

## Sense and Sensibility: Texturing Evaluation

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### 12.1 Evaluation, metaphor and image

In this paper I will consider aspects of the role played by evaluation in texturing discourse. Although the analysis of evaluation has tended to be marginalized in linguistics (Poynton 1990, 2000; Martin 1992a), it plays a powerful role in organizing texts – a role which is perhaps most transparent in texts relating to highly charged political issues. ‘The stolen generations’ issue in Australia, as presented by Manne (1998), is one such arena.

*Bringing Them Home* (1997) – the report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their families – suggests that between one in three and one in ten Aboriginal children were separated from their mothers. All one can say for certain is that in the seventy or so years in question tens of thousands of babies and children were removed. Yet there is an even more extraordinary fact than this. Until the last year or so most non-Aboriginal Australians either did not know or were at best only dimly aware that for some seventy years Australian governments had been involved in a more or less routine practice of part-Aboriginal child removal. This was something almost every Aborigine understood (Manne 1998: 53).

Sir William Deane, governor-general of Australia, has commented on the issue as follows:

It should, I think, be apparent to all well-meaning people that true reconciliation between the Australian nation and its indigenous people is not achievable in the absence of acknowledgement of the wrongfulness of the past dispossession, oppression and degradation of the Aboriginal peoples. That is not to say that individual Australians who had no part in what was done in the past should feel or

acknowledge personal guilt. It is simply to assert our identity as a nation and the basic fact that national shame, as well as national pride, can and should exist in relation to past acts and omissions, at least when done or made in the name of the community or with the authority of government...

The present plight, in terms of health, employment, education, living conditions and self-esteem, of so many Aborigines must be acknowledged as largely flowing from what happened in the past. The dispossession, the destruction of hunting fields and the devastation of lives were all related. The new diseases, the alcohol and the new pressures of living were all introduced. True acknowledgement cannot stop short of recognition of the extent to which present disadvantage flows from past injustice and oppression...

Theoretically, there could be national reconciliation without any redress at all of the dispossession and other wrongs sustained by the Aborigines. As a practical matter, however, it is apparent that recognition of the need for appropriate redress for present disadvantage flowing from past injustice and oppression is a prerequisite of reconciliation. There is, I believe, widespread acceptance of such a need. (Deane 1966 quoted in *Bringing Them Home* 1997: 3–4)

These comments were included as part of the Introduction to Australia’s remarkable *Bringing Them Home*. It includes a number of explicit ethical evaluations:

well-meaning people; the wrongfulness of the past dispossession, oppression and degradation; personal guilt; national shame; national pride; past injustice and oppression; other wrongs; past injustice and oppression

In addition, Deane deploys metaphorical language to amplify the plight of indigenous Australians – the ‘river of disadvantage’ motif:

The present plight ... flowing from what happened in the past; present disadvantage from past injustice; present disadvantage flowing from past injustice

*Bringing Them Home* also includes a large number of quotations from Aboriginal people; the voice of the stolen generations is foregrounded throughout the report. And there are numerous photographs, generally positioned at the beginning of parts, chapters and sections of chapters.

In considering the texture of evaluation, we need to take the role of all three of these resources into account (appraisal, imagery and images) – since they co-articulate the stance that multimodal texts naturalize for viewer/readers. For further consideration of verbiage/image relations in this regard, see Martin (in press a and b).

## 12.2 APPRAISAL resources

In order to deal with the texture of evaluation we need a framework for interpersonal resources in English that moves beyond traditional concerns with speech function and exchange structure (e.g., NEGOTIATION in Martin 1992b). Following Halliday's work on the grammar of MOOD (e.g., Halliday 1994), early work on interpersonal discourse analysis leaned towards the interactive dimension – the ways in which interacts give and demand goods-and-services and information. Paul Kelly, in his famous land rights narrative 'From Little Things Big Things Grow', reports on the negotiation of propositions and proposals as follows:

### **negotiating propositions** (probabilities at risk)

Vestey man and Vestey man thundered

You don't stand a chance of a cinder in snow

Vincent said if we fall others are rising

From little things big things grow.

### **negotiating proposals** (inclinations at risk)

Let us sort it out, your people are hungry

Vincent said no thanks, we know how to wait (Kelly 1999:

107–8)

Our work on secondary school and workplace discourse in the 1990s (e.g., Christie and Martin 1997; Martin and Veel 1998) convinced us that this essentially grammatical perspective on interactivity needs to be complemented with a more lexically based focus on 'personal' meanings. So alongside NEGOTIATION we tried to develop systems for evaluative meaning, which we referred to as APPRAISAL (Martin 2000a). In doing so we concentrated on gradable resources, which meant setting aside regions of meaning with clear interpersonal implications as far as communing are concerned. For example, we set aside the solidarity function of technical and specialized vocabulary (including slang; for anti-languages see Halliday 1976), swearing (Veltman 1998), terms of address (Poynton 1996) and so on as a Pandora's box called INVOLVEMENT (as yet unopened):

In a few days we were in the Granites, and there we saw all those Europeans who were working in the mines; we didn't say 'Kardiya' then, that word comes from the Gurinjil language. (*Stories from Lajamanu* 1985: 6)

'In the Kimberleys they shoot bastards like you!' ... 'you blood\*\*\* mongrel half-breed', he muttered, 'I can't trust you!' (*Morgan* 1989: 45)

Where are you headed young fella? ... You've walked a long way son. (*Morgan* 1989: 34)

The box we did open was regionalized as three systems: ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. ATTITUDE focused on gradable resources for construing evaluation, comprising three regions of its own: AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION (emotion, ethics and aesthetics if you will). AFFECT deals with resources for construing emotional reactions: for example, the mental process of affection and attitudinal adjective underlined below:

Mrs Sullivan taught me how to love and what was right and what was wrong. I'm glad she taught me values because I now know what was wrong. [*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 8]

JUDGEMENT is concerned with resources for assessing behaviour according to various normative principles:

It was wrong the way my natural mother was treated. Mrs Sullivan told my mother she should lock herself away. The Sullivan family told people my mother was \*\*\* and the court gave us to the Sullivan family. My mother was not crazy she was only nineteen. She was the right one and she shouldn't have killed herself but she knew no better and there was no-one to help her keep the children. (*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 8)

APPRECIATION looks at resources for construing the value of things, including natural phenomena and semiosis (as either product or process):

Muecke's book provides more proof that the most interesting work in cultural studies is being done in Australia. Operating in the space between discourse theory and textual analysis, Muecke examines an extraordinarily wide range of material with unequaled sympathy and sophistication. (Muecke 1992: back cover)

As interpersonal meanings, attitudes have a tendency to colour phases of discourse. Splashes of stance for emotion, ethics and aesthetics are illustrated below (prosodic realizations, to put this in technical terms; Martin 2000b).

