text? Why go to the trouble of having to deny that any criticism is intended? I suspect that this part of the text plays itself out as a strategy for dealing with Jackson's veracity in the war of words over the propriety of his dealings with children. It gives Taylor an opportunity to touch

for Jackson's truthfulness without having to explicitly address the fact that it has been challenged. Rather, the challenge comes from Taylor, as a slip of phrase—and 'please don't let my clumsiness tarnish Jackson's image in any way!'

TABLE 8.6. Social sanction in Example 8.13

Inscription/Evocation	JUDGEMENT
(implies) deviousness	-veracity
one of the least devious . . .	-veracity
sensitivity	+ propriety
concern	+ propriety
caring	+ propriety
love	t-+ propriety
filled with deep emotions	t-+ propriety
innocent	+ propriety
childlike	+ propriety
so giving	+ propriety
beautiful inner core	t-+ propriety
appeals to the child . . .	t-+ propriety
innocence that we would . . .	+ propriety
always trying to learn	t-+ tenacity

Note: Appraiser: E. Taylor; appraised: M. Jackson. The symbol 't-' denotes a token of evoked JUDGEMENT; the symbols '+', and '-,' denote positive and negative JUDGEMENT.

The analysis of social sanction in Example 8.13 bears on this point (see Table 8.6). Jackson is repeatedly constructed as childlike and innocent, judgements we might at a first glance want to treat as negative capacity. But Taylor does not mean that Jackson is weak and immature. I suspect rather that the childlike innocence is being opposed to something more sinister, again having to do with the propriety of Jackson's sexuality. In this context childlike and innocent means free from sin—and thus innocent of the charges levelled against him and withdrawn. At the time when Taylor would have been writing this text, Jackson was not on trial; nevertheless, the play of judgements in her text construct her panegyric as a rather effective piece of testimony for the defence.

#### APPRECIATION

The framework for APPRECIATION is outlined in Table 8.7. As noted above, APPRECIATION can be thought of as the institutionalization of feeling, in the context of propositions (norms about how products, performances, and naturally occurring phenomena are valued). Like AFFECT and JUDGEMENT it has a positive

and negative dimension—corresponding to positive and negative evaluations of texts and processes (and natural phenomena). The system is organized around three variables—reaction, composition, and valuation.<sup>10</sup> Reaction has to do with the degree to which the text/process in question captures our attention (reaction: impact) and the emotional impact it has on us. Composition has to do with our perceptions of proportionality (composition: balance) and detail (composition: complexity) in a text/process. Valuation has to do with our assessment of the social significance of the text/process.

TABLE 8.7. *A framework for analysing APPRECIATION in English*

	Positive	Negative
<i>Reaction: impact</i> 'did it grab me?'	arresting, captivating, engaging ...	dull, boring, tedious, staid ...
<i>Reaction: quality</i> 'did I like it?'	fascinating, exciting, moving ... lovely, beautiful, splendid ... appealing, enchanting, welcome ...	dry, ascetic, uninviting ... plain, ugly ... repulsive, revolting ...
<i>Composition: balance</i> 'did it hang together?'	balanced, harmonious, unified ...	unbalanced, discordant ...
<i>Composition: complexity</i> 'was it hard to follow?'	symmetrical, proportional ... simple, elegant ... intricate, rich, detailed, precise ...	contorted, distorted ... ornamental, extravagant ... monolithic, simplistic ...
<i>Valuation</i> 'was it worthwhile?'	challenging, profound, deep ...	shallow, insignificant ...
	innovative, original, unique ...	conservative, reactionary ...

Of these dimensions, valuation is especially tied up with field, since the criteria for valuing a text/process are for the most part institutionally specific. But beyond this, since both JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are in a sense institutionalizations of feeling, all of the dimensions involved will prove sensitive to field. An example

<sup>10</sup> These variables are related to the kind of mental processing (Halliday 1994) involved in the appreciation, in the following proportions—reaction is to affection, as composition is to perception, as valuation is to cognition.

TABLE 8.8. *Field-specific APPRECIATION (for linguistics)*

	Positive	Negative
<i>Reaction: impact</i> (noticeability)	timely, long-awaited, engaging, landmark ...	untimely, unexpected, overdue, surprising, dated ...
<i>Reaction: quality</i> (likeability)	fascinating, exciting, interesting, stimulating, impressive, admirable ...	dull, tedious, boring, pedantic, didactic, uninspired ...
<i>Composition: balance</i>	consistent, balanced, thorough, considered, unified, logical, well argued, well presented ...	fragmented, loose-ended, disorganized, contradictory, sloppy ...
<i>Composition: complexity</i>	simple, lucid, elegant, rich, detailed, exhaustive, clear, precise ...	simplistic, extravagant, complicated, Byzantine, labyrinthine, overly elaborate, narrow, vague, unclear, indulgent, esoteric, eclectic ...
<i>Valuation</i> (field genesis)	useful, penetrating, illuminating, challenging, significant, deep, profound, satisfying, fruitful ...	shallow, ad hoc, reductive, unconvincing, unsupported, fanciful, tendentious, bizarre, counterintuitive, perplexing, arcane ...

of this coupling of ideational and interpersonal meaning is presented for appreciations of research in the field of linguistics in Table 8.8.

