

DISCOURSE APPROACHES TO
POLITICS, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Mediating Ideology in Text and Image

TEN CRITICAL STUDIES

EDITED BY INGER LASSEN, JEANNE STRUNCK
AND TORBEN VESTERGAARD



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Mediating Ideology in Text and Image

Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture

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Volume 18

Mediating Ideology in Text and Image: Ten critical studies
Edited by Inger Lassen, Jeanne Strunck and Torben Vestergaard

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Ten critical studies

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Preface

Inger Lassen

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Some observers of mass communication have identified the media as important modifiers in shaping popular perception, constructing meaning that reflects an increasingly complex world. Others have constructed an image of the media as channels of realistic and unbiased journalism. Clearly, as noted by Bauer and Gaskell (2002:96) information is being processed by being selected, translated, edited, shortened or expanded and perhaps, most importantly, transferred or recontextualized to other media, using different types of semiosis. This would suggest, as also observed by Bauer and Gaskell (*ibid.*), that the framing of news might be understood as the process through which complex issues are reduced to journalistically manageable dimensions, resulting in a particular focus on a certain issue' (*ibid.*).

An important endeavour of the present volume is that of combining analyses of text and image – an approach that has come to be widely known as multimodal analysis. In their approaches to discourse analysis, some of the contributors consider multimodality crucial to unravelling the ambiguities often resulting from monomodal semiosis, while others have found a middle ground between text and image using various forms of illustration and visualization of data, such as tables, graphs, charts and models, which all assist in the mediation of meaning. In this book images, texts and data visualizations interact on a higher level of abstraction, and it is in the implicit interaction of a number of what Scollon and Scollon (2001) have referred to as mediational means that a vacuum arises between language and image where ideology thrives, calling for better analytical tools to cope with the interpretative levels of analysis. (For an overview of multimodal discourse analysis, see Horsbøl this volume.)

This book represents the joint endeavour by ten writers who have explored some of the ideological processes operating in mass media discourse and how such processes may influence readers' beliefs about the world. Not oblivious of the reductionism alluded to in the introductory paragraph, the ten writers focus their analyses on the concept of ideology by exploring the views different journalists may have on the issues they write about. Subscribing to the idea introduced by Norman Fairclough (this volume) that transformations in social life are led by discourse, they approach their individual tasks from a critical discourse analytical point of view. Their common aim is one of assisting the audience to 'read between the lines', thus offering a variety of approaches that may contribute to a better understanding of how ideologies work and how they may be denaturalised from text and image. The aim is thus to suggest a variety of approaches to what Weiss and Wodak (2003: 14) have referred to as 'demystifying discourses by deciphering ideologies'.

Although the notion of ideology has been defined in different terms by different Critical Discourse analysts, there seems to be consensus about the potential force of ideology for establishing different world views. Primarily three approaches to defining ideology have gained ground in Critical Discourse Analysis. Among them, Van Dijk (200:8) defines ideology as *the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group*, thus giving more emphasis to cognitive aspects and mental representations, but still recognizing that ideologies are not only mentally, but also socially shaped. Van Dijk's approach is thus socio-cognitive (ibid.:48). A different way of conceptualizing ideology is found in Wodak (2001:9), who defines it as *serving the purpose of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations*. She thereby dethrones cognitive aspects and places the emphasis on social structures in explaining the nature of ideology. To Fairclough (1992:87) *ideology is a construction of reality, which contributes to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination. [...] The ideologies embedded in discursive practices are most effective when they become naturalized and achieve the status of common sense*. (For an elaboration of the Faircloughean approach to ideology, see Fairclough this volume.) Fairclough's definition comes close to Wodak's in that they are both based on a social-constructionist view. However, to Fairclough the notion of common-sense is crucial. If common-sensical statements are identified as a target for critical analysis, they attract more attention in the analytical process than they would in their normal, everyday use where they would go unnoticed. Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis may be seen as a sort of contestation, along the same lines as contestations brought about by rivalling discourse communities.

The three approaches, which together constitute a wide-spectred definitional basis, are all valid, depending on variations in context. As Rancière (1994: 142) has suggested, the principal function of ideology is to secure bonds between human beings in their social interaction, which is in turn determined by social structure. Once class struggles – and this would entail also discursive struggles – take over, unequal power relations maintained through common-sensical meaning-making resources will be challenged and the principal function of ideology, viz. that of maintaining bonds, will be overruled by other, more predominant functions. (For an elaborate discussion of the notions of ‘critical’ and ‘ideology’, see Weiss & Wodak 2003.)

In this book, ideology is the leitmotif that runs through the ten contributions. The notion is given a prominent position in some of the contributions, while in others it pursues its own life and does its own secretive work below the surface. In some of the contributions the common-sensical aspect is given more weight, while ideology as representing different value systems is predominant in others, thus illustrating how ideology may – implicitly or explicitly – serve as a device creating bonds between members of a social group. It goes without saying that in reproducing value systems discursively, ideological resources help maintain power relations between social groups, but this aspect does not play a significant role in the present volume.

Why another volume on ideology?

While ideology has been treated widely in CDA-literature (Eagleton 1994; Wodak 1989; Weiss & Wodak 2003; Van Dijk 2000; Fairclough 1989; Chilton 2004), the role played by the interaction of text and image in furthering ideological stances has not so far received a lot of attention. Exceptions, though, are Kress and van Leeuwen (1996 and 2001); Lemke (2002, 2003), Norris (2004); Norris and Jones (2005); Scollon (2001); Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Ventola et al. (2004). These studies of multimodality, which are all of recent date, all pay attention to the importance of what Lemke has referred to as the *multiplication* of meaning afforded by the combination of text and visual, and it is our hope that this volume will contribute to filling the gap in multimodal analysis of ideology.

The book has two parts, which both have Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a fundamental theoretical approach. In the introduction, Ruth Wodak offers an enlightening overview of the theoretical field, discussing some central notions used in the book such as multimodality, recontextualization,

critical analysis, ideology and dialogic positioning. Asking whether CDA is critical, she goes back to the roots of CDA and addresses the issue – raised by some – of analytical bias. This, she suggests, may be overcome by using triangulation, thus working across disciplines and using different empirical data that ‘transcend the linguistic dimension’. The articles in part I look at rhetorical strategies used in meaning construction processes unfolding in various kinds of mass media. In his article *Semiosis, Ideology and Mediation: a dialectical view*, Norman Fairclough sets the analytical scene by introducing a modified version of CDA. Using two Romanian cases as examples of re-contextualised practices, he offers examples of ways of accommodating theoretical and methodological semiotic resources for the research of media and mediation of ideological processes. Of particular interest to this field of inquiry is the sort of intersubjective positioning that White discusses in the framework of Appraisal, a notion covering the commonly known concepts of evaluation and stance. After outlining the analytical framework used, White discusses some fundamental theoretical aspects relating in particular to attitudes that are implicitly rather than explicitly expressed. Against this background, he is able to demonstrate how readers are positioned to favour particular value positions mediated by variation in evaluative features of individual news items, which in turn produces variation in ideological effect. With purposes similar to those explained by White, Pentti Haddington discusses stance-taking, processes of categorization and identity ascription of humans and human groups in televised news interviews. His analyses suggest that categories, identities and ideologies, referred to by Haddington as ‘stances’, are constantly negotiated, renewed and constructed in discourse and that speakers are highly influenced by the dialogical use of language and syntax, which in turn influences ideologies, beliefs and images about humans and human groups. In an article entitled *Denaturalizing Ideology: Presupposition and Engagement in Biotechnology texts*, Inger Lassen is concerned with the same issues as White and Haddington, viz. those of intersubjective positioning realized through implicit strategies. On the basis of data from biotechnology press releases, she suggests methods for denaturalising apparently common-sensical values and concludes that the interplay of appraisal and presupposition may be seen as two mutually supplementary resources for naturalizing ideology. Francesco Caviglia studies value systems in public discourse in his article ‘Understanding public discourse about violence and crime’. His main concern is that of promoting critical literacy among students. He suggests that sensitivity to attitudes and ideologies may be developed by analysing how world view value systems impose themselves on public dis-

course. In the article he analyses examples from the press coverage of a murder case in Italy.

Part II focuses on the resemiotization of meaning and looks at how analysing the combination of text and image may contribute to a better understanding of ideological processes brought about by multimodal resources. On the basis of examples of journalistic advertisements from the Danish Parliamentary elections in 2005, Anders Horsbøl argues the case of a multimodal approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. In a diachronic study of two political advertisements from the Danish Parliamentary elections in 2005 and 1987, he focuses on the interplay of image and verbal text, including typographical and paratextual matters. Judie Cross analyses the ideology of icons as a media construction of women in Australian magazines and the internet in her article 'Icons as ideology'. Using a visual grammar inspired by Kress and van Leeuwen, she demonstrates that there is similarity of 'icon-ness' between earlier religious representational icons of women and their post-modern counterparts. Considering resemiosis from text to image and vice versa, Henrik Rahm analyses the interplay of verbal text, graphic form and illustrations in five text categories. He discusses how story-telling and interdiscursivity in advertisements may influence text structures, styles and conventions and finally considers the genre status of advertisements. Dorothy Economou analyses and compares two weekend feature stories on illegal entry to the country by foreign nationals. Using Kress and van Leeuwen's image analysis framework combined with appraisal (see White this volume), she explores differences between a Greek and Australian text in their choices of prominent images and headlines. In his article 'News Bulletin captions as ideological indices', Konstantinos Kostoudis looks at Greek television news bulletins and demonstrates how intertextual features are incorporated into the construction of meaning and ideological complexes. He further suggests that a number of metaphorical structures tend to control interpretation, predisposing viewers to a preferred reading of news, and concludes with Norman Fairclough that 'ideology is articulated through language, while, at the same time, language shapes ideology and constructs meanings based on selective incorporation of preferred stereotypes in the making of news'.

Together the ten articles offer a critical perspective on ideological processes, using a host of analytical tools. Together the articles carry a multitude of voices that sometimes overlap, sometimes give priority to individuality. It has been our aim to bring these voices together in a cacophony of meaning construction and analytical interpretation, and it is now up to the reader to decide to what extent this aim has been reached.

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Images in/and news in a globalised world

Introductory thoughts

Ruth Wodak

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1. Images and icons

Dan Brown's book "*The Da Vinci Code*" (2004) has sold more than 25 million copies throughout the world. It is a bestselling book and leads the bestseller lists in several countries, having been translated into 44 languages. What are the reasons for this success?

The media are debating this phenomenon and we find many, sometimes contradictory and speculative answers as well as both positive and negative evaluations and reviews: Readers seem to like conspiracy theories and critical views on religion, specifically Catholicism. Many readers also seem fascinated by the broad knowledge of the author, his expertise on ancient symbols and religious mysticism; others seem to like the emphasis on gender and the important role attributed to women in this crime story (and in Catholic institutions). Lastly, the audience seems impressed by very contrasting interpretations of famous pieces of art, such as the *Mona Lisa* and other pictures painted by Leonardo.

Suddenly, as the high quality Austrian newspaper *Der Standard* reports on 29 March 2005, p. 2, even more visitors are lined up in front of the *Mona Lisa* in the *Louvre*, Paris, debating the possible traces and clues signalling hidden meanings described in "*The Da Vinci Code*": Has Leonardo painted a man or a woman? What do certain characteristics and features in these paintings which have become icons for so many mean? The same is true for the second famous picture which plays a central role in this book, *The Last Supper*. Are there only men depicted or is a woman sitting next to Jesus Christ? Might it then be true,

as claimed by Dan Brown, that Jesus had been married and that his wife, Maria Magdalena, is sitting next to him? *Der Standard* and several TV documentaries discuss the debates surrounding the book as the Catholic Church, at the same time, vehemently opposes Brown's claims and some high Vatican officials even propose banning the book because constitutive principles of Catholicism (such as patriarchy) are questioned.

Apart from any necessarily speculative hypotheses as to why one book "makes it" while others do not, hence why this one book has obviously become so successful, it is legitimate to ask how readers suddenly became convinced that one could interpret well known pieces of art in significantly different ways if they are contextualized historically; a truism for any person dealing with semiotics and visual grammar but usually not reflected by visitors of exhibitions. Although viewers argue and discuss their opinions on art (masterfully enacted by Woody Allen in his film *Manhattan*) with great fervour, such readings usually concern vague and non-defined aesthetic criteria and the search for the "secret" and personal intentions and motives of publicly well known painters'/film-producers'/photographers'. Rarely do viewers reflect on the distinct social/cultural/historical meanings of art and their impact on socio-political debates, diverse audiences or social change (see also the heated debates surrounding *The Magic Flute* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and the traces to Free Masonry detected in this famous opera; Wagner 2004; Zembylas 2004).

In recent decades, scholarly research has moved to different relevant issues, viewing news and images as dialogic, as oriented towards several audiences (Richardson & Meinhof 1999; Wodak & Busch 2004) and offering many readings. These aspects relate both to images from every day life, as well as to art. Meanings are thus mediated on several levels, through evaluative devices, implicit pragmatic elements, argumentation strategies, multimodal choices, and cognitive frames (see chapters by White, Caviglia, Horsbøl, and Lassen in this volume; van Dijk 2003, 2005; Scollon & Scollon 2003; Wodak 2005a). I will come back to audience research, *heteroglossia* and *dialogicality* below (Bakhtin 1981).

The role of media, religion and popular culture in the *Da Vinci Code* is central for the construction of its success. However, these are not the only recent cases where certain images have provoked huge public debates and penetrated deeply into our collective memories. Following the news in recent months, years and decades, we come across other political and ideological controversies, such as about the evaluation of war crimes committed by the German *Wehrmacht* (Heer et al. 2003; Benke & Wodak 2003; Wodak 2005b), by British

and American soldiers in Iraq or by Serbs, Bosnians and Croatians during the war in the Balkans (Sontag 1999); or about the assassination of John F. Kennedy (the film by Oliver Stone 1998 came up with a different narrative than the official one); or about 9/11, pictures seen globally in the media and ever since unforgettable for a world audience. The funeral of 'Princess Di' was viewed by masses around the globe, and the reconstruction of her death according to photos taken on the spot is still not completed.

Many of these photographs have acquired the status of *icons*, used for various purposes in different contexts (see chapter by Cross in this volume which also investigates historical changes in the definition of *icons*). Through the Internet, images as well as news can now be read and seen by a much wider audience, world-wide. Hence, when analyzing production, reproduction, distribution, dissemination and recontextualization of news items, globalisation should definitely be considered as a central and most relevant factor in our everyday lives (see Machin & van Leeuwen 2003).

Jay Lemke (2001, 2003) offers some innovative proposals for such research and labels communication and activities on the Internet as "*traversals*", as virtual genres which transcend the traditional norms of time and space in specific, fragmented ways, constructing hybrid patterns of coherence (see also Urry 2003; Rusch 2004). Elaborating the notion of "multimodality" (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996), Lemke introduces the concept of "*hypermodality*". Through hypermodality of web-pages, every user is able to create her or his new text, by linking different subtexts, images, symbols, icons and pictures to each other. In this way, people constantly create new semantic hierarchies and an ever newer mixture of "voices". This "*heteroglossia*" in the Bakhtinian sense illustrates different functions of a web-site as well as different perspectives and voices combined through hypertexts.

However, knowledge about the huge impact of photos and images is, of course, not new. During the First World War, war-reporting and photos from the scene were already used extensively (see Karl Kraus, *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit*, 1957 and his ironically and sarcastically exaggerated protagonist, Mrs. Schalek, who represents a sensationalist Viennese war reporter in Serbia in 1914). The same is true for the Spanish Civil War in the 1930's or the Vietnam War in the 1960's (remember, for example, the famous pictures of Da Capa from the Spanish Civil War).

In all these cases, images have been and are being used today for political and media interests in various ways. Having acquired the status of icons, such pictures stand for different points of view, for meta-narratives, for ideologies. They serve as metaphors, as conceptual frames for the "evil" or the

“good” (Dirven et al. 2005; Koller 2005; Lakoff 2004; see Caviglia’s discussion of Lakoff’s approach in this volume). This also explains the heated debate about such images, because their meaning varies according to their contextualization by certain interest groups.

In the case of the war crimes committed by the German *Wehrmacht*, the denial of war crimes in spite of the over 1000 photos of murdered prisoners of war, Russian civilians, Jews, and Roma in the first exhibition staged 1995 in almost all big German and Austrian cities led to huge demonstrations of Neo-Nazis in Munich 1995 and even to death threats against the organizers of the exhibition in Germany and Austria (Heer et al. 2003; Martin & Wodak 2003; Wodak 2005a).

For all these reasons, it must be viewed as a great challenge to analyze such debates on a scholarly level and to grasp and explain the ideological functions of the visual in different contexts for different ends, especially in the news media which produce and reproduce “realities” for the general audience and thus provide (and construct) accessible information (Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1988). The process of *recontextualization* (Wodak 2000; van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999; Pollak & Wodak 2003) is of the utmost relevance in this context: Images are decontextualized and recontextualized for different aims; and thus they acquire new meanings as hinted at intuitively by Dan Brown in his bestseller and analyzed carefully, explicitly, and in detail throughout this edited volume (see, for example, the chapter by Fairclough in this volume).

The construction of meanings by the media thus relates to several dimensions of *semiosis*: texts, images, the link between text and image, the production of texts by journalists and news agencies, intended and optional readings (i.e. the *dialogicality of news*), the ideological and economic interests of the newspapers, broadcasting and TV companies, and their owners, the presupposed knowledge of the readers, historical (national) traditions of news reporting, recent global influences, and so forth. Ideological, political and economic functions overlap and are integrated within the structural constraints of news genres in different political, national, regional and local cultures, new media technologies, and the patterns of *multimodality*. Research into this field – as illustrated excellently by this volume – therefore should necessarily be of an interdisciplinary nature (see the chapter by Rahm in this volume; van Dijk 2001; Weiss & Wodak 2003).

Such studies also need empirical and ethnographic research, investigating the various ways the news is understood by different groups of readers/listeners/viewers and inquiring into the salient listening/viewing/reading patterns of consumers (Busch 2004; Myers 2004; Scollon & Scollon 2004;

Kovács & Wodak 2003). By using the method of focus group discussions, for example, it is possible to grasp systematic ways of text comprehension that vary across different consumer groups. The readings of recipients are thus made accessible (Couldry 2003).

2. Analyzing (ideologies) critically?

All the contributions in this volume analyze links between text and image in different cultures from a critical perspective. In one way or another, they all adopt Jim Martin's *Appraisal Approach* (elaborated by White and Economou in their respective chapters), Gunter Kress' and Theo van Leeuwen' *Visual Grammar* and choose a specific text analytic (discourse analytic) perspective and methodology (Norman Fairclough's CDA; CA [Haddington's chapter] or a more Hallidayan grammatical analysis). From my point of view, two dimensions are specifically important in providing a general frame for this volume:

1. Elaborating the historical, social and cultural dependence of meanings and interpretations, both of visual or textual elements which situate and position both text production and text comprehension and inherently influence *mediation between discourse and society* (see Chilton 2004; van Dijk & Kintsch 1983).
2. Debating differing notions of the terms "ideology" and "critique" explicitly linked to a specific context or research tradition (see Fairclough, Graham, Lemke, & Wodak 2004; Reisigl & Wodak 2001).

These two dimensions also bridge the detailed case studies related to different nation-states, media traditions and cultures in this volume (i.e. Romania, Greece, Denmark, Australia, and so forth).

2.1 Text and context

Apart from the precise grammatical and linguistic analysis, the *context* needs to be explicitly integrated to allow understanding and explaining the impact of the various texts under investigation (Panagl & Wodak 2004; van Dijk 2003, 2005). This becomes particularly evident when reading Norman Fairclough's chapter in which he illustrates and also explains why two texts from Romania after 1989/1990 are realized the way they are: according to existing conflicting tendencies in the "new" Romanian society which is undergoing salient social changes ("transition"). The comparison of reports on migrants in Australian

and Greek newspapers also necessarily draws on cross-cultural dimensions (chapter by Economou).

A critical analysis of contextualized texts and images should, in my view, consider the many possible readings by different audiences; one of the main accusations towards different schools in CDA has been – quite wrongly in most cases – the assumption that CDA is elitist and prescriptive; i.e. claims to know the ONE reading of a specific text (see Titscher et al. 2000 where this criticism is summarized). A good deal of research in CDA actually proves the contrary: Audience research has become widely acknowledged (see Widdowson 2004 where this criticism is naively repeated without accounting for any recent research in CDA).

For example, already in our study on the comprehensibility and comprehension of news many years ago (Lutz & Wodak 1987), we provided empirical evidence for the fact that when updating information from news broadcasts, *mental representations* necessarily must guide our understandings and *mental models* most probably support linking new information with stored information. Due to different belief and knowledge systems, news is experienced and stored depending on available cognitive frames; and thus understood in different ways. This became apparent when we interviewed people after they had listened to certain news items and asked them to summarize the most important contents (Wodak 1987). The summaries were always related to their personal experiences and commented upon from their own perspective. This explained why different people inferred significantly different meanings when confronted with the same information. The summaries also depended largely on background knowledge as well as on opinions and preconceived stereotypes; thus, information was adapted to existing and stored event models.

In this study, we suggested a model of text planning and text comprehension which related several dimensions: the dimension of knowledge and experience (i.e. cognition; frames, schemata and scripts; see Schank & Abelson 1977) with different production and deconstruction of discourses, genres as well as specific texts linked to sociological variables of the speakers/listeners, such as age, gender, social class, and so forth. Moreover, we suggested viewing text production and text comprehension as recursive processes where constant feedback to mental models in episodic and long-time memories takes place as well as the updating of such models.

Such updating processes follow systematic, conscious and subconscious strategies (nowadays, we could use the term picking out the relevant information whereby “relevance” is cognitively defined; Sperber & Wilson 1986). These

empirical results strongly suggest the additional assumption of a *cognitive link between language/discourse and society*.

In a different, recent study on Internet discussion boards on the web-site of the European Union, *Europa*, we were able to collect more evidence for systematic differences in text comprehension due to individual and collective attitudes/stereotypes towards different languages, ideologies on nationalism and democratic participation in EU decision-making (Wodak & Scott Wright 2005). The virtual dialogues were oriented towards specific issues of relevance of the writers, while neglecting a whole set of possible other topics suggested in the postings as well as in entire threads. Understanding functioned along the lines of presuppositions, stereotypes and stored knowledge rooted in national collective beliefs as well as ideologies. For example, in a debate about the choice of a common language for the European public, the German language was stigmatized and connotated with National-Socialism ('the language of Hitler'). English was related to colonialism, and French to the French Revolution. The impact of historical *Weltanschauungen* disseminated in public opinion became evident.

While investigating the daily reporting on the same topic, namely the drafting of the EU constitution and the referenda on the constitution in different European newspapers in another recent pilot study (Oberhuber et al. 2005), we were struck by the influence of national traditions of news reporting as well as of national images and perceptions of EU-rope (Malmberg & Stråth 2002; Weiss 2002a, b, 2003). The national perceptions are embedded in traditional *Weltanschauungen* as well as in political ideologies (see below): French reporting emphasized the grand European open-ended project (*le projet, l'aventure*), whereas German reporting was concerned with organizational issues and invented the notions of "core-Europe" and "periphery". British reporting was less concerned with the European dimension and stuck to national British issues, attempting to convince the readers that the UK could actually gain from being a member of the EU at all. These differences were realized on all levels of text production, from the headlines and captions to pragmatic devices and evaluations (see chapters of Caviglia, Fairclough, Rahm, Economou, Haddington, and Coustoudis in this volume for detailed analyses of textual features in Greek, Australian, Swedish, Italian, US and Romanian media).

At this point a *caveat* needs to be stated: News reporting in one country also differs significantly along the lines of tabloids or quality media. Moreover, reporting differs according to the genres in the respective media (i.e. reports, editorials, and so forth) (Hardt-Mautner 1992). Recent research which combines corpus linguistics with CDA was able to illustrate how specific keywords

and appraisals in news texts correlate strongly both with the genre and the selected audiences (Baker & McEnery 2005).

In summation, it is important to emphasize the need for detailed – quantitative and qualitative – empirical studies (as provided in this volume) as well as for innovative theoretical approaches which would adequately allow to deconstruct and understand the very complex relationships between news production, news, images, genres, attitudes, ideologies, and consumers.

2.2 Is CDA critical? The concepts of “critic/al” and “ideology”

Finally, having referred to some of the many themes running through this volume, I would like to turn to more general issues foregrounded in the title of the volume itself: how to define the terms “ideology” and “critical” in CDA? Of course, I can not review the vast literature in this field; I restrict myself to my own research and the “discourse-historical approach” (Reisigl & Wodak 2001).

In his controversial article *Critical Discourse Analysis and the Rhetoric of Critique*, Michael Billig (2003) asks if CDA has remained “critical” since establishing itself as one of the mainstream paradigms in Linguistics and Discourse Analysis: Is it possible to remain “critical”, if integrated in the relevant institutions, thus no longer being marginalized? Such debates require clear definitions of what “critical” might mean and what certain scholars identify with when they label themselves as “critical”, as in the present volume.

CDA has many roots, one of which being the socio-philosophical orientation of Critical Theory (see Horkheimer & Adorno 1991 [1944]; Calhoun 1995; Habermas 1998). The discourse-historical approach strongly endorses this tradition and follows a complex concept of social critique which embraces at least three interconnected aspects, two of which are primarily related to the dimension of recognition and one to the dimension of action.

1. “*Text or discourse immanent critique*” aims at discovering inconsistencies, (self-) contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures. This step implies a detailed text analysis on all levels of discourse.
2. “*Socio-diagnostic critique*” is concerned with demystifying the – manifest or latent – persuasive, “manipulative” character of discursive practices. It aims at detecting social and political goals and functions of discursive practices, at uncovering the claims and interests which are either inferable from the (spoken or written) discourse itself or from contextual, social, historical and political knowledge.

3. While the aspects of critique mentioned in (1) and (2) are primarily, but not exclusively related to the epistemic and cognitive dimensions of “seeing through”, of “illuminating” and “making transparent” (to use optical metaphors typical of the Enlightenment), the “*prospective critique*” is associated with the ethico-practical dimension. It seeks to become practical and to change and transform things – by attempting to contribute to the solution of specific social problems – it is also political in the action-related sense of “politics”.

A very specific form of critical social practice is “*retrospective critique*”. In criticizing the *status quo ante* – that is to say, in critically reconstructing the past, the effects of which are still related to the present – and, at the same time, in criticizing the present way of dealing with the past – that is to say, in criticizing the *status quo* –, it has the quality of *prospective critique*, since it aims at revising an actual “picture” or “narrative” of history and, in consequence and in the future, at a new, responsible way of dealing with the past and its effects.

Though critique implies a certain degree of social distance on the part of the observing critics, the endeavour to “intervene” in the Adornian (1963) sense for social change, for example towards more social justice, is always situated. Critics are not disembodied eremitic individuals, but interested members of specific societies and social groups with specific points of view (see Walzer 1990 [1987]:43–79). In order to avoid an excessively simplistic and one-sided perspective, social critique needs to be self-reflective.

One methodical way of explicit self-reflection and to minimize the risk of being biased and thus simply “politicizing”, instead of accurately analyzing (another main and in most cases unjustified accusation towards CDA), is to follow the principle of triangulation, proposed by Aaron Cicourel (1964): that is, working in an interdisciplinary fashion, multi-methodically and on the basis of a variety of different empirical data as well as background information (i.e. Wodak et al. 1999). Depending on the respective object of investigation, it becomes necessary to transcend the linguistic dimension (in the strict sense) and to include, more or less systematically, the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion.

Let us now turn to the second relevant concept from the title of the volume: ideology. The concept of “ideology” is probably the most complex theoretical notion discussed in almost all chapters of this book. In modern debates on ideology, two main tendencies can be distinguished. One line argues that ideologies – as “false” theories about reality – can be overcome and replaced by

scientific theories and/or in some scientifically founded agency (Karl Popper's Critical Rationalism, partly also Louis Althusser & Jürgen Habermas); another (dialectical) line assumes that ideology is an unavoidable part of all thinking and acting (e.g. Theodor W. Adorno).¹

In our own discourse-historical approach we draw on Karl Mannheim (1929), who attempts to relate "ideology" with certain ways of "thinking" (*der Seinsverbundenheit des Denkens*) and to Jürgen Habermas, who draws an analogy between ideologies on the collective level and rationalizing (rationalizations) on the individual level (1968). In the *Fischer Lexikon der Politik* (1995:390) we find a stimulating definition which links Mannheim's and Habermas' approaches: Ideologies are defined as perceptions and opinions about the social and political realities of societies, which aim at truths and generalizations, although they might also contain untruths, half truths or unfinished systems of thoughts and beliefs.

Giddens (2001:691) ties both the dimensions of inequality and power into a definition of "ideology", whereas Thompson (1984) emphasizes the Marxian focus of "false consciousness" and power. National Socialism is a good example of the latter, as well as Stalinist Communism. Moreover, as is well-known, many studies of these two grand (meta)-narratives have illustrated their characteristics on the levels of discourse and communication (see Maas 1984).

However, according to Woolard (1992) and Silverstein (1992), basic problems remain unsolved when relating "ideology" to definitions which include the Marxian notion of "false consciousness", because these definitions always include the perspective of the researchers – sometimes in non-reflected ways. Eagleton (2000), after enumerating 16 different definitions of "ideology", from false consciousness to opinions and visions (*ibid.*:8) proposes a notion of "ideologies" as situated in discourses, as certain argumentative patterns, *topoi*, and the impact of the latter on listeners/viewers and readers. This, in my view, entails the assumption of a context dependency of meanings because similar arguments, discourse fragments and *topoi* are understood differently in specific historical periods. Ideologies should therefore not to be equated with one or more discourses, but with intended or non-intended meanings, with illocutionary and perlocutionary forces.

In contrast, *Weltanschauung*, a notion originating in the milieu of German Romanticism around 1800, but without one generally accepted meaning, refers to the totality of individuals' or collectives' understandings of the world in which they live (e.g., Dilthey, Jaspers, Scheler). Morrow (1994:63) defines this concept as "a set of metaphysical and ontological presuppositions" through which societies and dominant institutions of societies are cemented together.

In the case of modern Western societies, he enumerates science, for example, as having replaced religion; an odd claim if one observes most recent global developments.

Thus, ideologies are much more situated on a rational level than the deeply emotional, often irrational *Weltanschauungen*. This distinction might conform to a considerable degree with Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (1998). However, as we know from many studies on the impact of ideologies through persuasive rhetoric, ideologies are also connected to and make use of emotions (Eagleton 2000). Space unfortunately does not permit further discussion of all these theoretical debates (see Fairclough, Kostoudis, and Lassen in this volume; Wodak & Weiss 2004).

3. Perspectives

In a recent paper *Language and significance – or the importance of import: implications for critical discourse analysis* (in press), Andrew Sayer argues that critical discourse analysis (CDA) can hardly be critical unless it acknowledges and evaluates how discourses impute and interpret significance or import and how this relates to well-being. In his view, "critical thought in contemporary social science is undermined by dualisms such as fact/value, reason/emotion, and positive/normative, which tend to position critique as 'merely subjective' and beyond the scope of reason or science" (ibid.). By opposing traditional dichotomies such as either positive or normative matters, he illustrates how terms like 'oppression', 'racism', 'abuse', 'exploitation' and 'suffering' cannot be reduced wholly to such dualisms. Finally, after discussing the most relevant notions of critique and ideology/hegemony (Marx, Foucault, Habermas, and Gramsci) and their applications in CDA, he proposes a way to understand significance by challenging these dualisms.