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

Another wrote of having to leave her younger siblings behind in an orphanage when she was sent to work elsewhere at the age of 14: 'So this meant the grieving took place again. The grief came for my younger sister and two brothers whom I thought I would never see again. The day I left the Orphanage – that was a very sad day for me. I was very unhappy and the memories came back. There was nowhere to turn. You was on your own. I was again in a different environment ... I had no choice but to stick it out. With the hardships going and thinking of my sister and brothers which I left at the Orphanage. My heart full of sorrows for them. (*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 12)

**JUDGEMENT** (ethics; evaluating behaviour)

Worse, this is a mean administration; a miserly, mingy, minatory bunch if ever there was one. It has a head but no heart, a brain but no soul. Without generosity of spirit, devoid of compassion, absorbed in narrow self-interest the Howard Government has no concept of any over-arching duty to articulate the aspirations of the governed and to lead them, with some hope, to a happier and more complete nationhood. If the polls slump, how easy it is to play the Hansonite politics of greed and to send in the boover brigade: Herron to cosh the boongs, Tony Abbott to drop-kick the unemployed, Jocelyn Newman to savage those on social welfare. This is not government, it is mere management, a very different thing, and it is what will do for them in the end. A cold and bloodless lot, their veins run with piss and vinegar. (Carleton 2000: 38)

**APPRECIATION** (aesthetics; evaluating text/process, phenomena)

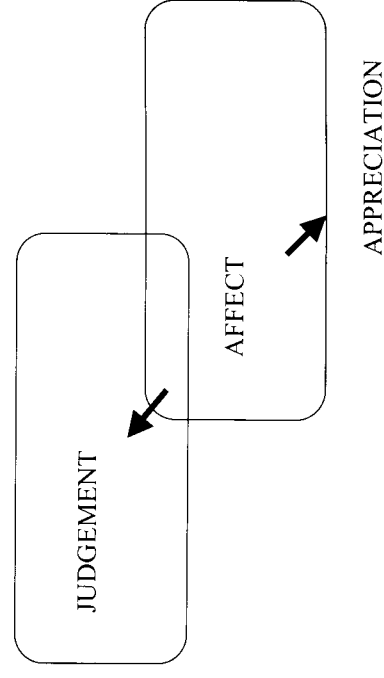
In 1983, the new school headmaster (Mr Terry Lewis) brought considerable excitement to the Yuendumu community by his interest in and support of traditional Warlpiri culture and language. One of his more modest suggestions was to make the school look less 'European' by commissioning senior men to paint the school doors with traditional designs. The results were more spectacular

that anyone envisaged. Both European and Aboriginal residents of Yuendumu took considerable pleasure and pride in the achievement. Visitors to the community were equally enthusiastic, and word about these remarkable paintings began to spread. My own response was to see this accomplishment as a major one for contemporary international art as well as an achievement in indigenous culture. For me, these doors seemed to strike a chord with issues and images that were being negotiated in the art galleries of Sydney, Paris and New York. (Michaels 1987: 135)

As attitudinal systems, **AFFECT**, **JUDGEMENT** and **APPRECIATION** are all concerned with feeling. **AFFECT** is the embodied system we are born with, which we develop into culturally specific emotional repertoires. **JUDGEMENT** and **APPRECIATION** on the other hand might be viewed as uncommon sense feeling: **JUDGEMENT** as the institutionalization of feeling with a view to prescribing behaviour, **APPRECIATION** as the institutionalization of feeling with a view to assessing the value and social significance of things. An outline of this genetic perspective is presented in Figure 12.1.

ethics/morality (rules and regulations)

feeling institutionalized as proposals



feeling institutionalized as proposals  
aesthetics/value (criteria and assessment)

**Figure 12.1** **JUDGEMENT** and **APPRECIATION** as institutionalized feeling

Alongside these attitudinal resources, APPRAISAL includes systems for adjusting a speaker's commitment to what they are saying – referred to as ENGAGEMENT systems. ENGAGEMENT includes options for both eliding and referencing dialogism in discourse (Fuller 1998, 2000; Fuller and Lee 1997; White 1997). The option monogloss construes a proposition or proposal baldly, with no referencing to sources or alternative positions:

**monogloss** (elide dialogism) – The Lord Mayor handed Aunty Iris the key to the city and a Sorry Book signed by the Melbourne town councillors.

Heteroglossing opens things up in various ways – modalization (*I bet, would*), projection and negation (*Aunty Iris never thought, Jeff Kennet has said*), counter-expectation (*ever, even*) and restricted provenance (*so-called, technically*):

**heterogloss** (reference dialogism) – I bet Aunty Iris never thought when she was living on the mission listening to the wailing of mothers mourning their stolen children, that she would ever be guest of honour at the Melbourne Town Hall.

Even the Thacherite premier of Victoria, Jeff Kennet, has said, 'We're sorry for what happened and we're sorry for the hurt and pain.'

It is probably only where there is so-called vacant Crown Land, and in remote areas where traditional Aboriginal life has not been disrupted, that native title exists.

A national inquiry last year found that the government policy of forced removal was a gross violation of human rights and technically an act of genocide because it had the intention of destroying Australia's indigenous culture by forced assimilation.

Appraisal also includes systems for grading evaluations – referred to as GRADUATION systems. These work by adjusting the 'volume' of gradable meanings, more often than not by amplifying it (FORCE):

**high** – The hall reverberated with sorry business as we felt the anguish of people such as Margaret Harrison, once confined to Ebenezer Mission in Victoria, who pleaded with the Board of protection: 'Please would you allow me to have my two girls here as [another] one of them died and I have not seen her before she died and I should like the other two to be with me to comfort me.'

**low** – We could just catch its amplified strains above the racket of construction work and the rattle of trams.

Even if the charge of genocide remains contentious between people of good will, as I suspect it might...

GRADUATION also includes resources for fine-tuning the value of experiential meanings – either to strengthen or weaken categorizations (FOCUS):

**sharpen** – Unexpected evidence of the rapport between Aborigines and Irish can also be found in the history of that quintessential Irish-Australian – rapparee – bushranger, Ned Kelly. true reconciliation between the Australian nation and its indigenous people is not achievable in the absence of acknowledgement of the wrongfulness...

**soften** – and, just for a minute... I could feel something of the spirit of Wurundjei land before the concrete and trams took over.

Until the last year or so most non-Aboriginal Australians either did not know or were at best dimly aware that for some seventy years Australian governments had been involved in a more or less routine practice of part-Aboriginal child removal.

An overview of these and related interpersonal systems across strata is presented as Table 12.1. As far as APPRAISAL is concerned, realizations tend to foreground lexis over grammar; phonologically speaking appraisal draws a number of features which have been traditionally relegated to paralinguistics back into the system.<sup>1</sup>

An alternative representation of interpersonal discourse semantics is outlined in Figure 12.2. Looking upwards to context, APPRAISAL, NEGOTIATION and INVOLVEMENT construe tenor relations – including both status and contact. APPRAISAL plays a key role in construing communities, and so should play a key role in developing better understandings of solidarity; for groundbreaking work in this area see Egging (2000) and Egging and Slade (1997).