Further complicating this issue is the fact that what counts as appraisal depends on the field of discourse. Because of this, ideational meanings that do not use evaluative lexis can be used to evoke appreciation, as with AFFECT and JUDGEMENT. For example, when Rita mentions Rita Mae Brown's *Rubyfruit Jungle* in Example 8.5 above, it is clearly the case that anyone naively apprenticed into mainstream literary sensibilities will value the book as insignificant, and will therefore judge Rita as ignorant. Mere mention of the book encodes these feelings, without any explicit appraisal having to be construed at all. However, the evocation only works for people who take up the same positioning as Frank with respect to *Rubyfruit Jungle*. The writer of *Educating Rita*, Willy Russell, positions Frank and the play's audience to make these kinds of appraisal.

Every institution is loaded with couplings of this kind, and socialization into a discipline involves both an alignment with the institutional practices involved and an affinity with the attitudes one is expected to have towards those practices. It perhaps should be stressed again here that appraisal analysts do need to declare

their reading position<sup>11</sup>—in particular since the evaluation one makes of evocations depends on the institutional position one is reading from. There are many readers, for example, who would have aligned with Rita rather than Frank with respect to a popular culture text like *Rubyfruit Jungle*. Similarly, according to reading position, formal and functional linguists will evaluate terms in the following sets of oppositions in complementary ways—with firm convictions about what the good guys and the bad guys should celebrate:

rule/resource:: cognitive/social:: acquisition/development::  
 syntagmatic/paradigmatic:: form/function:: langue/parole::  
 system/process:: psychology/philosophy/sociology&anthropology::  
 cognitive/social:: theory/description:: intuition/corpus::  
 knowledge/meaning:: syntax/discourse:: pragmatics/context::  
 parsimony/extravagance:: cognitive/critical:: technician/humanist::  
 truth/social action:: performance/instantiation:: categorical/probabilistic::  
 contradictory/complementary:: proof/exemplification::  
 reductive/comprehensive:: arbitrary/natural:: modular/fractal::  
 syntax&lexicon/lexicogrammar . . .

The following text, from the play *Educating Rita*, foregrounds APPRECIATION with respect to the institution of literary criticism. At this point in the play Rita has learned a canonical discourse for evaluating literary texts and has been favourably impressed by some poetry written by her tutor Frank some years past. Frank is less than impressed by his student's new-found sensibilities.

(8.14) From the play *Educating Rita*—Frankenstein scene

*There is a knock at the door.*

FRANK. Come in.

RITA enters.

FRANK. What the—what the hell are you doing here? I'm not seeing you till next week.

RITA. Are you sober? Are you?

FRANK. If you mean am I still this side of reasonable comprehension, then yes.

RITA. Because I want you to hear this when you're sober. [*She produces his poems.*] These are brilliant. Frank, you've got to start writing again. This is brilliant. They're witty. They're profound. Full of style.

FRANK. Ah . . . tell me again, and again.

RITA. They are, Frank. It isn't only me who thinks so. Me an' Trish sat up last night and read them. She agrees with me. Why did you stop writing? Why did you stop when you can produce work like this? We stayed up most of the night, just talking about it. What did Trish say—? More resonant than—purely contemporary poetry is that you can see in it a direct like through to nineteenth-century traditions of—of like wit an' classical allusion.

FRANK. Er—that's erm—that's marvellous, Rita. How fortunate I didn't let you see it earlier. Just think if I'd let you see it when you first came here.

RITA. I know . . . I wouldn't have understood it, Frank.

<sup>11</sup> Except for Example 8.15 below, where I attempt to read the text from the perspective of the two antagonists, I have analysed texts from the perspective of the mainstream reading position they appear to naturalize (anglo, middle class, mature, male if you will).

FRANK. You would have thrown it across the room and dismissed it as a heap of shit, wouldn't you?

RITA. I know . . . But I couldn't have understood it then, Frank, because I wouldn't have been able to recognize and understand the allusions.

FRANK. Oh I've done a fine job on you, haven't I?

RITA. It's true, Frank. I can see it now.

FRANK. You know, Rita, I think—I think that like you I shall change my name; from now on I shall insist on being known as Mary, Mary Shelley—do you understand that allusion, Rita?

RITA. What?

FRANK. She wrote a little Gothic number called *Frankenstein*.

RITA. So?

FRANK. This—this clever, pyrotechnical pile of self-conscious allusion is worthless, talentless, shit and could be recognized as such by anyone with a shred of common sense. Wit? You'll find more wit in the telephone book, and, probably, more insight. Its one advantage over the telephone directory is that it's easier to rip. It is pretentious, characterless and without style.