Furthermore, Sayer states that there is a need for a more explicit kind of critique which articulates its standpoints and that of the texts it analyses in terms of arguments about flourishing and suffering, drawing partly on Bourdieu (2000): "Far from being authoritarian in intent and effect it would adopt the risky, deliberative-democratic strategy of airing such arguments so that others can criticise them, instead of assuming agreement on them or hiding them for fear of allowing values to 'intrude' into social science" (ibid.). In short, Sayer's concept of critical social science might open a way to transcend the above-mentioned dilemma of "being too close to the text and to position oneself" or "too distant, out of fear of being accused of being 'too subjective' or 'too

political” (Wodak 2005c). Very intricately, he illustrates that CDA should not only be concerned with de-mystifying or deconstructing texts in a seemingly descriptive manner but rather should dare evaluate the contents explicitly, as also Fairclough (2005) notes: ‘The more concrete and specific the evaluative terms we use – for example, ‘generous and witty’, rather than ‘nice’ or ‘good’ – the less open their validity is to challenge, because it is clearer what they are about, indeed the normative and the positive have not been separated’. This claim could also be contested: Surely, the more concrete and explicit values are stated, the more there is a target to challenge? We can not provide answers in this introduction; however, I would like to emphasize that many problems must remain unsolved.

What does this proposal mean for the central topics in this volume, i.e. for the critical analysis of news and images? In which way could critical discourse analysts describe, understand and explain complex phenomena such as those mentioned above (Section 1) without either attempting to write a bestseller (which few of us would ever achieve and would, of course, imply writing in different, non-scientific genres) or by losing any distance from the object under investigation, thus reducing or neglecting the complexity elaborated above? Or to put it even more provocatively: Do we need a scientific analysis at all when confronted with images or icons which have gained meanings of their own for all viewers/listeners/readers?

Sayer’s answer to these questions is to propose a moral stance and judgement: “To make a *critical* analysis requires us to make an assessment of these matters and, where this is at variance with the discourse under analysis, to decide which is better” (ibid.). Moreover, he suggests, that “we need to start taking normative discourse, both lay and academic, more seriously, since it is both part of the object of study and a rival account to any we may come up with” (ibid.). Basically, it seems adequate in Sayer’s opinion “to avoid the positive scholastic fallacy of de-normativizing social life”. In other words, objective, material conditions of life should be taken seriously.

I would like to go a step further, both methodologically and theoretically. On the one hand, we need to study empirically how people perceive their condition, how they perceive and understand information and how they feel about images and/in news empirically. On the other, such studies would open up a range of different meanings which have to be contextualized to be understood and evaluated. Hence, according to our three-level notion of critique elaborated above, critical research should first deconstruct complexity and detect the range of different, often contradictory readings, secondly interpret these,

allowing us thirdly and finally – in the sense of prospective and retrospective critique – to find alternative, possibly subversive and innovative meanings.

Note

1. See Huegli and Luebecke (1991:282); see also Endruweit and Trommsdorff (1989:281).

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PART I

Media constructions of meaning

Rhetorical strategies and intersubjective
positioning

Semiosis, ideology and mediation

A dialectical view

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My objective in this paper is to indicate how particular conceptualizations of mediation and ideology can be accommodated within a version of critical discourse analysis ('CDA' – see Chiapello & Fairclough 2002; Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 2000, 2001, 2003; Fairclough, Jessop, & Sayer 2002). The version of CDA which I shall work with here is somewhat different from my previous publications on media (especially Fairclough 1995). I shall argue that this version of CDA can constitute a theoretical and methodological resource in researching media and mediation, including the imbrication of media in ideological processes, a resource which can most fruitfully be drawn upon in combination with more established resources in media studies. The term 'semiosis' in the title is used in preference to 'discourse' to refer to language and other semiotic modes (e.g. visual images) in a general way, so as to avoid the common confusion between 'discourse' (abstract noun) and 'discourses' (count noun). The latter will be introduced later.

Two examples

In the course of my discussion of ideology, I shall refer to two short mediated texts in Romanian.¹ The first is a leaflet (a piece of A5 paper folded into two) picked up at a large furniture store (called 'Mobexpert Gallery', from 'mobilă' meaning 'furniture') in Bucharest in August 2003. The front of the leaflet reads: 'intră în Golden Club și ești privilegiat' ('Join the Golden Club and you are privileged'), with the first four words at the top of the page, the last three at the bottom, and the image of a carefully manicured woman's hand holding

a Golden Club membership card in the middle. The top of the centre page is taken up with same woman's hand holding a gift voucher, and the lower half by a text which reads 'bucură-te de avantajele Golden Club' ('Enjoy the advantages of the Golden Club'), followed by a list of 'advantages' (gift vouchers, special offers, price reductions, etc.), and the back of the leaflet lists a number of 'condiții' ('conditions') for membership. The furniture store's logo appears twice, with 'ești privilegiat' ('you are privileged') incorporated into it.

The second text was encountered on a visit to a bank in Bucharest also in August 2003. A metre or so in front of the cashier's desk there was a notice on a stand reading 'Pastrați limita de discreție. Vă mulțumim.' A close translation into English is 'Observe the limit of discretion. We thank you.' A similar notice in the UK might read something like 'Please respect the privacy of others. Thank you', though my impression is that such notices are not usual in the UK, that the semiotic cues are more minimal and covert, eg a line painted on the ground or some other sort of boundary marker.

The practices of stores issuing 'loyalty cards', and maintenance of space between a person being served in a bank, post office etc and others queuing, are familiar and routine in 'western' countries like the UK. One can see such practices as having been recontextualized in Romania and other formerly socialist countries of central and eastern Europe in the course of a decade of 'transition' towards capitalism. For each of the two cases, I shall comment on aspects of the Romanian context which are relevant to the nature and process of recontextualization.

Romania post-1989 is a profoundly unequal society, with huge differences in wealth, income and resources between a small elite living mainly in Bucharest and the vast majority of the population, and substantial poverty and social deprivation. One might say, no doubt somewhat reductively, that there are two Romanias, two radically different lifestyles and associated expectations and values (with the proviso that the new 'western' values and practices have permeated both, if in different ways). Only members of the elite use stores such as Mobexpert Gallery, or for that matter the banks. The qualification for membership of the Golden Club is spending at least €750 on furniture, while the mean monthly wage for state employees is around €150. Most people could not afford the furniture sold at Mobexpert. The people who are offered the possibility of being 'privileged' as members of the Golden Club are already the most privileged group in Romanian society. The Mobexpert Gallery from this perspective is part of a network of spaces which the economic elite moves within, including for instance the Bucharest mall, expensive restaurants, health clubs etc, from which the rest of Romanian society is excluded by price. The

Romanian economic elite are not only objectively privileged within Romanian society, they also seem to be preoccupied with their privileged position, with their distinction from others in Romanian society, with their status as an elite.

The Golden Club card is a 'loyalty card' which gives certain 'advantages' to those who hold it in terms of savings on future purchases, delivery and assembly, and so forth. The term 'privilege card' is sometimes used in the UK and the USA – such cards are represented as 'rewarding' customers for their 'loyalty'. Other terms like 'reward card' are also used. Some of these schemes seem to construe the relationship between customer and company as rather like that between courtier and monarch – the latter 'rewards' the former's 'loyalty', maybe grants 'privileges' in reward for loyalty. In many cases such contentions if not bizarre representations of the commercial relationship between company and customer are kept covert through nominal compounds like 'privilege card' which leave the verbal process and its participant relations ('who is privileging who?') opaque and vague. In the Romanian case, there isn't a nominal compound but a clause with a copular verb ('esti', 'are') and an attributive adjective derived from the past participle of a verb ('privilegiat', 'privileged'). What the customer gains through membership of 'Golden Card' are represented not as 'privileges' but as 'avantaje', 'advantages', a term which is very widely used in Romanian advertising and media for price reductions, special offers, good deals etc. What is striking about the Romanian case, and different from similar material in the UK for instance, is not the presence of the concept of 'privilege', but its presence as an attribute ('privileged') of those who join the 'club'. The tense of the verb is significant: it is a present tense verb, not a future tense verb – the latter would be more easily amenable to being interpreted as an indirect way of saying that the customer will gain certain 'privileges' (i.e. 'advantages') as a member. The clause with the present tense verb, occurring three times in this short leaflet, construes membership of the 'club' as conveying a 'privileged' status. There seems to be an appeal to the economic elite's preoccupation with privilege, both linguistically (construing membership as 'being privileged', and as joining a 'club', which also implies exclusivity and privilege) and in terms of visual semiotics (the carefully manicured woman's hand holding the card, and the colour gold). Membership of the 'club' is offered not just as a way to get a good deal, but also as a status symbol and marker of distinction for people who are preoccupied with such symbols and markers.

The second case calls for some historical context, especially with respect to queuing. Queuing in Romania before 1989, and in many contexts still now, has been a somewhat anarchic happening. People do not stand in line, no respect is shown for another's 'place' in the queue, or for the privacy of an individ-

ual's business with an official or consultant, yet at the same time queuing is a communal affair in which information about official requirements and procedures which organisations often do not provide is freely shared and exchanged, and in which people also share their life stories, their problems and their anxieties. But queuing is now radically different in certain contexts. For instance, people queuing at cash machines in the street preserve as a matter of course a space between the person using the machine and the rest of the queue (to the point where it is often unclear whether people are waiting to use the machine or just casually standing around). One might take the notice in the Romanian bank to be socializing the public into 'western' queuing behaviour. Yet given that people observe such queuing practices without such prompts in cases like cash machines, it seems likely that customers at the cashier's desk in the bank (who would also be amongst the much larger group of people who use cash machines) would be aware of what is expected. Perhaps therefore the notice is as much to do with distinction as with socialization: if it is informationally and pedagogically redundant, perhaps it works to reaffirm the common commitment of the bank and its customers to practices and values of 'discretion', and thus serves both as publicity for the bank and as a marker of distinction for the customers, an affirmation of part of what makes them different from the rest of Romanian society.

What was striking to me as a cultural outsider was that the focus is on 'observing the limit of discretion' in the queue rather than the privacy of the person at the counter. If one compares 'respect the privacy of others' with 'observe the limit of discretion', the former gives salience to what is to be respected (individual 'privacy'), the latter to how to show respect (be 'discrete') – the former perhaps takes for granted what the latter draws attention to. Although the customers at the bank may not need to be socialized into 'western' queuing practices, one can see a socializing force in the notice – the implication is that people have to be taught how to respect the privacy of others. 'Limita' in Romanian can be interpreted as both (physical) 'boundary' and in terms of social and ethical (self)-restraint or acceptability, and both senses can be seen as actualized in this case.

Mediation and ideology

I shall work from the view of mediation proposed by Silverstone (1999:13), mediation as 'the movement of meaning':

Mediation involves the movement of meaning from one text to another, from one discourse to another, from one event to another. It involves the constant transformation of meanings, both large scale and small, significant and insignificant, as media texts and texts about media circulate in writing, in speech and audiovisual forms, and as we, individually and collectively, directly and indirectly, contribute to their production Mediated meanings circulate in primary and secondary texts, through endless intertextualities, in parody and pastiche, in constant replay, and in the interminable discourses, both off-screen and on-screen, in which we as producers and consumers act and interact, urgently seeking to make sense of the world...

There are a number of issues here. First, as meanings move from text to text, they are open to transformation. Meanings do not simply 'circulate' unchanged between texts, movement of meanings involves both continuity and change and, I would add, how much continuity and how much change is contingent upon the nature of the events and texts that mediated meanings move into. Second, the possibility of transformation suggests that mediated meanings enter processes of meaning-making as part of the resources for meaning-making. I prefer to see movement in these terms – 'movement of meaning' is misleading given that meanings may be transformed in moving, 'movement of resources for meaning-making' is better. Third, these resources for meaning-making are both specific and general, concrete and abstract – they include for instance both concrete representations of specific events of the US/UK invasion of Iraq in particular news reports, and regular and durable ways of representing such events ('discourses' in the sense in which I shall introduce that term below). Fourth, a relationship is implied between media texts and other sorts of texts (though the movement of resources for meaning-making may be between media texts too). What differentiates media texts from other sorts of texts? I see media texts as a class of texts which are specialised for moving resources for meaning-making between texts, and more abstractly between different social practices, fields, domains and scales of social life.

Ideologies, in a first formulation (elaborated below), are representations which contribute to the constitution, reproduction, and transformation of social relations of power and domination ('ways in which meaning serves to sustain relations of domination', Thompson 1974). There are many different views of ideology (Eagleton 1991; Larrain 1989; Thompson 1974; van Dijk 1998), but a major divide is between critical versus descriptive concepts of ideology, and what essentially characterizes critical concepts is that ideologies are seen as one modality of power, a modality which constitutes and sustains relations of power through producing consent or at least acquiescence, power

through hegemony rather than power through violence and force. My view is that critical social science including CDA requires a critical concept of ideology, and that descriptive concepts of ideology empty the category of its distinctive import and value in social research and analysis.

I shall now briefly present the version of CDA referred to above, and then discuss how the view of mediation and ideology I have just sketched out can be accommodated within it.

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is based upon a realist social ontology (Sayer 2000), which sees both concrete social events and abstract social structures as part of social reality. Social structures can be conceived of as potentialities which are selectively actualized in social events – what is possible, in contrast with what is actual. The relationship between social structures and social events is mediated by social practices, which control the selective actualization of potentials. Diagrammatically:

Social ontology/levels of abstraction

Social structures

Social practices

Social events

There is a semiotic dimension to each level of abstraction:

Semiotic dimensions:

Social structures: semiotic systems (languages)

Social practices: orders of discourse

Social events: texts (including talk, ‘utterances’)

The concepts of semiotic system (language) and text are familiar in language studies, the concept of order of discourse is relatively novel. Orders of discourse constitute the social structuring of semiotic variation or difference. At the concrete level of texts one finds of course considerable semiotic variation, which is not random but socially structured in accordance with relatively durable and stable semiotic dimensions of social practices, i.e. orders of discourse. An order of discourse is a specific configuration of discourses, genres, and styles (for these categories, see below), which define a distinctive meaning potential, or, to put it somewhat differently, which constitute distinctive resources for meaning-making in texts. The relationship between what is semiotically possible (as defined by semiotic systems) and the actual semiotic features of texts

is mediated by orders of discourse as filtering mechanisms which select certain possibilities but not others.

Social events, and texts as the semiotic elements of social events, are shaped by two sets of causal powers, understanding causality in the critical realist (non-Humean) sense as not entailing regularity – i.e. *x* can be said to cause *y* without that entailing a regular correlation between *x* and *y*, because effects have multiple causes which affect one another's operation (Sayer 2000; Fairclough, Sayer, & Jessop 2002). Social events (and texts) are shaped on the one hand by social practices and social structures, and on the other hand by social agents. One may say that events (and texts) are locally and interactionally produced by situated agents, but in ways which depend on the continuity of structures and practices (as well as the continuity – the *habitus* – of persons). At the same time, texts have causal effects on non-semiotic as well as semiotic elements of social life – which is how they can do ideological work. In terms of the classical sociological distinction, both the perspective of 'verstehen' and the perspective of 'erklären' are relevant to the study of texts: texts are caught up in processes of meaning-making, but they are also (thereby) a part of the causal (including ideological) effects of events.

Texts figure in three main ways as part of events: in acting, representing, and identifying. They are part of the action (talking or writing constitute ways of acting, often in conjunction with non-semiotic action), they simultaneously represent aspects of the world, and they simultaneously identify social actors, contribute to the constitution of social and personal identities. One might compare this with Halliday's concept of 'metafunctions', though the particular functions (or rather aspects of meaning) I have distinguished are different (Halliday 1994). When people act, represent, identify in (texts as parts of) events, they orient to more or less established and stabilised ways of acting, representing and identifying, which are parts of social practices, constituted at the level of social practices, and therefore of orders of discourse, but also habituses (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Semiotically, the distinctions are:

Genres: ways of acting
Discourses: ways of representing
Styles: ways of being

Analysis of texts includes (a) interdiscursive analysis of which genres, discourses and styles are drawn upon and oriented to in a particular text, and how they are articulated together in the text; (b) linguistic (semiotic, pragmatic, conversational) analysis of actional, representational and identifying meanings, and of their realisation in the linguistic forms of the text, and of how

these meanings and forms realise the interdiscursive 'mix' of genres, discourses and styles.

Events do not come singly, but in interconnected chains or, more loosely, networks, which are in part chains or networks of texts. Texts also connect events, including events that are removed from each other in time and space. Media texts clearly have a particular importance in this regard. Participants in chains or networks of events orient to ways of chaining or networking which are parts of networks of social practices, including, semiotically, what I have called 'genre chains' (Fairclough 2003), genres which are regularly and predictably chained together such that meanings are moved and transformed along the chain, and recontextualized and transformed in regular ways in accordance with recontextualizing principles. An example of (part of) a genre chain would be the chain that routinely links significant government statements of publications, press conferences and/or press statements, and news reports. Genre chains are amongst the semiotic conditions of possibility of 'globalisation' as 'action at a distance', and intensifications and shifts in globalisation are conditional upon changes in this semiotic resource.

CDA has taken the category of 'recontextualization' from Bernstein's sociology of pedagogy (Bernstein 1990, 1996), and sought to operationalize it in discourse analysis, in fact, precisely recontextualize it, for instance by specifying processes of recontextualization in terms of genre and genre chains. Relations of recontextualization involve principles of selectivity and filtering devices which selectively control which meanings (which can now be specified and differentiated as which discourses, genres and styles) are moved from one field to another. But there are also internal relations within the recontextualizing field which control how recontextualized meanings are articulated with, re-contextualized in relation to, existing meanings – i.e. in the terms above what forms of interdiscursivity occur between recontextualized and existing discourses, genres and styles. Taking these points together, recontextualization of meanings is also transformation of meanings, through de-contextualization (taking meanings out of their contexts) and re-contextualizing (putting meanings in new contexts). Moreover, recontextualization should be seen as an appropriation/colonisation dialectic (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999; Habermas 1984): a matter of an opening to a potentially colonizing external presence which is however potentially appropriated and 'domesticated'.

More generally, social change (e.g. the transformations of capitalism, including its globalisation, currently underway) includes change in social practices and, crucially, the networking of social practices (social fields, social domains). Following Jessop (2000), we can specify these transformations on

two dimensions: 'Re-structuring' (a transformation of relations between social fields and domains, such as the economic field and fields such as education or the arts) and 're-scaling' (the transformation of relations between the local, national, (macro-)regional, and global scales of social life). 'Globalisation' understood as 'a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions generating transcontinental and interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power' (Held et al. 1999), is a form of rescaling.² Changes in genres, discourses and styles, in orders of discourse, in genre chains, are a irreducible part of re-structuring and re-scaling, and constitute semiotic conditions of possibility for these transformations overall.

The relationship between semiotic and non-semiotic elements of social events, and at a more abstract level of social practices, is a dialectical relationship. The elements (including semiosis, social relations and organisations and institutions, material objects and means and technologies, people with their beliefs and feelings and values) are different, and the difference between them cannot be reductively collapsed, but they are not discrete, they are dialectically interconnected, semiotic elements 'internalize' non-semiotic elements, and vice-versa (Harvey 1996).

Social transformations in contemporary social life are extensively 'discourse-led', in the sense that it is discourses which change first. As new discourses enter and achieve salience or dominance in particular social fields or domains and at different social scales, or more concretely in particular organisations, or are recontextualized within them, dialectical processes may ensue in which discourses are enacted in ways of acting (e.g. new ways of managing, new procedures, routines etc.), inculcated in ways of being, in social identities (e.g. new management identities, such as new types of 'leader'), and materialized for instance in new spatial, including architectural, forms. Enactment and inculcation may be non-semiotic, i.e. involve a dialectical movement between the semiotic and the non-semiotic, or 'intra-semiotic': discourses may be enacted semiotically as genres (as well as manufacturing processes), and inculcated as styles (as well as new forms of bodylines – which are of course semioticized, but not reducible to semiosis).

These dialectical processes do not however proceed in abstraction from social relations of power. In taking recontextualization to be a dialectic of colonisation and appropriation, I am suggesting not only the potential for struggle within the recontextualized context to inflect or deflect the colonizing effect through forms of appropriation, but also the potential for struggle over forms of appropriation between social groups pursuing different strategies within the

recontextualized context, which might include for instance struggles over identity which are germane to whether and how a discourse is inculcated in new ways of being.

Mediation and ideology

Let us come back to the questions of mediation and ideology, which I discussed in a preliminary way above, in the light of this brief theoretical sketch of a version of CDA. In terms of this version of CDA, Silverstone's discussion of mediation can be seen as suggesting a focus on recontextualization. The processes and relations of mediation are processes and relations of recontextualization, which specifically involve relations between the field of media and other social fields, though this 'structural' relation between fields can simultaneously be a 'scalar' relation, for instance when we consider mediation within processes of globalisation (see the discussion of the Romanian cases below). Chouliaraki (1999) has proposed that we can see media discourse ('discourse' used in a third sense, meaning the type of language used specifically in media) as 'a recontextualizing principle for appropriating other discourses and bringing them into a special relation with each other for the purposes of their dissemination and mass consumption'. We can also see media texts in turn being recontextualized according to specific recontextualizing principles, e.g. in government, in everyday conversation, and so forth. These relations are seen as obtaining between, in Bourdieu's terms (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992), social fields, or relatively stable and durable networks of social practices (see below), rather than just 'discourses'. Chouliaraki (1999:41) suggests that each genre has its own recontextualizing principle, which appropriates and reconstitutes discourses (Chouliaraki 1999:41). I shall assume rather that recontextualizing principles attach to social fields (conceived as networks of social practices) such as media, whose semiotic/discoursal moment is orders of discourse, though the diversity of media – print media, broadcast media, electronic media – entails a set of connected recontextualizing principles rather than a unitary one. Recontextualizing principles are actualized in genres, conceived as regulative devices (Chouliaraki), 'systematically distributed forms of control' (Threadgold 1989).

As I indicated above, recontextualization and therefore also mediation may involve 'flows' of discourses, genres and styles between fields. In the case of the mediation/recontextualization of representational meanings – discourses – my discussion above of dialectical relations implies that discourses are open to dialectical processes of enactment, inculcation and materialization, including 'intra-semiotic' enactment and inculcation as genres and styles.

Processes of recontextualization, including processes of mediation, may be ideological processes. Bernstein puts this in terms of the movement of discourses in recontextualization: 'Every time a discourse moves, there is a space for ideology to play' (Bernstein 1996:26). Bernstein is I think right to focus on the primary importance of the movement of discourses across contexts, fields, social practices, scales in the work of ideological representation. A discourse de-contextualized from its dialectical relationship with other elements of a field or network of social practices becomes an imaginary, very often working in a metaphorical way in the re-imagining of aspects of the field or practices it is recontextualized within (e.g. re-imagining student-academic relations in higher education as consumer-producer relations), and of course open to enactment, inculcation, and materialization. Media institutions and processes of mediation are clearly crucial in these ideological processes.

Ideology is, first, a relation between meaning (and therefore texts) and social relations of power and domination. It is one modality of power (another is physical force). And ideology is, first, a matter of representation. We may call discourses 'ideological' where social analysis plausibly shows a relation between their meanings (ways of representing) and social relations of power. In so far as discourses are ideological, their dialectical semiotic and non-semiotic internalization in ways of acting and ways of being (enactment, inculcation), as well as their materialization in the physical word, is also an internalization of ideology. So if ideology is, first, representations (discourses), it is, second, (a) action and its social relations (and genres); (b) persons/subjects (and styles), as well as (c) the material world. Moreover, if ideology is, first, a relation between texts (in meaning-making) and power, it is, second, a relation between orders of discourse and power, and even languages and power, because meanings achieve relative stability and durability in social practices and social structures. The 're-contextualization' of discourses (e.g. in processes of mediation) may constitute meaning as a modality of power relations across networks of social practices (structural relations between fields, scalar relations between local, national, regional, 'global'), i.e. it may be ideological. The specific contribution of discourse analysis to ideological analysis is (a) identifying discourses, and their linguistic realisations, (b) tracing the texturing of relations between discourses, (c) tracing the 'internal' (to semiosis) dialectic between discourses, genres, and styles (d) tracing the recontextualisation of discourses (genres, styles) across structural and scalar boundaries. That in itself does not tell us whether we are dealing with ideology. To do so requires other forms of social analysis which explore (a) the causal effects of semiosis (changing organisations, persons etc.),

(b) the relationship of all this to relations of power, domination, struggle, resistance. The 'external' dialectics of discourse.

The Romanian cases

The two Romanian cases introduced earlier are cases of mediation, through the medium of print, and the media genres of advertising leaflet and public notice. Resources for meaning making can be seen as moved from the domain of commercial organisations into the domain of consumption and thereby potentially into the world of mundane experience and living, the life world. But what is also clearly at issue if we consider such cases cumulatively over the period since 1989 is a movement across scales, a 're-scaling', recontextualizing resources for meaning making which are already established and to a degree harmonized on an international scale onto another national scale, incorporating a part of Romanian social life into the international scale, contributing to the contemporary scalar complexity of Romanian society (where international, national and local elements coexist in complex and contradictory articulation with each other). These processes can be subsumed under 'globalisation'.

But recontextualization has been understood above as dialectic of colonisation and appropriation. Cases of this sort can easily be seen and often are seen as simply cases of colonisation, of meanings, practices, discourses etc being imposed from the centres of capitalism onto the transitional peripheries. But in my initial notes on the two cases I began to indicate how these resources for meaning making come to be appropriated within the specific social and power relationships and social dynamics of Romanian society, and in particular how they are appropriated as resources within the strategies of distinction of the economic elite. This is not to suggest that only the economic elite are affected by such 'western' practices – they have at least an aspirational resonance for perhaps most of the population, and are no doubt appropriated into different strategies, including strategies of distinction (for an intense preoccupation with distinction seems to be a general trait of Romanian society) elsewhere. There may also be resistance to them, though if there is resistance in Romania it would seem to be a relatively covert resistance, for it does not appear to reach the public space. Be that it as it may, any account of recontextualization in such cases has to refer, in the terms introduced above, to the 'causal powers' of social agents, their appropriating actions and strategies (specification of which with respect to particular fields contributes also to specifying the recontextualizing principles according to which recontextualization takes place), as well as to the

changes in structure implied in the concept of re-scaling, and also at the level of social practices to emergent change in orders of discourse in Romania.

The moment of appropriation in processes of recontextualization can be explored analytically through interdiscursive analysis of how recontextualized meanings are articulated in texts with existing meanings. When I came across the two Romanian cases, I found them both familiar and transparent in the light of practices in the UK and elsewhere, and yet in some respects opaque and puzzling, specifically the representation of membership of the Golden Club as making people 'privileged', and the observation of 'the limit of discretion'. This experience of opacity on the part of a cultural outsider is a pointer to interdiscursive hybridity: familiar recontextualized elements are articulated together with unfamiliar elements in these cases.

A prominent theme in public debate on change and 'transition' in Romania has been 'changing mentalities'. It is often argued by intellectuals and politicians that changes in Romanian 'mentality' are necessary for substantive social change, and for successful integration of Romania into 'western' capitalism. This focus on 'mentality' appears to have been introduced into the public sphere and social life by intellectuals influenced by the French tradition of research on 'mentality' (the cultural anthropologist Levy-Bruhl and the historian Braudel are important figures in that tradition). Similar debates in the UK for instance represent 'subjective' aspects of change more as changes in 'culture' or 'attitudes' (for instance in the Thatcher government's promotion of an 'enterprise culture' in the 1980s, Fairclough 1990). Problematic aspects of Romanian 'mentalities' are often attributed to the legacy of communism. Change in 'mentalities' is called for in various areas of social life: work, business, education and teaching, gender relations and parent/child relations in the family, the human rights of homosexuals and minorities, especially gypsies. This way of representing 'subjective' aspects of change has become an element of dominant discourses of change and transition in intellectual and political debate, but has also extended into various social fields and into the 'lifeworld' of ordinary living and experience. An indication of the latter discussions of change in Romania on Computer Games forums on the internet rather frequently refer to need to change, or the difficulty of changing, 'mentalities'. Both of the cases can be seen in terms of these debates on 'changing mentalities', as covertly projecting 'western' mentalities. And one aspect of recontextualization which shows itself as interdiscursive hybridity is the articulation of recontextualized 'western' discourses and practices with this distinctively Romanian way of representing 'subjective' aspects of change in discourses of change and 'transition'.

I earlier referred to what is recontextualized as 'practices', practices of the 'loyalty card' and of discretionary spatial distance in certain sorts of queuing. The theoretical framework sketched out above points us to the question: what are these practices, these rituals, these ways of acting and interacting, an enactment of? Is there a discourse, or discourses, here which, while not being enunciated as such in these cases, nevertheless lies behind them, informs them, becomes enacted in them? When my Romanian friend and I encountered the two cases, we saw them as presences of 'western individualism'. We might say that 'behind' the practices, enacted as the practices, there are discourses of the individual, of society as made up of acquisitive and competitive individuals in pursuit of their own material and symbolic advantage, of individuals as endowed with certain rights to privacy and autonomy. In the first case, the discourse of 'competitive individualism' is enacted in the practice of the 'loyalty card', and inculcated in the identities of members of the economic elite seeking competitive advantage with respect to both material and symbolic goods through membership of the 'club'. One might add that it is materialized in the personalized, technologically sophisticated card itself (as one card holder ironically told me, 'It makes me feel important'). In the second case, the discourse of individual autonomy is enacted in the practice of preserving the 'limit of discretion', inculcated in individuals who have taken in the values and behaviours of privacy and 'discretion', and materialized in the organisation of space in the bank, including the placing of a stand with the notice on it at a distance from the counter. Thus the dialectical processes I have referred to above are in evidence in both cases.

With respect to ideology and ideological processes, the centrality of individualist ideologies to the nature and workings of contemporary capitalism is widely acknowledged. Ideas and values and practices of (autonomous, self-regulating, competitive etc.) individualism (and as pointed out above not only the discourses but also the ways of acting including genres, ways of being including styles, and material forms it is dialectically internalised in) can be adjudged ideological in the sense that these ways of being and of seeing the self and others are conditions of possibility for the operation of capitalist system (in terms of motivations to acquire and consume, innovative working practices based upon the self-regulation of employees, and so forth) and for sustaining the social and power relations of capitalism, and in the sense that they constitute misrecognition of the antagonisms and contradictions of the system (misrecognition of relations between social groups and forces as relations between individuals). In this respect, the recontextualization of these international beliefs, values and practices in Romania constitutes a not insignificant

part of the incorporation of Romania into the structures and power relations of international capitalism, and is in that sense an ideological process of re-scaling. This against the background not only of the official commitment to collectivism and egalitarianism before 1989, but the practical collapse of that commitment into a form of individualism which is at odds with the individualist virtues promoted by contemporary capitalism – a ‘dependent’ individualism where people were totally dependent on the state yet selfishly pursuing their own individual interests with no sense of communal responsibility (Barbu 1999; Poznanski 2000).