A typological overview of APPRAISAL resources is presented in Figure 12.3. For discussion of the relation of APPRAISAL to NEGOTIATION see Martin (2000b), where Halliday's MOOD grammar is reconsidered from a lexical perspective as grammaticalized stance.

Table 12.1 Interpersonal resources across strata

REGISTER	DISCOURSE SEMANTICS	LEXICO-GRAMMAR	PHONOLOGY
<u>TENOR</u> (voice)	<p><b>NEGOTIATION</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• speech function</li> <li>• exchange</li> </ul> <p><b>APPRAISAL</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• engagement</li> <li>• affect</li> <li>• judgement</li> <li>• appreciation</li> <li>• graduation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'evaluative' lexis</li> <li>• modal verbs</li> <li>• modal adjuncts</li> <li>• polarity</li> <li>• pre/numeration</li> <li>• intensification</li> <li>• repetition</li> <li>• manner; extent</li> <li>• logico-semantics</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• loudness</li> <li>• pitch movement</li> <li>• voice quality</li> <li>• (formatting)</li> </ul>
power (status)			
solidarity (contact)	<p><b>INVOLVEMENT</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• naming</li> <li>• technicality</li> <li>• anti-language</li> <li>• swearing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• vocation/names</li> <li>• technical lexis</li> <li>• specialized lexis</li> <li>• slang</li> <li>• taboo lexis</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'accent'</li> <li>• whisper</li> <li>• acronyms</li> <li>• 'pig latins'</li> <li>• secret scripts</li> </ul>

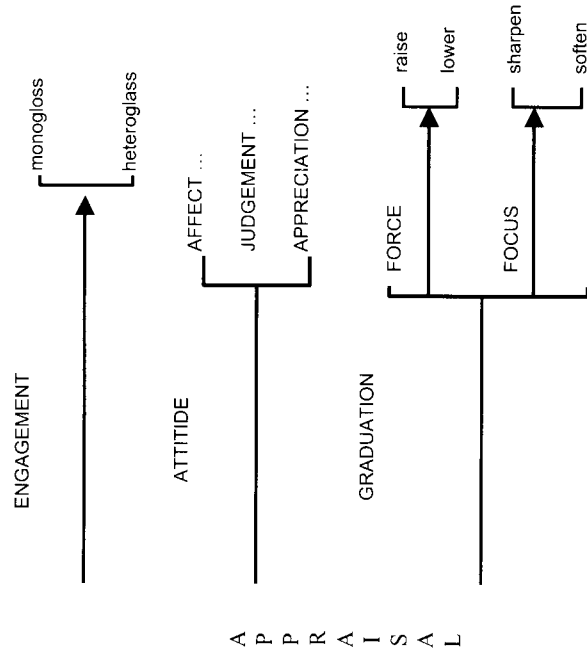


Figure 12.3 APPRAISAL systems: ENGAGEMENT, ATTITUDE and GRADUATION

12.3 Voice

The prosodic colouring of phases of discourse according to one kind of stance or another raises the issue of appraisal keys – the rhetorical voices through which we speak. Work on media discourse (Iedema *et al.* 1994; Iedema 1997; White 1997) and history (Coffin 1997) has identified some relevant keys, referred to as authorial voice. For the media, reporter voice, for example, was contrasted with commentator voice. Reporter voice is the more ‘objective’ key; for this voice, all explicit moral judgements have to be projected since the reporter cannot be the source of these. Note that the charge of racism in the following text is in fact doubly projected – as something the reporter says that Hanson says that someone else has said:

Aboriginal and ethnic groups warned last weekend that Pauline Hanson’s One Nation party ... could set back race relations in Australia for decades ... Ms Hanson responded that although she was branded a racist, no one could point to any racist comment she had made. But she said many Asians were not prepared to

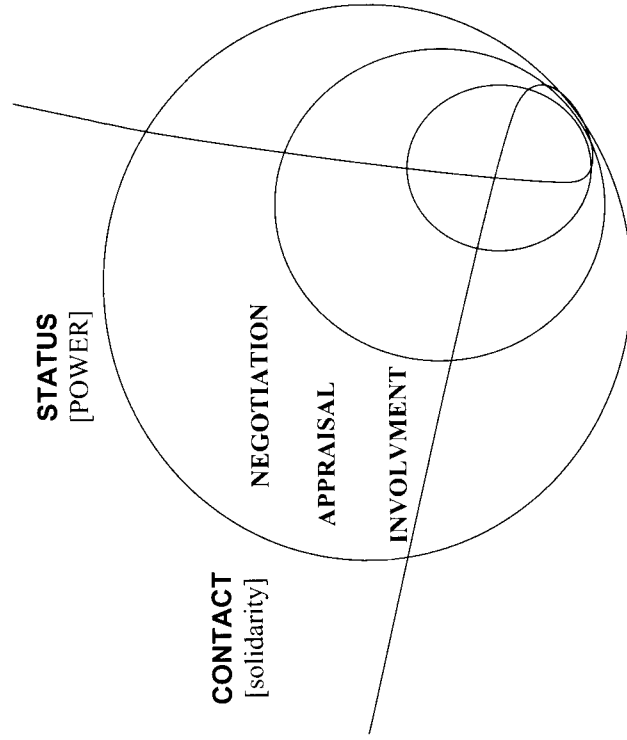


Figure 12.2 Interpersonal discourse semantics in relation tenor

assimilate, and that widespread migration made Australians feel like foreigners in their own country. (Zinn 1998: 3)

For commentator voice on the other hand, as associated with editorials and expert comment, explicit moral judgements are possible. Manne certainly does not back away from shaming John Howard's churlish federal administration in the following:

Let me, then, finally say this. Even if the charge of genocide remains contentious between people of good will, as I suspect it might, that does nothing to change the fact that the policy of child removal constitutes one of the most shameful, if not the most shameful episode in twentieth-century Australian history. That our government refuses to apologise to the victims of that policy, now that the facts are known, seems to me to have deepened that shame. (Manne 1998: 63)

Since JUDGEMENT plays a key role in these voice systems, we will explore it a little further here. As noted above, JUDGEMENT can be thought of as the institutionalization of feeling, in the context of proposals (norms about how people should and should not behave). Like AFFECT, it has a positive and negative dimension – corresponding to positive and negative judgements about behaviour. Iedema *et al.* (1994) suggest dividing judgements into two major groups, social esteem and social sanction. 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. 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).

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

With this system in mind we can be more explicit about media keys, including reporter, correspondent and commentator voice as outlined

Table 12.2 Types of JUDGEMENT

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

in Figure 12.4. Specifically, reporter voice makes use of graduation (force) to call attention to its news, but proscribes explicit judgements (unless projected); correspondent voice allows explicit judgements of social esteem; and commentator voice allows explicit judgements of both social esteem and social sanction, explicit causality and commands. Related keys were established for history discourse by Coffin (1997), labelled recorder, interpreter and adjudicator voice respectively.