RITA. It's not.

FRANK. Oh, I don't expect you to believe me, Rita; you recognize the hallmark of literature now, don't you? Why don't you just go away? I don't think I can bear it any longer.

RITA. Can't bear what, Frank?

FRANK. You, my dear—you . . .

RITA. I'll tell you what you can't bear, Mr Self-Pitying Piss Artist; what you can't bear is that I am educated now. I've got a room full of books. I know what clothes to wear, what wine to buy, what plays to see, what papers and books to read. I can do without you.

FRANK. Is that all you wanted. Have you come all this way for so very, very little?

RITA. Oh it's little to you, isn't it? It's little to you who squanders every opportunity and mocks and takes it for granted.

FRANK. Found a culture have you, Rita? Found a better song to sing have you? No—you've found a different song, that's all—and on your lips it's shrill and hollow and tuneless. Oh, Rita, Rita . . .

RITA. RITA? Rita? Nobody calls me Rita but you. I dropped that pretentious crap as soon as I saw it for what it was. You stupid . . . Nobody calls me Rita.

FRANK. What is it now then? Virginia?

RITA exits.

Or Charlotte? Or Jane? Or Emily?

An analysis of the appreciations of Frank's poetry in Example 8.14 is presented in Table 8.9. The analysis is somewhat complicated by the repartee, since Frank and Rita do not agree on the value of his work. Denials of appreciation are shown in the table as [-appreciation], to show one party disagreeing with the other; sarcasm is shown as [!appreciation], for cases where a positive evaluation is intended as negative (or vice versa). Sarcasm raises the more general problem of humour and appraisal, which we cannot pursue here—how is it that we recognize that someone means the opposite of what they say, or that what they say is intended to be read as funny rather than real? This brings us back to the issue of couplings

between ideational meaning and appraisal—at a particular point in the unfolding of a text, for the social subjects involved, at some moment in the evolution of the relevant institution. In these terms, Frank's encouragement to Rita to tell him more about how wonderful his poetry is cannot be taken at face value: it contradicts the rest of the text, Frank's disaffected persona in the play, and the fact that he is not a well-known author. Beyond this, the valuation literally evoked by Frank's *tell me again and again* does not match his affectual pose—which is clearly downcast. Perhaps humour and sarcasm can be further explored along these lines, as involving discordant couplings—either between appraisal selections and what is being appraised, or among the appraisal variables themselves.

TABLE 8.9. *Appreciation of Frank's poetry in Example 8.14*

Inscription/Evocation	Appraiser	APPRECIATION
brilliant	Rita	+ reaction: quality
brilliant	Rita	+ reaction: quality
witty	Rita	+ valuation
profound	Rita	+ valuation
full of style	Rita	+ composition: balance
Ah tell me... [witty... style]	Frank	? [+ valuation/+ composition]
They are... [witty... style]	Rita	-? [+ valuation/+ composition]
It isn't... [witty... style]	Rita	+ valuation/+ composition
She agrees... [witty... style]	Rita and Trish	+ valuation/+ composition
resonant	Trish	+ valuation
wit	Trish	+ valuation
classical allusion	Trish	t-+ valuation
a heap of shit	Frank "Rita"	- valuation
allusions	Rita	t-+ valuation
clever	Frank	- valuation
pyrotechnical	Frank	- composition: complexity
self-conscious allusion	Frank	- valuation
worthless...	Frank	- valuation
talentless shit	Frank	- valuation
more wit in telephone...	Frank	t- valuation
more insight [in telephone...]	Frank	t- valuation
one advantage over...	Frank	? [+ valuation]
easier to rip	Frank	? [+ valuation]
pretentious	Frank	- valuation
characterless	Frank	- valuation
without style	Frank	- valuation
it's not [pretentious,	Rita	- composition: balance
characterless, without style]		- [- valuation]
I don't expect... [pretentious,	Frank "Rita"	? [- valuation]
characterless, without style]		

Note: The symbol '?" is used in cases where the speaker attributes appraisal to another person.

By way of summary, a topological perspective (Martin and Matthiessen 1991) on APPRAISAL resources is offered in Figure 8.2. It tries to align types of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION in terms of similarities in meaning across appraisal variables. For example, capacity is aligned with valuation, because of the close relation between judging someone's behaviour as capable and appreciating the text/process arising from the behaviour (e.g. *a skilful cricketer/a skilful innings; a gifted painter/an innovative painting*, etc.). Similarly, reaction is aligned with the relevant types of AFFECT: ENGAGEMENT (modality, projection, mitigation, etc.) and AMPLIFICATION (grading, intensity, etc.) have been included as attendant resources for hedging how committed we are to what we feel and how strongly we feel about it.