But there is a more complex orchestration of scale: a binding together of power relations on international and national levels (as well as the local level, in particular localities, organisations, institutions, though I have not discussed this) in which the same representations, values, practices and identities may simultaneously work ideologically in spreading the new capitalism (and its ‘neo-liberal’ politics) as ‘the only show in town’, and yet do ideological work of a different character with respect to social dynamics and power relations at national and local scales. In the Romanian case, practices and values which work ideologically to inculcate subjects into the ‘global’ capitalist economy and thus contribute to an emergent and expansive global hegemony also work in the pursuit of strategies of distinction, which can be adjudged ideological in the sense that they misrecognise raw relations of economic and financial power in the ‘wild capitalism’ of contemporary Romania as relations of distinction (e.g. ‘we know how to behave in queues, they don’t’), allow the rationalization of gross differences of wealth and power which have often emerged through aggressive and even corrupt business practices and exploitation in terms of what are widely regarded as inherent (or even genetic) differences between people in intelligence and civilization, and so misrecognise the antagonisms and contradictions of the anarchic emergence of capitalism in Romania. At the same time, the ideological import of recontextualized elements is inflected by the distinctively Romanian focus on ‘changing mentalities’ with respect to ‘subjective’ aspects of change. Insofar as the failure of Romania’s turn to capitalism to produce substantial improvements in the condition of the majority of Romanians is attributed to problems of ‘mentality’, their failure to ‘change mentalities’, this way of representing the ‘subjective’ aspect of change can be seen as a potent ideological element.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Isabela Ietcu for her help with the Romanian examples.
2. We need to recognise that globalisation is a complex set of processes which do not map onto each other in any simple way, and which has uneven effects on different countries and regions. This complexity and unevenness is often lost in discourses of globalisation which are developed and deployed, often rhetorically and persuasively, in connection with strategies pursued by particular groups of social agents.

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Evaluative semantics and ideological positioning in journalistic discourse

A new framework for analysis

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The paper provides a new framework for exploring the linguistic mechanisms by which the hard news reporting typical of the so-called “broadsheet” newspaper maintains its claim to impartiality and objectivity while performing the ideological function of endorsing, perpetuating and making seem natural particular systems of value and belief. It focuses specifically on the evaluative work going on in such texts by which readers are positioned to favour or disfavour a particular attitudinal stance, drawing on the research by those who have been developing what is known as the “appraisal framework” over the past decade or so. Particular attention is paid to the mechanisms by which evaluative positioning may be indirectly or covertly activated.

Keywords: Ideology, evaluation, appraisal, stance, objectivity, subjectivity, hard news reporting, bias, journalism

Introduction

I take as my starting point for this paper the view that, contrary to any claims to ‘objectivity’ on the part of the media industry, news reporting is a mode of rhetoric in the broadest sense of the word – a value laden, ideologically determined discourse with a clear potential to influence the media audience’s assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and the way it ought to be. This rhetorical and ultimately ideological potential has now been so widely demonstrated in the literature that it hardly needs to be argued for. (See, for example, Trew 1979; Hartley 1982; Fairclough 1988; Bird & Dardenne 1988; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Fisk 1989; Fowler 1991; Ericson & Baranek 1991;

Parenti 1993; Eldridge 1993; Iedema, Feez, & White 1994; Fairclough 1995; White 1997; White 2000.)

It is not the case, however, that all instances of news reporting are created equal, so to speak, in this ideological functionality of endorsing, perpetuating and making seem natural particular systems of value and belief. Close observation of individual news items reveals substantial variation in rhetorical functionality not only according to differences in intended audience (for example between tabloids and broadsheets), but also according to differences in medium (print versus broadcast) and even differences in subject matter (for example, politics, versus court reporting versus police rounds). A key aspect of this rhetorical and ultimately ideological functionality is evaluation – the text's positioning of its audience to take either negative or positive views of the participants, actions, happenings and state-of-affairs therein depicted. It is via such evaluative positionings, of course, that the media constructs a particular model of the social and moral order – a model of what is normal and aberrant, beneficial and harmful, praiseworthy and blameworthy, and so on.

My purpose in this paper is to offer a new framework by which fuller, more theoretically principled accounts can be provided of this evaluative aspect of news reporting and how it is that individual news items may vary in the evaluative mechanisms they employ and hence in their ultimate ideological effects. In outlining this framework I will be relying to a substantial extent on the work over the past decade or so by a group of researchers working within what is known as appraisal theory. This network of researchers operates largely within the paradigm of Systemic Functional Linguistics (see for example, Halliday 1994; Martin 1992 or Matthiessen 1995) and is working to extend the systemic functional analysis of interpersonal meanings in order to provide a fuller account of the resources evaluation and stance. (See for example, Iedema et al. 1994; Christie & Martin 1997; Martin 2000; White 2002a/b; Macken-Horarik & Martin, J. R. 2003; Martin & White 2005.) This appraisal framework proposes three broad sub-domains of evaluative meaning: values by which positive and negative view points are activated (termed 'attitude' within the appraisal framework), values by which the intensity or force of propositions is raised or lowered (termed 'graduation') and values by which the speaker/writer engages with the other voices and alternative value positions in play in the current communicative context (termed 'engagement'). (For a full account see Martin & White 2005.)

More specifically, the framework which I propose for the analysis of evaluation in news reporting texts observes the following options and possibilities for variation in the mechanisms by which attitudinal positions can be conveyed

and by which the reader can be positioned to favour or disfavour a particular viewpoint.

1. *Affect, judgement and appreciation – types of attitude*

Positive and negative evaluations can be divided into those which involve (a) emotional reactions (what the appraisal framework terms ‘affect’), (b) assessments of human behaviour and character by reference to some system of conventionalised or institutionalised norms (what the appraisal framework terms ‘judgement’) and (c) assessments of artefacts, texts, natural objects, states of affairs and processes in terms of how they are assigned value socially, for example in terms of their aesthetic qualities, their potential for harm or benefit, their social significance, and so on. For example (relevant items are underlined):

(affect – emotional reaction) *It was, then, with fury, that I returned home on Saturday to find my own country rumbling with the mumbles of the peaceniks.*

(judgement – normative assessment of human behaviour) *To see police brutally manhandling demonstrators was not only shocking but representative of more repressive regimes, such as China.*

(appreciation – assigning a social value to objects, artefacts, texts, states of affairs) *The new president’s speech was elegant and well-woven, sounding a panoply of themes without seeming scattered.*

2. *Attitudinal inscription versus attitudinal tokens*

This distinction attends to the possibility that attitudinal evaluations may be more or less explicitly articulated. The label ‘attitudinal inscription’ applies to the use of locutions which carry an attitudinal value (positive or negative assessment) which is largely fixed and stable across a wide range of contexts. For example, via lexical items such as *corrupt*, *virtuously*, *skilfully*, *tyrant*, *coward*, *beautiful*, *abused*, *brutalised*. The contrastive term ‘attitudinal token’ is applied to formulations where there is no single item which, of itself and independently of its current co-text, carries a specific positive or negative value. Rather, the positive/negative viewpoint is activated via various mechanisms of association and implication. In such cases the evaluative position is ‘triggered’ or ‘betokened’ rather than being explicitly ‘inscribed’.

3. Attitudinal tokens: Evoking versus provoking

Within formulations which articulate the attitudinal position less explicitly (tokens), it is possible to distinguish between those which contain no evaluative lexis of any type and those which contain evaluative material but not of an explicitly positive/negative type. In the first instance, the positive or negative assessment is 'evoked' via purely experiential ('factual') material which, as a result of being selected and brought into focus within the text, has the potential to trigger a positive or negative reaction in the reader via processes of attitudinal inference. In the second instance, the positive or negative assessment is 'provoked' via material which, while evaluative, is not of itself positive or negative – for example, via intensification, comparison, metaphor or counter-expectation. For example,

(evocation – triggering positive/negative responses by means of a focus on purely informational content) *George W. Bush delivered his inaugural speech as the United States President who collected 537,000 fewer votes than his opponent.*

(provocation – triggering positive/negative responses by means of formulations which are in other ways evaluative) *Telstra has withdrawn sponsorship of a suicide prevention phone service – just days after announcing a \$2.34 billion half-yearly profit.* (Here *just days after* construes surprise on the part of the journalist author – the action by Telstra, Australia's, primary, government-controlled telecommunications provider, is assessed as unexpected, or at least as coming sooner than would be expected. The formulation thus has the potential to 'provoke' in the reader a negative assessment of Telstra's actions.)

4. Agency and affectedness

As has already been widely demonstrated in the literature, in certain types of news report, choices with respect to which participants are represented as agentive and which as affected/acted-upon often have a potential to influence who is to be seen as more to blame and who as less to blame. Here we are dealing with grammatical choices as to which participants in the reported event are typically assigned an active or agentive role in the clause (for example as the Subject of active voice clauses, especially where the verbal process is a material one) and which participants are typically assigned to an acted-upon or affected role in the clause (for example, as the Object of an active material process clause, or the Subject of a passive-voice clause). A number of influential analyses (i.e. Trew 1979; Clark 1992) have demonstrated that the degree of blameworthi-

ness which is likely to attach to a given participant can be conditioned by the degree to which they are represented as playing an active, agentive role. Thus Trew in his highly influential analysis of newspaper coverage of a disturbance in London's Notting Hill in the 1970s showed that coverage of the event by one newspaper indirectly positioned the reader to blame the so-called 'rioters' by presenting them as 'agent' in a high proportion of the clauses, while, in contrast, another newspaper positioned the reader to view the police as more to blame by presenting them as the primary agents and the members of the crowd as acted-upon (Trew 1979).

5. Attribution

It is an obvious feature of journalistic discourse, especially news reporting, that journalistic authors typically disassociated themselves from evaluative meanings, especially the more explicit ones, by attributing them to external sources. Nevertheless, there is a range of mechanisms by which the journalistic author can indirectly indicate alignment with or disalignment from the 'externalised' value position and by which the reader may be positioned to regard that position as more or as less warrantable.

In what follows, my primary focus will be upon headings 2 through 5 above – evaluative positioning which is achieved via mechanisms which are in some way less than fully explicit or in other ways indirect. These mechanisms are of particular importance for the analysis of those texts which operate with what can be termed a strategy of partial impersonalisation – those 'hard news' items where the use of evaluative meanings is to some degree constrained, especially the use of overtly positive and negative assessments on the part of the journalist author (for a fuller account of this 'hard news' register, see Iedema, Feez, & White 1994; White 1998 and Martin & White 2005, Chapter 4). These are texts which perhaps most frequently occur in the news coverage (as opposed to the commentaries, columns and editorials) of the so-called 'broad-sheet' or 'highbrow' media (titles such as *The Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*) and which are most typically associated with the notions of 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' mentioned above.

Although in what follows I confine myself to a consideration of evaluative orientation in English language print and online media texts, I believe that the principles I outline have equal application to the journalism of other languages and to the language of radio and television news reporting.

Mechanisms of evaluative positioning

Journalistic commentary and inscribed attitude

Evaluative stance is perhaps most obviously conveyed by meanings which have a largely stable attitudinal meaning across of wide range of contexts. Such meanings are exemplified by the terms *disgraceful*, *brutally*, *manhandling*, *repressive* and *sham* in the following extract taken from a newspaper editorial.

Birmingham Post – leader, October 30, 1999

The behaviour of the Government and the police during the visit of Chinese President Jiang Zemin was nothing short of *disgraceful*.

To see police *brutally manhandling* demonstrators was not only shocking but representative of more *repressive* regimes, such as China.

As for Labour's "ethical foreign policy" the visit exposed that as nothing more than a *sham*.

Such overt 'inscribing' of authorial attitudinal viewpoint is a common feature of journalistic commentary and editorials which, of course, intentionally and avowedly present the subjective, individual viewpoints and arguments of the journalist author and are expected to do so by readers. In contrast, in the attitudinally constrained news reporting which is our current concern, such overt inscription of attitudinal orientation occurs only infrequently and is otherwise typically confined to material attributed to external sources via such formulations as, *X says/states/insists; according to X*, and so on. For example,

Billy Hayes, general secretary of the Communication Workers Union (CWU), said that this was a *disgraceful* way to label people who seek remedies for blatantly *unfair* behaviour by employers.

[*The Times*, Bank of English sub-corpus]

I will return in a later section to such attribution and to exploring how the reader may be positioned by the text to take a favourable or unfavourable view of the reported value position. For the moment, however, my focus is upon evaluative material for which the journalist takes direct responsibility, and especially upon those formulations which do not employ such overtly and fixedly attitudinal locutions but which, to greater or lesser degrees, rely on more indirect evaluative mechanisms such as those of attitudinal association and inference.

‘Hard news’ and explicit attitudinal inscription

The following two news report extracts demonstrate a number of the key mechanisms of attitudinal positioning – both the more explicit and the less explicit – as these often operate in ‘broadsheet’ hard news reporting. Both extracts are taken from reports of a demonstration protesting against British involvement in the air raids which were being mounted against Iraq at that time by the US and British air forces. This was in 1999, several years before the all out assault on Iraq by the US and its allies in 2003.

Text 1. (*The Times*)

Bullets wreck Blair Visit

FOUR people were wounded in a gunfight between Muslim extremists and police about 100 yards from Tony Blair in Cape Town yesterday after officers spotted men handing out guns to demonstrators baying for the Prime Minister’s blood.

Mr. Blair’s convoy of cars had been held up by the demonstration organised by a group calling itself Muslims Against Global Oppression, and he was smuggled in through a side entrance of the Castle moments before shooting broke out.

The police said that they had seen two men distributing arms to protesters who held up placards condemning the British and American airstrikes against Iraq and saying “Death to Blair”, “One Blair, one bullet”, and “Long live Hamas”.

The officers said that they gave the crowd five minutes to disperse before firing teargas and throwing stun grenades at the demonstrators. They then opened fire after being shot at themselves.

<continues...>

[*The Times*, 9/1/99]

Text 2. (*The Guardian*)

South African police open fire on anti-Blair protesters

The crack of shotguns was heard in the streets of South Africa’s parliamentary capital yesterday as police opened fire on Muslims demonstrating against a visit by Tony Blair.

At least three people were injured with rounds of birdshot, including a local journalist, as police resorted to strong-arm tactics to break up the protest outside Cape Town’s castle. The British prime minister, accompanied by his wife Cherie, was attending an awards ceremony involving British military advisors in the 17th Century fort.

Police also used rubber bullets, stun-grenades and tear-gas to disperse about 150 demonstrators, many of them women. They were brandish-

ing threatening placards – “one bullet, one Blair”, “death to Tony Blair” – protesting against Britain’s role in the recent air strikes against Iraq.

Officers at the scene said police had come under fire, but there was no confirmation of this.

Security was tight for the visit, coming as it does after last week’s pipe bomb explosion at the Victoria and Albert Waterfront shopping centre, Cape Town’s premier tourist attraction.

Police used apartheid-era security laws to control access to the city’s airport for the prime minister’s arrival in Cape Town on the third and last day of his first official visit to South Africa.

<continues. . .>

[*Guardian Unlimited*, 8/1/99]

The two texts are strikingly dissimilar in the evaluative position they advance with respect to the police and the protestors, with Text 1 (*The Times*) strongly positioning the reader to take a negative view of the protestors and to sympathise with the police, and Text 2 (*The Guardian*), in contrast, advancing a somewhat negative view of the police and a significantly less negative view of the protestors.

These evaluative effects are partly the result of the use of attitudinal inscriptions – locutions which have a consistent attitudinal value across a wide-range of contexts. Thus the *Times* report negatively evaluates the demonstrators as *extremists*, a term by which the behaviour of individuals and groups is explicitly characterised as beyond the bounds of the socially acceptable. This negative meaning was shown to be highly stable across the 4320 instances of the term in the Bank of English 450 million word corpus. All the 432 instances which I selected at random for close attention carried this assessment. This study of the Bank of English material also showed that the term is frequently associated with allegations that groups or individuals have been involved in non-state sanctioned acts of political violence. The *Guardian* is similarly explicitly evaluative in its use of the term *strong-arm tactics* to negatively characterise the conduct of the police. This is a term which, again, has a largely fixed evaluative meaning across contexts, indicating that conduct has been assessed as involving excessive force or aggression, or some other abuse of power. All but five of the 95 instances of the phrase in the Bank of English carried this negative evaluation. The only exceptions were where the term was used literally to describe a particular way of casting with a fishing rod or in texts relating to sporting activities. For example,

Strong-arm tactics and some fine goalkeeping prevailed last night as a muscular Bury side brushed aside the more subtle approach of Colin Todd's Premiership aspirants.

Crucially, both text extracts contain just the one instance of an explicitly attitudinal inscription, with a significant part of the evaluative load being carried by other more indirect mechanisms.

Attitudinal tokens 1: Evoking positive/negative assessments via 'informational' content

In both text extracts, there is content of an apparently purely informational or experiential nature which has a clear potential to trigger attitudinal assessments. In Text 1, for example, the violence is said to have occurred as police *opened fire after being shot at themselves*. This is 'factual' content which can form the basis for a justification of the police actions and condemnation of those they are presented as defending themselves against. This evaluative effect depends, of course, on the reader holding to a system of values by which (a) it is wrong to fire at police and (b) it is acceptable for police to retaliate in this way if fired upon. In the event that such conditions obtain, then this proposition has the potential to 'evoke' in the reader a positive view of the police and a negative view of the demonstrators.

Somewhat similar is the earlier characterisation of the incident as a *gunfight* which took place between the demonstrators and the police *about 100 yards from Tony Blair*. By the use of this term *gunfight*, the writer suggests some extended and concerted action on the part of the demonstrators in 'fighting' with the police, even while the writer refrains from overtly describing the action in these terms. Once again this is informational content with a potential to evoke a negative response from readers. This potential is enhanced by the writer raising the possibility that the reader's own Prime Minister (since the text was directed towards a British readership) was put at risk due to his close proximity to the 'gunfight'.

These specific depictions are supported by a more generalised representational tendency under which, across the text as a whole, it is the demonstrators rather than the police who are more often placed in the active, agent role. Thus they are construed as initiators of action and hence as participants who, at least potentially, are responsible for the events which transpired. The extract cited above displays the same tendency as the text as a whole in this regard. There we

observe that the demonstrators or those associated with them are presented as the initiators of material actions on six occasions,

men [were] handing out guns to demonstrators
demonstrators [were] baying for the Prime Minister's blood.
Mr. Blair's convoy of cars had been held up *by the demonstration*
the demonstration [was] organised *by a group calling itself Muslims*
Against Global Oppression,
two men [were] distributing arms to protesters
protestors who held up placards condemning the British and American
airstrikes against Iraq

while the police are agents in material actions on only three occasions

[*police*] firing teargas and [*police*] throwing stun grenades at the demon-
strators
They then opened fire after being shot at themselves

This text-wide tendency provides support for the other meanings in the text which more specifically position the reader to see the demonstrators as the active transgressors and the police as the more passive participant who are compelled to take action in order to defend themselves and to maintain order.

The representational disposition of the *Guardian* text works towards the opposite evaluative effect. There the police are presented as having *opened fire on Muslims demonstrating against a visit by Tony Blair* in order to break up the protest. As an attitudinal token, this is more open than the assertion by the *Times* journalist that there were protestors engaged in a gunfight with police. It is certainly available to the reader to interpret this as indicating wrong doing on the part of the police – another instance of police brutality in a place with a history of police brutality (though admittedly that brutality was under the former apartheid regime). But it is also available to the reader to reserve judgement until, presumably, the remainder of the report provides further information which may justify such actions. Tellingly, it is at this point that the writer makes his one overtly attitudinal intervention into the text to negatively characterise the police conduct as *strong arm tactics*, thereby substantially limiting the scope of any attitudinal ambiguity. The positioning of the reader to take a negative view of the police is further developed when the writer intervenes again to observe that there has been no confirmation of the police assertion that they came under fire themselves. In terms of usual journalistic practice, this is highly marked in that it is unusual for journalistic authors to suggest that statements by police are in any way requiring of validation or to report on

any such efforts, successful or not, at validation. Thus the 'fact' that there has been no confirmation of the police claim has the potential to evoke an assessment under which the police are viewed as unreliable and the assertion as likely to be untrue.

The anti-police line is further supported by the characterisation of the regulations under which they have been acting as *apartheid-era security laws*. While this is, strictly speaking, only 'factual information' and hence only a 'token' of attitude (these indeed are the same statutes which applied under the former government), this is nevertheless content which has the potential to evoke negativity towards the police as their conduct is connected with that of the notoriously oppressive former regime.

Once again, there are text-wide tendencies in transitivity choices which support the evaluative disposition established by these more specifically evaluative representations and assessments. Almost exactly reversing the arrangement in the *Times* report, here it is the police, rather than the protestors, who are construed as agentive and hence as the primary initiators of this violence. Thus the police are agents of material actions on 8 occasions,

South African police open fire on anti-Blair protesters
 ... as *police* opened fire on Muslims
police resorted to strong-arm tactics
 [*police*] to break up the protest outside Cape Town's castle.
Police also used rubber bullets, stun-grenades and tear-gas
 [*police*] to disperse about 150 demonstrators, many of them women.
Police used apartheid-era security laws
 [*police*] to control access to the city's airport

while the demonstrators are agents of material process clauses on only two occasions

Muslims demonstrating against a visit by Tony Blair.
They were brandishing threatening placards

By this discussion, then, we have seen that it is not only individual informational propositions which have the potential to dispose the reader towards a particular attitudinal assessment but also text-wide tendencies with respect to agency and affectedness. The discussion has also demonstrated how it is that such essentially 'factual' attitudinal tokens may interact with, and have their attitudinal values stabilised by, any explicitly attitudinal inscriptions which may be present. It is noteworthy that, while there was only the one explicitly attitudinal inscription in the *Guardian* extract, it played a crucial role in establishing

the terms by which the potentially more open attitudinal tokens were to be interpreted.

Attitudinal tokens 2: Evaluative positioning via association and provocation

To this point, then, I covered evaluative mechanisms which fall at the opposite extremes of attitudinal explicitness/implicitness. At the explicit extreme are inscriptions (i.e. *extremist* and *strong-arm tactics*) which are recognisable as overt announcements of the author's own value position. At the opposite implicit extreme are factual tokens (i.e. *Officers at the scene said police had come under fire, but there was no confirmation of this.*) where the writer presents informational content which, of itself and if considered out of context, is typically open as to the evaluative conclusions it gives rise to. Greater or lesser degrees of involvement are required of the reader as, according to the values and beliefs they bring to the text, they respond evaluatively to that content, one way or another.

However, as indicated in the introductory section, there are additional options available for evaluative positioning which fall between these two extremes. Here I am concerned, firstly, with locutions which, though frequently associated with approval or disapproval on the part of the speaker/writer, are less stable across contexts in the attitudinal value they carry than more stable terms such as *extremist*, *disgraceful*, *sham*, and *strong-arm tactics*. And, secondly, I am concerned with what I previously termed attitudinal 'provocations' – formulations where the author's subjective presence is clearly made salient in some way, with this subjectivity capable of being seen as directing the reader towards a particular attitudinal assessment, but where, nevertheless, there are no terms which, of themselves, carry a positive or negative value. I will consider each of these possibilities in turn, and in order to do so it is necessary to introduce an additional text extract. This is the opening few sentences of a report on the protest associated with an official visit to the United Kingdom by the Chinese head of state, Jiang Zemin, in October 1999.

Extract 3. (*The Daily Telegraph*)

Anti-China protests brushed aside

The first Chinese state visit in British history began yesterday with a lone, Tiananmen Square-style attempt to disrupt the royal procession in the Mall and muted protests elsewhere.

As the Queen and President Jiang Zemin travelled to Buckingham Palace,

a 34 year-old-man jumped over the barriers and attempted to unfurl the Tibetan flag in front of their coach

I have chosen this extract on account of the fact that, while it employs no explicit attitudinal inscriptions, it does position the reader attitudinally through (a) the 'provocation' of *lone*, *Tiananmen Square-style* and through (b) the negative associations of *brush aside* and *disrupt*.

Attitudinal provocation

In *lone*, *Tiananmen Square-style* we observe an instance of attitudinal provocation via analogy or metaphor. The author's subjective presence is made more salient as they intervene in the text to assert this likeness or similarity. Although they refrain from overtly characterising the protestor as 'courageous' or 'determined', they nevertheless indicate a positive disposition towards the protestor, at least for those readers with a knowledge of the Tiananmen Square protest and the way in which the Western media so consistently presented this as a heroic struggle by ordinary freedom-loving people against the totalitarian might of the Chinese government. The addition of *lone* here is particularly instrumental in this respect, recalling as it does the memorable image of the solitary demonstrator blocking the progress of a tank which was so widely reproduced in Western news coverage of the event. As a 'token' rather than an 'inscription' of attitude, the term, of course, still leaves the attitudinal positioning somewhat open. As a token, it relies on socially and culturally conditioned connections and inferences on the part of the reader, and where readers are not subject to that conditioning or consciously reject it, then these inferences will not be activated and an alternative reading may ensue. I note with interest that, when I use this text with my under-graduate media studies and linguistics students, there is a significant minority who do not read the extract as sympathetic towards the protestor. These are usually students who were under the age of five at the time of the Tiananmen Square protests and who report little or no knowledge of the incident. But even though, as a token, this formulation is open with respect to the attitudinal orientation being cultivated, as 'provoked' rather than 'evoked' attitude, it still reveals the hand of the author, so to speak, indirectly manoeuvring the reader towards a particular value position.

Work on the mechanisms of indirect attitudinal invocation is in its early days within the appraisal framework. But already it does appear that metaphor and other modes of analogy are an important source of meanings both in the language generally and within journalistic discourse. We have already observed another instance of such in Extract 1 above. There the anti-Blair protestors

were said to be *baying for the Prime Minister's blood*. This metaphor is obviously a highly salient subjective intervention in the text by the journalist author and yet he has still stopped just short of using explicit inscription to overtly condemn the protestors as, for example, 'menacing', 'vicious' or 'evil'.

The characterisation of events and states-of-affairs as contrary to expectation is another important mechanism of attitudinal provocation which I briefly now demonstrate. Consider the following two extracts. ('Edexcel' is a UK organisation which administers higher secondary school examinations.)

Extract 4A.

So incompetent and disorganised is Edexcel that two weeks ago it bungled and sent history and English papers to a maths tutor who was obviously not equipped or competent to mark them. Disturbingly, the board had still failed to retrieve the unmarked papers yesterday despite repeated efforts by the tutor to notify them of their mistake.

Extract 4B.

Two weeks ago, Elaine Davies, a mathematics tutor in Bedford, received two batches of history papers and a further batch of English papers from Edexcel, one of the three English examination boards, even though she has never worked as a marker. By yesterday morning, after repeated calls to the board, she still had the 149 unmarked scripts.

[original version of extract, from Cobuild Bank of English – UKNews sub-corpus: *The Times*]

The first extracted (concocted by me on the basis of Extract 4B) makes extensive use of inscribed attitude – for example, *incompetent*, *disorganised*, *bungle*. The original published version (4B) does not. It contains no such explicitly positive or negative terms. Nevertheless, it is attitudinal in that it positions the reader to view the examinations board in a negative light. It does this by (1) presenting facts which are likely, given a particular set of cultural assumptions and expectations, to be seen as evidence of incompetence or disorganisation (sending English and history papers to a maths tutor with no experience of marking), and (2) by including locutions which characterise the examination board's actions as unexpected, surprising or in some way untoward (for example, '*even though* . . .', '*she still* had . . .'). Thus an evaluative position is activated via a combination of experiential and interpersonal content, even while that interpersonal content does not of itself explicitly involve a negative or positive judgement.

Intensification is another important resource for attitudinal provocation. Consider the following news report opening sentence.

Thirty-one millionaire families in Australia receive the government payment designed to give extra help to single-income families.

While it is obviously highly likely that rhetorical intent will be read into the fact that this particular piece of information has been singled out for special attention and given prominence as the lead to a page 3 report in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the author has still confined himself to 'informational' content. It is up to the reader to see something amiss in single-income millionaire families receiving funding from this programme. This, then, is an example of informational, experiential content which evokes rather than provokes an attitudinal position. Consider, in contrast, the effect when we view the sentence in its original context, and especially when we consider the evaluative potential of the headline which originally preceded it.

Mega-rich reap child benefit

Thirty-one millionaire families in Australia receive the government payment designed to give extra help to single-income families.

The headline substantially increases the volume, with the intensification of *mega-rich* and *reap* signalling a high degree of authorial involvement in the proposition. While the headline is no more overtly positive or negative than the lead sentence is precedes, the heightened volume nonetheless clearly has the potential to signal that something attitudinal is at stake. Once again an authorial intervention – this time to increase the force or impact of the utterance – acts to indicate a particular attitudinal orientation.

Attitudinal associations

I turn now to terms which, while operating with certain attitudinal associations, are less fixed in the evaluative meanings they convey than the fully explicit inscriptions discussed above. The current anti-Chinese protest extract contains a couple of such terms – *brush aside* and *disrupt*. We need to be able to determine the degree *Anti-Chinese protests brushed aside* and *attempted to disrupt the Queen's procession* might be read as conveying approval/disapproval on the part of the author and accordingly, the potential they have to position the reader to take a negative or positive view of the protestor and the authorities who 'brushed him aside'.

Such terms are problematic for several reasons. Firstly they clearly carry some experiential (informational content). Thus *to brush aside* and *to disrupt* do both depict, with greater or less degrees of precision, acts in the material

world. Accordingly, as is quite often the case with attitudinal terms, especially attitudinal verbs, such terms simultaneously have an experiential and an interpersonal function. There are at least some attitudinal terms which do not have this multi-functionality. For example, *disgraceful* in *The government's behaviour is disgraceful* makes no reference to a condition or a quality of the experiential world. Its function is a purely interpersonal one of conveying authorial disapproval. What this means is that, with terms such as *brush aside* and *disrupt*, it is not possible to draw a clear line between experiential and attitudinal content, or that we have to acknowledge that these are experiential meanings which come with relatively stable attitudinal associations. In observing this phenomenon I am in somewhat similar territory to those corpus linguists who have been working on what is termed 'semantic prosody' or 'discourse prosody' (see for example, Sinclair 1991; Louw 1993 and Stubbs 1996). This work has demonstrated, for example, that even such apparently 'neutral' terms as *to cause* and *to undergo* have strong attitudinal associations and accordingly may activate positive or negative overtones.

With this in mind, I return to the case of *to disrupt*.

The first Chinese state visit in British history began yesterday with a[n] ... attempt to *disrupt* the royal procession in the Mall...

Above I mentioned the use of this text extract in my university teaching. As part of this teaching, I survey students on their responses to this and other text extracts, asking them to rank the extracts in terms of their 'subjectivity/objectivity' and to comment on any evaluative uses of language they can detect. Over the past five years in which I have been conducting the survey, there has always been a certain number of students who regard this use of *disrupt* as conveying a negative view of the protestor. These are almost always those students who have minimal or no knowledge of the Tiananmen Square protests and who, accordingly, do not read this depiction as indicating support for the protest on the part of the author. Obviously, reading position is one factor influencing these readers' interpretation. For those who are generally opposed to interruptions of royal processions we can presume that it won't matter whether the protestors are described as 'disrupting' the procession or whether more obviously 'factual' formulations are used – for example, 'the protestors attempted to put themselves in the way of the royal procession' or 'the protestors attempted to interrupt the progress of the royal procession'. In this we see the experiential content of the proposition at work. But the question remains as to whether by using the term 'disrupt' the writer adds an additional attitudinal element.