The possibility of voiceless writing is an interesting issue. Hunston (e.g., 1993, 1994, 2000) and Myers (1989) have done important work on evaluation in scientific writing, a register we might initially think of as purely objective. *Star Trek's* Mr Spock and Data aside, the only site I know of which regularly features faceless discourse is recount writing in the early school years, where the labour of scribing seems to have the effect of turning evaluation off:

'The Journey of Healing'

Yesterday I went into the library and we talked about Aboriginal people. When they were little someone took them to another place.

case he now knew Nellie herself would have put before the court if she had been able to speak English or ... pay for a barrister.

Further on, Manne culminates his history with some adjudication, commenting on the morality of separating Aboriginal children from their families and the truthfulness of Prime Minister John Howard's spin doctors on this theme.

(finally) adjudicating [social sanction – propriety, veracity]:

We have, in recent times, been told flatly that this policy was driven by a concern for the best interests of the children. We have been told, too, that the policy accorded with the moral standards of the time. No-one, however, who follows this story – who witnesses the grief of Nellie Bliss, the terror of Walter, the arrogance of Dr Walter E. Roth and the astonished indignation of William Craig – could seriously come out believing that what we have been told is true. (Manne 1999: 11)

## 12.4 Voice dynamics

Manne's rhetoric raises the more general issue of how voices unfold in discourse – the texture of evaluation. Hunston and Thompson (2000a: 11), citing Sinclair, make the point that evaluation tends to occur at boundary points in discourse. Read in relation to Martin (1992b, 1993) this might be explored in relation to layers of Theme and New in discourse. Drawing on Fries' (1981/1983) work on patterns of Theme (method of development) and New (point), Martin unpacks Halliday's notion of hierarchy of periodicity in terms of layers of prediction and accumulation – suggesting that method of development may be predicted by higher-order Hyper-Themes, a pattern of which may in turn be predicted by Macro-Themes and so on, just as point may be consolidated in higher-order Hyper-New, a pattern of which may in turn be further consolidated in Macro-new and so on (see Figure 12.5). The more planned and edited the writings, the more layers of Theme and New we find – ultimately resolving as Tables of Contents and Indexes in published work.

In my experience, across many registers, evaluation is strongly associated with higher-order Themes and News. Fries' classic exemplar, 'The English Constitution', nicely illustrates the point. Its method of development, as realized through clause Themes, is the opposition of wisdom and chance; and this pattern of Themes is predicted by the Hyper-Theme *It is the child of wisdom and chance*.

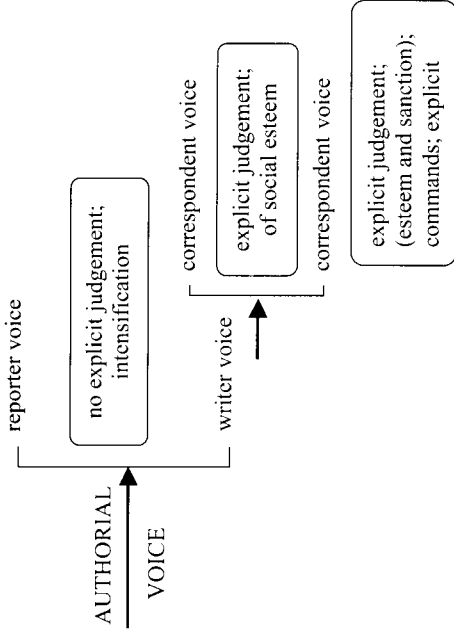


Figure 12.4 Appraisal keys for media discourse

When they grew up they couldn't find their families. (Year 1, Vietnamese student)

In mature writing, perhaps the closest we get to facelessness is reporter or recorder voice; even there, the objective stance tends to be just one phase, and in any case allows for engagement and graduation of various kinds. Robert Manne, reporting on the case of Nellie Bliss, whose son was taken near the beginning of the Australian government's policy of systematic child removal, begins as follows:

The story begins with a letter sent on February 17, 1903, to the police in Townsville. It was written by the Northern Protector of Aboriginals in Queensland, the notable anthropologist, Dr Walter E. Roth, who was shortly to become Chief Protector in Queensland, and later the sole royal commissioner looking into the conditions of Aborigines in the north of Western Australia. Historians may eventually come to see him as the architect of the policy of Aboriginal child removal in Australia. (Manne 1999: 11)

Manne soon follows up this stance with interpretation, commenting explicitly on the social esteem (capacity) of William Craig, who was opposed to the policy and tried to intervene on Nellie Bliss's behalf:

Craig followed his telegram with a letter. He had listened to Nellie Bliss with genuine attentiveness. He was able to put to the Home Secretary, in a morally and legally persuasive language, the kind of

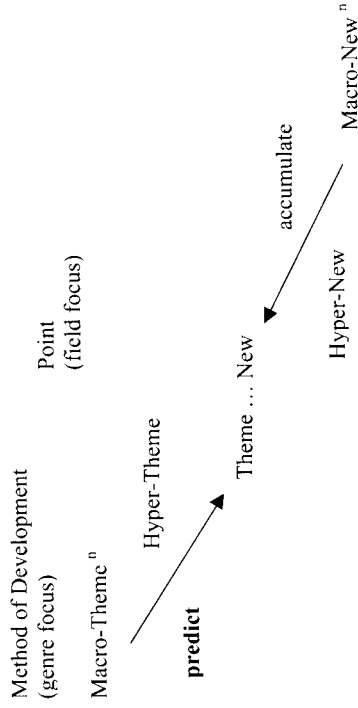


Figure 12.5 Layers of Theme and New

This involves two judgements of social esteem along the dimension of normality (*chance*) and capacity (*wisdom*):

[1] The English Constitution – that indescribable entity – is a living thing, growing with the growth of men, and assuming ever-varying forms in accordance with the subtle and complex laws of human character. **It is the child of wisdom and chance.**

The wise men of 1688 moulded it into the shape we know, but the chance that George I could not speak English gave it one of its essential peculiarities – the system of a cabinet independent of the crown and subordinate to the Prime Minister. The wisdom of Lord Grey saved it from petrification, and set it upon the path of democracy. Then chance intervened once more. A female sovereign happened to marry an able and pertinacious man, and it seemed that an element which had been quiescent within it for years – the element of irresponsible administrative power – was about to become its predominate characteristic and change completely the direction of its growth. But what chance gave chance took away. The Consort perished in his prime, and the English Constitution, dropping the dead limb with hardly a tremor, continued its mysterious life as if he had never been. (Fries 1983:123–4)

The introduction to text 2 below operates along similar lines, focusing in this case on the social esteem variable capacity (diplomatic skills and bravery):

[2] This most successful phase of the Long March owes a great

deal to **the diplomatic skills of Zhou Enlai** and to **the bravery of the rearguard**.

Knowing that the south-west sector of the encircling army was manned by troops from Guangdong province, Zhou began negotiations with the Guangdong warlord, Chen Jitang. Chen was concerned that a Guomindang victory over the Communists would enable Chiang Kaishek to threaten his own independence. Chen agreed to help the Communists with communications equipment and medical supplies and to allow the Red Army to pass through his lines.