### Negotiating Solidarity

As noted above, appraisal resources play an important role in negotiating solidarity. In Example 8.11 above, a student writer drew on AFFECT to construct herself as

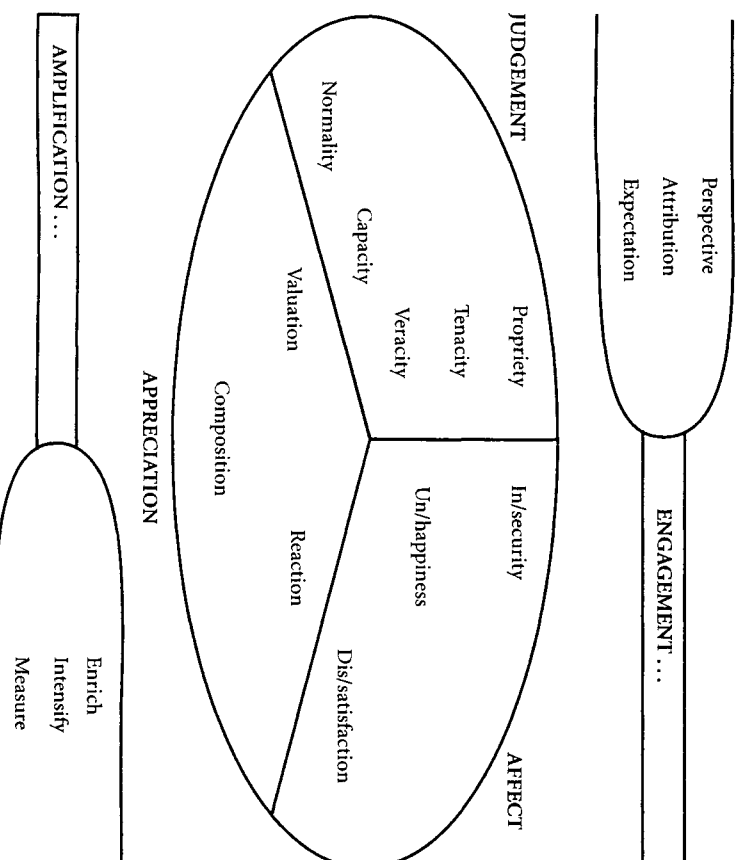


FIGURE 8.2. A topological perspective on appraisal resources

a sensitive reader; but ended up alienating the marker, who was not prepared to align with a sensitivity of that kind. In Example 8.13, a long-time friend drew on JUDGEMENT to reinforce a support group for Michael Jackson, probably with some success since the main audience for her tribute was the legion of fans who bought the *History* CD. In Example 8.14, a mature student drew on APPRECIATION to realign her tutor as a practising poet, only to have him rebuff her readings as naive. The volatility of the inclusions and exclusions engendered by these texts underscores both the bonding and schismatic power of appraisal resources. Just as it is impossible to include without also excluding, so it is impossible to appraise without running the gauntlet of empathy and alienation. As Hunston (1993a, 1994) has shown, even academic discourses which elide as far as possible the use of inscribed appraisal are structured to evoke affinity. No text is an island, as far as appraisal and solidarity are concerned.

By way of drawing the discussion together, consider now Example 8.15, from the opening scene of the play *Educating Rita*. In this scene, Rita meets her tutor Frank for the first time. Rita is positioned in this scene through her accent and dress as coming from a regional working class background, Frank as an alcoholic and disaffected academic who is not too keen on shouldering responsibility as Rita's mentor.

(8.15)

FRANK. [Shouting] Come in! Come in!

RITA. I'm comin' in, aren't I? It's that stupid bleedin' handle on the door—you wanna get it fixed!

FRANK. Erm—yes, I suppose I always mean to . . .

RITA. Well, that's no good always meanin' to, is it? Y' should get on with it, one of these days you'll be shoutin' 'Come in!' and it'll go on forever because the poor sod on the other side won't be able to get in. An' you won't be able to get out.

FRANK. You are?

RITA. What am I?

FRANK. Pardon?

RITA. What?

FRANK. Now you are?

RITA. I'm a what?

[Frank looks up and then returns to the papers as Rita goes to hang her coat on the door hooks.]

RITA. That's a nice picture, isn't it?

FRANK. Erm—yes, I suppose it is—nice . . .

RITA. It's very erotic.

FRANK. Actually I don't think I've looked at it for about ten years, but, yes, I suppose it is.

RITA. There's no suppose about it. Look at those tits.

[ . . . ]

FRANK. Would you—erm—would you like to sit down?

RITA. Nol Can I smoke?

FRANK. Tobacco?

RITA. Yeh. Was that a joke? Here—d' y' want one?

FRANK. Ah—I'd love one.

RITA. Well, have one.

FRANK. I—don't smoke—I made a promise not to smoke.

RITA. Well, I won't tell anyone.

FRANK. Promise?

RITA. On my oath as an ex Brownie. I hate smokin' on me own. An' everyone seems to have packed up these days. They're all afraid of gettin' cancer. But they're all cowards.