Certainly the Bank of English provides evidence of a strong association between *disrupt* and the passing of negative judgements. The majority of instances of *disrupt* in the Bank of English operate in such settings. For example,

We want to preserve grammar schools, which are renowned for academic results, sporting prowess and cultural achievements. Scrapping them would bring huge council tax rises and *disrupt* the lives of hundreds of thousands of children.

Coincidentally the warning was made public at a time when security chiefs have ordered a maximum alert after intelligence reports that the Real IRA intends to try to *disrupt* polling day in the general election.

And certainly this association can be seen as fixed definitively in the explicitly evaluative adjective, ‘disruptive’, typically found in such collocations as ‘disruptive influence’ and ‘disruptive element’. For example (from the Bank of English),

...trained the Afghan Mujaheddin and recruited tens of thousands of youths from all over the Islamic world to fight alongside them. Indocinated in Islamic seminaries, they later became violently *disruptive* elements in their own countries.

Imagine you are an employer who for years has struggled with a lazy, inefficient and *disruptive* employee who has suddenly been offered a job elsewhere on the strength of a good reference from you.

And yet the Bank of English also reveals that, in a minority of cases, *to disrupt* does not carry this negative sense – or at least in this minority of cases it does not encode censure on the part of the speaker/writer. Authorial disapproval is not indicated when the disruption is seen as merited, when, for example, the disruption is of some negatively evaluated activity or state of affairs. For example, (from the Bank of English)

As MPs return to Westminster, David Blunkett, the Home Secretary, and Gordon Brown, the Chancellor, will outline how the Government plans to change the law to “deter and *disrupt*” the work of terrorists in Britain.

Several scouts may have been disappointed to learn that Jermaine Jenas, their promising young midfield player, was out injured, but there was sufficient resilience and ability in their ranks to *disrupt* a sluggish Bolton, who rested most of the squad that has guided them to fifth place in the FA Barclaycard Premiership.

Crucially in these cases, the text explicitly adopts a negative view of those being disrupted – those disrupted are *terrorists* and *a sluggish Bolton*.

This potential for the deactivation of a default negativity (or at least its limitation to the perspective of the affected party) is a property which *disrupt* shares with a set of verbs which includes terms such as *damage*, *destroy*, *wreck* and *harm*. The Bank of English reveals that such terms are like *disrupt* in that they are associated with writer/speaker disapproval and censure in a large majority of instances. However an internet search reveals that, like *disrupt*, such terms are still subject to the deactivation (or the limitation) of their negative association. They need not encode authorial disapproval. For example,

1. **SECRETARY POWELL:** There has been a lot of Al Qaida activity, whether the overall threat is rising or if we are seeing a peak right now and then it will recede again, I don't know. We have *damaged* Al Qaida quite a bit by what we did in Afghanistan.

[www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2003/20909.htm]

2. In the wake of the Iraq campaign, a new terrorist war is under way, and Britain is in danger. Nick Fielding reports on our suburban bombers ...

The fact that another “kindly” young man from Britain’s Asian community was with him, strapped up in an explosive suicide pack, is even more chilling. Has a generation of Islamic killers grown up in our midst, made doubly effective by their British passports? There is a paradox here. The war in Iraq has not triggered the predicted terrorist revenge attacks in Britain and America, and, according to Washington, the CIA and US special forces have effectively *wrecked* Al-Qaeda. Yet the danger from fanatical Islamic terrorism seems never to have been so great.

[*The Times*, 5/5/2003]

3. The debit side begins with the question of Defensive Shield’s central goal: Have we succeeded in *harming* the terror infrastructure to an extent that will ensure a complete cessation, or at least an serious reduction in the scope of murderous attacks?

[*The Jerusalem Post*, 16/4/2002]

What this suggests is that a default operates in the language by which to construe an action as *disrupting*, *damaging* or *wrecking* is to indicate disapproval except in those cases where the default setting is deactivated, either by the text explicitly indicating that the disruption is justified or required (as above), or by the reader/listener holding this view of their own accord. This possibility leads to several conclusions about the evaluative mechanisms which operate

with such terms. To describe some object, state or process as *disrupted*, *damaged* or *wrecked* is obviously to pass negative judgement on that phenomenon in terms of its usual composition or condition. However, crucially, what we have here are instances of what, within appraisal theory, is an 'appreciation'. As indicated earlier, the appraisal framework regards as significant the distinction which separates normative assessments of human behaviour (judgements) from assessments of the form, presentation or appearance of objects and processes (appreciations). As 'appreciations', then, assessments that some object or process is *disrupted* or *damaged* are not value judgements which are directly targeted at human subjects. There is no direct normative assessment of human behaviour or character. However, when some human agent is depicted as having caused that *disrupted*, *damaged* or *wrecked* state, then it is usual for an inference to follow by which this agent is negatively assessed. It is usually 'wrong' to disrupt or to damage. The fact that it is, however, possible for this not to apply and for some 'disruptions' and 'damagings' to be regarded positively shows us that this attitudinal connection is not a necessary one. It shows us that negative assessment of the 'disrupter/damager' is not a fixed attitudinal value carried by 'disrupt' or 'damage'. Rather it is an effect which is only typically rather than universally associated with uses of such terms.

This case also points us to the need to allow that attitudinal effects may be carried, not by individual words (as is the case with terms such as *disgraceful*, *sham*, *man-handled*, *tyrant* etc.), but by phrases and syntagms. Thus with a term such as *to disrupt*, the evaluative effect can only be determined when the verb and its grammatical Object are considered together as a combination. When the Object of *to disrupt* has a positive attitudinal value or is unspecified attitudinally, then the combination will convey a negative assessment of the 'disrupter' (*John disrupted the class again.*) while this negative assessment will not apply when the Object carries negative value (*They disrupted the flow of drugs into the country.*).

What this all means for our analysis of the anti-Chinese protest extract is that we recognise that the formulation *a[n] attempt to disrupt the royal procession* must be seen as attitudinally open or ambiguous, given the attitudinal variability which we have shown to be a feature of the term *disrupt*. And for our more general concern with the evaluative mechanisms available to the journalist author, it means that we must acknowledge that such terms rely on reader inference for at least part of their attitudinal effect and hence should not be seen as operating with the same degree of attitudinal explicitness as attitudinally stable terms such as *disgraceful*, *betray*, *swindle*, *brutalise* or *tyrant*.

It should perhaps be noted that it is not only verbs which are typically associated with authorial disapproval/censure which demonstrate this property. We also find a similar process of default-attitude deactivation/limitation with some verbs which are typically positive in orientation. Consider by way of example, verbs such as 'to help', 'to assist', verbs which, of course, are typically positive. However, just as in the case of 'disrupt' or 'damage', this attitudinal default can be deactivated. For example,

U.S. intelligence officials believe that al-Zarqawi *helped* the terrorists who killed Mr. Foley, a U.S. diplomat, in Amman, Jordan, in October. [*Washington Post*, 10/6/2003 – www.washtimes.com/national/20030610-125659-6237r.htm]

The term *brush aside* is a somewhat similar case to *disrupt*. Interestingly however, while the term does seem to operate with some definite attitudinal associations, there is a much more even balance between possible positivity and possible negativity. Evidence from the Bank of English indicates that *brush aside* is frequently used in contexts where some action is being negatively construed and where there is the implication that the action is overly dismissive, negligent or authoritarian. For example,

However, in the long run, the child whose needs are met makes fewer demands than the child whose needs are suppressed or punished. Parents, even well-meaning, loving parents, often ignore or *brush aside* their child's needs because the parents are busy.

[Bank of English – brbooks/UK corpus]

This is certainly the sense I draw from *brushed aside* in the headline to this extract (*Anti-Chinese protest brushed aside*). I infer from this that the authorities responsible for the *brushing aside* have been heavy-handed and have shown scant regard for the protestor's right to free speech. Of course, I must acknowledge the influence of my own particular reading position – one which is generally supportive of anti-government protests and one which is specifically supportive of protests against the Chinese government's actions in Tibet. Against this, it is necessary to note that an opposite reading may be available to those working from a different reading position. In this regard I note that the Bank of English provides numerous instances where *brushing aside* operates with positive associations, with the 'brusher aside' presented as potent or resilient and the 'brushed aside' as weak or ineffective and/or in some other way unworthy. For example,

The only reason she hadn't connected them before was that Richard and Jeremy were poles apart as people. Compared to his son, Jeremy was nothing, just a small-time ex-pat, easy to *brush aside* and forget about completely.

Earlier, Todd must have been alarmed at the way his defence parted, allowing Fabian defreitas to *brush aside* a half-hearted challenge from Robbie Elliott and put West Brom ahead.

Accordingly, it may be possible, given a particular reading position, to read this opening headline as indicating a negative view of the protestors as weak, ineffective or poorly organised and perhaps even of the authorities as powerful and in control. This is, in fact the view taken by a minority of respondents to the reader response survey mentioned previously, typically those for whom *lone Tiananmen Square style* had no positive associations, and who read *attempt to disrupt* as condemnatory of the protestor.

Once again we see evaluative positioning via association and inference rather than by explicit authorial announcement. In this extract as a whole we also observe how an ultimate evaluative effect may depend on interactions between a series of these associative and inferential meanings. Thus, when *lone Tiananmen Square-style* is read as indicating approval for the protestor, then the other attitudinal tokens line up, so to speak, and also point in the direction of positive regard for his act of protest. However, should the potential positivity of *lone Tiananmen Square-style* not be taken up, then the remaining tokens may point in the opposite attitudinal direction.

Attribution and evaluative positioning

It turn now to another of the issues foreshadowed in the opening – rhetorical effects associated with explicitly evaluative material which is attributed to external sources. I am specifically concerned with the means by which authorial alignment with, or disalignment from, the reported value position may be signalled. Such mechanisms are, of course, a key evaluative mechanism in their own right, but also of interest is the way in which they interact with the types of meanings just discussed.

It is an obvious feature of news report that they make frequent use of quotation to introduce into the text all manner of accusations, criticisms, demands and contentious claims on the part of experts, politicians, community leaders, interested parties, eye-witnesses, victims and so on. The media's own view of

such an evaluative mechanism is that it is entirely compatible with authorial neutrality and objectivity. Thus, for example, the 'Journalism 101' web site of the *Dayton Daily News* states,

Quotes and their attributions present opinions of others objectively. Since it is difficult to know what people believe or feel, journalists report what people say they believe or feel. Such things are not to be assumed by the journalist. . . Attribution is needed when the facts presented are considered controversial or not common knowledge. If the basketball team wins its fourth game in a row, such a fact is common knowledge. But if the win was because the center played the best game of his career, the journalist needs to attribute that information to someone, perhaps the coach or a fan. If the reporter injects such information in a story without attribution, it is not objective. But if the reporter asks the coach if this is the center's best game ever, the reply is fact (whatever is said) because it was given by the coach.' [from <http://www.activedayton.com/ddn/nie/journalism/> accessed Oct. 27, 2002]

Such an account offers a simplistic formula by which the journalist author is absolved of any responsibility for evaluative material as long as that material has been attributed in some way to an external source. Many analysts, as a counter to such a characterisation, have noted that the very act of selecting a source and a particular sub-selection of their words for inclusion in the report carries with it evaluative and ultimately ideological consequences (see for example, Herman & Chomsky 2002; or Fairclough 1995). The act, by implication, construes the selected point of view as in some way significant, relevant or otherwise worthy of the mass media audience's attention. I take this as a given but seek to develop the discussion further by attending more narrowly to the mechanisms by which the reader can be positioned to regard some attributed material as more credible, reliable or plausible and other attributed material as less so. This is, in fact, a quite diverse topic which obviously cannot be comprehensively handled in the current context. Here I focus on just a few of the mechanisms available to the writer in order to demonstrate the potential evaluative functionality of attribution more generally. Specifically I consider the following:

authorial endorsement – where the reported value position is framed or projected by formulations which simultaneously align the authorial voice with that value position and, by implication, construe it as true or otherwise warrantable,

authorial distancing – where the reported value position is framed or projected by formulations which overtly distance the authorial voice from the attributed material and provide a signal that alternative or contrary viewpoints may be valid,

evidential standing – where the social standing or authority of the source is such that it can act as a sign (a token) that the associated value position is well-founded, reasonable or otherwise credible.

Authorial endorsement

In attitudinally unconstrained registers, it is always available to the writer to overtly declare their support from some reported proposition or point of view by declaring it to be true or false, credible or non credible, or by passing positive judgement on the reliability, honesty or wisdom of the source itself. For example,

The Archbishop of Canterbury *rightly* describes the mass killing of children as ‘the most evil kind of action we can imagine’

[*The New Statesman*, editorial, 13/09/04: 6]

Banerji, of course, was not among those recession deniers. Rather, he has *compellingly* argued that those so-called New Economists were a major contributor to the excesses of the bubble, as detailed here last week.

[www.thestreet.com, accessed 07/31/2002]

This option is usually not taken up in the more interpersonally constrained news reporting which is our current concern. It would have the obvious effect of foregrounding the subjective role of the journalistic author. Rather, more indirect mechanisms are preferred by which authorial alignment/disalignment may be indicated. Consider the following news report excerpt by way of illustration.

Dossier reveals Saddam is ready to launch chemical war strikes

SADDAM HUSSEIN’S armoury of chemical weapons is on standby for use within 45 minutes, the Government’s dossier on Iraq revealed today. He is developing missiles that could reach British military bases in Cyprus, as well as Israel and Nato members Greece and Turkey.

The Iraqi leader has also been secretly trying to buy uranium from Africa for use in nuclear weapons. [*The Evening Standard* (London), 24/9/2002]

Notice the use here of the verb *reveal* to report the assertion contained in the dossier that Iraq has an armoury of chemical weapons is on standby for use within 45 minutes. By his use of the term, the author presents this contentious and highly charged attitudinal token as something which only needed to be exposed. Before it was hidden but now it has been revealed, and hence can no longer be doubted. By this he implies that the proposition is true. *Reveal* is one of a group of reporting verbs and related words and phrases by which support by the author for the reported value position is implied and by which the reported proposition is held to be true, valid, reliable or plausible. Other formulations which are 'endorsing' in this way include verbs such as *demonstrate*, *show* and *indicate* and related formulations (for example nouns derived from these verbs such as *demonstration*). For example,

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

Here, by the use of the word *demonstrates*, the author represents as true the proposition that the mafia has forged links with Italy's ruling Christian Democrat party and is thereby implicated in this assertion. Such verbs have previously been discussed in the linguistics literature in terms of notions of 'factivity' (see for example Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1977). Within the appraisal framework they are classified as instances of authorial 'endorsement' – a sub-type of attribution within the 'engagement' system by which the speaker/writer is aligned vis-à-vis other voices, other value positions and the putative addressee. (See, for example, White 2002b; or Martin & White 2005, Chapter 3.)

The option of 'endorsement' is one which is taken up with some regularity in broadsheet news reporting. Consider the following extract from a report in the Sydney Morning Herald by way of a further example,

Health experts want the promotion of giveaway toys in food advertisements aimed at children to be restricted, after *evidence* the industry is flouting existing regulations supposed to control the practice. The standards let companies offer giveaways to promote their products, but the free offers, or 'premiums', must be 'incidental' to the main product, not a central feature of the ad. But a survey *has found* that 84 of 111 television food ads containing a free

offer breached that rule, with Kellogg, KFC and McDonald's the worst offenders. [The Sydney Morning Herald, 24/03/05]

Here the writer does not report that a study has *asserted*, *stated*, *reported* or *claimed* that advertisers are *flouting existing regulations*. Rather, she writes of *evidence* that this *flouting* has occurred and reports that the study has *found* that Kellogg, KFC and McDonald's are *the worst offenders*. While this use of the term *evidence* is still epistemically open (evidence may or may not be definitive), it nevertheless still acts to lend credence to the assertions here being reported by presenting them as well-founded. The term *found* goes one step further towards 'factivity', as the authors of the study are presented, not as asserting this negative proposition, but as having *found* it to be true. Readers of such a text are therefore more strongly conditioned to regard the allegations against the food companies as 'proven' than if the allegations had simply being reported.

Authorial distancing

It is equally available to the writer, at least in interpersonally unconstrained registers, to indicate their rejection or disapproval of attributed material via explicitly attitudinal meanings. For example,

1. TODAY we expose how the *Daily Mail* printed *a pack of lies* about the Duke and Duchess of York on their Spanish holiday... The paper *wrongly* claims the royals had rowed about carrying the luggage and said the relationship between the "disunited" Duke and Duchess is "borne along on an undercurrent of bitterness and recrimination". [The Mirror, 6/9/2002]
2. You were making the *outlandishly stupid assertion* that the women's team couldn't beat a good high school club team...

Once again, this option is not typically taken up in the attitudinally constrained news reporting which is our current concern, with journalistic authors preferring more indirect mechanisms. Consider by way of illustration the following.

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

Notice that the views of Tickner (who at the time was the minister for Aboriginal Affairs in the Australian government) are reported via the verb *said*, while the views of the Aboriginal woman are reported via the verb *claim*. Consider the effect if this arrangement had been reversed.

(rewritten)

Tickner *has claimed* that regardless of the result, the royal commission was a waste of money and he would proceed with a separate inquiry into the issue headed by Justice Jane Matthews. His attack came as the Aboriginal women involved in the case demanded a female minister examine the religious beliefs which they *say* are inherent in their fight against a bridge to the island near Goolwa in South Australia.

I believe that this contrast demonstrates that there is a systematic difference between *to claim* and more ‘neutral’ reporting verbs such as *to say* in terms of authorial support for the attributed proposition. Both formulations ground the proposition in the contingent subjectivity of some external source, thus shifting responsibility for the proposition away from the speaker/writer and construing the value position as but one position among a range of possible points of view. However, they are different in that *to claim* actively distances the writer from the attributed material, presenting them as withholding support for the proposition, while *to say* and related locutions are ‘neutral’ in that, of themselves, they present the writer neither as supportive of, or unsupportive of, the proposition. The neutral *to say* formulations are labelled instances of ‘acknowledgement’ in the appraisal framework and *to claim* and related formulations as instances of ‘distancing’.

It is frequently the case that distancing locutions such as *to claim* will be used when the writer/speaker is elsewhere in the co-text indicating an outright rejection of the attributed material, characterising it, for example, as untrue, deceitful, unreliable or ill-informed. For example,

Don’t forget that 8mb of RAM in your PC is a practical minimum – 2mb is recommended and *the 4mb Microsoft claims is usable* is just ridiculous.

[Bank of English, New Scientist sub-corpus]

However, I note that the locution *to claim*, does not, of itself, necessary act to characterise the attributed material it frames as false or doubtful, but rather does this as the result of interactions with other nearby meanings. This is demonstrated in the following extract.

- (1) Apartheid city: Former CRE [Commission for Racial Equality] boss condemns both sides of the divide.
- (2) The damning verdict on a community torn apart by segregation – and warnings that were spurned
- (3) ALL sides of the racial divide must take the blame for turning Bradford into a terrifying hotbed of fear and ignorance, an inquiry has found.
- (4) Days after rioting left 200 police officers injured and caused GBP 25 million damage, a team led by race equality campaigner Lord Herman Ouseley delivered a verdict that damned almost every section of its society.
- (5) The rot runs deep, with Asians, whites, schools, the police and the local authority all told to take responsibility for the crisis.
- (6) The report depicted Bradford as a city in which ‘weak’ political leaders ‘kowtow’ to community leaders to keep the peace in a ‘doing deals’ culture.
- (7) Schools are places of ‘virtual apartheid’ where racial conflict, harassment and ‘Islamaphobia’ thrive.
- (8) Racism is fuelled by inadequate education about different cultures and ‘parental prejudices’.
- (9) Communities have little, if anything, to do with people outside their own race or religion, *it is claimed*. . . [Daily Mail, 13/09/01]

Here, the writer initially indicates strong support for the assertions outlined in the report by the CRE. For example, these are said to constitute a damning verdict and hence are construed as carrying significant rhetorical weight, since *verdict* evokes notions of due judicial deliberation and *damning* implies the power to condemn. Similarly the writer chooses to declare that the inquiry has *found* that these conditions apply in Bradford rather than choosing to simply report what the report states or asserts. These initial formulations have an endorsing functionality, presenting the writer as generally supportive of a credible and compelling report. Accordingly, it would be incoherent, or at least inconsistent, for the writer to reverse this stance, and a few sentences later (in 9) to suggest that the report’s assertions are in some way dubious or wrong. Certainly I don’t read the *it is claimed* in 9 as indicating that the reported propositions are doubtful. Rather I read it as a rhetorical gesture on the part of the writer by which, for a brief textual moment, he signals his distance from the attributed material, thereby putting on a show of journalistic neutrality and impartiality.

Nevertheless, it is often the case that *to claim* is used in news reports of the type we are currently considering to undermine a given source and to indirectly signal lack of support for their value position. Here contrast is often a

crucial ingredient with the value position of a more favoured source typically being framed by means of neutral 'acknowledgement' such as *say, reported, declare, believe*, with the distancing effects of *to claim* only being applied to the propositions of less favoured sources.

Evidential standing

I turn finally to one remaining mechanism by which readers can be positioned to regard attributed material as true, credible or otherwise warrantable. This mechanism operates even when a 'neutral' acknowledging locution is employed. Consider by way of example, the following.

Most scientists now believe that the apparent fossils inside a Martian rock that landed in Antarctica were chemical artefacts, not evidence of biological activity as reported in August 1996.

Here the reader is positioned to view as highly warrantable the proposition that *the apparent fossils inside a Martian rock that landed in Antarctica were chemical artefacts*. This positioning follows from the nature of the source with whom the proposition is associated. In this case that source is presented as being a large grouping, specifically the majority of experts in the relevant field who presumably can be relied upon in this instance. I propose the term 'evidential standing' as a label for this effect. The elevated evidential standing associated with *most scientists* acts, at least potentially, to heighten the warrantability of the proposition. Of course, it must be noted that such formulations can only act as attitudinal 'tokens' of reliability or credibility. They do not constitute explicit assessments and accordingly still leave it up to the reader, depending on their reader position, to apply or not to apply this inference.

A related effect can be observed in the following,

Nelson Mandela has stated that "Palestinians are not struggling for a "state" but for freedom, liberation and equality, just like we were struggling for freedom in South Africa."

Here the evidential standing is a matter of the social status of the source (Nelson Mandela). Mandela's standing in the community has the potential to act as an attitudinal token by which the proposition attributed to Mandela will be regarded as highly warrantable, depending, of course, on the values and beliefs the reader brings to their reading of the text.

Intriguingly, a similar effect can often be achieved when the speaker/writer indicates that a viewpoint is that of some external source but does not state specifically who that source is. For example,

Domestic problems such as child abuse and neglect, broken homes, and runaway youth jeopardize the health of children. In 1992, 2.9 million children in the United States were *reportedly* abused, neglected, or both.

[Bank of English, US academic sub-corpus]

But the fynbos is not just beautiful. Like tropical rainforest, it *is believed* to be a rich repository of natural medicines

[Bank of English – New Scientist sub-corpus]

Here, *reportedly* and *it is believed* potentially give rise to the inference that the source for these propositions is so diverse and widely spread that it does not need to be more narrowly specified. These and similar formulations thus construe the proposition they frame as highly warrantable, even while nevertheless removing direct responsibility for the proposition from the writer.

Concluding remarks

The framework I am proposing, then, is designed to identify the mechanisms by which the attitudinally constrained, largely attitudinally inexplicit news reporting of the broadsheet media acquire the potential to position the reader to favour a particular value position. Key devices here involve the use of meanings which, as attitudinal tokens, invoke rather than inscribe attitudinal assessments and the use of forms of attribution to indirectly indicate authorial alignment with, or disalignment from, externally sourced value positions. These invocations involve mechanisms of inference and attitudinal association, and vary in the degree to which the writer can be seen to be subjectively intervening in the text. I propose the label *evocation* where no subjective intervention on the part of the author is immediately apparent and the label *provocation* where the subjective intervention is apparent in the form of, for example, analogy, intensification or counter-expectation. These attitudinal tokens frequently interact with each other, with any explicit attitudinal inscriptions which may be present and with externally sourced evaluations as a particular attitudinal orientation is established for the text as a whole. I believe that this framework takes us beyond analytical methodologies which have hitherto been available in that it provides for an explicit and principled account of both explicitly and implicitly evaluative meanings and the ways in which they interact in text. The more

implicitly evaluative mechanisms are of particular interest to those concerned with ideology in that they provide means by which particular points of view and value orientations can be made to seem to arise naturally from apparently 'factual' informational content.

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Identity and stance taking in news interviews

A case study*

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My aim is to examine how co-participants in news interviews simultaneously use membership categories as a resource and use them for constructing and negotiating identities when they engage in taking stances. I draw on a combination of conversation analysis and a “theory of stance.” This approach views stance taking as an intersubjective activity, rather than as an expression of an individual or personal stance. It is shown that often when speakers take stances they recycle the language by their co-participants. From this vantage point, I look at two examples from *Crossfire* (CNN) and show, on the one hand, how identity work becomes manifest in the interlocutors’ actions and turn-taking and, on the other hand, how they negotiate and constitute identities for non-present third parties in talk-in-interaction.

Keywords: News interviews, membership categories, identity, stance, conversation analysis, intersubjectivity

Introduction

In this chapter I investigate identity as it is worked up for a non-present person by the interviewer and the interviewee in a news interview question/answer sequence. The two extracts from CNN’s *Crossfire*¹ below represent a case in which a transportable (in this case an ethnic) identity is first topicalized in the opening of the interview and then used as a resource, negotiated and constructed in the course of the interview. Identity has received a lot of attention for example in social sciences, linguistics and anthropology. Various studies have looked at how categories and identities are negotiated and constructed in discourse, but approached the notion in notably divergent ways.² In the following I concentrate on one instance of how an ethnic category is invoked and constructed in

a news interview by looking at how the interviewer (henceforth IR) and the interviewee (IE) negotiate the category as a central part of a stance-taking activity.³ My aim is first to show how identity becomes such a forceful issue in the course of interviewing that it affects the trajectory of talk by occasioning an intervention by the IR. Second, I show how identity is negotiated as part of the co-participants' stance taking and constituted through the participants' dialogic use of syntactic structures (i.e. dialogic syntax Du Bois 2001b).

In news interviews category terms and identities are used for pigeonholing people into groups based on the various institutions, human groups or occupational affiliations they represent. I suggest that a micro-analytic empirical analysis of the uses of categorical terms and identities as part of the interlocutors' stance taking can show us how social structure and ideology are constructed and managed locally in talk-in-interaction. In other words, ideology enters the people's everyday lives as part of their everyday conduct and everyday use of language. Here I present a case study from a news interview in which several categories are introduced in the IR's opening of the interview. After this I examine one segment from the interview in which the categories are used as resources for the co-interactants' stance taking. I connect the use of the categories to the participants' stance taking and show that the way in which the co-participants use and negotiate the categories as part of their stances affects the sequential organization of talk. A central part of how the categories are constructed is the way in which the interactants recycle and dialogically use each other's linguistic, especially syntactic, features. I draw on an approach that combines conversation analysis (henceforth CA) and a discourse-functional "theory of stance" (Du Bois 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004) and the related methods of dialogic syntax (Du Bois 2001b). Although these two approaches have different objectives, they do also have convergent goals in looking at the practices interactants use in spoken language in real interactional situations.

In the next section I briefly discuss a small part of the research undertaken on membership categories and identities. After that I offer a brief cross-section of how stance taking can be investigated with the help of CA and the "theory of stance,"⁴ and then connect this with a suggestion of how the construction of identities can be studied in light of this approach. With the help of the examples I show how a category is first invoked in the interview opening and then used as resource in the interview as part of the interactants' stance taking. I also show that the use of a particular membership category, and what that category implies for the participants, affects the turn-taking organization. And finally I show that we can trace the activity of negotiating an identity for a person in looking at how the interlocutors use and engage with linguistic structures used

by their interlocutors. I hope to provide some insights into how the study of categorization and the construction of (in this case an ethnic) identity could be undertaken by considering the social actions interactants produce and the dialogical use of the linguistic features of talk. Thus, I suggest that by looking at these processes it is possible to further our understanding of how sociocultural meanings, values and belief systems – and hence ideology – are constituted in interaction.

Categories and identities in talk-in-interaction

Interlocutors use different categorical terms to cast themselves and others into different groups. Much of the recent work on categorization has been influenced by Harvey Sacks and his work on *membership categorization devices* (MCD).⁵ Sacks noticed that humans continuously categorize others and use language to “arrange and rearrange the objects of the world into collections of things” (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998b). Sacks proposed several rules and maxims for the operation of the categorization devices: (1) a single category (e.g. ‘a baby’ or ‘a mother’) from an MCD (‘a family’) may be sufficient to satisfactorily describe a person (*economy rule*) (Sacks 1972:333); (2) if a category of a collection has been used to categorize one person in a collection, then that category or other categories from that device may be used to categorize other members of the collection (*consistency rule*) (ibid.); (3) people tie particular activities to certain categories so that an identity may be inferred from knowledge of an activity (*category-bound activities*).

Categories and categorization are then important elements of identity-construction in discourse, because they can be used as resources for constructing an identity for oneself or for someone else (cf. Fant 2001b). As Antaki and Widdicombe (1998b:3) claim, “for a person to ‘have an identity’ (...) is to be cast into a category with associated characteristics or features” and that “such casting is indexical and occasioned.”

However, identities are neither stable nor fixed but rather emergent and dynamic and situationally negotiated in discourse (cf. Fant 2001a; Hall 1996; McIlvenny 2002; Moerman 1988, 1993; Piirainen-Marsh 2002) or more specifically in situated talk-in-interaction (e.g. Fant 2001a; Piirainen-Marsh 2002). For example, Moerman (1993:85) says that “the work of producing ethnicity and identity involves both durable culture and *momentary contingencies of interaction*” [my italics]. Similarly, Antaki and Widdicombe (1998a:2) claim that

membership of a category is ascribed (and rejected), avowed (and disavowed), displayed (and rejected), in local places and at certain times, and it does these things as part of the interactional work that constitutes people's lives (...) People [do not] passively or latently have this or that identity which then causes feelings and actions, but (...) they work up and work to this or that identity, for themselves and others, there and then, either as an end in itself or towards some other end.

However, it is worth noting that one person can be described with several categories with certain features and therefore several identities can be at play simultaneously (see Note 17, below). Moreover, particular identities are not salient or relevant at all times, but rather several identities are potentially at work simultaneously whereas others never become relevant in an interactional situation (cf. Schegloff 1997).

Many of the above-mentioned studies (e.g. Antaki & Widdicombe 1998b; Piirainen-Marsh 2002) concentrate on the interactional side of identity-construction and use CA methods for investigating identity in interaction. This CA/ethnomethodological approach holds that identity is only relevant when interlocutors display an understanding of some aspect of identity or when it affects the unfolding interaction (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998b:5; see also Schegloff 1997). Some of this work quite explicitly avoids looking at transportable identities which relate to visible (physical) or oriented-to (socio-cultural) marks, i.e. gender and ethnicity (e.g. Zimmerman 1998:90) or claims that CA should be used with circumspection if used for examining transportable identities (Heritage & Zimmerman 2001).⁶ Nevertheless, as is shown in the examples below, occasionally a close analysis of the sequential organization of talk shows that these identity types are relevant for speakers.⁷

As has been noted above, I also look at how an ethnic identity is negotiated and constructed in a question/answer sequence in a news interview. As Moerman (1993:91–92) claims, different kinds of categories, titles and labels have meanings for speakers. One way to try to uncover these meanings is to examine situated use of language and grammar. Ochs (1992:413) claims that interlocutors have a reserve of linguistic structures they can use to *index*, for example, *a particular identity*. Ochs (1992:414) continues that indexical meaning does not just involve the perception of a single linguistic form, but

rather the situational interpretation of any one linguistic form is an outcome of its *relation to co-occurring linguistic forms in the prior and present discourse structure*, to subjective understanding of the prepositional content of the utterances thus far and of the activity these utterances are constituting (...).