Between 21 October and 13 November the Long Marchers slipped quietly through the first, second and third lines of the encircling enemy. Meanwhile the effective resistance of the tiny rearguard lulled the Guomindang army into thinking that they had trapped the entire Communist army. By the time the Guomindang leaders realised what was happening, the Red Army had three weeks' start on them. The marching columns, which often stretched over 80 kilometres, were made up of young peasant boys from south-eastern China. Fifty-four per cent were under the age of 24. (Buggy 1988: 224)

Appraising forecasts of this kind can be used to construct the momentum of adventure in 'ripping good yarns'. In *Nathaniel's Nutmeg* (Milton 1999) the reader is at times left gasping as one complication resolves into another, with Hyper-Themes predicting worse to come:

[3] This was only the beginning of his misfortune.  
=/x

When all the Englishmen in the town had been captured, including Nathaniel Courthope, they were herded together and clapped in irons; 'my selfe and seven more were chained by the neckes all together: others by their feete, others by their hands.' When this was done, the soldiers left them in the company of two heavily armed guards who 'had compassion for us and eased us of our bonds, for the most of us had our hands so strait bound behind us that the blood was readie to burst out at our fingers' end, with pain unsufferable'.

Middleton still had no idea why he had been attacked, but he was soon to learn the scale of the Aga's treachery.  
=/x

Not only had eight of his men been killed in the 'bloudie massacre'



and fourteen severely injured, he now heard that a band of one hundred and fifty Turks had put to sea 'in three great boats' with the intention of taking the *Darling* – now anchored off Mocha – by force.

The attack caught the *Darling's* crew completely unawares.

=/x

Knowing nothing of the treachery ashore they first realised something was amiss when dozens of Turks were seen boarding the ship, their swords unsheathed. The situation quickly became desperate; three Englishmen were killed outright while the rest of the company rushed below deck to gather their weapons. By the time they had armed themselves the ship was almost lost. 'The Turkes were standing very thicken in the waist [of the ship], hollowing and changing their swords upon the decke.'

It was a quick thinking crew member who saved the day.

=/ix

Realising their plight was helpless he gathered his strength and rolled a huge barrel of gunpowder towards the Turkish attackers, then hurled a firebrand in the same direction. The effect was as dramatic as it was devastating. A large number of Turks were killed instantly while the rest retired to the half-deck in order to regroup. This hesitation cost them their lives for the English had by now loaded their weapons which they 'set off with musket shot, and entertayned [the Turks] with another trayne of powder which put them in such feare that they leaped into the sea, hanging by the ship's side, desiring mercy, which was not there to be found, for that our men killed all they could finde, and the rest were drowned, only one man who was saved who hid himselfe till the furie was passed, who yielded and was received to mercie'.

The *Darling* had been saved but Middleton's situation was now even more precarious . . . (Milton 1999: 206–7)

The association of evaluation with Hyper-Themes is revealing as far as logico-semantic relations between Hyper-Themes and ensuing text are concerned. Over the years I have often felt torn as to whether to analyse the relations marked '=ix' in text 3 as elaborations or enhancements. In the first paragraph for example, is Milton specifying the details of Nathaniel's misfortune (elaboration) or explaining why he is saying Nathaniel was unfortunate (enhancement)? In the present context we could resolve this conundrum by arguing 'both' – since the paragraph elaborates the sense of its Hyper-Theme (its

ideational meaning) at the same time as it justifies its sensibility (its evaluative meaning):

SENSE elaboration (=) 'what I'm saying . . .'  
and

SENSIBILITY justification (x) 'why I'm feeling . . .'

Examples of evaluation associating with Hyper-New are well-known from narrative analysis (e.g., Martin 1997; Martin and Plum 1997). In text 4 a dog breeder constructs an exemplum illustrating how mad dog people can get – as forecast in the story's Abstract (*how mad*) and consolidated in its Interpretation (*real absolute lunacy*).

[4] [Abstract] GP: You got a favourite story concerning your dogs?  
HF: Well, yes, another story which will show you how mad dog people can get.

[Orientation] I think we set some sort of record in that with two friends of ours we went to Queensland for a big speciality show and between us took twenty-three dogs.

[Incident] Arrived in Queensland on the Friday morning, right, with caravan and dog trailer in tow, set up caravan and tents and things like that in the yards of friends in Queensland, hired a grooming salon for the Friday afternoon, Friday evening, Friday night, Saturday morning, started bathing the first one at four o'clock Friday afternoon and we finished the twenty-third at three o'clock Saturday morning. Piled them all into dog trailers and cars and things, took them back to the caravan and left at six o'clock that morning for the show. Showed them all . . .

[Interpretation] You know, and I'd think that was some sort of record. And that was real absolute lunacy, doing that. We wouldn't do it again, but my God we had a ball doing it though, didn't we? [addressed to partner] We really had a good time. You know, but there was so much work. (Plum 1988: 222)

Similarly, Kelly's land rights narrative cited earlier (1999: 107–8) makes its point explicit in its Orientation, referring to an eight year story of power and pride and returns in its Coda reference to a story of power and privilege.

## 12.5 Imagery and evaluation

Although not touched on above, ATTITUDE may be inscribed,

using evaluative lexis, or evoked by experiential meaning that invites evaluation. For example, Archie Roach, in his anthem for the Stolen Generations, describes his own experience of being taken from his family as a series of events in which his father's feelings are mentioned (fighting mad) and also those of his mother (tears were falling down), but in which his own feelings at being taken are not explicitly noted at all. It goes without saying, of course, that his story evokes a reaction simply by being told, and that his music and singing co-articulate his grief.

Chris Sitka (1998), on the other hand, reacting to one of Roach's performances of the song, does explicitly inscribe Roach's feelings (as *anguish*):

[7] As Archie Roach got up to sing the words of the song Uncle Ernie had played on his gum leaf, he also indicated his **anguish** at being taken from his parents, and how he had gone on, not to the better life promised at the time by the white authorities, but to face discrimination and destitution. 'I've often lived on the streets and gone without a feed for days and no one ever said sorry to me.'

Beyond this, as Joan Rothery has suggested to me (cf. Rothery and Stenglin 2000), lexical metaphor can be used to provoke a reaction where ideational selections alone might not naturalize the appropriate response. For example, early in his anthem Archie Roach draws on metaphor to describe the effect of driving indigenous people from their lands and herding them together on missions prior to taking their children away, singing of his people being fenced in like sheep. Bob Ellis deploys imagery along these lines below, to construct what it feels like to live as a victim of economic rationalism:

[9] John Howard says he knows how vulnerable people are feeling in these times of economic change. He does not. For they are feeling as **vulnerable** as a man who has already had his arm torn off by a lion, and sits in the corner holding his stump and waiting for the lion to finish eating and come for him again. This is something more than vulnerability. It is injury and shock and fear and rage. And he does not know the carnage that is waiting for him if he calls an election. And he will be surprised.