[ . . . ]

FRANK. Can I offer you a drink?

RITA. What of?

FRANK. Scotch?

[ . . . ]

RITA. Yeh, all right. [She takes a copy of Howards End from the shelf.] What's this like?

FRANK. *Howard's End?*

RITA. Yes, it sounds filthy, doesn't it? E. M. Foster.

FRANK. Forster.

RITA. Oh yeh. What's it like?

FRANK. Borrow it. Read it.

RITA. Ta. I'll look after it. If I pack the course in I'll post it to y'.

FRANK. Pack it in? Why should you do that?

RITA. I just might. I might decide it was a soft idea.

FRANK. Mm. Cheers. If—erm—if you're already contemplating 'packing it in', why did you enrol in the first place?

RITA. Because I wanna know.

FRANK. What do you want to know?

RITA. Everything.

FRANK. Everything? That's rather a lot, isn't it? Where would you like to start?

RITA. Well, I'm a student now, aren't I? I'll have to do exams, won't I?

FRANK. Yes, eventually.

RITA. I'll have to learn about it all, won't I? Yeh. It's like y' sit there, don't y', watchin' the ballet or the opera on the telly an'—an' y' call it rubbish cos that's what it looks like? Cos y' don't understand. So y' switch it off an' say, that's fuckin' rubbish.

FRANK. Do you?

RITA. I do. But I don't want to. I wanna see. Y' don't mind me swearin', do y'?

FRANK. Not at all.

RITA. Do you swear?

FRANK. Never stop.

RITA. See, the educated classes know it's only words, don't they? It's only the masses who don't understand. I do it to shock them sometimes. Y' know when I'm in the hair-dressers—that's where I work—I'll say somethin' like 'Oh, I'm really fucked', y' know, dead loud. It doesn't half cause a fuss.

FRANK. Yes—I'm sure . . .

RITA. But it doesn't cause any sort of fuss with educated people, does it? Cos they know it's only words and they don't worry. But these stuck-up idiots I meet, they think they're royalty just cos they don't swear, and I wouldn't mind but it's the aristocracy that swears more than anyone, isn't it? It's all 'Pass me the fuckin' grouse' with them, isn't it? But y' can't tell them that round our way. It's not their fault, they can't help it.

But sometimes I hate them. [...] I love this room. I love that window. Do you like it?

FRANK. What?

RIYA. The window.

FRANK. I don't often consider it actually. I sometimes get the urge to throw something through it.

RIYA. What?

FRANK. A student usually.

RIYA. You're bleedin' mad you, aren't you?

FRANK. Probably.

[Pause.]

RIYA. Aren't you supposed to be interviewin' me?

FRANK. Do I need to?

RIYA. I talk too much, don't I? I know I talk a lot. I don't at home. I hardly ever talk when I'm there. But I don't often get the chance to talk to someone like you: to talk at you.

D' y' mind?

FRANK. Would you be at all bothered if I did? [*She shakes her head and then turns it into a nod.*] I don't mind.

RIYA. What does assonance mean?

FRANK. What? [*He gives a short laugh.*]

RIYA. Don't laugh at me.

FRANK. No. Errn—assonance. Well, it's a form of rhyme. What's a—what's an example—errn? Do you know Yeats?

RIYA. The wine lodge?

FRANK. Yeats the poet.

RIYA. No.

FRANK. Oh. Well—there's a Yeats poem called 'The Wild Swans at Coole'. In it he rhymes the word 'swan' with the word 'stone'. There, you see, an example of assonance.

RIYA. Oh. It means gettin' the rhyme wrong.

FRANK. [*Looking at her and laughing*] I've never really looked at it like that. But yes, yes you could say it means getting the rhyme wrong.

RIYA. Oh.

[...]

FRANK. What's your name?

RIYA. Rita.

FRANK. Rita. Min. It says here Mrs S. White.

RIYA. That's 'S' for Susan. It's just me real name. I've changed it to Rita, though. I'm not a Susan any more. I've called meself Rita—y' know, after Rita Mae Brown.

FRANK. Who?

RIYA. Y' know, Rita Mae Brown, who wrote *Rubyfruit Jungle*. Haven't y' read it? It's a fantastic book. D' y' wanna lend it?

FRANK. I'd—errn—I'd be very interested.

RIYA. All right.

[...]

FRANK. [*Looking at her paper*] You're a ladies' hairdresser?

RIYA. Yeh.

FRANK. Are you good at it?

[...]

RIYA. I am. But they expect too much. They walk in the hairdresser's, an' an hour later they wanna walk out a different person. [...] But if you want to change y' have to do it from the inside, don't y'? Know like I'm doin'. Do y' think I'll be able to do it?

FRANK. Well, it really depends on you, on how committed you are. Are you sure that you're absolutely serious about wanting to learn?