[my italics]

My aim is to provide additional evidence for Ochs' observation by outlining below an approach for investigating stance taking. This approach is fruitful for examining how interactants react to and negotiate identities in interaction and, moreover, for showing how this negotiation is dynamically accomplished through language use. In sum, in the examples below I start from a category that is used to describe a person and which is used to categorize other persons as well (see Sacks' MCD maxims above). I then show how the use of a category term affects the trajectory of the interlocutors' turn-taking, and then examine how the interlocutors negotiate and construct an identity to a person that has earlier been described with that particular category term. These activities are produced through the interlocutors' use of dialogic syntax when they engage in taking stances about the person they are talking about.

From 'subjective' stance to 'intersubjective' stance taking

In previous research the expression of stance (speaker attitude, position or standpoint) has been understood as an act in which a speaker/writer conveys her inner and subjective view about a state-of-affairs. However, recently more focus has been given to stance *taking* as an intersubjective activity in which at least two interlocutors negotiate their stances by engaging and aligning with and modifying a stance proposed in the immediate prior talk. Stance taking is indeed a pervasive phenomenon in talk-in-interaction (Du Bois 2000, 2002b; Haddington 2004, to appear; Kärkkäinen 2003; Kärkkäinen et al. to appear). The way interactants take stances is two-fold. First, interactants rely on a multitude of linguistic and embodied practices to express their stances. The linguistic features have real indices in the sociocultural world with attached meanings, values, belief systems and ideological values. Second, an expression of a stance is always part of a social action (a question, an answer, or an agreement, etc.) which is produced with the help of these linguistic and embodied practices. These practices and actions are produced within an interactional context and thus become meaningful for the co-interactants in the sequential environment of interaction in which they are produced. In similar vein, interactants take stances in an interactional context and the stances they take are only understood in that interactional moment in time. Therefore, stance taking should neither be understood as an act of an individual in which she expresses views of her interior state of mind, nor only as the ways in which speakers use single linguistic features (e.g. stance adverbials, modal verbs, noun phrases) to display their stances (cf. Biber & Finegan 1988; Biber et al. 1999). Rather, stance

taking is an emergent, contingent and intersubjective activity. Below I present two approaches whose combination can be used for investigating stance taking in talk-in-interaction.

Conversation Analysis and news interviews

CA examines the (linguistic and embodied) practices interactants use to produce social actions (e.g. a question; an assessment) and action sequences (a question-answer sequence; first assessment-second assessment action sequence, etc.) in talk-in-interaction. Consequently, CA's interest is not in talk as language, but talk as action (Psathas 1995: 53). CA looks at how speakers organize their actions *in situ* by orienting to different "rules" in interaction, for example to the rules of turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974). The primary aim of CA is thus to

discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with a central focus being on how sequences of actions are generated. To put it another way, the objective of CA is to uncover the tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction.

(Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998: 14)

As prior CA research has shown, an action is usually occasioned by a prior action and occasions and even prefers particular next actions. In other words, by producing particular actions and designing them in particular ways, interactants display their understandings of their co-participants' actions. Hence, social actions are the basic building blocks of intersubjectivity in talk-in-interaction and no instances of talk should be looked at in isolation, but rather in relation to the happenings in the surrounding sequential context of interaction (Heritage 1984: 259).

CA has also been used in an "applied" sense by looking at different forms of institutionalized interactions, for example news interviews. There are two notable differences between everyday conversation and news interview interaction. The first is the way in which the turn-taking is sequentially organized into questions and answers. The second concerns the distinctive pre-established system of turn allocation (ten Have 1999: 163), i.e. that the IR asks the questions and the IE answers them (Clayman 1988, 2002; Clayman & Heritage 2002; Greatbatch 1992; Heritage 1985; Heritage & Greatbatch 1991).⁸ Consequently, the IR's and the IE's stance taking in news interviews needs to be viewed in rela-

tion to the institutionalized turn-taking order in these data, because it is these norms that organize their stance taking (Haddington 2004, under review).

Stance taking and the discourse-functional “theory of stance”

The “theory of stance” is based on the discourse-functional view of language (Du Bois 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004). Discourse-functional linguistics examines

grammatical data in terms of functional considerations, that is, in terms of the ways in which language functions as a tool for human communication.

(Thompson in Schegloff et al. 1996)⁹

Within this framework, Du Bois (2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004) approaches stance as a shared intersubjective activity in spoken discourse. This means that stance is *not* analyzed by looking at the decontextualized lexical and semantic expressions of stance. For Du Bois (*ibid.*) taking a stance is a tri-act in which at least two speakers utter stances about one or more stance objects by building on, modifying and aligning with stances taken by prior speakers. Simultaneously they position themselves relative the stance object and the surrounding sociocultural world (see also Haddington 2004).

Within this framework, linguistic (morphosyntactic, lexical and prosodic) units are conceived of not only to be found within sentences, clauses or in phrases. Rather, as Du Bois (2001b) claims, speakers often negotiate their stances by recycling linguistic structures from a prior utterance, notwithstanding the stance the dialogic partners adopt in relation to each other. Therefore, the use of linguistic units in spoken discourse is viewed as a dialogical process and as an extended activity evolving over a series of turns, where linear grammar, as it is used by interactants, is paralleled with the grammar of co-present dialogic partners. Since speakers of the same culture and language (*cf.* Du Bois 2001b) share the knowledge of how linguistic structures are used in interaction and what these structures mean and index in terms of broader sociocultural knowledge, they understand the linguistic structures used by their co-interactants and are able to build upon them and the sociocultural meanings attached to them. As Du Bois (2001b) shows, different linguistic resources, as they are used by speakers in spoken discourse, resonate and compose patterns, formal relationships and new equations which are invisible to traditional linear grammar.

This kind of paradigmatic analysis – that Du Bois calls Dialogic Syntax (Du Bois 2001b) – shows that when two or more linguistic forms (or signifiers) engage with each other, new local meanings (or signifieds) emerge and

are made relevant by the speakers. To put it differently, this way of examining language is useful in looking at how various language practices encode or index sociocultural information.¹⁰ Such information, as Ochs (1992:409) claims, is typically not made explicit. Therefore, by looking at instances where speakers take stances by recycling linguistic structures, we can begin to find small fragmental pieces of information about society, culture and ideology (including negotiation of identities and categories) as they have been constructed by interactants in interaction. Consequently, instead of considering subjective motivations for why one signifier is used (or why a particular indexical is used to index a category) instead of another, it is worth looking at how new situated and emergent boundaries for a particular identity arise from the parallel use of particular linguistic forms. As Du Bois (1998) suggests,

we can start to see precisely *how* social actors enact culture through patterned speaking and patterned action, when we look at how grammar functions in discourse. The relation of grammar to speaking provides a powerful model for the relation of culture to practice. We've begun to see how grammatical pattern can constitute cultured roles capable of abstracting from what fills them, and how it can link one role to the next to form an intricate network of cultured relations (...) if we reconceive of grammar and culture in terms of the carrying power of pattern, we may come to understand the means by which we create, together with our dialogic partners, the web of relations that gives meaning to social life.

One central tool in Dialogic Syntax is the diagraph. Du Bois (2001b) claims that diagraphs can be used to depict and illustrate relations between utterances (or intonation units, to be specific) within or across speaker turns and to show, on the one hand, how speakers use each other's syntax to construct their own utterances and, on the other hand, how sociocultural information functions in the use of language. In a diagraph (see analysis section) those linguistic structures are aligned with each other that are recycled, parallel, or which engage with each other.

In sum, dialogic syntax and diagraphs provide a practical method for perceiving and understanding culture, as it is constructed through patterned linguistic structures and syntax, as emergent construct.

Stance taking as intersubjective and sequential activity

The two approaches (conversation analysis and the "theory of stance") described above should not be viewed as mutually exclusive, but rather as approaches that can be used together for describing and understanding how

co-participants engage in mutual, dialogical and intersubjective stance taking in talk-in-interaction. In spite of the differences, both rely on empirical and close analysis of actual data. In addition to this, both ascribe to the idea of strong engagement between interlocutors. To put it differently, an interlocutor's understanding of the actions by a prior speaker not only affects but also constrains her behavior (cf. Heritage 1984:254).

Stance *taking* – as the term implies – is here understood as a sequential and dynamic *activity* in which interlocutors evaluate and assess, and position themselves in relation to their co-participants, objects of talk and the surrounding world. Stance taking becomes manifest in the interactants' actions and their use of various linguistic (Du Bois 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004) and embodied (see Haddington 2002, to appear) practices. In other words, a stance-taking activity (not an action, see Haddington 2004) usually comprises several turns with a particular topical focus.

But for the analysis of stance taking, one should obtain an understanding of the concurrent sequential actions and activities that the interactants produce. This is because it is the sequentially unfolding actions and activities that organize the interlocutors' stance taking. After this a close analysis of language and syntax can provide additional information about the interlocutors' stances and the sociocultural values and beliefs they hold relative to categories and identities.

As has been discussed above already, *intersubjectivity* and *dialogicality* are important notions for both CA and the "theory of stance." Based on earlier work in CA and the "theory of stance," Haddington (2004) suggests that there are two ways of understanding intersubjectivity in relation to stance taking: First, stances are taken and expressed on the basis of stances taken by co-participants in prior talk (*backward-type intersubjectivity*) and second, by taking into account who the recipients or co-participants are (*forward-type intersubjectivity*).¹¹ Interactants continuously monitor each other to probe for a variety of possible goals, which is manifested in their language use and other actions – and, therefore, also in the way they take stances. In other words, a speaker's choice of a linguistic element does not only reflect her goal with respect to the listener's interests, but also to the fact

the speaker knows that the listener shares with her these same choices for
construal (...) all available simultaneously. (Tomasello 1999b:517)

Linguistic symbols are therefore intersubjective.

With this in mind, in the following I consider how stance taking, categorization and identities can be examined in practice, and how categoriza-

tion and identity-ascription become vehicles for more global tasks of constructing ideology.

Analysis

The following examples come from CNN's *Crossfire*. In this extract the IRs Paul Begala and Tucker Carlson interview James Zogby, who is the president of the Arab-American Institute. They talk about an incident that took place two days before the program was broadcast. In this incident an Arab-American secret service agent, who also was President George W. Bush's personal agent, was removed from a flight bound from Baltimore, MD to Dallas, TX. Since this incident occurred close after the terrorist attacks to New York and Washington in September 11, 2001, it raised major concerns and debates about racial profiling, and possible racism and prejudice against Arab-American people. In example (1) below I briefly consider how an ethnic category is introduced and thus made relevant in the interview opening. In example (2) I investigate how the same category is further used as a resource for constructing an identity for the person being talked about.

Introducing categories in news interview openings

Clayman (1991) and Clayman and Heritage (2002) claim that news interview openings tend to follow a particular sequential organization which both presents the agenda for the interview and connects it with the relevant events of the day. One practice that IRs rely on in order to do this is the use of referential and descriptive terms. In example (1) below, the IR opens up the discussion and uses a particular descriptive form, which also invokes a category, as part of the opening sequence. After that the category which is invoked in the opening is used as a resource for negotiating and constructing a dubious identity later in the interview.¹²

- (1) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec. 27, 2001: Racial profiling
IR: Paul Begala, IE: James Zogby (003 / 4 / 0:08)
- 1 ((INTRO MUSIC)) (7.5)
2 ((INTRO MUSIC CONTINUES IN THE BACKGROUND))
3 IR: ^We=lcome back to Cross'fi<CREAK>re</CREAK>,
4 ^I'm ^Paul 'Begala,

5 <A>'sitting in on the ^left?
 6 (H) An ^Arab-'American 'Secret Service agent,
 7 'heading to ^Texas,
 8 to 'protect President ^Bush,
 9 ...(0.3) was ^barred,
 10 from a ^flight on 'Tuesday.
 11 ... (H) The ^pilot,
 12 who 'threw the agent ^off the plane says,
 13 there were ^major 'discrepancies,
 14 in the ^fo=rms,
 15 the ^agent 'filled out,
 16 .. in 'order to 'carry his ^service revolver,
 17 on the plane.
 18 ...(0.6) But civil ^rights 'groups say,
 19 it appears to be ^racial,
 20 and 'religious ^profiling.
 21 ...(0.6) Joining us to ^discuss this 'situation,
 22 is ^Dr. 'James ^Zo=gby?
 23 He is the ^president,
 24 of the ^Arab-American 'Institute?
 25 ...(0.5) ^Tucker?

The organization of the above opening follows the fixed sequential structure of news interview openings (Clayman 1991; Clayman & Heritage 2002). First, after introducing himself, the IR produces a headline (lines 6–10) which functions as a news announcement. Then the IR provides more detailed information about the story in lines 11–20. Such story segments often contain “background” stances (or third-party attributed statements, cf. Clayman & Heritage 2002:155) which are attributed either to third-party individuals or groups, and which often represent opposite views to the topical agenda introduced in the headline. In the above example such stances are attributed to *The ^pilot*, (in line 11) and *civil ^rights 'groups* (in line 18). Finally, in what is called a lead-in, and which is usually the final component of the opening sequence, the IR introduces the guest (in lines 21–24) and explicitly voices the connection between the IR and global stance object (*this 'situation*, on line 21). All of these different parts are carefully designed to be connected to each other and they establish a framework and are later used as resources by the IRs and IEs in their stance taking.

In the above extract the frame is introduced with the help of several category terms. The use of these terms to describe and identify guests is a recurrent practice in news interview openings (cf. Clayman 1991:57). This is usually done in connection with the IR's introduction, i.e. when the title and the guest's name, like ^Dr. 'James ^Zo=gby? in line 22, is coupled with these descrip-

tive terms, like *the ^president, of the ^Arab-American 'Institute?* in lines 23–24 (Clayman 1991:53). However, the above example contains also several other descriptive terms that evoke categories and group people into different categories, namely *An ^Arab-'American 'Secret Service agent*, (line 6) ... *(H) The ^pilot*, (line 11) and *But civil ^rights 'groups* (line 18). This seems to suggest that here the task of the opening is to project an agenda in which particular categories are topicalized and made relevant for the subsequent interview. Descriptive terms or categories play a central role for the news interview interaction in news interview openings. Clayman (1991:57) suggests that they construct and shape the actual interaction between the local interactants in the news interview, whereas Piirainen-Marsh (2002: 11) says they contribute to the interpretive framework through which the audience makes sense of the topic. Roth (1998) also claims that the practice of person-description is both an indication of the IE's newsworthiness for the current interview and displays the IE's status as an expert.

As we see in the example, a racial category in particular (among other categories like "secret service agent," "pilot" and "civil rights groups") is made relevant on two occasions. In the first case, ethnicity is deemed a relevant attribute for the agent, because he was personally involved in the incident and his identity is regarded as one potential thrust of the whole incident (see line 6). The second time, the ethnic category (as part of an organizational affiliation) is attributed to the IE (see line 24). The mention of this categorical term acts to justify the IE's participation in the program by implying that he has knowledge that is relevant for the program's topic and that he is certified to comment on it (cf. Clayman & Heritage 2002:68–72; Fitzgerald & Housley 2002:596). The reference to the IE as *the ^president, of the ^Arab-American 'Institute?* is such a powerful category that even though IRs in news interviews usually say where the IEs stand in relation to a topic (Clayman & Heritage 2002:71), there is no need to further elaborate that the IR advocates the view of the "civil rights groups." The category is thus deemed relevant and adequate for the audience. It is the use of the category-term "Arab-American" that eventually sets up a position for the IE in terms of the stance he is expected to adopt in the interview. In other words, he is expected to speak on behalf of a third person, because he and the third person belong to the same the racial category.

Categorization as a resource for constructing an identity in a stance-taking sequence

In the following I first discuss how the use of a categorical term affects the trajectory of talk and then show how the talk and the dialogic use of syntactic structures constitutes an identity for the person that is being talked about. In other words, I move away from looking at how the IR locally describes the IE as a public person (cf. Roth 1998) and consider how the IR and the IE construct and negotiate identities for third persons who are not present in the interview. The following example ensues approximately one minute after the opening. Just prior to the talk in the following extract, the IE comments on the IR's introductory question and claims that the agent had been upset about the incident. After this the IE reiterates and emphasizes the agent's identity *as an agent* and that the agent was indeed working for the president, thus belonging to the "cream of the crop" of agents. Then the IE gives his view of the incident, after which we get the following:

(2) CNN, *Crossfire*, Dec. 27, 2001: Racial profiling

IR: Tucker Carlson, IE: James Zogby (003 / 4 / 1:21)

- 79 IR: [Wait a 'second],
 80 IE: ^Be]fore I 'start ^getting hate mail,
 81 coming in,
 82 because ^people 'say,
 83 I'm not ^sensitive.
 84 (H) (0.6) ^We 'believe,
 85 ^scrutiny is 'going to be important,
 86 and 'we ^understa=nd,
 87 ^what September eleventh 'meant,
 88 in ^terms of 'people looking,
 89 and ^taking a 'second look at at,
 90 ^people of 'Arab 'descent,
 91 (H) (0.8) But a ^Secret 'Service 'agent,
 92 [A ^guy who] --
 93 IR: [Wait,
 94 'wait a] --
 95 IE: [2who has2] ^passed --
 96 IR: [2'<A>No no2].
 97 .. No,
 98 (0) <A>you're ^missing the 'distinction.
 99 This is interes% --
 100 He ^said he was a 'Secret Service agent.
 101 'Mohamed 'Atta said he was a ^crop duster.
 102 The ^point is,
 103 <MRC> ^we= 'don't 'kno=w </MRC>,

104 and the 'guy'[s] ^forms 'didn't [2work2] out,
 105 IE: [No]-
 106 [20r2],
 107 IR: <HI>And the ^guy,
 108 IE: N%-
 109 IR: [^I feel 'sorry for a 'guy]</HI>,
 110 IE: [No no,
 111 you ^got] -
 112 IR: [2who is the <HI>^pilot</HI>2],
 113 IE: [2no you ^got2] -
 114 IR: [3who's 'res3]possible,
 115 IE: [3The guy's3] --
 116 IR: for the [4^safety4],
 117 IE: [4wait4],
 118 [5the 'guy's 'forms ^d5]id work out,
 119 IR: [5for everyone on the plane5].
 120 IE: number ^one.
 121 And 'number ^tw[o],
 122 IR: <A>[The] [2'airline says2] they
 123 [3^didn't3].

In lines 84 and 86 the IE says *^We 'believe, ^scrutiny is going to be important*, and *and 'we ^understa=nd, ^what September eleventh 'meant, in ^terms of 'people looking, and ^taking a 'second look at at, ^people of 'Arab 'descent*.. In these utterances the IE expresses a position by using the indexical “we” in the complement taking phrases (CTPs) (“we believe,” “we understand”) and by self-reference thus attributes the stance in the complements to the institute he represents (cf. Schegloff 1996a; Thompson 2002), and simultaneously adheres to the relevance of the ethnic identity. Up to the point in lines 84–90, the IE displays a stance about the situation by making a generalized observation and acknowledgement of the situation. However, in line 91, when the IE utters *But a ^Secret 'Service 'agent?*, he changes the stance object from a more global frame to a more specific one, by invoking a specific category. The turn is designed so that the elements prior to line 91 project this focus shift. The discourse marker “but” also plays an important role by marking where the shift occurs. The IE is doing something Sacks (1992:336) calls knowledge protected against induction. In other words, even though the IE made a statement about people taking second looks at people of Arab descent and how it relates to profiling at airports, it is no way to undercut that statement to say that because of his occupational identity the Secret Service agent should be treated as an exception from the general practice. In other words, the IE tries to move away from a general stereotype and to consider this incident as an individual case, which should be considered in view of its special circumstances.¹³

The invocation of the new, alternative and more local stance object in form of a new category in line 91 has immediate interactional consequences. Even though the IE's utterance in line 91 is pragmatically, syntactically and prosodically incomplete and thus projects more talk (Ford & Thompson 1996), in line 93 the IR intervenes in the IE's turn at the transition relevance place (TRP¹⁴) (cf. Piirainen-Marsh 2003) with an intention to implement a disagreement.¹⁵ The sequential position of the intervention shows that the IR displays a candidate understanding of the associated features and incumbency implied by the use of the category term "secret service agent" implies, disagrees with them and begins to direct the talk to the racial aspect of the incident. The IR's disagreement is explicitly voiced with several negative markers in lines 96–97 and followed by an elaboration for the negation (Ford 2001). The IR's intervention can be seen as an implementation of his institutional right as an IR to initiate questions, make comments, control topics, etc. In other words, the IR's intervention is an action by which he constructs his local identity as an IR. But at the same time, the IR adopts an identity as an opponent to the IE. But this does not seem to be the whole picture. Consider the following diagram.

Diagram 1.

91 IE: But a ^Secret 'Service 'agent
 100 IR: he said he was a 'Secret Service agent
 101 IR: 'Mohamed Atta said he was a ^crop duster

As Diagram 1 shows, the IR not only disagrees with the IE's utterance in line 91, but (in lines 100–101) takes a stance by using the category in the NP *a ^Secret 'Service 'agent*? and recycles it by adding a CTP *He ^said.* and placing the NP to the complement clause *he was a 'Secret Service agent* in line 100. Then in lines 101 he uses a parallel syntactic structure (CTP + complement clause) and says *'Mohamed Atta said he was a ^crop duster*, in which a single category "crop duster" describes a person (Mohamed Atta) (cf. Sacks 1972). In lines 100–101 two parallel elements index different things: (1) The argument NP *He* (anaphorically referring to the Secret Service agent) in the CTP in line 100 and the argument NP *'Mohamed Atta* (referring to the leader of the terrorist group that attacked the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001) in the CTP in line 101; (2) the category NPs first in line 100 (*a 'Secret Service agent*) and then in line 101 (*a ^crop duster*).¹⁶ Of course the lexico-semantic content in each utterance can invoke ideas and images (e.g. Mohamed Atta's name in line 101 and what that means for people who recognize it and understand its significations). However, it is the parallel syntactic structure that connects the two apparently disparate categories ('a secret service agent' and 'crop duster') together so that

they resonate¹⁷ and invoke a new culturally marked MCD, ‘Arab-Americans,’ to which both referents (‘the agent’ and ‘Mohamed Atta’) can be ascribed. In addition to this, the dialogic syntax and the engaging utterances not only invoke a shared MCD, but shared features of untrustworthiness which are connected to the ethnic MCD (*He ^said he was* – note the primary emphasis on *^said*). In other words, the speakers dialogically, by reflecting on their interlocutors’ actions and language use, attach meanings to identities and thus dynamically construct them in talk. The parallel and resonating syntactic structures impose an identity for the agent that the individual utterances are not able to convey – and it is worth noting that the category and the features are never explicitly uttered out loud.¹⁸ The rationale behind the IR’s actions is naturally to carry on the agenda introduced in the opening of the interview and thus to challenge the IE’s stance. Nevertheless, by using linguistic structures and words from the IE’s turn, the IR not only makes relevant the ethnic identity, but presents it in a dubious light.

Of course, we do not know – and we do not need to know – whether the IR’s actions represent his personal stance. Rather, what is interesting is that the IR’s actions are recipient designed (Fitzgerald & Housley 2002: 582) for the IE. The IE has been invited to the program indeed because of his ethnic background and because, as a representative of the Arab-American Institute, he possesses the relevant background knowledge to talk about this issue. This seems to suggest that the IR’s actions are also produced for the overhearing audience.

It is important to notice that the identity imposed here is not there just for the analyst to point out. The IE obviously shares the same socio-cultural knowledge with the IR and understands the IR’s allusion and reacts to it. The evidence for this can be found in line 105, where the IE tries to interrupt the IR and display his disagreement with the IR’s stance. It is worth mentioning that just before the IE begins the disagreeing action, he withdraws his gaze from the IR (in line 103 after *^we=*). This gaze withdrawal, a *cut-off gaze*, frequently marks a subsequent divergent stance (Haddington 2002, to appear). Here the *cut-off gaze* sequentially precedes and projects the IE’s disagreement with the identity that the IR invoked in his turn.

Consider again lines 84–90 and especially the two “we” argument NPs. The pronoun “we” can also be called a *shifter* or a *substitute* (cf. Jakobson et al. 1995; Sacks 1992; Silverstein 1995). Shifters are always deictic and speakers use them in order to mark a referential index from the context. Consequently, the use of a shifter is always a unique event in interaction and potentially relevant for categorization.

As was noticed above, both of the stances in lines 84–90 are constructed by CTPs that foreshadow the stances in the subsequent complement clause. In everyday talk the pronominal argument NP in the CTP is usually a 1st person singular and not 1st person plural (Thompson 2002) as in this example. However, here the functional motivation for using the plural is that it indicates that the speaker belongs to a group indexed by the “we” pronoun, and that he is speaking as a member of an organization mentioned in the opening of the interview (Heritage 1997), and that he has the social rights to speak on behalf of the other members of that organization. The IR in his following turn, however, uses the “we” pronoun to index a different group. As was pointed out, the IR displays his divergent stance in line 96 and then restores the agent’s ethnic category as relevant for the debate. After this he says, *The ^point is, <MRC>^we=’don’t ’kno=w</MRC>,.* The *<MRC>^we=’don’t ’kno=w </MRC>* does not recycle the clausal structure of anything in the IE’s prior talk. Still, it has an identical element – the pronominal argument NP “we” – which together with the negation shows that the utterance is produced as a divergent stance to the IE’s stance in the previous turn. In light of the claim that the 1st person plural is used in news interviews to index affiliation to a social organization or a group, the IR’s use of the pronoun is both unusual and particularly interesting. It is unlikely that he is speaking on behalf of CNN or IRs in general. Nevertheless, he attributes the stance of “not knowing” (whether a person of Arab descent who claims to be a Secret Service agent can be believed as far as belonging to the category of an agent) to a category which he claims to belong to. We can locate the token “we” as an index by looking at how the IE used the same token to construct a stance: *^We ’believe* (in line 84) and *and ’we ^understa=nd*, (in line 86). It is probable that the way in which the IE framed the stances with the “we” pronoun influences the IR’s use of the same lexical token. But the way in which the indexical information accumulates suggests that the IR treats the IE’s “we” as an index of the IE’s ethnic identity and then uses “we” in his own stance to index membership in an opposite or at least different group relative to that group. This can be seen in a Diagraph 2 below.

Diagraph 2.

84	IE:	^We	’believe
86	IE:	and ’we	^understa=nd
103	IR:	^we=	’don’t ’kno=w

It is unlikely that the IE or the audience would understand that the “we” pronouns in the above diagraph index membership in different groups without knowledge of how the immediate interaction has unfolded. The meaning

conveyed by the parallel use and the resonance between these pronouns is situational and becomes transparent only in the dialogue. The parallel use grounds these tokens as indices in real life, but importantly as different indices. In other words, even though the IE uses the argument NP “we” to index his membership in the Arab-American Institute, the IR’s use of the same token as part of a divergent stance indicates that he either understood the IE’s “we” to index ethnicity, or deliberately wanted to communicate non-co-membership with the ethnic category and the Arab-American Institute. In any case, the IR’s lexical choice indexes a different category compared to the one the IE communicated. It is also noteworthy that the marked primary emphasis on “we” indicates a contrast to the prior stances. In sum, one’s category is not invoked only by the use of a NP, but categories can be invoked by pronouns and they can become transparent only after we look at how pronouns are used dialogically.

The IR’s actions by which he invokes categories and questionable identities is part of his role as a spokesperson for the viewing public. In other words, it is impossible to say whether his actions represent his personal stances. Rather, as the examples above show, the stance taking and the identity work are part of news interview interaction as it is produced for the overhearing audience for entertainment purposes. But, nevertheless, such identity work simultaneously functions as negotiation and, moreover, upholding of particular social values, norms, and ideology.

Summary

Speakers take stances all the time and in the course of stance taking identity can become relevant for interactants in different ways. In the example from *Crossfire* (CNN) I have shown how an ethnic identity is first topicalized in a news interview opening and then used as a resource and locally constructed for a non-present person at one point in the interview. The identities established in the opening warrant the use of particular identities for the remaining program. The relevance of the identities for the participants in the program becomes evident in two ways. First, it is manifest in the interlocutors’ actions in the way in which the use of a categorical term impacts the turn organization and the IR’s disagreement in example (2) (cf. Roth 1998). Second, the interlocutors construct and reproduce an identity for a non-present third person by recycling linguistic units and structures as part of their stance taking. The way in which these units and structures, and their indexical meanings engage and resonate with each other, constructs new meanings, which emerge in the situated con-

text in which they are produced. Nevertheless, the interlocutors' actions and the language they use still reflect the workings of larger ideological beliefs and assumptions.

It is worth noting that in spite of the fact that this paper has discussed how an ethnic identity is made relevant, oriented to and constructed in one brief moment in a news interview, this phenomenon is not generalizable to how ethnic identities are constructed and negotiated in talk-in-interaction. As has been noted above, choosing a category is a selective process, and its use depends on the participants and what their connection to the topic is. Consequently, a multitude of categories and identities can be made relevant and oriented to. The purpose of this paper has been to show that the study of intersubjective stance taking that combines a functional linguistic approach with the analysis of the sequentially unfolding interaction is one useful methodological direction which research on negotiation of categories and identities in talk-in-interaction can pursue. This type of micro-analytic approach that relies on empirical analysis of talk as it occurs in talk-in-interaction can provide us with new insights into the broader macro-sociocultural and ideological aspects of our world.

Notes

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1. *Crossfire* is a political debate show which is broadcast every night on the US edition of CNN. According to the CNN website, *Crossfire* is one of the longest running debate shows in the US and it celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2002. It differs from many other interview programs in that it has two hosts, which have pre-appointed identities of ideologically black and white positions, "on the left" and "on the right." These identities roughly reflect the dichotomy of the US political system between Democrats and Republicans, respectively. It also differs from many other news interviews programs in that the IRs often do not maintain as neutralistic a stance as IRs usually do. This episode was broadcast on the 27th of December 2001 and its duration is approx. 30 minutes.