This stance-provoking function of metaphor lies behind its association with the Evaluation stage of thematic narrative (Rothery 1994), and beyond this its prestige in creative writing. Note how the Evaluation in one of Rothery's key exemplars uses an array of imagery to amplify the effect of the dead girl on Jenny's mind:

[10] Jenny decided to check out the accident during the commercial. She could probably get back in time before the show started again. She went out into the hallway and walked down the stairs until she got to the top of the stairs outside the block of flats. From there, she saw the girl.

The white body and red blood were **like fresh paint splashes** against the black footpath. **The image froze into Jenny's mind**. The girl's face was horrible and beautiful at the same time. It seemed more real than anything Jenny had ever seen. Looking at it, Jenny felt **as though she was coming out of a long dream**. It seemed to **cut through the cloud in her mind like lightning**.

Suddenly Jenny was aware of everything around her. Police cars were pulling up. Ambulance lights were flashing around. People sobbed and covered their faces.

A summary of these strategies for construing attitude is presented in Figure 12.6. The inscribe option is realized through explicitly evaluative lexis; the evoke option draws on ideational meaning to 'connote' evaluation, either by selecting meanings which invite a reaction or deploying imagery to provoke a stance:

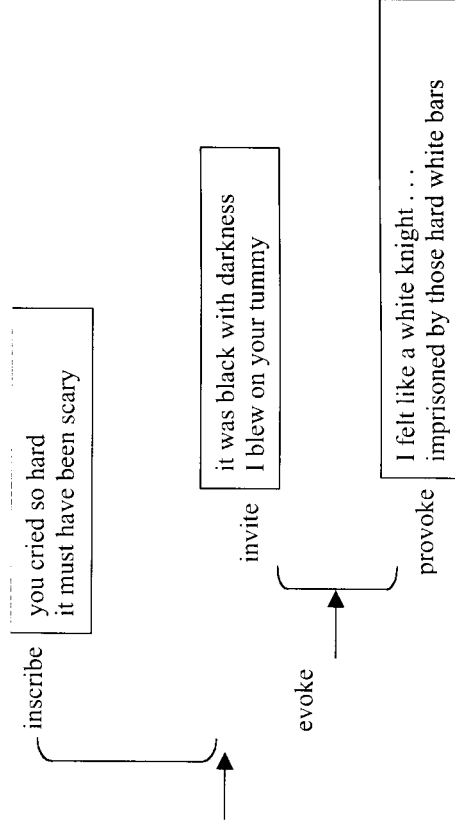


Figure 12.6 Strategies for encoding attitude – inscribe, invite, provoke

In popular culture, a gifted lyricist like Bruce Springsteen may deploy imagery in Hyper-Theme (Orientation) and Hyper-New (Coda) to provoke the appropriate reaction in a receptive audience. In his famous exemplum, the protest song 'Born in the USA', he evokes the feelings of a Vietnam veteran.

Springsteen's vet begins life feeling like a dog that's been kicked around from the moment it was born, and ends up feeling like a prisoner or unemployed refinery worker desperately running nowhere. It is useful to compare these lyrics with the effect of Cold Chisel's Vietnam veteran's recount, 'Khe Sanh', where Don Walker uses more conventional imagery in the Orientation (with the vet selling his soul to a black market man) but none at all in the Coda to construe a closely related message (Martin 1997).

In history discourse, my impression is that imagery is associated with Hyper-New and tends to offer as relatively concrete a reconstrual of one field as another. The effect is to transfer a naturalized reaction from one field to another. Thus the effect of war on Australian manufacturing is construed as nurturing:

[13] The Second World War further encouraged the restructuring of the Australian economy towards a manufacturing basis.

Between 1937 and 1945 the value of industrial production almost doubled. This increase was faster than otherwise would have occurred. The momentum was maintained in the post-war years and by 1954-5 the value of manufacturing output was three times that of 1944-5. The enlargement of Australia's steel-making capacity, and of chemicals, rubber, metal goods and motor vehicles allowed something to the demands of war.

The war had **acted as something of a hot-house** for technological progress and economic change.

And the attitude of whalers to whales is construed as that of miners to coal, with whales reconceived as an inanimate non-renewable resource:

[14] For one thousand years, whales have been of commercial interest for meat, oil, meal and whalebone.

About 1000 A.D., whaling started with the Basques using sailing vessels and row boats. They concentrated on the slow-moving Right whales. As whaling spread to other countries, whaling shifted to Humpbacks, Grays, Sperms and Bowheads. By 1500, they were whaling off Greenland; by the 1700s, off Atlantic America; and by the 1800s, in the south Pacific, Antarctic and Bering Sea. Early in this century, the Norwegians introduced explosive harpoons, fired from guns on catcher boats, and whaling shifted to the larger and faster Baleen whales. The introduction of factory ships by Japan and the USSR intensified whaling still further.

The global picture, then, was a **mining operation** moving progressively with increasing efficiency to new species and new areas. Whaling reached a peak during the present century.

## 12.6 Imagery and image

The use of imagery to provoke the evaluation outlined above suggests a comparable role for images in multimodal text (explored in more detail in Martin in press a). Consider, for example, the following autobiographical recount used by Mandela (1995) as a high-order New to sum up the meaning of his life:

### Orientation

[15] I was not born with a hunger to be free. I was born free – free in every way that I could know. Free to run in the fields near my mother's hut, free to swim in the clear stream that ran through my village, free to roast mealies under the stars and ride the broad backs of slow-moving bulls. As long as I obeyed my father and abided by the customs of my tribe, I was not troubled by the laws of man or God.

### Record of Events

It was only when I began to learn that my boyhood freedom was an illusion, when I discovered as a young man that my freedom had already been taken from me, that I began to hunger for it. At first, as a student, I wanted freedom only for myself, the transitory freedoms of being able to stay out at night, read what I pleased and go where I chose. Later, as a young man in Johannesburg, I yearned for the basic and honourable freedoms of achieving my potential, of earning my keep, of marrying and having a family – the freedom not to be obstructed in a lawful life.

But then I slowly saw that not only was I not free, but my brothers and sisters were not free. I saw that it was not just my freedom that was curtailed, but the freedom of everyone who looked like I did. That is when I joined the African National Congress, and that is when the hunger for my own freedom became the greater hunger for the freedom of my people. It was this desire for the freedom of my people to live their lives with dignity and self-respect that animated my life, that transformed a frightened young man into a bold one, that drove a law-abiding attorney to become a criminal, that turned a family-loving husband into a man without a home, that forced a life-loving man to live like a monk. I am no more virtuous or self-sacrificing than the next

man, but I found that I could not even enjoy the poor and limited freedoms I was allowed when I knew my people were not free. Freedom is indivisible; the chains on anyone of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me.

It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. I am not truly free if I am taking away someone else's freedom, just as surely as I am not free when my freedom is taken from me. The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity.

When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that this is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning.

### Reorientation

I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can only rest for a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended. (Mandela 1995: 750–1)

Evaluation plays a critical role in the hierarchy of periodicity of this text. Each of the first five paragraphs begins with a Hyper-Theme taking up a stance on freedom (judgement – capacity, propriety):

i. I was not born with a hunger to be free I was born free – free in every way that I could know.