RIYA. I'm dead serious. Look, I know I take the piss an' that, but I'm dead serious really. I take the piss because I'm not, y' know, confident like, but I wanna be, honest. [...]

When d' y' actually, y' know, start teaching me?

FRANK. What can I teach you?

RIYA. Everything.

FRANK. I'll make a bargain with you. Yes? I'll tell you everything I know—but if I do that you must promise never to come back here ... You see I never—I didn't actually want to take this course in the first place. I allowed myself to be talked into it. I knew it was wrong. Seeing you only confirms my suspicion. My dear, it's not your fault, just the luck of the draw that you got me; but get me you did. And the thing is, between you, and me, and the walls, I'm actually an appalling teacher. Most of the time, you see, it doesn't actually matter—appalling teaching is quite in order for most of my appalling students. And the others manage to get by despite me. But you're different. You want a lot, and I can't give it. Everything I know—and you must listen to this—is that I know absolutely nothing. I don't like the hours, you know. Strange hours for this Open University thing. They expect us to teach when the pubs are open. I can be a good teacher when I'm in the pub, you know. Four pints of weak Guinness and I can be as witty as Wilde. I'm sorry—there are other tutors—I'll arrange it for you ... post it on ...

[*Rita slowly turns and goes towards the door.*]

This scene, of course, is a heteroglossic one, since Rita and Frank read the context of 'first meeting with tutor' in different ways. The ways in which language, in conjunction with dress and various paralinguistic features, constructs this difference are multiple (see Cranny-Francis and Martin 1994 for discussion of the film version). Here we will focus on the role played by APPRAISAL. To simplify the discussion irrealis affect will be set aside, since so many of its instances in the scene are used to construct indirect speech acts (i.e. indicative mood for offers and commands—you *should get on with it*, *do you want to lend it*, *would you like to sit down*, etc.; see Halliday 1984, Martin 1995a for discussion).

A reading of Frank's appraisal in the scene is offered in Table 8.10. On this reading, Frank draws on this resource on 18 occasions (including 2 instances of laughter). One of these repeats Rita's appraisal of assonance (*getting the rhyme wrong*), and two are in fact asking Rita to express her feelings (*are you good at ladies hair-dressing*), *are you ... serious about wanting to learn*). This means that Frank draws on verbal resources for expressing how he feels on just 13 occasions, 12 of which occur in his final monologue (where he constructs an argument for not taking Rita on as a student). Overall, then, it would appear that Frank is not using appraisal as a resource for constructing solidarity with Rita.

Rita, on the other hand, makes use of appraisal on 35 occasions (as outlined in the reading of the scene offered in Table 8.11)—and these are spread more or less evenly throughout the scene. Unlike Frank, she constructs the context as one in

TABLE 8.10. Frank's appraisal in the opening scene of Educating Rita

Instantiation	Appraiser	APPRECIATION	JUDGEMENT	AFFECT	Appraised
[laughter]	Frank			cheer	Rita
[laughter]	Frank			cheer	Rita's joke
... getting the rhyme wrong	Frank	composition: balance		interest	assonance ... poet Rita's offer
I'd be very interested	Frank				Rita
are you good at it?	Frank? Rita <sup>1</sup>		capacity: competent		
are you ... serious about	Frank? Rita			engagement	wanting to learn
it was wrong	Frank		propriety: ethical		taking the course
not your fault	Frank	-[propriety]			taking the course
just the luck of the draw	Frank	normality: unlucky			taking the course
an appalling teacher	Frank		capacity: incompetent		Frank
it doesn't matter	Frank		propriety: ethical		appalling teaching
quite in order	Frank		propriety: ethical		appalling teaching
appalling teaching	Frank	reaction: quality	capacity: incompetent		Frank's teaching
appalling students	Frank	reaction: quality	capacity: incompetent		Frank's students
different	Frank	reaction: quality			Rita
don't like a good teacher	Frank		capacity: competent	antipathy	hours
witty	Frank		capacity: accomplished		Frank

<sup>1</sup> In this and the following table an entry such as Frank?Rita in the appraiser column signifies that Frank is asking Rita for her appraisal.

which she'll say how she feels. As indicated above, all appraisal involves the negotiation of solidarity—you can hardly say how you feel without inviting empathy.

TABLE 8.11. Rita's appraisal in the opening scene of Educating Rita

Instantiation	Appraiser	APPRECIATION	JUDGEMENT	AFFECT	Appraised
stupid	Rita			antipathy	handle
bleeding handle					
no good, is it?	Rita		-[capacity: incompetent]		Frank
the poor sod	Rita		normality: unlucky		sod
a nice picture, isn't it?	Rita	reaction: quality			picture
very erotic	Rita	valuation: titillating			picture
look at those tits	Rita	reaction: impact			picture
Was that a joke?	Rita?		veracity: bogus		Frank's question
hate	Rita			antipathy	smoking on own
they're afraid	Rita			apprehension	getting cancer
cowards	Rita		tenacity: cowardice		everyone
sounds filthy, doesn't it?	Rita	valuation: titillating			Howard's End
What's it like?	Rita?	reaction			Howard's End
a soft idea	Rita	valuation: unsatisfying	capacity: stupid!		doing the course
rubbish	Rita	valuation: worthless			ballet/opera
fuckin' rubbish	Rita	valuation: worthless			ballet/opera
y' don't mind ... ?	Rita?			disquiet	swearing
shock	Rita			disquiet	masses
I'm really fucked	Rita			ennui	Rita
cause a fuss	Rita			disquiet	masses
doesn't cause any sort of fuss, ... does it?	Rita			-[disquiet]	educated people

cont.