2. (1) Conversation analytic approach which looks at how different types of identities are closely related to the activities and goals speakers have as interactants in interaction (Zimmerman 1998); (2) A “linguistic” approach which looks at how linguistic forms are used to index social identities and how speakers negotiate and align with the uses of these forms in interaction (Bailey 2000). (3) Within conversation analysis, Sacks (1972, 1992: 40–48, 333–340, 396–403, 590–595) claimed that interactants use membership categories for arranging the objects of the world into collections of things (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998b). See also Schenkein (1978).
3. This does not mean that the other two types of identities are not relevant in the example.
4. For a more detailed discussion, see Haddington (2004).
5. See Sacks (1972, 1992: 40–48, 333–340, 396–403, 590–595). For more about MCDs, see Fitzgerald and Housley (2002), Hester and Eglin (1997), Hester (2000), Widdicombe (1998), *inter alia*.
6. Zimmerman (1998) concentrates on so-called “discourse identities” (current speaker, listener, etc.), which are claimed to be the materials out of which social and institutional identities (e.g. call-taker, caller in emergency calls or interviewer, interviewee in news interviews) are built (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998b: 11; Fitzgerald & Housley 2002: 583).
7. See also Roth (1998: 102–103).
8. There are other ways of “doing applied CA”, as well. Therefore, some prefer to talk about various conversation analyses and various ways of doing CA, rather than one CA proper. The more “applied” CA has, for example, been used to investigate other than human-human interaction. One such area is human-multimedia or human-computer interaction (Raudaskoski 1999, 2003). Even though “pure” conversation analysts are basically interested in how CA can be used to explore those facets of interaction that are different from its original interest, the use of CA for investigating human-computer interaction is considered problematic by some CA scholars. Scheloff (2003: 160) claims that “the encounter between a text and a reader, or between computer and user, can *not* properly be analyzed as social interaction, etc., in the same sense as ordinary interaction between humans can.” One reason for this is that computers cannot be seen to be taking turns in the same way as human interactants do (see also Schegloff et al. 2002). For other information about CA work on human-computer interaction, see Hutchy and Wooffit (1998: 240–252).
9. See also Cumming and Ono (1997), Du Bois (2001a), and Thompson (2002).
10. About indexicality, see for example Jakobson et al. (1995), Ochs (1992) and Silverstein (1995).
11. From a cognitive perspective the question of *forward-type intersubjectivity* has been approached by Michael Tomasello. He (1999a, 1999b) claims that when humans interact and communicate they *understand each other as intentional agents*. Tomasello (1999b: 526) says that humans have a cognitive representation for “inducing others to construe certain situations in certain ways,” which necessitates “an internalization and representation of the different perspectives of other persons.” Humans understand that there are a number of ways different interactional situations can be construed and that people have different goals and implications of these goals in mind. And when people interact they understand that there are “at least two actual perspectives on a situation” (Tomasello 1999b: 517).

12. The transcription follows the conventions outlined in Du Bois (1991), Du Bois et al. (1992) and Du Bois et al. (1993) with some minor changes. The text is broken into lines based on a prosodic unit called *intonation unit*. See Appendix for a more detailed account of the transcription conventions.

13. Cf. Billig (1985).

14. See Schegloff (1996b: 84–87).

15. IRs use interventions in order to influence the direction of talk and to draw attention to some aspect of the current topics. Interventions, as we can see, also shape the meaning, content and direction of talk in progress (Pirainen-Marsh 2003).

16. Prior to 9–11, Mohamed Atta was argued to have attempted to buy a crop duster airplane with intentions to distribute dangerous chemicals or biological weapons of mass destruction in the US.

17. Resonance is “a property of *relations* between elements in discourse, [which] as such cannot be attributed to any element in isolation” (Du Bois p.c.).

18. It is noteworthy that even though the focus in this paper is on the use of a racial category and how it is used a resource for negotiating an identity for a third person, there are also other categorical terms that are used for referring to the person being talked about. One such term is “guy” in lines 104, 115, 118 and 122 (another is “pilot”). Consider the following diagram:

Diagram 3.

104 IR:	and		the 'guy's ^forms	did n't work out
115 IE:			The guy's	
118 IE:			the 'guy's 'forms ^did	work out
122 IR:	The 'airline says they			did n't

However, in the argument-disagreement sequence schematized in Diagram 3, the ethnic category is not relevant anymore. Rather this sequence constructs another aspect of the third person's identity, namely whether he was able to fulfil forms required for carrying a weapon on board an airliner. This shows that identities are indeed negotiated locally so that one identity is not relevant throughout a conversation, but that in interaction discussions of particular identities come and go. In addition to this, as Diagram 3 shows, the interlocutors again borrow each other's morphosyntactic structures and words (the NP “the guy's forms,” AUX + main verb “work out.” Note for example that the IE stresses the auxiliary ^*did* (line 118) and actually recycles the auxiliary, when in principle it is not needed (cf. *the guy's forms worked out*). This indicates that the IE is showing heightened involvement with the argument the IR made in the prior turn (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin 1992), by emphasizing his own disagreeing action. In other words, the IE does not express his cognitive or inner stance, but responds to a stance expressed by his co-participant in the prior turn.

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Appendix – Transcription conventions

UNITS

Intonation unit	(carriage return)
Truncated intonation unit	--
Truncated word	%

TRANSITIONAL CONTINUITY

Final	.
Continuing	,
Appeal (seeking a validating response from listener)	?

SPEAKERS

Speech overlap	[]
(numbers inside brackets index overlaps	[2 two words 2]
Name/identity/address is pseudo	~Jill
Name/identity/address is real	Jill

ACCENT AND LENGTHENING

Primary accent (prominent pitch movement carrying intonational meaning)	^
Secondary accent	,
Unaccented	
Lengthening	=

PAUSE

Long pause (0.7 seconds or longer)	... (N)
Medium pause (0.3 – 0.6 s)	...
Short (brief break in speech rhythm) (0.2 or less)	..
Latching	(0)

VOCAL NOISES

Glottal stop	<GLOTTAL> two words </GLOTTAL>
Exhalation	(Hx)
Inhalation	(H)

QUALITY

Pitch		
Higher pitch level	<HI>	</HI>

TEMPO AND RHYTHM

Allegro: rapid speech	<A>	
Marcato: words distinct and emphasized	<MRC>	</MRC>

VOICE QUALITY

Creaky <CREAK> two words </CREAK>

TRANSCRIBER'S PERSPECTIVE

Researcher's comment (())

SPECIALIZED NOTATIONS

Duration (N)

De-naturalizing ideology

Presupposition and Appraisal in biotechnology press releases

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This article analyses appraisal and presupposition in ten press releases, all focusing on vitamin-A enriched golden rice. Drawing on data that are evenly balanced between proponents and opponents of genetic modification, the analyses demonstrate that both groups draw on the appraisal resource of Engagement to position themselves intersubjectively. Moreover, proponents as well as opponents make extensive use of presupposition, thus naturalizing ideological positions in seemingly objective propositions. In this article I suggest that naturalized ideology may be de-naturalized by following intertextual chains of presupposition and engagement.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology, intertextual chains, denaturalization, presupposition, appraisal, engagement, GMO

What we think and believe to be true does not always reflect reality and more often than not we are embedded in situations, practices and discourse patterns that we are not fully conscious about. As common language users we usually do not premeditate every utterance that we produce or make strategic plans about our use of linguistic resources. Our propositions and proposals build on assumptions about a knowledge basis that we expect the listener or reader to possess, we add new information to this knowledge basis, and interpretation follows a similar set of mutually agreed principles. We make – in other words – certain assumptions about the listener's or reader's conceptualisation of the world, which we model on our own world views. In a lot of the interaction taking place, no intentional attempts are being made to manipulate the listener or reader. The discourse that the interlocutors engage in is *sincere* and

if – in Faircloughian terminology – “ideological representations” are made, they are made unwittingly (1995: 28). This, however, does not prevent such discourse from being ideologically loaded for as noted by Bourdieu (1977, quoted in Fairclough 1999: 41) “it is because subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing that what they do has more meaning than they know”. The quotation succinctly reveals the inner nature of naturalization as a pattern of behaviour that may unconsciously legitimise and transform into common sense certain power relations or ideologies.

However, due to a variety of available linguistic resources, language users including the mass media have some very effective resources that they may or may not decide to use for manipulative purposes. In what follows, I shall comment on two such resources, one of which is commonly referred to as presupposition while the other one is known as Appraisal (see e.g. White 2001, 2003; see also Martin 2000; Martin & Rose 2003). Approaching the notion of presupposition from a general pragmatics perspective (see e.g. Levinson 1983), I shall explore the role played by intertextuality in Fairclough’s understanding of presupposition (1992: 120) – also referred to as assumption in Fairclough (2003: 58). The rest of the article will focus on Engagement, which is a sub-category of the Appraisal Framework. The purpose of analysing engagement and presupposition in press releases is twofold. First, I want to explore how these strategic resources are used by proponents and opponents to promote their respective goals. And as a second objective I wish to show how the two resources may be used to implicitly convey ideology. To approach these tasks, let us first turn to the concept of presupposition.

The concept of presupposition

Presupposition has been studied for more than a century (see e.g. Frege 1892), but interest in the field accelerated during the 50s, 60s and 70s in Discourse Semantics with analysts such as e.g. Strawson (1952), Fillmore (1971), Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) and Steinberg & Jakobovits (1971). As an important focal area in the pragmatic turn during the 70s and 80s the study of presupposition came to be a popular research discipline in general pragmatics where names usually associated with the field are Grice (1975), Levinson (1983), Lyons (1977), Austin (1976), Searle (1969), Stalnaker (1973, 1974), Tyler (1978), and lately Verschuren (1999) and Simons (2001). The concept of presupposition is problematic in the sense that it means different things to different people. In this article I shall use the notion in the following sense:

The following utterance

- (1) That Fred left surprised Mary

presupposes

- (2) Fred left

In presupposition the writer takes a part of the utterance for granted and presents it to the reader as shared knowledge. Presuppositions are triggered by a number of linguistic structures and grammatical elements but cannot be defined as purely semantic because they are both present in and absent from the text and sensitive to contextual factors. A useful test that may be applied is that presuppositions remain constant under negation like in (3):

- (3) That Fred left did *not* surprise Mary.

The example shows that the proposition *that Fred left* is not influenced even if the verb *surprise* is negated. (For a list of presupposition triggers, see Levinson 1983: 181–184.)

What I hope to achieve by studying various presupposition categories is a deeper understanding of the way in which presupposition might exert an influence on discursive strategies and thus eventually find its way into more or less implicit ideologies in text. I intend to do this by paying particular attention to presupposition as a level of analysis in Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model, which consists of the three integrated dimensions of social practice, discursive practice and text. In Fairclough's approach, presupposition, which he refers to as assumption, is seen as an intertextual phenomenon at the discursive level. To Fairclough 'assumed meanings are of particular ideological significance' and the 'ideological work of texts' is most effective when meanings are presented a given information (2003: 58). As such, presupposition incorporates or contests propositions which are either asserted in prior texts or in one part of a text to be presupposed in the rest of the same text (1992: 120–121). It is of some importance to note that once propositions are contested, they become dialogic, and if such contestation happens between different texts the dialogue becomes intertextual. This automatically involves an historical perspective as also noted by Fairclough. Following Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 17) I shall refer to the historical evolution of the interrelated texts by way of a concept from semohistory, viz. phylogenesis. If a similar kind of contestation of an asserted proposition evolves over a single text from one text part to the rest of the text, it is still possible to view this as an historical process, but it is then a process which has evolved over a very short span of time. Individual texts are

thus seen as the building blocks of historical accounts, which are the essence of history. The name given to this phenomenon in semohistory is logogenesis, a term taken up by Halliday and Matthiessen in connection with their treatment of grammatical metaphor (1999); it therefore comes as no surprise that grammatical metaphor plays an important role in the dialogic contestation referred to above. However, propositions are not always contested, but rather find their way into language through the process of naturalization, which means that they gradually come to be regarded as expressions of general opinion or in Fairclough's terminology "widely-used formulas" (1992: 120–121). No matter whether propositions are contested or established as symptoms of generally held beliefs, they share the characteristic features of being difficult to challenge, once they are backgrounded as presuppositions.

Another important difference between Fairclough's and Levinson's treatment of presupposition is that unlike Levinson, who was inspired by logical semantics (Frege/Strawson), Fairclough includes restrictive relative clauses as well as premodifying adjectives in his list of presuppositions (1989: 153). This is an important deviation from presupposition theory, which would call for further exploration. However, intuitively, it should be possible to say that

- (4) John is (isn't) the one who caught the thief (Keenan (1971: 47)
presupposes: *someone caught the thief*.

Similarly, in (5) the following interpretation should be possible:

- (5) the colourful crowds gathered (didn't gather) (Fairclough 1999: 153)
presupposes: *the crowds were colourful*.

None of the propositions contained in these examples is defeated in the negative or the interrogative, which is the commonly accepted litmus test of presupposition.

In what follows, I shall follow Fairclough's approach to presupposition as a sub-level of his critical discourse analysis model, which is described in 1992: Chapter 8. This implies extending Levinson's presuppositional repertoire with the categories of restrictive relative clauses and premodifying adjectives. Moreover, as distinct from the traditional approach in pragmatics, my analyses will consider intertextuality.

Method, analysis and discussion of data

To explore the pattern of presupposition in biotechnology press releases with the purpose of looking for possible regularities, I analysed ten texts, all addressing the controversial topic of genetically engineered golden rice. Of these texts, five had been written by text producers who were critical of the golden rice concept, henceforth referred to as *opponents*, and five had been written by text producers who were favourably disposed, henceforth referred to as *proponents*.

The background to the dispute constructed in the texts is as follows: In 2000 a Zurich-based research team led by Ingo Potrykus introduced genes from daffodils and bacteria into rice with the purpose of producing high levels of beta-carotene, which is the precursor to Vitamin A. One of the problems caused by a low Vitamin A content is that rice, being a staple food in many parts of the third world, is believed to lead to malnutrition, vision impairment and a number of other diseases. According to the UN, two million children die every year because of Vitamin A deficiency, and 124 million children below the age of five are in the risk zone of turning blind. The project was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Swiss Government and the European Community. Later Multinational companies such as Monsanto and AstraZeneca promised third world farmers free access to the grain and the GE rice was promoted as a miracle cure that can prevent blindness. However, opponents such as the London-based Institute of Science in Society later commented on the “absurdity” of developing “golden rice”, saying that it is a drain on public resources and a hazard to health, biodiversity and sustainable agriculture. They called it “a gift-horse for the poor” and concluded that “it [golden rice] is being promoted in order to salvage a morally as well as financially bankrupt agricultural biotech industry”. (Institute of Science in Society: www.i-sis.org.uk.) Other opponents have pointed out that to satisfy the recommended daily vitamin A intake it would be necessary for an adult to eat 9 kg of cooked rice or approx 3.75 kg of uncooked rice. If these figures are correct, it would not be possible to cover the vitamin A requirement by eating golden rice, for which reason alternative beta-carotene sources would be recommendable. A common objection among opponents has been that an equitable distribution of access to resources in the world would mean that no-one would have to survive on the basis of rice only, and all dietary needs would be met through biodiversity and varied diets.

Ten press releases all focusing on golden rice and covering a period of 16 months from 2000 till 2001 were downloaded from the Internet. To explore the distribution of presuppositions in the press releases selected, I categorized

Table 1. Total incidence of presuppositions in 10 texts

Based on 278 lines	Opponents	Proponents
Definite reference	22	27
Factive verbs or predicates	5	4
Implicative verbs	2	2
Change of State verbs	5	10
Iteratives	0	0
Temporal clauses	4	8
Cleft sentences	1	2
Comparisons and contrasts	5	6
Non-restrictive relative clauses	10	9
Restrictive relative clauses	15	18
Infinitives	2	3
Questions	3	3
The genitive	19	15
Premodifying adjectives	22	15
Presupposition, total	115	122
Total presupposition ratio (per 100 lines)	41	44

the presuppositional incidence as shown in Table 1. As no two texts had the same length, it was necessary to calculate presupposition ratios per 100 lines of text. Table 1 shows no significant difference between the frequency with which presupposition was used by opponents and proponents. The texts written by opponents had 41 instances per 100 lines while those written by proponents had 44. However, the distribution of different presupposition triggers varied a great deal from one category to the next as also shown in Table 1.

If we look at individual texts (Table 2), five of these (3, 4, 6, 7 and 10), which are evenly divided between opponents and proponents, showed figures close to the average presupposition ratio of 45.8 calculated for the ten texts. In the remaining 5 texts (1, 2, 5, 8 and 9), whose presupposition ratios per 100 lines vary quite a lot from the average ratio of 45.8, a similar distributional pattern was immanent, 3 of the texts having been written by opponents and 2 by proponents.

There are, however, marked differences to be observed between the extent to which presupposition was used in the text with the highest count and the text with the lowest count. This is shown in Table 2 where we may compare text 9 with a presupposition ratio of 73 with text 1 with a presupposition ratio of 25. This indicates great textual variation in some of the texts in terms of their use of presupposition.

Table 2. Distribution of presupposition incidence in 10 texts

Number of lines	Text 1 <i>67</i>	Text 2 <i>127</i>	Text 3 <i>56</i>	Text 4 <i>45</i>	Text 5 <i>79</i>	Text 6 <i>45</i>	Text 7 <i>67</i>	Text 8 <i>39</i>	Text 9 <i>31</i>	Text 10 <i>71</i>
Definite reference	<i>3</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
Factive verbs or predicates			<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>			<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	
Implicative verbs	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>				<i>2</i>				
Change of State verbs	<i>7</i>	<i>2</i>					<i>3</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>
Temporal clauses	<i>1</i>		<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>3</i>
Cleft sentences	<i>1</i>		<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>						
Comparisons and contrasts	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>		<i>3</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1</i>
Non-restrictive relative clauses	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>3</i>
Restrictive relative clauses	<i>3</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>
Infinitives		<i>2</i>						<i>2</i>		<i>3</i>
Questions		<i>0</i>	<i>5</i>				<i>4</i>			
The genitive	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>		<i>11</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>14</i>
Premodifying adjectives		<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>7</i>
Presupposition per 100 lines total	<i>25</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>73</i>	<i>45</i>

Opponents: **bold**; proponents: *italics*. Average ratio: 45.8.

To elaborate on this difference, let us look at the distribution of presuppositional categories. Categories that were sparsely represented were those of implicative verbs, the infinitive and cleft sentence constructions. I will therefore leave these categories aside and focus attention on some of the more predominant ones, including in order of priority specific reference, restrictive relative clauses, premodifying adjectives and the genitive. In what follows I shall give examples of these categories from some of the texts and then comment on the role some of these categories play in intertextuality.

Specific definite reference

The category of specific reference seems to be richly represented in texts 6 and 7 as illustrated by example (6):

- (6) *The co-developer of a new variety of rice* (specific endophoric reference) [...] came forward this week to refute *claims by anti-technology activists that the product is useless*. Swiss scientist Ingo Potrykus responded to erroneous and misleading claims by environmental organizations [...]

The example contains at least three instances of presupposition, viz. (a) A co-developer exists (evidence: he came forward to refute *claims by anti-technology activists that the product is useless*. ...), (b) anti-technology activists *have claimed that the product is useless*, and (c) the product exists (evidence: the product has been referred to earlier).

In (6) the definite article *the* has a referring function in that it indicates that a certain co-developer of a new variety of rice has either been made known to the reader elsewhere in the text or in earlier texts and may consequently be assumed as shared knowledge. In this example the co-developer refers specifically to Swiss scientist Ingo Potrykus, who is mentioned in a subsequent utterance. The reference made is therefore endophoric, but slightly ambiguous because the reader has to infer that the co-developer is the same person as Ingo Potrykus. In addition to the presupposition (a) that this particular co-developer exists, a further two examples of presupposition, (b) and (c) are embedded in the utterance. In (b) the noun *claims* implies that *anti-technology activists have claimed something*. The example is what Halliday (1994: Chapter 10) has referred to as grammatical metaphor – a concept that turns out to be an effective vehicle for presupposition because it is incontestable in its position as given information. If we want to negate the utterance and say instead *claims by anti-technology activists that the product is useless were not refuted*, the negation does not affect the noun *claims*, but rather the verb *refute*. Claims have still been made, but they have not been refuted. In addition to its function as grammatical metaphor it is also a marker of intertextuality. In (c) the presupposition is made that a certain product that is useless *exists* and has been referred to earlier, which is indicated by use of the definite article *the*. It is important to note that when studying implicit ideology, a comprehensive analysis of presupposition triggered by the definite article should be approached from a holistic perspective. The definite article seen in isolation is not necessarily loaded with ideology, and rendering a proposition as given information does not always amount to using language strategically. Very often the definite arti-

cle carries information to which the speaker/writer attaches little importance. It is however the interplay of the definite article and grammatical metaphor, possibly premodified by evaluative adjectives that is a seemingly innocent way of presenting ideas that opponents might want to disagree with. Along similar lines, restrictive relative clauses should not be assessed on their grammatical features only, but also on their semantic content and potential for pragmatic interpretation.

Restrictive relative clauses

Conventional literature on presupposition does not include restrictive relative clauses as a presupposition category, but examples (7) and (8) below serve the purpose of illustrating why I believe there is a case for arguing that restrictive relative clauses may be natural carriers of presupposition. In example (7), the presupposition is being made that *certain national agricultural research programs are partners with IRRI*.

- (7) The ultimate release of Golden Rice to farmers will be the responsibility of the national agricultural research programs *that are partners with IRRI* (restrictive relative clause) in its continued development.

A similar observation may be made for

- (8) It [Golden rice] may ultimately provide enough to be a great help in alleviating the health problems *associated with vitamin-A deficiency* (restrictive relative clause) (VAD).

In (7) the restrictive relative clause *that are partners with IRRI* determines its antecedent *the national agricultural research programs* and defines these programs as belonging to a specific category of programs, viz. those that are partners with IRRI. Negation would generate the utterance *The ultimate release of Golden Rice to farmers will NOT be the responsibility of the national agricultural research programs that are partners with IRRI in its continued development*, which shows that the restrictive relative clause *that are partners* is not affected and still describes the antecedent. In (8) *associated with vitamin-A deficiency* is a reduced restrictive relative clause from which the relative pronoun (that) and the verb (are) have been left out. The relative clause determines its antecedent *the health problems* and defines these health problems by referring them to a specific category, viz. those associated with vitamin-A deficiency. The definite article *the* indicates that these health problems have been referred to earlier. If the utterance is negated, we get *Golden rice may ultimately NOT provide enough*

to be a great help in alleviating the health problems associated with vitamin-A deficiency, which shows that no matter what science does to Golden Rice, the presupposition is kept intact because the health problems referred to still exist as a result of vitamin-A deficiency.

Premodifying adjectives

It is commonly accepted that there is a close relationship between premodifying adjectives and relative clauses in that structures that are premodified are easily transformed into structures containing relative clauses. This is illustrated in example (9) from a critical text and example (10) from a text written by proponents:

- (9) There are *cheap and proven* (premodifier) solutions and technologies available to fight against vitamin A deficiency . . . (compare: solutions and technologies that are cheap and proven are available to fight. . .).
- (10) Swiss scientist Ingo Potrykus responded to *erroneous and misleading* (premodifier) claims by environmental organizations. . ., (compare: Swiss scientist Ingo Potrykus responded to claims that were erroneous and misleading)

In (9) the premodifier *cheap and proven* is backgrounded as given information, thus presupposing that such solutions are in fact available. Negation such as *there are no cheap and proven solutions and technologies available to fight against vitamin A deficiency* does not affect the premodifier since the negated utterance does not question the concept of cheap and proven solutions and technologies as such, but rather suggests that certain technologies to fight vitamin A deficiency are not available. Similarly in (10) where the presupposition element contained in the premodifier remains intact in the negated utterance *Swiss scientist Ingo Potrykus did not respond to erroneous and misleading claims* [. . .] In other words, the claims remain erroneous and misleading even if negated, at least according to the writer's point of view.

The genitive

The genitive is a well-established category within presupposition theory, and at the same time it is closely related to the reference category as illustrated in example (11) from a text by opponents.

- (11) *Greenpeace's "victory"* (genitive) is no more than IRRI's research forecast.

In (11) the utterance is negated already, but if we remove the negation in the utterance *Thus Greenpeace's "victory" is more than IRRI's research forecast*, the presupposition that Greenpeace has won a victory remains unchallenged. It should be noted, however, that the scare quotes indicate that the text writer does not agree with the proposition that Greenpeace is victorious. The example is thus loaded with implicitness at more than one level, which amplifies the ideological work at play in the text.

Intertextuality

The concept of intertextuality is crucial in Fairclough's treatment of presupposition (1992: Ch. 4). As mentioned earlier, there is an important difference between especially Levinson's and Fairclough's approaches to presupposition in that Fairclough objects to the non-intertextual views that have so far dominated theoretical discussions of presupposition within pragmatics. These views, he claims, have not been able to solve the problem of semantic contradiction in an utterance like *the Soviet threat is a myth* – an utterance that presupposes that there is a *threat* and at the same time avers that there is no such *threat*. If, however, the definite article *the* is seen as an intertextuality marker, it becomes possible to view the threat alluded to as a notion that was introduced at an earlier stage of the text or in an earlier text and taken up again later for the purpose of discussion or perhaps contestation. (For a thorough discussion of the problem, see Cartwright on negative existentials 1970: 55–66.) As indicated above, there are a number of intertextuality markers that are at the same time presupposition triggers. These include in no particular order *reference, the genitive, grammatical metaphor, negation and lexical repetition*. In what follows I shall give examples of the intertextual chains identifiable from these categories in the text corpus examined.

Table 3 below illustrates the interplay of reference and intertextuality. In text 1 a new type of rice is introduced as *a more nutritious type of rice*. The same topic is then resumed later in text 1 in the utterance *beta-carotene gives the new rice a golden colour*, where the definite article *the* is used to refer anaphorically to the type of rice mentioned earlier in the text. This pattern seems to be repeated in many of the remaining texts, a phenomenon we referred to above as logogenesis. Another point of interest in Table 3 is the way in which specific reference through the definite article *the* gradually slides into unique reference to the concept of golden rice. In texts 2–5 golden rice is used with the definite article *the*; however, text 6 refers to Golden rice as a proper-name-like phe-

Table 3. Intertextuality and reference

Example	Text 1	Text 2	Text 3	Text 4	Text 5	Text 6	Text 7	Text 8	Text 9	Text 10
A more nutritious type of rice	X									
Beta-carotene gives <i>the</i> new rice a golden colour	X									
Rice seeds fortified with Vitamin A are <i>the</i> new genetically engineered food item		X								
Swiss and German scientists had engineered <i>the</i> rice to produce beta-carotene		X								
Where's <i>the</i> golden rice?			X							
<i>The</i> lifesaving grain is not protected			X							
Syngenta [...] owns many patents on <i>the</i> 'Golden Rice' [...]				X						
[...] the first grains of <i>the</i> genetically engineered rice had been delivered to the IRRI last month [...]				X						
[...] genetically engineered 'golden rice' [...]					X					
[...] the Rockefeller Foundation is funding <i>the</i> rice's development.					X					
[...] The co-developer of <i>a</i> new variety of rice [...]						X				
<i>Golden Rice</i> [...]						X				
<i>Golden Rice</i> has hit the headlines again.							X			
<i>Golden Rice</i> [...]							X			
<i>Golden Rice</i> [...]								X		
<i>Golden Rice</i> [...]								X		
Genetically engineered (GE), so called 'Golden Rice' [...]									X	
[...] various genetic elements in <i>the</i> 'Golden Rice' need to be changed [...]									X	
Genetically modified rice										X
The group maintains that <i>the</i> rice is being developed irresponsibly in the interests of big business [...]										X

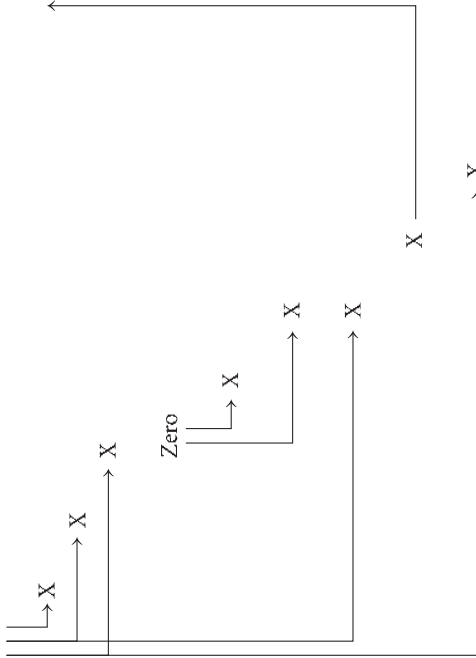
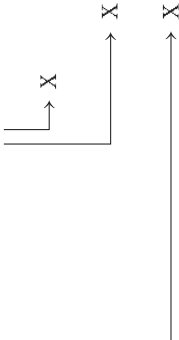
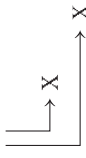
nomenon. This is repeated in texts 7 and 8 and shows that from the time *golden rice* was introduced in January 2000 till it had become an ardently debated issue in February 2001, a phylogenetic process had been taking place, which had affected the presuppositional content of the concept through an intertextual chain of contestations.

that *Greenpeace visits IRRI*. The headline of text 9, however, takes up an issue introduced in text 8, viz. the release of *golden rice*, to present it as something that has been prevented by Greenpeace – a claim that is then countered in the headline of text 10, which says that *Greenpeace's claim to have "prevented" GM rice is erroneous*. There is a close relationship between reference and negation in the examples shown in Table 4 since negative representations of propositions made in preceding texts will always contain a clue that makes it possible to identify the assertion that was made earlier and that is now being negated. This clue very often functions as a presupposition trigger such as the definite article *the*, a genitive or a premodifying element. The content thus presupposed in a previously asserted proposition is then the proposition that is negated in a subsequent text.

Table 5 below shows how the processes of grammatical metaphor and presupposition are interwoven. In text 1 the golden rice project is alluded to in the clause [...] *when work began on the project eight years ago*. The clause, however, might instead have been rendered as a nominal group like *our initiation of work eight years ago* [...], in which case the process would have been rendered as a noun containing a grammatical metaphor. Such a construction would at the same time assume that the reader already knew about the initiation of the work. When a new topic is introduced into something that may later end up as a public debate, it is however normal to introduce it as new information, i.e. in a finite clause. In subsequent texts the same topic is then resumed as given information, which prepares the ground for grammatical metaphor.

In the 10 texts under review we see that the clause *work began on the project eight years ago* has changed into *the testing of Golden Rice* in text 2 to be referred to in text 3 as *the development of golden rice* and as *further development* in text 4, *the development of Golden Rice* in text 6 and *the future development of Golden Rice* in text 8. A second chain of Grammatical Metaphor may be followed with text 4 as the starting point (marked zero in Table 5). Here the clause *The Genetic Engineering (GE) industry claims vitamin A rice could save thousands of children from blindness* contains the Process *claims*, which is rendered as grammatical metaphor in text 5 as *Claims by the biotech industry* and in text 6 as *The co-developer came forward this week to refute claims*. A third interesting example of grammatical metaphor is found in text 6 in the utterance *The biotechnology industry has been slammed from various corners over the latest vanguard in its campaign to win over the public*, where *campaign* refers back to more ardently debated activities that proponents of golden rice have engaged in. As a final example, in text 8 we find a new starting point for grammatical metaphor in the clause *before it may reach farmers*. The process *may reach* is taken up again

Table 5. Grammatical metaphors and presupposition

Grammatical metaphors	Text 1	Text 2	Text 3	Text 4	Text 5	Text 6	Text 7	Text 8	Text 9	Text 10
[...] many scientists did not believe it [golden rice] would be possible when <i>work began on the project eight years ago</i>. The <i>testing</i> of Golden Rice is still in progress [...] [...] an industry group, <i>touting the development</i> of 'golden rice'. [...] it is a research product that needs considerable further <i>development</i> before [...] The Genetic Engineering (GE) industry <i>claims</i> vitamin A rice could save thousands of children from blindness [...] Claims by the biotech industry [...] that tenetically engineered <i>golden rice</i> would save the sight of 500,000 children [...] The co-developer [...] came forward this week to refute claims by anti-technology activists that the product is useless. The Rockefeller Foundation, which has been very supportive of the <i>development</i> of Golden Rice [...] The biotechnology industry has been slammed from various corners over the latest vanguard in its <i>campaign</i> to win over the public [...] [...] he was satisfied that Greenpeace now appears to have a better understanding of the future <i>development</i> of Golden Rice. [...] it will be at least three to four years before there are any field trials and another two years <i>before it may reach farmers</i>. <i>Release</i> of GE <i>Golden Rice</i> prevented for next 5 years The environmental lobby Greenpeace has not, [...] <i>prevented release</i> of genetically modified rice [...]	Zero 	Zero 	Zero 	Zero 						

in text 9 as *release*, which is Actor in the headline, and in text 10 the same notion appears as *Greenpeace has not prevented release*, where it functions as Goal.