=...

ii. It was only when I began to learn that my boyhood freedom was an illusion, when I discovered as a young man that my freedom had

already been taken from me that I began to hunger for it.

=...

iii. But then I slowly saw that not only was I not free, but my brothers and sisters were not free.

=...

iv. It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black.

=...

v. When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that this is not the case.

=...

At the same time, paragraphs three, four and five make use of metaphor to consolidate the changing evaluation of the meanings of freedom for Mandela at different stages of his 'enlightenment' (Martin 1999):

iii. I saw that it was not just my freedom that was curtailed, but the freedom of everyone who looked like I did. That is when I joined the African National Congress, and that is when the hunger for my own freedom became the greater hunger for the freedom of my people. It was this desire for the freedom of my people to live their lives with dignity and self-respect that animated my life, that transformed a frightened young man into a bold one, that drove a law-abiding attorney to become a criminal, that turned a family-loving husband into a man without a home, that forced a life-loving man to live like a monk. I am no more virtuous or self-sacrificing than the next man, but I found that I could not even enjoy the poor and limited freedoms I was allowed when I knew my people were not free. Freedom is indivisible; the chains on any one of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me.

iv. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. I am not truly free if I am taking away someone else's freedom, just as surely as I am not free when my freedom is taken from me. The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity.

v. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in away that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning.

And the recount itself concludes with a Macro-New, which further develops the journey metaphor begun in paragraph five:

vi. I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can only rest for a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended.

The metaphors evoke how it feels to live like a monk, to be in chains, to be robbed, to take a long journey and to be tested – all by way of provoking in readers some sense of how it felt to live Mandela's life. I don't have an image to hand of Mandela or other South Africans in chains. But I do have one of Aboriginal Australians. The effect of this image seems to me similar to that of the imagery. The concrete image demands evaluation, which stance is then transferred to the meaning of freedom. Here are the relevant metaphors again, and the image below.

Freedom is indivisible; the chains on any one of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me.

For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others.

The remarkable Australian government report *Bringing Them Home* (1997) deploys both images and imagery in tandem to co-articulate evaluative orientations to ensuing text. On page 186, for example, at the beginning of a major section on the effects of institutionalization, we have a photograph of Sir Charles and Lady Gairdner with Abbot Gomez inspecting the children of St Joseph's Orphanage in Western Australia; dozens of stolen children are lined up in rows on either side of the inspecting dignitaries. For me, the sight of so many children, so



Figure 12.7 Aboriginal Australians in chains

young, aligned like soldiers on parade is an extremely poignant one.

I remember all we children being herded up, like a mob of cattle, and feeling the humiliation of being graded by the colour of our skins for the government records

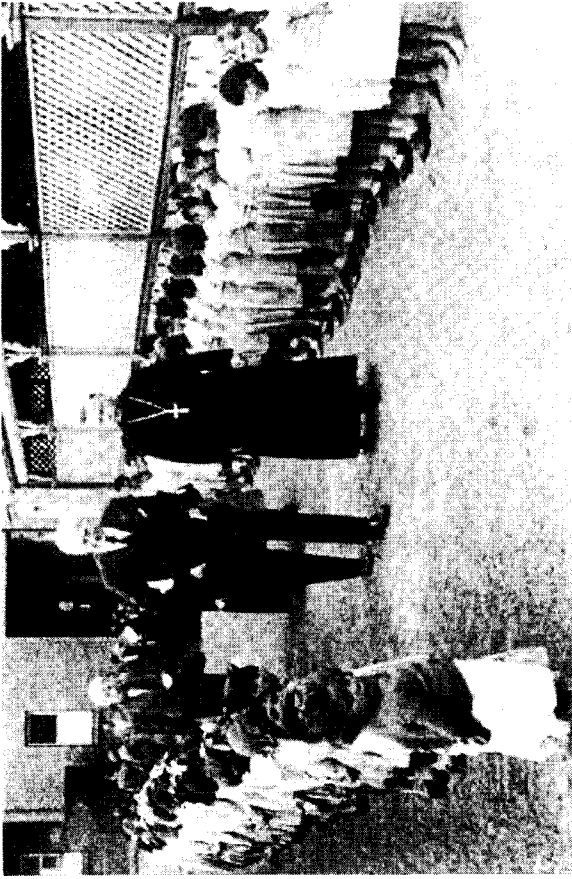
*Confidential submission 332, Queensland: woman removed in the 1950s to Cootamundra Girls' Home*

Reinforcing the point is the Aboriginal voice inscribed below the photograph, with imagery reinforcing the point of the image:

[16] I remember all we children being herded up, **like a mob of cattle**, and feeling our humiliation of being graded by the colour of our skins for the government records.

In the verbiage which follows, bureaucratic discourse is intermingled with quotations from members of the Stolen Generations – the evaluation established by image and imagery on this section's first page develops prosodically over the following text.

On page 90 we find a similar pattern. The photograph this time is



**Figure 12.8** The Governor Sir Charles and Lady Gairdner with Abbot Gomez inspecting the children of St Joseph's Orphanage, New Norcia, Western Australia

from a newspaper and features six young stolen children under the Heading 'Homes Are Sought For These Children'. One of the children (the lightest skinned) has been marked with an 'x' by someone wishing to adopt the child.

We was bought like a market. We was all lined up in white dresses, and they'd come round and pick you out like you was for sale. *Confidential submission 695, New South Wales: woman fostered at 10 years in the 1970s; one of a family of 13 siblings all removed; raped by foster father and forced to have an abortion.*

I clearly remember being put in line-ups every fortnight, where prospective foster parents would view all the children. I wasn't quite the child they were looking for.

*Confidential evidence 133, Victoria: man removed at six months in the 1960s; institutionalized for three years before being fostered by a succession of white families.*

Below, imagery is used to reinforce the image as follows:

[17] We was all bought **like a market**. We was all lined up in white dresses, and they'd come round and pick you out **like you was for sale**.



**Figure 12.9** Newspaper photograph of six young stolen children waiting to be adopted

This by way of orientation to the report on the stolen generations of Tasmania.

These are powerful images and the report is full of them. They typically precede the verbiage they are orienting readers to. From the perspective of discourse structure they work as higher-level Themes; if we make an analogy to clause grammar, the appropriate connection as far as I can see is to interpersonal Theme – to comment Adjuncts encoding a speaker's disposition towards the message:

[18] **Unfortunately**, there was little we could do.

Summing up then, we can argue that both imagery and image play an important role in provoking appraisal; and like explicit inscribed evaluation they are associated with boundaries in texts – with higher-level Themes and News. Metaphor has the function of provoking a reappraisal of one field with respect to the evaluation of another; images provoke a reaction which co-articulates, in tandem with verbiage, the appraisal of a field. Both imagery and images appear to take advantage of strong bonding between relatively concrete experience and reactions to provoke appraisal in less concrete, or even relatively abstract discourse.