TABLE 8.11. *cont.*

<i>Instantiation</i>	<i>Appraiser</i>	<i>APPRECIATION</i>	<i>JUDGEMENT</i>	<i>AFFECT</i>	<i>Appraised</i>
stuck-up idiots	Rita		veracity: bogus		masses
(not) their fault	Rita		-[propriety]		masses
hate	Rita			antipathy	masses
love this room	Rita			care	this room
love that window	Rita			care	the window
<b>do you like it?</b>	Rita? Frank			care	the window
bleedin' mad, <b>aren't y'?</b>	Rita		capacity: insane		Frank
<b>D' y' mind?</b>	Rita? Frank			disquiet	talking at him
Don't laugh at me	Rita "Frank			-[cheer]	Rita
gettin' the rhyme wrong	Rita	composition: balance	capacity: incompetent		assonance ... poets
a fantastic book	Rita	reaction: quality			Rubyfruit Jungle
dead serious	Rita			engagement	Rita
take the piss	Rita		veracity: joker		Rita
not, y' know, confident	Rita			-[confidence]	Rita
honest	Rita		veracity: honest		Rita

<sup>1</sup> I have double-coded this instance (and getting the rhyme wrong below) as realizing both appreciation and judgement, since the appraisal evaluates the idea as soft, implying that its thinker is incompetent.

Where interlocutors are prepared to share your feeling, a kind of bonding occurs; where they are not so prepared, the effect is alienating. And Rita puts a great deal of effort into constructing a relationship with Frank based on shared feeling. Strikingly, in this scene, Rita explicitly invites Frank to share her feelings on a number of occasions (noted in bold face in Table 8.11). These invitations are outlined in Table 8.12 and represent just over a third of Rita's appraisal instantiations. The invitations involve tags, polar questions, and the parenthetical expressions *between you and me* and *you know*.

TABLE 8.12. Rita's invitations to share feeling in Example 8.15

RITA. Well, that's <b>no good</b> —always meanin' to is it?
RITA. That's <b>a nice picture</b> , isn't it?
RITA. Yeah. <b>Was that a joke?</b>
RITA. It sounds <b>filthy</b> , doesn't it?
RITA. Oh yeh. <b>What's it like?</b>
RITA. Y' don't <b>mind</b> me swearin', do y'?
RITA. It doesn't cause <b>any sort of fuss</b> with educated people, <b>does it?</b>
RITA. I <b>love</b> this room. I <b>love</b> that window. <b>Do you like it?</b>
RITA. You're <b>bleedin' mad</b> you, <b>aren't y'?</b>
RITA. . . . to talk at you. <b>D' y' mind?</b>
RITA. . . . because I'm not y' know, <b>confident</b> like.

Throughout the scene Frank either ignores or actively resists these invitations. For him the context is not one in which he chooses to build a relationship based on shared feeling. Consider for example his resistance to Rita's appraisal of the view from his room:

- (8.16) Expanding Example 8.3 above  
 RITA. I love this room. I love that window. Do you like it?  
 FRANK. What?  
 RITA. The window.  
 FRANK. I don't often consider it actually. I sometimes get an urge to throw something through it.  
 RITA. What?  
 FRANK. A student usually.  
 RITA. You're bleedin' mad you, aren't y'?  
 FRANK. Probably.

And contrast Rita's direct reply to Frank's question about the quality of her hair-dressing:

- (8.17)  
 FRANK. You're a ladies' hairdresser?  
 RITA. Yeh.  
 FRANK. Are you good at it?  
 RITA. I am.

In general terms then, Rita's strategy is to try and build up a relationship with Frank by revealing her emotions, judgements, and appreciations to him and inviting him to react. This is a powerful strategy for building up a relationship, since shared feelings tend to draw people together. Rita uses the meeting to size Frank up; to see what evaluations they might be able to share or not. Subsequently she can draw on what she has learned to develop the relationship. This would appear to be part of an orientation to meaning and the negotiation of relationships that Bernstein (e.g. 1975) refers to as positional (see also Hasan 1990).