Appraisal

It will have appeared from many of the examples offered that contestation plays a key role in the intertextual chain combining the 10 press releases discussed above. The texts seem to speak in different voices or to be what Bhaktin referred to as heteroglossic (see Vice 1997: 18ff.). According to White (2001) a prime notion in Bhaktin's perspective is that "many utterances, even in written texts, will contain elements which play a *responsive* and/or *anticipatory* role". By inference and in terms used by White, texts have an "inherent dialogistic potential", which means that the propositions uttered in texts may be seen as a polyphony of voices contesting or engaging with the propositions of previous or future utterances. The dialogistic potential referred to above may be studied as part of the Appraisal Framework introduced by Martin in the early 1990s (see e.g. 1997), but more recently White (2001 and 2003) has done work to refine the framework. Other theorists who have contributed to the development of an Appraisal Framework include Eggins and Slade (1997), Coffin (1997) and Rothery and Stenglin (2000).

The Appraisal Framework sets out choices as to how speakers or writers may appraise social experience (Coffin 1997: 205). Appraisal is more specifically concerned with the linguistic resources by which texts or speakers express, negotiate and naturalise particular ideological positions as White puts it (White 2001; see also White this volume). In that sense it may be seen as a resource for implicitly or explicitly expressing interpersonal meaning. The system subsumes the three subsystems of *Attitude*, *Graduation* and *Engagement*, but in this article I shall confine myself to focusing on the system of *Engagement* because this sub-system seems to be more salient than the two other sub-systems in the examples analysed.

Engagement

Engagement is the term used by Martin (2000) and White (to appear) for the resources available to the speaker or writer for expressing a degree of commitment to a proposition which contains emotions, judgements or valuations. In other words the speaker or writer engages with such valuations through resources that enable the speakers or writers "to negotiate their arguability of their propositions and proposals" as White puts it. Engagement resources have

the capacity for revealing an “inherent dialogistic potential”, which means that they position utterances as communicative exchanges between the past, the present and the future. The *Engagement* system subsumes areas of meaning which have traditionally been analysed under the umbrella terms of Modality, Evidentiality, Hedging, Attribution, Concession and Negation. However, with the Appraisal Framework it has become possible to incorporate these areas within one system. (For an overview of Appraisal, see White this volume.)

There are of course advantages as well as drawbacks connected with a comprehensive system for analysing evaluation. One of the obvious drawbacks is that it becomes an overwhelming task to analyse all the areas involved, and it is quite impossible to provide a comprehensive overview of all the categories incorporated in the Appraisal Framework in one table. For these reasons I shall confine myself to a discussion of examples relevant to the overall topic of this paper. Table 6 below provides an illustration of Engagement categories with examples from my corpus. The table was produced on the basis of a framework suggested by White (2001).

A common feature in the press releases examined is that they were predominantly heteroglossic and extra-vocalised. In other words many voices were typically competing to construct genetically engineered golden rice as beneficial or destructive as the case may be – voices transgressing time and text boundaries in dialogistic action and implicitly finding their way into contesting ideologies. The voices include what is normally referred to as Attribution. It was a typical feature in all the press releases analysed that propositions and proposals were attributed to external sources, the writer thus delegating responsibility to other participants. However, there were also many examples of intra-vocalized Engagement, as shown. Engagement that is intra-vocalized may be *closed* or *open*. If it is *closed*, it tends to limit the possibility of dialogue while *open* intra-vocalized Engagement *opens up* a heteroglossic dialogue. Categories that were frequently represented in the intra-vocalized and closed section were those of disclaim/denial and disclaim/counter-expectation. The texts had numerous examples of denials, which formed intertextual chains like the headlines shown in Table 4 above. Propositions uttered in one press release were contested through denials and counter-denials in subsequent press releases. Denials and counter-denials are rather explicit and do not trigger presupposition in their own right. They are, however, strong intertextual links, and from that perspective they contribute to presuppositional implications due to the specific anaphoric or exophoric reference that is usually part of denials.

An Engagement category that was very frequent in the texts analysed was the category that White has referred to as counter-expectation. Counter-

Table 6. Engagement and dialogistic positioning

mono-gloss	Greenpeace visits IRRI (text 8)		
hetero-gloss	Intra-vocalised	Closed	Disclaim/denial: Thus Greenpeace's 'victory' is <i>no more</i> than IRRI's research forecast (text 10) Disclaim/counter-expectation: <i>Although</i>, at its present stage of development, Golden Rice produces only low levels of the building blocks of vitamin A, or pro-vitamin A, <i>it may ultimately provide enough</i> to be a great help in alleviating the health problems associated with vitamin-A deficiency (VAD) (text 8). Proclaim/Expectation: (of course, predictably): No examples Proclaim: Pronouncement: This sudden attack of generosity can be attributed <i>to the fact</i> that crop biotech companies, battered by successful activist campaigns against their products worldwide, are seeking some good public relations (text 3).
		Open	Probabilise: Evidence; (it seems that, there is evidence which indicates that): No examples Probabilise: Likelihood: Will anti-biotech activists succeed in breaking the promise that golden rice holds for poor people in the developing world? (text 3) Probabilise: Hearsay: (I hear that, it's said that) No examples
	Extra-vocalised		Attribute: 1) IRRI Director General Ronald P. Cantrell <i>said</i> he was satisfied that Greenpeace now appears to have a better understanding of the future development of Golden Rice (text 8). 2) <i>This report shows</i> that local alternatives do exist.

expectation, although working to close the argument, is more open to alternative points of view than a flat denial. It looks at the alternatives to a steep confrontation and makes *truth* negotiable. The example quoted in Table 6 *Although, at its present stage of development, Golden Rice produces only low levels of the building blocks of vitamin A, or pro-vitamin A, it may ultimately provide enough* to be a great help in alleviating the health problems associated with vitamin-A deficiency (VAD) reflects a degree of withdrawal by the proponents' from their position of strength. Critical voices, including Greenpeace, had for a long time been accusing the biotech industries of engineering Golden Rice to repair their tarnished image. Critical movements had co-opted scientists who were opposed to genetic engineering, with the purpose of providing

evidence that the Golden Rice project was a marketing event rather than an attempt to solve a humanitarian crisis in the third world. To bring home the idea, it had been demonstrated that an adult would have to eat 9 kg of cooked rice to satisfy the required daily intake of vitamin A. These results cast doubt on the integrity of the whole project, which may explain why the strategy of counter-expectation is much more predominant in proponents' utterances than in those written by the opponents. The following *counter-expectations* have all been uttered by proponents of the Golden Rice project:

1. Rockefeller Foundation spokesman Gordon Conway said: First it should be stated that we do *not* consider golden rice to be the solution to the vitamin A deficiency problem. *Rather* it provides an excellent complement to fruits, vegetables and animal products in diets, and to various fortified foods and vitamin supplements.
2. *While* Golden Rice alone *may* not eliminate all VAD problems in developing countries, *it is an exciting new alternative* that deserves further development, bearing in mind that a diverse diet remains the best solution to VAD. (IRRI spokesman)
3. Vitamin A deficiency is *such a serious* problem worldwide *that no one claims* one technology or food capable of fixing it, Prakash emphasized.
4. Continuing research *still needs* to be conducted *before* Golden Rice can be released for widespread cultivation. (AgbioWorld)
5. *Before* the material can be released in any country, *a wide range of trials must be conducted* to ensure that Golden Rice is environmentally harmless and safe to eat, and to measure how much vitamin A it provides consumers. (IRRI spokesman)

These five propositions seem to make a common withdrawal from the argument frequently promoted in the debate that Golden Rice is the best solution to the problem of Vitamin A deficiency. In the first three propositions the argument that Golden Rice is an exciting new alternative is qualified by counter-expectations such as *while Golden rice alone will not eliminate all VAD problems in developing countries, it is an exciting new alternative that deserves further development*. This might indicate that arguments forwarded by opponents in the process have had an impact on the public debate and its orientation. In the last two propositions the writers seem to have succumbed to the argument that tests done to prove that Golden Rice is *environmentally harmless and safe to eat* have been inadequate.

Conclusion

In this article I have discussed the two communication resources of presupposition and appraisal with the purpose of exploring their use as strategies for conveying implicit information and argumentation in press releases written by contesting parties in a public debate. After a brief introduction to relevant theory, I looked at examples of presupposition and appraisal in press releases concerning the controversial research project of genetically engineered golden rice. In the process I followed Fairclough's intertextual approach to presupposition, which entailed the inclusion of reference, the genitive, restrictive relative clauses and premodifying adjectives as presupposition categories. For the Appraisal part I focused on White's framework on dialogistic positioning, viz. Engagement.

My analyses demonstrated that presupposition and appraisal were widely used resources. Moreover it was found that although the use of presupposition triggers differed in the ten texts studied in that some texts showed a predilection for using restrictive relative clauses while factive verbs and the genitive were the preferred triggers in others, presupposition was as much used by opponents as by proponents, and there seemed to be no correlation between individual linguistic categories and the way in which these were used by opponents and proponents respectively. However, in addition to presupposition the Appraisal category of Engagement also played an important part as conveyor of ideology, and it might therefore be worthwhile to explore how other categories of the Appraisal framework are being used as a strategic resource by contesting parties in the biotechnology debate. With the reservation that I did not look at all appraisal categories, the tentative conclusion may be reached, though, that presupposition and appraisal are supplementary rather than mutually exclusive resources available for strategic communication and that they are being used as such in the biotechnology press releases that I analysed even if the degree to which they were used varied. Therefore, combining the two types of communication resources offer a wide-ranging set of implicit strategies for promoting different ideological positions. However, as suggested earlier, the two resources depend on the notion of intertextuality for their ideological work as dialogue and contestation would not be possible if meaning could never transgress textual boundaries.

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Understanding public discourse about violence and crime

A challenge for critical discourse analysis at school

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Discourses about violent crime may fulfil different social functions and bear the imprinting of deep-rooted assumptions about the place of the individual in a community, the function of laws and punishment, and the reasons people act the way they do.

Although discourse analysis will not help in taking a stance on conflicting views surrounding these issues, an approach based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will lead to recognition of such inexplicit assumptions, of the internal consistency of the underlying value systems and of the dialogical (vs. monological) character of texts that reflect and construct such views.

This paper elaborates on some challenges encountered while analysing, within an educational setting, excerpts from the press coverage of a murder case in the Italian provinces.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, critical literacy, crime, violence, crime news, value systems

1. Defining the problem

Violent crime is a subject that plays a prominent role in the Italian media and is one that secondary school students are usually eager to discuss in class. Such discussion proved particularly fruitful in one case in which students and teachers were brought together to try make sense of a tragedy that had occurred inside their school: indeed, a group of students later wrote an open letter to a national newspaper to underline how, once in a while, the school had been able to provide practice that helped the students “cope with the big questions of life”

instead of merely providing “more skill and more abstract values” (C. Pasolini 2001). It can be inferred from this letter that right after the tragedy the school began functioning as a learning community (Bereiter 2002), where students and teachers alike felt committed to furthering and sharing their understanding of a shocking event. Presumably the teachers could contribute their greater experience and knowledge about some aspects of life, while some of the students could most likely provide an inside view of the people involved, of their personal story, motives and weaknesses.

Can a similar learning experience take place in a classroom that has not been directly involved in a tragedy, but rather experiences violence and crime through sources like newspapers and TV?

Not easily, since furthering understanding is not always on the agenda of the media. Media researcher James Carey proposes a distinction between the *transmission* and *ritual* dimensions present in communication, suggesting the latter dimension as a rewarding field of inquiry:

[a ritual view of communication] will [...] view a newspaper less as sending or gaining information and more as attending a mass, a situation in which *nothing new is learned* but in which a *particular view of the world is portrayed and confirmed*. News reading, and writing, is a ritual act and moreover a *dramatic* one. What is arrayed before the reader is not a pure information but a *portrayal of the contending forces of the world*. (Carey 1989:20–21, my emphasis)

If the media represent a limited and often unreliable source for gaining understanding of the reasons which lead one person to kill another (see below, §5, for a discussion of this point), analysing public discourse about violent crime in the classroom can foster *critical literacy* by providing insights into attitudes and values which are not always made explicit. However, in order to *learn something* from the news, students and teachers will need to appropriate the tools of the researcher in language and media. Otherwise, classroom discussion on issues taken from the news will simply mirror and amplify a ritualistic function already performed elsewhere, something which may even be necessary in an emergency, but will not promote an advance in understanding.¹

1.1 Background assumptions on *critical literacy*, domain-specificity and CDA

Critical literacy – the ability to *read between the lines* can hardly be pursued as a content-independent issue: a balance of discourse-specific and topic-specific expertise is a prerequisite to criticality, as I have argued elsewhere, discussing

lies and lie-detecting (Caviglia 2002). Trying to bridge these two levels on the specific issue of discourse on violence and crime is my contribution to the research program in *Critical Discourse Analysis* (henceforth CDA), as defined for example by Fairclough and Wodak (1997). In particular, I will adopt and try to develop the following aspects:

- CDA's explicit goal of being relevant for education (as envisaged for example in the educational goal of *critical literacy* in Fairclough 1992);
- CDA's practice of connecting the micro level of discourse (words, sentences, grammatical features) with the macro level of context, which lends itself to application across different genre and media and is compatible with functional approaches to communication and to art, as advocated for example by Carey (1988) and Raskin (1982);
- CDA's suitability for illustrating the internal consistence of ideologies and points of view, as Fairclough (1996) demonstrates when responding to Widdowson's criticism (1995) of having crossed the boundary between analysis and interpretation (and maybe even between criticism and indoctrination) by exposing how elements of Widdowson's discourse reflect his own more general views of society;
- an explicit search for models of good practice, for example on what it takes to conduct dialogue (Fairclough 2000).

As the focus of this collection of essays is more on analysis of communication than on educational intervention, this latter aspect will not be examined in depth from the point of view of educational theory. It is important to remember, however, that the main concern of this paper arises from the educational problem of balancing the exposure of biases in texts with examples of good discursive practice. I have been dealing with this problem in text-analysis activities carried out in Italian secondary schools and within courses in Italian culture and society for Danish university students and teachers (Caviglia 2000).

1.2 An overview of this paper

A short survey of the literature on the media and crime (Section 2) will suggest that crime news and other forms of discourse about violence may fulfil different social functions. These functions, and the conflict between them, can in turn point out (Section 3) inexplicit assumptions about major questions like the place of the individual in a community, the function of laws and punishment, human nature and the reasons people act the way they do. These issues are often avoided – at school, in public debate, in the academic world – because

they are associated with underlying conflicts in value systems. I suggest that only by acknowledging these conflicts and the internal consistency of different world views can development in understanding be triggered. In the following section (§4) categories of dialogism vs. monovocality will be proposed as tentative criteria for distinguishing texts and discursive practice that are more or less apt to further understanding. In the conclusions (§5), I will reconsider opportunities and risks of classroom practice, with special focus on what to do when awareness is gained that discourse analysis may account for the representations of violence and crime, but not for the phenomena themselves.

The categories proposed throughout this paper will be exemplified through excerpts from press coverage of a tragic event that remained for about a month on the front pages of most Italian newspapers and in the opening titles of TV news bulletins.

The fact In February 2001 in Novi Ligure, a small provincial town in Northern Italy, a woman and her son of 13 were murdered at home. The elder daughter, Erika, 17 years old, told the police that both she and the victims had been assaulted at home by thieves of Slavic or Albanian origin. Three days after the crime, the police arrested Erika on charges of murdering her mother and brother with the help of her boyfriend, Mauro; the two confessed shortly thereafter.

2. Crime news between self-defence, social criticism and entertainment

The social functions of public discourse on, and representation of, crime and violence can be multifold. In this paper I will focus on non-fiction, and start by considering three options:

- crime news as a genre of stories written to catch the interest of the reader/viewer;
- crime news as a form of communal self-defence and reinforcement of current values;
- depiction of crime as a denouncement of social problems (and maybe as a call for a readjustment of values).

These three functions, which are almost never explicitly stated, are often intertwined, although the last two are associated with markedly different world views.

Before proceeding with an outline of the three approaches, a warning is necessary. Crime depiction in the news seldom reflects the picture offered by

official statistics; at the same time, crime depiction in the media does exert an influence on crime perception, but has no absolute power to steer the public, which can to a certain degree resist trends proposed by the media (Graber 1980; Sheley & Ashkins 1981, with other studies quoted in both papers providing mixed findings). This means that observation of the product only – without considering its consumption, as I will be doing with examples from Italian newspapers – does not allow per se an unproblematic extrapolation of the views of the audience. On a more positive note, looking at different newspaper accounts of the same event should indeed reveal different sensibilities within public opinion itself, especially in a country like Italy, where many newspapers have a defined political collocation and are not only read, but often displayed by their readers as a mark of socio-cultural identity.

2.1 Crime news as narrative genre

The success of crime news as a form of entertainment is somewhat disturbing, but undeniable. In Italy as elsewhere, crime now receives the attention of commentators in serious newspapers, and even the once sedate Italian TV programs now give a prominent place to crime. This development may be a consequence of a decline in the audience's interest in politics or even, in the case of Italian television, a conscious attempt to divert viewers from what is happening in the political arena; but this does not answer the question of why reading and hearing about crime and violence has become so popular.

The working hypothesis I would suggest is based on Keith Oatley's (neo-Aristotelian) view of literature as simulation, as a safe playground where the writer through *mimesis* and the reader through *identification* can both expand their experience of the world (Oatley 1992, 1999 and 2000): crime news is first of all a *narrative* which permits exploration of a dimension that is largely inaccessible in everyday life, but is perceived as a relevant part of human experience.

In the first reports on the tragedy in Novi Ligure, the entirely mendacious declarations by Erika became, in the authoritative newspaper *La Repubblica*, a gripping and detailed story written in the third person (Preve 2001), with few reminders to the reader that the only source of these accounts were the girl's statements. Interestingly, one day later, when Erika's account of events begun to sound suspicious, the same story was reported once again more or less in the same terms, only this time interspersed with accompanying remarks pointing out ambiguities (Crosetti 2001). However, neither article refrained from luring the reader's attention with a vivid narrative full of gory details.

While the interest that crime holds for the wider audience is probably triggered by curiosity towards extreme facets of life (and crime provides especially authoritative narratives, since they are based on *true life*), public discourse about crime presents itself, in a more engaged light, as a space in which a community reflects on its problems and reaffirms its values. The rest of this paper focuses on this latter aspect, without losing sight of the existing ambiguity between morbid and socially acceptable interest.

2.2 Crime news and discourse on crime as modern gallows

Émile Durkheim (1933:65–110) has been highly influential in proposing the view that discourse on crime is a method societies employ for constructing and reasserting morality. In industrialized societies, mass media have become the principal means by which this process is carried out: crime and punishment are constructed into narratives and then disseminated, thus substituting rituals like public executions and torture (Foucault 1975; Schattenberg 1981).

In Durkheim's view, crime rituals construct and perpetuate morality by reasserting shared rules, promoting cohesion against those who violate those rules, imposing social control through rituals of punishment and, finally, defining power relations.

That crime news is part of such *crime rituals* seems to be confirmed by recent studies. For example, in her functionalist content-analysis of a sample of American news magazine programs with wide readership, Grabe (1999) found confirmation of her four hypotheses that news stories are functional to the defence of the community's existing social order by:

1. framing crime in terms of a struggle between good and evil and primarily assigning police and criminals to these roles;
2. presenting criminals as villains who are personally responsible for violating society's moral values;
3. prominently featuring the crime does not pay myth;
4. presenting women as the victims of crime and African Americans as the perpetrators.

I could not locate a comparable study about Italian crime news. Were one to exist, it would probably use the same hypotheses as a starting point (just substituting 'African American' with 'immigrants'), but might yield – I would expect – some differences between TV and newspapers and especially between different newspapers, as I will seek to show through Italian examples given in this paper.

In the case of the tragedy in Novi Ligure, the first reaction in the immediate aftermath of the killing was outrage against immigrants and the allegedly pro-immigrant government, fuelled in particular by the right-wing populist party *Lega Nord*. In an interview in the Lega Nord newspaper *La Padania*, a prominent representative of the party, Bernardino Bosio, when reminded by journalist Elena Maccanti that the detectives were not sure the perpetrators were immigrants, answered:

...let's not kid ourselves. From what's being said, it's almost certain that the blame for this horror is to be put on people of Slavic nationality. By the way, this sort of violence is atypical for Italian crime, for our culture.

(Maccanti 2001)²

When the girl was arrested and later confessed to the crime, popular rage turned against her: someone wrote 'death penalty' on the walls of the prison Erika was locked up in, while three mothers in the same town went to the civil register to change their daughters' name, as it was the same as the young killer's (Ponte 2001).³

However, maybe because the person who was held most responsible for the crime was a young girl, the dominant tone in the media was first of all shock and then, as we will focus on below, an urge to understand what had gone wrong with her and with the community at large. The defence of law and order is indeed not the only possible function for crime depiction.

2.3 Depiction of crime as social criticism

Since the late '60s, on the wave of progressive movements in the USA and in Europe, the depiction of crime from a "law and order" perspective has been challenged. Pier Paolo Pasolini, for example, an intellectual in the tradition of Gramsci with a keen interest in psychology, went to great efforts to enlighten the left-wing readership to more nuanced views. In response to a reader accusing him of defending the acts of criminals, Pasolini answered that

even prisoners (thieves, robbers, killers etc.) can contribute to the birth of "new values" [...] not by virtue of their criminal acts, but by virtue of "something" that comes ahead of them, of which criminal acts are an aberrant side-effect that, however, are not enough to reduce this "something" into a brand, into a racist definition."

What is this "something"? It's a trauma, an individual or social trauma (as far as such distinctions are possible). At the origin of a crime there is always a psychological devastation: there is a baby, a toddler or a young boy that suffered

*an incurable wound in his private or social life (it's only a matter of focusing more on one or the other term).*⁴ (Pasolini 1969, my emphasis)

A few lines later, Pasolini went on to criticize the habit of dividing people into villains and victims in order to “get rid of the ‘monsters’ and deny any responsibility”. Taking as an example the tragic deaths of a boy and a girl, as yet unsolved, Pasolini warned against the victim/monster dichotomy and proposed looking at those crimes as an expression of “a tragic encounter of two human beings” (“tragico incontro di due creature”, *ibid.*). At the same time Pasolini saw the episodes of violence that he often commented on in the press as an expression of transformations in value systems and of failures by social institutions such as the family, school and the media.⁵

Self-defence of the community and enlightenment of its members are different functions, but not mutually exclusive. Graber (1980: 129), for example, concludes her research arguing that crime news might and should play an *educational* role by exposing the link between poverty and crime, thereby inducing the public to endorse social policy reforms.

Public discourse on crime can also be modern gallows for offenders. At the same time it can point to shortcomings in society and culture and, more specifically, in institutions that failed to prevent or mitigate deviant behaviour, such as in the case of recent school shootings at the Columbine High School of Littelton in the USA⁶ or at the Gutenberg Gymnasium of Erfurt in Germany.⁷ In an Italian scenario, this double function in the depiction of crime is visible for example in the analyses by the sociologist Bettin (1992) and the psychiatrist Andreoli (1997) of the notorious case of Piero Maso, who at the age of 19, with help from three friends, killed his parents in order to inherit their money. Both Bettin and Andreoli (as well as some newspaper commentaries following the crime) highlighted how Pietro Maso's near obsession with showing off and with his lavish lifestyle was rooted in the reigning values of a community that had made a fairly recent transition from poverty and emigration to relative wealth.

The family tragedy in Novi Ligure also gave opinion makers the opportunity to raise questions about shortcomings in contemporary education and lifestyles that could result in difficult relationships between parents and children. For example, psychologist and cultural anthropologist Umberto Galimberti (2001) focused on emotional illiteracy and on the lack of dialogue within families, sociologist Giuliano da Empoli (2001) identified the unprecedented power that technology puts in the hands of teenagers as a potentially destabilizing factor, while social critic Michele Serra (2001) wrote against the

contemporary obsession with occupying each and every moment of children's and teenagers' lives, thereby depriving them of time for reflecting and dreaming. None of these three comments sought to explain *that* specific tragedy and all three of them did provide insights into aspects of contemporary life. At the same time, I dare say that these three comments might be seen as a progressive version of the "ritualistic function" (Carey) of newspaper communication, aimed in this case at portraying and confirming an enlightened and social-critical view of the world; it would be unfair to say that "nothing is learned" from these comments, since all three do enlarge the reader's perspective: only, none of them contributes much to understanding the tragedy itself. I found only one contribution from the social-critical front (Fontana 2001) which took a position on the origin of the tragedy and blamed the killing on the upbringing that the perpetrator Erika had received at home and in her community; Fontana's article will be discussed in detail in Section 4, after further discussion on competing views of social deviance.

3. Different value systems and discourse on violent crime

The previous section set the gallows-invoking attitude to violence and crime against the blame-society attitude, without questioning the rationale behind the different attitudes. However, if constructive debate is our ultimate goal, exposing the ideology of a cultural artefact is only a first step. Especially in an educational context, some form of acknowledgment and understanding of the world view we perceive as being that of the Other (for example, the gallows-invoking attitude if we are non-violent liberals) is inescapable, lest we turn analysis into propaganda. My point in using discourse about crime for analysis and debate at school is to go beyond exposing the biases that different world views impose on stories: the different views should be given, whenever possible, a chance to be understood as consistent value systems; obviously, this does not exclude taking positions on them later.

This section, which uses examples from a course on "values of Italian people" for Danish university students (Caviglia 2000), will give examples of efforts to identify *deep rationales* of conflicting value systems.

3.1 *Strict Father* vs. *Nurturant Parent* morality (and other dichotomies)

Giving a name to the different attitudes was and is still an open issue. A few years after the political upheaval that transformed scene in Italy (around 1992

all major parties split, changed name or even disappeared), the ideological scenario had changed and new alliances and divisions became possible. This resulted in an interesting debate on values, identities, similarities and differences (e.g. Eco & Martini 1996), and on finding a language for expressing them.

Political scientist Norberto Bobbio had been arguing that a reappraisal of the traditional concepts of *left* and *right*, with *equality* vs. *difference* as key values, could still explain different stances on modern issues (Bobbio [1994] 1999). Perry Anderson (1998) objected that the left/right dichotomy did explain past differences in policies, but no longer seemed adequate to explain current conflicts in the developed countries. In the same period I carried out a quick test on this point, asking students and colleagues to identify along the right/left axis the political orientation of readers' letters published in politically affiliated newspapers on issues like immigration, solidarity and national identity. The test confirmed the difficulties in using this categorisation in Italy today, since traditionally right- or left-wing traits seemed to pop up transversally across parties and movements (Caviglia 2000: 19–24).

Marcello Veneziani, a political commentator with a right-wing background, did not agree in attributing *difference* as the mark of his party and suggested instead *liberal* vs. *communitarian* as a better alternative for highlighting differences in political views against a common ground of shared values (Veneziani 1999). On issues like immigration, sexual morality or the family this dichotomy proved useful (Caviglia 2000: 55–57), but a more general use of these words seems to me problematic, since quite different political entities, at least in Italy, have been trying for years to appropriate the stem *liber-*, while *communitarian* has remained a niche-term that cannot be used without a long explanation.

A promising alternative way to explore differences in value systems has been proposed by semio-linguist George Lakoff (1996) in his attempt to understand apparent apories in the attitudes of US liberals and conservatives: Why are conservatives usually *pro-life* in connection with the abortion debate and in favour of capital punishment? Why are liberals, despite their claim to protect the weak, usually *pro-choice*? Why do conservatives consider welfare immoral, while liberals consider it immoral to reduce it?

Lakoff set out to understand such contradictions by assuming that both systems are intrinsically coherent, but rooted in two radically different notions of the same *Nation-as-Family* or *Community-as-Family* metaphor. Building on his research about metaphors as a primary building block of cognition (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987), Lakoff looked at the architecture of metaphors representing and constructing the value system of conservatives and liberals

Table 1. Strict Father vs. Nurturant Parent morality (Lakoff 1996: 65–66, 108–110)

Strict Father morality	Nurturant Parent morality
<i>Model of family</i>	
Traditional nuclear family:	Preferably two <i>parents</i> , but perhaps only one;
– <i>the father</i> in charge of family policy and supports and defends the family	– if two, the parents share household responsibilities
– he teaches children right from wrong (possibly through punishment)	– the primal experience is one of being cared for, living as happily as possible, deriving meaning from mutual interaction and care (but support and protection play a role, too)
– ensures love, but does not coddle children, lest they become spoiled	– the goal of child-rearing is the development of one's potential: a fulfilled person will become <i>nurturant</i> for others.
– <i>the mother</i> has day-to-day responsibility for the care of house and children and upholds the father's authority.	
<i>Human nature and education</i>	
– by nature (that is, without education) people would simply tend to satisfy their desires	– man is by nature not bad; education should help nurture his best sides
– reward and punishment serve to condition action towards good-doing and self-discipline	– obedience should derive from love and respect (and not from the fear of punishment, which produces irresponsibility)
– strength can be acquired through self-discipline and self-denial – one must be strong to resist evil	– two-way, mutually respectful communication is crucial; authority must be legitimated by explanation
<i>Morality = (in the first place)</i>	
moral strength, authority	empathy

and identified two kinds of morality, which he named respectively *Strict Father* and *Nurturant Parent*. By observing a relatively small set of linked metaphors, Lakoff tracked a map of two value systems, which I have reproduced and juxtaposed in Table 1 with a certain degree of simplification, reporting some of the founding traits.

The overall model proposed by Lakoff is tailored to understanding the USA, where the two systems of values correspond to intellectual and political stances of conservatives and liberals. I am sceptical about applying Lakoff's model to countries with different cultural and political traditions. However, the two poles of *Strict Father* and *Nurturant Parent* seem to me useful categories in Europe for framing synchronic and diachronic cultural differences on specific issues, such as deviance and violence.

In the case of the attitude to crime and crime-fighting, the different concepts about the nature of man and education in the two systems lead, beyond

Table 2. Strict Father vs. Nurturant Parent attitude towards crime (from Lakoff 1996: 200–209)

Two different attitudes towards crime and deviance	
<i>Strict Father morality</i>	<i>Nurturant Parent morality</i>
– the perpetrator is the Other: either a <i>monster</i> from outside (e.g. a stranger, a homosexual) or a <i>rotten apple</i> (someone who repudiated the values of the community) – in both cases, the perpetrator must be punished severely (as revenge and example for others) and removed (as self-defence) – character is determined by past actions and will determine future ones: it is almost impossible to change a person – victims are pure and innocent; if not (as with homosexuals and prostitutes), they paid for their guilt with their suffering (are also <i>redeemed</i>)	– the perpetrator testifies to a failure in the social system (family, school, ...) – the community should take responsibility for the failure and <i>rehabilitate</i> the perpetrator (even by taking a calculated risk) – given the right environment and motivation, people can change – discovering the truth and making it public is more important than punishing the perpetrator

the common concern for self-defence, to quite different concepts, as I have summarised in Table 2.