### 12.7 Texture and evaluation

In this paper we have considered the function of evaluation in texturing discourse, suggesting that evaluation has an important orienting and consolidating function associated with higher-level Themes and News. A range of resources for construing sensibility have been reviewed, including explicit lexicalization, ideational selection, metaphor and image – as summarized in Figure 12.10.

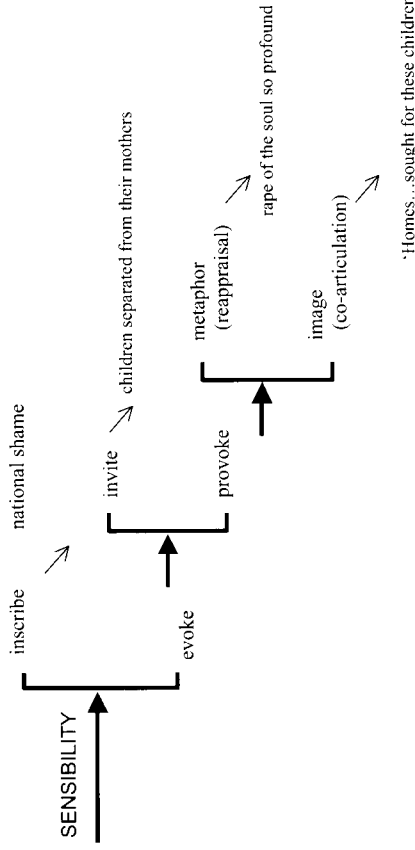


Figure 12.10 Images, imagery and the construal of evaluation

Taken together, these resources have the effect of amplifying one another – of multiplying meaning as Jay Lemke puts it (1998b). Peter Read’s (1999) book on the Stolen Generations, for example, has a front cover involving the title *A Rape of the Soul so Profound* (imagery) and a comment by Henry Reynolds on the book (‘Powerful and passionate: a major contribution to understanding what the Stolen Generations means.’) over a bleak image of the remains of a former Aboriginal reserve – inscription x metaphor x image.

Similarly Bird’s (1998) edition of extracts from *Bringing them Home*, uses the title *The Stolen Generations: their stories* (imagery) and the sub-title *Including extracts from the Report of the National Inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families* (inviting appraisal) on the ‘Homes are sought for these children’ image presented above – metaphor x ideational selection x image.

The back covers of both books multiply meaning in similar ways. One might suggest that marketing pressures are at work here; appraisal has been amplified to grab the attention of prospective readers. And from a retailing perspective, this is probably true.

Reading deeper, however, we might ask how this marketing works. And the appropriate answer here would be one that considers the ways in which appraisal resources are deployed to negotiate solidarity – to construct a community of readers with shared values around the Stolen Generations issue. Exploring evaluation from this solidarity perspective is beyond the scope of this paper; for glimpses of this rich arena see Egging and Slade (1997) and Martin (2000a).

Before closing, a note of caution. By way of somewhat balancing the ledgers, in this paper we have focused on the texture of evaluation, dealing with ideational meaning simply as a backdrop to sensibility. But it is the bonding of classification with feeling that shapes discourse and moves the world. And as the possibility of inviting appraisal shows, classification is intrinsically charged with evaluation. Contests over classification underscore this point. Was Australia discovered, settled or invaded? Was there a hundred years war between Europeans and indigenous Australians? Or, most recently, was there really a stolen generation (since, as Howard’s government has argued, only one in ten children were taken, the separations were legal, and the intentions of past governments benign)? Passions run wild over namings such as these. As Clive Hamilton has commented:

On taking office the Howard government mounted a cynical and sustained campaign to discredit the institutions of Aboriginal welfare and the processes of self-determination and reconciliation, culminating in Howard’s shameful refusal to apologise on behalf of the nation for the policies of forced removal of Aboriginal children from their parents. The prime minister invited the outpouring of racial hatred through the calculated persecution of the ‘Aboriginal industry’ and his attacks on the ‘black arm-band view’ of Australian history. (Hamilton 1998: 12)

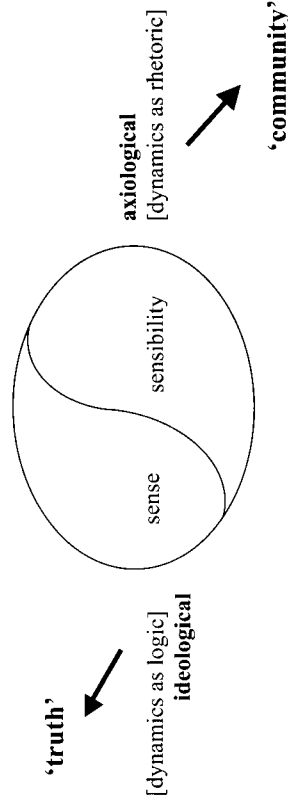


Figure 12.11 Sense and sensibility as complementarities

Howard's *Aboriginal industry* does not inscribe evaluation; but his attitude is just as clear as when he provokes *metaphor (black arm-band history)* or Hamilton inscribes (*shameful refusal*). Sense and sensibility are the yin and yang of discourse; texts unfold logically as truth as the same time as they develop as community. In every instance, Bakhtin's ideological and axiological always already intertwine.

In closing, let me flag two pressing sites for the development of our appreciation of the texture of evaluation. One is the extension of appraisal analysis to the study of humour and its role in negotiating social relations, as previewed by Eggs (in press). The other is work across modalities, beyond verbiage and image to the 'embodiment' of sensibility in sound (van Leeuwen 1999) and action (Martinec 1998). Challenges aplenty, to wind this chapter down.

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### Note

- 1 Similarly for graphology, appraisal renders formatting of all kinds 'emic'; for sign language, the distinction between 'etic' and 'emic' on the expression plane has in any case already been blurred (Johnston 1992).

## 13

# On the Preferential Co-occurrence of Processes and Circumstantial Adjuncts: Some Corpus Evidence

Fiona C. Ball and Gordon Tucker

### 13.1 Introduction

In this paper we explore the relations that hold between Processes and Circumstantial elements in English clauses, as evidenced by co-occurrence patterns elicited through corpus linguistic investigation. In particular, we set out to explore any potential preferential co-occurrence patterns that may throw light on the nature of the relations between Processes and attendant Circumstances. The data were elicited from the 339 million word COBUILD Bank of English Corpus at the University of Birmingham.

Process, Participants and Circumstances are the defining functions in the system of Transitivity and are conflated with or 'mapped onto' the Main Verb, Subject and Complement, and Adjunct respectively.<sup>1</sup> Thus the transitivity configuration of a clause may be characterized as below:

<i>The conference organizers</i>	<i>greeted</i>	<i>the guest speakers</i>	<i>at Hyderabad airport</i>
Subject	Main Verb	Complement	Adjunct
Participant Role	Process	Participant Role	Circumstantial Role

The relations that hold between these three functions have been described in terms of nuclearity (Martin 1992; Matthiessen 1995). Nuclearity captures both the semantic distance expressed in the relations between them and the semantic continuity between them. Thus for Martin, Circumstances are located at the periphery of this