For his part, in Rita's terms, Frank reveals very little about himself. Up to his parting monologue where he evaluates his appalling teaching and appalling students, he gives next to no opinions at all. Rather, for Frank, the point of the meeting seems to be to establish himself as a very special kind of individual ('bleeding mad' is Rita's assessment). As a result of this orientation to meaning in this context, when pressed by Rita, Frank appears to hedge and prevaricate:

(8.18) Expanding Example 8.1 above

RITA. Here—d' y' want one?

FRANK. Ah—I'd love one.

RITA. Well, have one.

FRANK. I—don't smoke—I made a promise not to smoke.

RITA. Well, I won't tell anyone.

FRANK. Promise?

RITA. On my oath as an ex Brownie. I hate smokin' on me own. An' everyone seems to have packed up these days. They're all afraid of gettin' cancer. But they're all cowards.

Compared with Rita, Frank does not answer directly. Note how directly Rita comes to the point when Frank offers her a seat:

(8.19)

FRANK. Would you like to sit down?

RITA. No!

But the more important point here, as far as gender, class, and social meaning are concerned, is that by avoiding a direct answer Frank creates an opportunity to 'personalize' his response. He sets himself up as someone who'd like a cigarette but doesn't want one, who's promised not to smoke but would like to, and who will smoke as long as someone promises not to tell. Frank is not just someone accepting a cigarette, in other words; rather, he is a naughty boy who just might sneak a fag on the understanding he won't get caught. In constructing this part of his persona, Frank is presenting himself as something special—a little boy in tutor's clothing (cf. above where Frank avoids Rita's query about the view in order to position himself as a raving lunatic, in whose care students are probably far from secure—a wolf in tweed clothing).

The complementarity of Rita and Frank's orientations to meaning is summed up nicely in the following exchange. Rita tries to share feelings about a picture hanging in Frank's room (in bold face below: *a nice picture, very erotic, look at those tits*); Frank personalizes his response (using explicit subjective interpersonal metaphors of modality)<sup>12</sup> to create a negotiating space: *I suppose, I don't think, I suppose* and takes the opportunity to specialize himself as someone who hasn't looked at the picture in ten years:

(8.20) Repeating Example 8.9 above

RITA. That's a *nice picture*, isn't it?

FRANK. Errn—yes, *I suppose* it is—*nice*...

RITA. It's *very erotic*.  
FRANK. Actually, *I don't think* I've looked at it for about ten years, but yes, *I suppose* it is.  
RITA. There's no *suppose* about it.  
Remarkably, Rita takes the step of commenting directly on and resisting Frank's individuation when she says 'There's no *suppose* about it.' Rita's challenge to Frank's coding in this exchange is symbolic of her refusal to comply passively with his positionings of her throughout the play. She's an assertive working class woman; and she wants change.

### Re/appraisal

In this chapter I have tried to present a brief overview of APPRAISAL resources in English<sup>13</sup> and to illustrate their instantiation across a range of spoken and written texts. In the course of our research, we began with AFFECT, working in the context of secondary school English narratives and responses (Martin 1996; Rothery 1994, Rothery and Stenglin 1994a, b, c); JUDGEMENT evolved out of AFFECT in the context of our work on media (Iedema *et al.* 1994), and later history (Coffin 1997); and APPRECIATION evolved last in the context of our work on creative arts. What began as a small project, aimed at developing a better analysis of evaluation in narrative, has grown into a large, unfinished project for which this chapter provides at best an interim report. A virtual Pandora's box of issues awaits research, which demands new kinds of research orientation—towards lexis (alongside grammar), towards corpus (alongside text), towards prosody (alongside particle and wave), towards solidarity (alongside hegemony), towards multi-modal analysis, including paralangue, body, and image (alongside verbiage), towards heteroglossia (alongside system), towards resistant and tactical readings (alongside compliant ones), and so on: a massive recontextualization of linguistic enterprise—and one perhaps long overdue.

In the course of the *Star Trek Next Generation* episodes 'Unification I and II', Spock and Data are at work together on an encrypted Romulan communication. Engaging Spock in conversation, Data takes an interest in the fact that whereas he, an android with no feelings, has spent his lifetime trying to acquire some so as to become more human, Spock, a Vulcan/human born with emotions, has spent his lifetime suppressing them. It is salutary to note that of all the Enterprise crew, it is only the lexicogrammars of Spock and Data that contemporary linguistics has begun to describe. Perhaps, as this volume heralds for evaluative language, it is time to explore strange new worlds, seeking out new life, where few linguists have gone before.

<sup>12</sup> For modality metaphor see Halliday (1994), Martin (1995a).

<sup>13</sup> This approach to appraisal was inspired in large part by research into secondary school and workplace literacy conducted by Caroline Coffin, Susan Feez, Sally Humphreys, Rick Iedema, Henrike Kerner, David Malnes, David Rose, Joan Rothery, Maree Stenglin, Robert Veal, and Peter White as part of the Disadvantaged Schools Program's Write it Right project; Joan Rothery (APPRECIATION) and Peter White (JUDGEMENT) in particular constructed a great deal of the framework presented here.