The gallows-invoking and blame-society attitudes we encountered before are reframed here within internally consistent value systems,⁸ which should make it possible to understand and evaluate discourse on crime in a broader perspective, by asking questions like:

- Which values are conflicting? Who represents or opposes them? How *new* is a value in respect to other traditions?
- How functional is a value system to the well-being of individuals and communities?
- How much is a value system corroborated by what we know, for example, about *the nature of man* (whatever that means) and the possibility of individual and collective change?

It is worth noting that in the last chapter of his analysis Lakoff – a committed liberal – actually abandons his equidistant attitude to the two poles he himself has constructed and writes a passionate defence of the Nurturant Parent value systems with the motivation that it corresponds more closely to the (hotly debated) state of scientific knowledge about man’s nature and the development of behaviour. Although an issue like “the origin of behaviour” would fall outside

the scope of discourse analysis, it is obviously a central issue in understanding violence and crime as phenomena. I will return to this self-imposed limitation in the last section of this paper.

3.2 Constructing the deviant as *other*

Strict Father morality is also consistent with popular reaction of invoking the death penalty for perpetrators of serious crimes, as exemplified in the case of Erika: the community has the right and duty to defend itself by getting rid of the monster, be it someone from outside or a *rotten apple*, as in the case of Erika. A more articulate example of how to construct the *otherness* of a deviant comes again from the *La Padania* newspaper:

[...] Gli investigatori sono convinti che Erika e Mauro hanno agito da soli. Stanno ancora lavorando all'individuazione del movente, per il quale viene privilegiata l'ipotesi di una esasperata conflittualità che si sarebbe creata tra Erika e la madre, Susy Cassini, che rimproverava alla figlia "amicizie discutibili". Anche il padre a un amico di famiglia ha detto di sentirsi responsabile per non aver impedito alla figlia di frequentare strana gente, stranieri e tossici.	[...] The detectives believe that Erika and Mauro acted alone. They are still working on the motives of the crime; the current hypothesis is that of a heated conflict between Erika and her mother, Susy Cassini, who reproached her daughter for keeping "bad company". The father too told a friend that <i>he felt responsible for not preventing his daughter from hanging around with strange people, foreigners and junkies.</i>
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(*La Padania*, 25.2.2001, my emphasis)

The theory proposed by the police, and later confirmed in the trial, about the motive for the crime is reported with detachment, in an outspokenly *written* style, with impersonal verbal forms like "*viene privilegiata l'ipotesi che*" (lit. "the hypothesis being favoured is that"), "*esasperata conflittualità che si sarebbe creata*" (lit. "heated conflict which allegedly developed") and two long nominalizations "individuazione" and "conflittualità". This style seems literally to echo the language of an official statement from the police. The only concept that gives a possibility for shifting the focus from inside to outside the family is "amicizie discutibili" ("questionable friendships", "bad company"), which may or may not have come from the police statement. At any rate, the concept of *bad company* is exploited in the following sentence, whose source is so indi-

rect and vague as to raise doubts in a non-cooperative reader, but whose direct and spoken-like style seems designed to sound more palatable for reader. The words “frequentare strana gente, stranieri e tossici” belong to a spoken register both in lexicon and syntax: “strana gente” (=odd, strange people) is a quite common expression in spoken language, but not in written.⁹ “Strana gente, stranieri e tossici” (=odd people, foreigners and junkies) builds a rather odd syntactic pattern: the two latter elements could be more specific instances of the first broad one, or the three elements together could represent all the negative stereotypes in addition to foreigners and junkies. Standard written Italian would have required “come” (such as) to explain the hypernym/hyponym relationship in the first hypothesis, or more explicitness in the second hypothesis. In spoken language the sentence has instead the right degree of vagueness to enable the reader to fill in his own image of “odd people”; the assonance *strana/stranieri* may even offer further help. In conclusion, the whole passage is effective in suggesting, to the model reader of *La Padania*, juxtaposition of the abstract *written* language of the official version, pointing to internal conflicts in the family, with a no-nonsense explanation from a very authoritative source, allegedly the father himself of the perpetrator, which postulates that *bad company* external to the community was to blame (actually: that he, the victim, ought to blame himself because he could not avoid the influence of bad company). The text is designed to induce the reader to identify more with this second voice, which is rendered through an example of what Tannen, rejecting the standard definition of *reported speech*, calls *constructed dialogue*, a resource that

creates rhythm and musical cadence as well as setting up a drama-like scene in which characters interact with each other and engage in culturally recognizable activities. (Tannen 1997: 141)

The gallows-invoking discourse, whatever its form, has no ambition to rehabilitate or redeem the perpetrators, but rather to point to the menace they represent and the need to get rid of them. Construing them as radically different from the community is a step in this direction. In line with this attitude, four readers’ letters appeared months later in *La Padania*, which invoked harsh treatment for the perpetrators, with only one reader advocating *rehabilitation* rather than punishment.¹⁰

To be fair towards the gallows-invoking attitude, we should not exclude that it may be a proper way of understanding the problem, if we take Bereiter’s broad definition of *understanding* as *intelligent action* (see Note 1). The point is then if the gallows does solve the problem and if we accept this kind of so-

lution; this is outside the scope of this paper, but hopefully not of classroom discussion.

At any rate, the main issue of Strict Father discourse about crime is to collect forces within the community for a more incisive fight against criminals and against those who show *weakness* towards deviance.

4. Evaluating contributions to debate

On the side of Nurturant Parent morality, understanding is more important than punishing. For those who consider a crime as a testimony of failure in the social system, the ability to help advance understanding of a problem becomes of paramount importance.

The texts analysed in this (§4) section are informed by a Nurturant Parent view of society and deviance, and by a social-critical attitude. However, social criticism can be as self-righteous as the gallows-invoking approach, and equally useless in terms of furthering shared understanding.

Bakhtin's *dialogical principle* may provide categories for evaluating a text's attitude to dialogue.

4.1 Monologism vs. dialogism

Coupled with the notion of *intertextuality* ("[...] all discourse is in dialogue with prior discourses on the same subject, as well as with discourses yet to come, whose reactions it foresees and anticipates". Todorov 1984: x), *dialogue* is in Bakhtin and his circle *the* principle for understanding in the human sciences (Voloshinov 1973: 102; Bakhtin 1986: 161).

The opposition of *monologism* and *dialogism* corresponds to two attitudes to *otherness* and difference:

Ultimately, *monologism* denies that there exists outside of it another consciousness, with the same rights, and capable of responding on an equal footing, another and equal eye (*thou*). For a monologic outlook (in its extreme or pure form), the *other* remains entirely and only an *object* of consciousness, and cannot constitute another consciousness. No response capable of altering everything in the world of my consciousness is expected of this other. The monologue is accomplished and deaf to the other's response; it does not await it and does not grant it any *decisive* force. Monologue makes do without the other; that is why to some extent it objectivizes all reality. Monologue pretends to be the *last word*. (Bakhtin 1984: 318)

In positive terms, the root of dialogism is the attitude to represent “a plurality of consciousnesses, with equal rights, each with its own world, combining the unity of an event but nonetheless without fusing” (Bakhtin 1984:6–7), as Bakhtin sees represented in an exemplary manner in Dostoevsky’s novels. Elsewhere Bakhtin calls *exotopy* (*vnenakhodimost*, ‘finding oneself outside’) the condition that makes it possible to portray people and agency “encompassing the other as an elsewhere beyond integration or reduction” (as explained and translated by Todorov/Godzich [1981] 1984:99).

Actually, all discourse has at least a dialogical trait, because of its intertextual nature (Todorov 1984:x), as we saw above (§3) in the text blaming the crime of Novi Ligure on “bad company”, where a polyphonic text was at the service of a monological discourse. But, according to the more pluralistic (and committed) definition of dialogism proposed by Bakhtin and by Todorov, different discourses can be placed in different positions along the monological-dialogical axis.

In order to substantiate my claim that a text is more or less *dialogical*, I will above all bear in mind Bakhtin’s views, but I will also seek help from an approach offering insight into smaller units of analysis, such as the notion of *involvement in discourse* as elaborated especially by Chafe (1985) and by Tannen (1989, 1997).

4.2 Dialogue and em involvement in discourse

A theoretical framework for understanding politeness, reformulated by Brown & Levinson (1987) on the basis of Goffman’s (1956) notion of *deference*, identifies in *positive* and *negative face* the two concurring needs governing conversation: to have one’s wants approved by others and not to impose them or, in other words, to show affection or cooperativeness and to keep independence. This is the presupposition of the concept of *involvement* as the driving force of discourse (a review of the multiple sources of the concept in Tannen 1989:9–14). Chafe (1985:116) in particular has identified three different layers of involvement: self-involvement of the speaker, interpersonal involvement between speaker and listener, and involvement of the speaker with what is talked about (not coincidentally, these categories have some correspondence with the idea of discourse constructing identity, relation and representation as proposed by Fairclough & Wodak 1997). Elaborating further on the notion of *involvement*, Tannen has explored how the conflicting needs may hamper communication and jeopardize relationships (Tannen 1986 and 1990) and also, in a parallel research thread, how conversation and literary discourse both construct “pat-

terns of sound and sense” devised to create involvement in the speaker or reader (Tannen 1989 and 1992).¹¹

After meeting Bakhtin in a later phase, Tannen observed:

My notion of involvement is analogous to Bakhtin’s notion of dialogue; it grows out of a view of language as fundamentally interactive and grounded in context; of meaning as the result of interplay between novelty and fixity; and of *meaning as created by listeners as well as speakers in response to prior text*.
(Tannen 1997: 141, my emphasis)¹²

In the same *Bakhtinian* paper, Tannen adds a remark about the connection between involvement and understanding that is relevant to the educational concerns of this paper:

People understand information better – perhaps only – if they have discovered it for themselves rather than being told it. Listeners and readers not only understand information better but care more about it – understand it *because* they care about it – if they have worked to make its meaning.
(Tannen 1997: 141, emphasis in original)

In the attempt to provide a more analytical account of how different texts are intrinsically more or less *dialogical*, the next two sections will have a special focus on the way they construct and reflect *involvement* with their readers and with their subject.

4.3 Monological social criticism

Luca Fontana (2001), a journalist from the moderately left-wing weekly magazine *Diario della settimana*, went to Novi Ligure to attend the funerals of the victims, visited the small town and the crime scene and wrote a lengthy report, which also figured prominently in the magazine’s web edition. It is a gripping text full of details, letting people, things and places almost speak for themselves, until the last two pages. Approaching his conclusions, Fontana moves to more general considerations and starts remarking that family killings are – in his view – a phenomenon typical of peasant culture whose vestiges occasionally pop up in a country, like Italy, which has experienced hasty and unbalanced economic development that has not been accompanied by equivalent progress in mentality (a position which, although oversimplified, in my view is defensible). After a disclaimer, stating that he does not have a definite theory about the killing, but just “suspicions”, he nonetheless makes clear his ambition to offer an authoritative explanation by explaining to the reader that

crime too, like any other human act, such as eating or even walking, is permeated by culture. Each human action shows itself in the forms, codes and languages of a given culture.¹³

In the following lines, Fontana goes back to previously quoted rumours heard at the funeral – reporting them this time as “probably reliable information”, *una notizia probabile* – that Erika’s mother had surprised the young couple while they were making love and had been killed in the argument that followed. Fontana draws on this unsupported claim (corroborated by the fact that Erika’s mother was a regular churchgoer and that Erika attended a private religious school) to build a strong hypothesis that the tragedy was rooted in the sex-phobic Catholic education of a typical Italian family: after a brief comparison between family life in Italy and in other European countries, Fontana accuses the Italian family model and values of producing conflict and lack of affective support, and then jumps to the conclusion – mitigated a few lines later by being defined as “just a research hypothesis” – that “The awful story of poor Erika [...] is also one of the many everyday triumphs of Catholic morals.”¹⁴

Apart from the unreliability of the source (he chooses to believe one rumour that is highly implausible – possibly a naive attempt to rationalize the unthinkable – but which fits with his expectations) I object to the relation that Fontana constructs with the reader and with the subject.

Dialogue with the reader

First of all, Fontana seems to preach to the faithful, that is to readers (those of *Diario della settimana*) who are supposed to share his views and to wish to see them confirmed; this corresponds more to the ritual function of communication “in which nothing new is learnt” than to Fontana’s self-appointed role in enlightening the audience (actually, to the credit of the journal and its readership, several readers sharply rebuked Fontana for presuming he knew the origin of the murder, with only a few voices supporting him enthusiastically). Moreover, I disagree with the way Fontana’s text speaks to potential readers who might not share his cultural and political background. If we accept, with Tannen (1998), that conversation (and more generally dialogue) should give both partners a chance to save face, then Fontana does not offer any chance to a reader with a background different from his own, say an *enlightened* Catholic. This is not in the least to say that sharp criticism and polemic should be banned; only, effective criticism as a contribution to shared understanding should not prevent a *collaborative* attitude by a variety of readers, unless we content ourselves with self-referential discourse.¹⁵

Dialogue/involvement with the subject(s)

There is no doubt that Fontana is able to construct emotional involvement with the story through an account full of meaningful details, which are a device for showing and constructing involvement (Tannen 1989: 134–165, 1992). Fontana lends his voice to people and even places. However, the nearer we get to the end of the article, the more we miss the voices of both victims and perpetrators. Erika becomes “poor Erika” in the last pages, Fontana’s heart “suffers” for her, “raised on a bulimic diet of communions, confessions, prayers and pilgrimages”. Less sympathy (and equally no voice) is afforded to her mother, whom we can only guess at as being the embodiment of Catholic-plus-small-bourgeois obscurantism: all we know of her is that she “was strict in the matter of sexual morals” and disapproved of her daughter’s boyfriend, who belonged to a family on a lower rung of the social ladder. We learn nothing at all about the brother. By no means will I deny that assumptions about family, class and religion may have played a role in this tragedy. My objection is that what Fontana describes is not a “tragic encounter of human beings” with their conflicting motives, values, “individual or social wounds”, as Pasolini would have suggested (see above, §3.2), but only the mechanically probable outcome of a monstrous system, *Italian Catholicism*, of which Erika is a victim and her mother a willing accomplice. This way of portraying people and agency is the exact opposite of “encompassing the other as an elsewhere beyond integration or reduction” (as Todorov/Godzich [1981] 1984:99 explain and translate Bakhtin’s ‘exotopy’).

4.4 Dialogical social criticism

Another report from the funerals in Novi Ligure presents a different form of criticism, in an article written by journalist Enrico Deaglio (2001) for the quite varied audience of a regional newspaper; Deaglio is also the founder and director to the above mentioned *Diario della settimana*, that is, we can assume his world views to be not too distant from those of Luca Fontana.

Deaglio’s focus is on the racism which broke out in the few days before Erika’s arrest, but he never assumes the attitude of teaching the readers what to think: he just devotes a large part of his article to reporting an encounter he makes in Novi Ligure with a middle-aged immigrant, obviously well integrated in the community, whom Deaglio meets while the man is on his way to the local mosque with his children. Deaglio’s quite strong adversary message is suggested by a simile occurring in the title (*Novi Ligure, Alabama*) and in two passages:

I have also been thinking that all that organized frenzy, those deputies looking so sure, that the Lega [the *Lega Nord* party] organizing torch-lit marches, its hammering television [Tele Nord, a TV channel close to the *Lega Nord*], were somehow smelling of Alabama. And then the sheriff of Novi Ligure, if Novi Ligure were in Alabama, would have believed Erika because she was white and from a respected family. He would have looked for a black man, put him in jail, then the justice system would have killed him and finally Hollywood would have made a film out of it. Finally I have been thinking that, if such fear continues to be instilled into people day after day, if we have reached the point that a young girl is well aware of whom she has to report and accuse, if we have reached the point that a sixteen years old girl knows very well how to persuade millions of people, then, well, maybe we are already in Alabama. But these were short term sensations. And I am grateful to that man with his two sons I met by chance at Novi Ligure [*the middle-aged and well-integrated immigrant*] who with just one smile and a quiet pace made me realize that we are still in Italy, after all.¹⁶

Deaglio creates a scenario that his readership is familiar with from films like *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962) or *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), which have often been broadcast over the years on Italian television. By asking his readers to recollect these films, Deaglio establishes a common background, based on a story with clear-cut good and bad guys; I imagine that most voters and even militants of the anti-immigrant party *Lega Nord* must have been more sympathetic with the good guys when they first saw the film, probably at a time when racism in Italy was almost *only* practised between North and South Italy. Deaglio does not accuse anybody directly; it is the reader who is induced to give a name to the bad guys, to associate local Italian faces with the sheriff, politician and rednecks that populate films portraying the Deep South of the USA. There are two *heroes* in Deaglio's article, again characters from those films: the honest judges who found the killers and the "gentleman" with two children, who happens to be the innocent bystander and who in those films is the victim of unjust accusations and prosecution.

I wish to underline that Deaglio is by no means mild in expressing his criticism; I believe, on the contrary, that he is both hard and extremely effective: only, he establishes a common background and then prompts readers to do their part in *making meaning*, as suggested by the dialogical principle as reformulated by Tannen (1997: 141; s. above, §4.2).

5. Conclusions: Two directions for future work, plus a warning

The main difficulty I had to face in discussing violent crime, first in Italian secondary school and then with Danish university students, is how to find a balance between challenging the public discourse and recognizing one's limits and even impotence to say anything about the phenomenon.

The conceptual tools proposed so far should allow some insight into the discourse about crime and about the rationale behind different attitudes to crime, but have no pretension to speak of the phenomenon itself: how does a person end up killing or harming another? Maybe unsurprisingly, the example of good dialogic practice (Deaglio 2001, see above §4) that I singled out from the press coverage of the tragedy in Novi Ligure focused on the reactions in the community to the crime. The same was true for another both emotional and self-conscious article written right after the tragedy which explained why that very crime appeared "intolerable" both to the public at large and to seasoned journalists (*Il manifesto*, 2001). However, they did not offer any insight on the crime itself, or only on aspects connected with its *reception* (for example, whom the girl accused in the first place).

I believe it important to keep the distinction between the phenomenon (crime, in general or in a particular instance) and its representation/construction through various cultural artefacts (crime news, commentaries, docu-fiction). Although this distinction is quite obvious to professionals, this is seldom the case for lay people, who tend to focus on the *story* level, usually without questioning the source of information (hence the need for teaching *critical literacy*). Making the learner aware that a newspaper article represents the product of several layers of mediation, and not *the fact* itself, is a first important (and not easy) step towards establishing some understanding of media discourse. However, it may be frustrating for learners hungering for answers to the "big questions of life" (cfr. §1) to recognize that a classroom analysis of a text can be effective, but the phenomenon seems to move away from sight, I maintain my position on the subject, that being frustrated by the awareness of one's limits is better than being deceived by unsupported assumptions. But the frustration remains.

The big question about the origin of violent behaviour, and more generally of behaviour, is outside the scope of the discipline of discourse analysis. This makes sense, of course, although this self-limitation – and more generally the lack of acknowledgment that the way behaviour develops is an open issue – in my view risks leaving the phenomena in the exclusive hands of those, like psychologists, who do consider the momentous weight of discursive elements

in shaping behaviour and include them in their analysis, but also have a say on the whole phenomenon (for example, Ugazio 1998). This condition may have the unfortunate consequence that the culture of literacy may end up being perceived as irrelevant to *real life*. It is not just a matter of the struggle for cultural hegemony: in a culture that tends towards over-specialisation, the words for talking about *real life* (feelings, choices, relationships) risk being confined to a group of professionals, psychologists or sociologists, or else remain in the reign of undisciplined small-talk. The teaching of language and literature should in my view help bridge this gap, but this would require a rethink of school curricula in order to include some advances and open questions from other fields of the human sciences, such as psychology, anthropology and sociology. At the same time, the human/social sciences in general would benefit from a more thorough contribution from approaches focusing on *discourse*: emblematically, the author of one intriguing theory about the development of violent behaviour based on the subject's life history (Athens 1997) saw his requests for grants refused for years by boards of criminologists because his approach was *too narrative* for the reigning paradigms in criminology, and could never receive support by the American National Endowment for the Humanities, as his work "resembled science more than art" (Rhodes 1999: 107).

Another limitation in the approach I am proposing regards the need for more specificity: I still find unsatisfactory the level of detail I achieve in the analysis of the texts. The notion of *involvement*, elaborated especially by Chafe and Tannen, does help in explaining the kind of dialogue a writer offers to his readers, but some elements, for example *syntax*, remain outside of the picture. The theory of linguistic polyphony as developed by Henning Nølke (1999) addresses precisely this issue, and his notion of "discourse entities" (*êtres discursifs*) as actors "designated as sources of points of view" seems promising in accounting for the different voices constructed and reflected by a text. However, I have not yet been able to assimilate and integrate their approach.

Finally, I wish to add a cautionary note. People who develop a habit of critical analysis of discourse on crime, and become proficient at it, may easily develop a cynical attitude that neglects the misery and suffering entrenched in this theme. I believe that the following question by Arundhati Roy should be raised whenever this risk is lurking in the learning community:

at what point does a scholar stop being a scholar and become a parasite who feeds off despair and dispossession?

(Arundhati Roy, "Shall we leave it to the experts?", *The Nation*, 18.2.2002)

Notes

1. I use *understanding* in the broad sense proposed by Bereiter (2002:94–124), which encompasses *adequate responses* ranging from emotional involvement to *deep understanding* revealed by insightful analysis. A criticism of pointless discussion in the classroom opposed to activities focused on advancing knowledge is found in Bereiter (2002:266–271) and Tannen (1998:262sgg.). According to Bereiter, overemphasis on activity or self-expression plagues educational practice and theory, probably in contrast with equally problematic old-fashioned content-orientedness; he proposes focusing instead on the ability to manipulate and augment knowledge, and on the tools to be appropriated in pursuing this aim (literacy and numeracy in the first place, topic-related conceptual tools and also epistemological awareness of the learning and knowledge building process). Tannen on her side attacks the (Western) tenet of the adversarial approach as the best way to knowledge, and suggests *dialogue* as a more productive principle.
2. Original text: “Non prendiamoci in giro, per favore. Le voci che circolano danno quasi per certo che la responsabilità di quest’orrore è da imputare a persone di nazionalità slava. Del resto si tratta di una violenza atipica rispetto alla criminalità italiana, alla nostra cultura”. To be honest, another article in the same issue of the newspaper did mention that the reconstruction of events was still unsure. According to Fontana (2001), the TV channel *Telenord* – also politically close to the *Lega Nord* – gave voice to open hatred against immigrants in interviews with citizens in Novi Ligure in the immediate aftermath of the crime.
3. Two of the mothers asked to change the ‘k’ into ‘c’ (*Erica*), while the third chose an entirely different name. By Italian standards, spelling the name with a ‘k’ is an attempt to produce a slightly exotic effect, and this is a possible clue to the parents’ adhesion to would-be smart cultural stereotypes.
4. The original Italian text: “Anche i carcerati (ladri, rapinatori, omicidi eccetera) potessero contribuire alla nascita di “nuovi valori”, in virtù, egli interpretava, delle loro azioni delittuose. E io rispondevo: no, non in virtù delle loro azioni delittuose, ma per quel “qualcosa” che è a monte di esse, e di cui esse sono un effetto aberrante, ma non tale, tuttavia, da ridursi a marchio, a definizione razzistica. Cos’è questo “qualcosa”? E’ un trauma, individuale o sociale (nella misura, assai ristretta, in cui si possono fare simili distinzioni). Alle origini del delitto c’è sempre una catastrofe psicologica: c’è un bambino di pochi mesi, di pochi anni, oppure un ragazzino che va, alle elementari, che ha subito una ferita immedicabile, O nella sua vita privata o nella sua vita sociale (è solo questione di accentuare un po’ più l’una o l’altra parola).”
5. A relatively well known example of his approach is an article (Pasolini 1975) reporting the story of a young policeman who, while transferring a prisoner, let himself be talked into leaving him alone with his lover for some brief moments; after the prisoner’s escape, the policeman committed suicide. Pasolini proposed taking this tragedy as a symbol of the anthropological transformation of the old values (honour, obedience) clashing with modernity: this is symbolised by the consumerism-induced ‘right to have sex’ endorsed by a disoriented policeman in exchange for the prisoner’s ‘word of honour’ not to attempt escape.

6. A good example is the debate in *Salon*, online at <<http://www.salon.com/directory/topics/columbine/>>, seen 20.10.2005.
7. See articles in *Der Spiegel*, online at <<http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/0,1518,k-2184,00.html>>, seen 20.10.2005.
8. I have argued elsewhere (Caviglia 2000: 14–15) that, in Italy, Strict Father morality was dominant until about the '60s and was only partially replaced later by a predominant Nurturant Parent systems of values. Today, the two value systems seem to coexist in a strange blending. For example, a typical pattern in the Italian press and media is that, once the offender is caught, he or she becomes the object of outrage but is also granted some kind of understanding of his/her motives, for example when mothers kill their children or when kidnappers are illiterates from underdeveloped regions.
9. Only one occurrence in a text corpus of 8 million words (*Internazionale su CD-ROM*), plus two occurrences for 'gente strana' in quoted direct speech. Also 'tossici' (*junkies*) is a slang form for 'tossicodipendenti' (*drug addicts*) but is quite commonly used by newspapers too and therefore not meaningful in this context.
10. The four *stern* letters were published on 7.10.2001, 21.12.2001, 2.6.2002 and 3.9.2002; the *lenient* one on 3.3.2002. The letters were found by *Google* search using "erika" and "parola ai lettori" [readers' letters] within the website <<http://old.lapadania.com>>, seen 30.12.2004.
11. The resources analyzed by Tannen include rhythmic synchrony, repetition and variation of phonological, morphological and lexical elements and sentence structures, indirectness/ellipsis/silence, constructed dialogue, details (Tannen 1989: 14–29).
12. As happened to Todorov, who after the book on Bakhtin wrote an utterly *polyphonic* account of the first meeting of Spaniards and Americans (Todorov 1982), Tannen too seems to have been influenced by the *dialogic* principle in her book, which proposes a new culture of debate (Tannen 1998), although Bakhtin is not quoted explicitly.
13. The original text: "anche il delitto, come ogni atto umano, come il mangiare, il camminare persino, è intriso di cultura. Ogni azione umana si manifesta nelle forme, nei codici, nei linguaggi di una determinata cultura".
14. The original text: "La storia atroce della povera Erika [...] è anche uno dei tanti trionfi quotidiani della morale cattolica."
15. Several points made by Fontana (2001) about the Italian family and its problems are all but unfounded (see Ginsborg 1998: 132–160). I too am a left-wing reader of *Diario della settimana* and welcome a critical discourse about the influence of Catholicism on Italian culture; I just lament that Fontana's criticism, this time at least, is ill-supported and is not formulated in a way that can produce more mature critical awareness in Italian society, as in the tradition of Pier Paolo Pasolini or, today, Umberto Eco or Michele Serra.
16. The original text: "Mi è anche venuto in mente che tutta quella frenesia organizzata, quei deputati che sembravano così sicuri, quella Lega [the *Lega Nord* party] che preparava fiaccole, la sua televisione che martellava [Telenord, a TV-channel near to the *Lega Nord* party], odoravano un po' di Alabama. E che lo sceriffo di Novi Ligure, se Novi Ligure fosse in Alabama, avrebbe creduto a Erika, perché era bianca e di buona famiglia. Avrebbe cercato un nero, lo avrebbe messo in galera, poi la giustizia lo avrebbe ammazzato e infine Hollywood

ci avrebbe fatto un film. Mi è infine venuto in mente che, se continua ad essere instillata ogni giorno nelle persone questa paura, se siamo arrivati al punto che una ragazzina sa benissimo chi deve denunciare, accusare, se siamo arrivati al punto che persino una ragazzina di sedici anni conosce le leve per convincere milioni di persone, allora forse, un po' Alabama siamo già. Ma sono state sensazioni di poco tempo. E sono grato a quel signore con i suoi due bambini, incontrato per caso a Novi Ligure, [a middle-aged and well-integrated immigrant] che con un solo sorriso e un passo tranquillo, mi ha fatto capire che siamo ancora in Italia. [...]"

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PART II

Resemiotized meaning

Analysing images and ideologies

From our plan to my promises

Multimodal shifts in political advertisements*

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The paper investigates currents in political communication in the Danish media through a comparative discourse analysis of central political advertisements. Advertisements from the 2005 Danish parliamentary election are compared to advertisements from the parliamentary election in 1987. Drawing on a social semiotic approach to multimodality, the analytical focus is on the interplay between the visual and the verbal within the overall multimodal composition of the advertisements, including paratextual matters such as typography. Along with identifying central features of contemporary political communication in the mass media, the paper aims to demonstrate how a multimodal discourse analysis can enrich the framework of (political) discourse analysis, where analysis has hitherto focused mainly on the verbal.

Keywords: Multimodality, political advertisements, social semiotics, mass media, typography, discourse analysis

Introduction

In this article, I want to address two sets of questions. One set has to do with *politics*, with processes of decision making and persuasion and with currents of contemporary politics such as the professionalization of political communication, and the development in the relation between the personal and the political. The other set of questions has to do with *multimodality*, i.e. with communication as a multimodal phenomenon where meaning is realized in (an interplay between) different modes of signification such as language, image, and music. My intention here is to conjoin these two sets of questions, and so to ask questions of politics *by* asking questions of multimodality. I shall

try to identify features of contemporary politics by analysing the interplay between different modes in political texts. In that sense, on a methodological level, the article attempts to make the case for multimodal analysis within the study of political communication. In order to do so, the article will analyze political newspaper advertisements – a genre which has received only modest attention from discourse analysts – from Danish parliamentary elections. More precisely, the pivotal point will be an advertisement from the right-wing liberal party “Venstre”, brought in the Danish parliamentary election in 2005, when Venstre was re-elected as the strongest party and stayed in government. This Venstre advertisement will be compared diachronically to advertisements from the 1987 election campaign by the then strongest right-wing party, the Conservatives, who were in a similar position of campaigning for re-election. Thematically, this comparative analytical strategy aims at pointing to some transformations in the Danish political discourse over the last years in which Venstre has played a leading role. Methodically, I hope to show that a multimodal approach, focusing on the interplay between different modes, is well suited for revealing some of these changes.

The article falls in a theoretical and an analytical part: Theoretically, I shall begin with some general remarks on politics, then sketch out the political newspaper advertisement as a genre, and finally introduce the multimodal approach to discourse analysis. Analytically, I shall employ a simple strategy and compare first the use of images and verbal text in isolation and then their co-articulation in the Venstre 2005 and Conservative 1987 advertisements. Finally, I shall conclude on the indicated changes in the political discourse, and raise some questions for further multimodal research on political communication.

Part one: Theory

Politics

Politics may be seen as “*institutional politics*” (Chilton & Schäffner 2002:6), i.e. as a particular societal field with specific institutions such as parliament and government, and with relations to and exchanges with other fields such as the media and the courts (Fairclough 1998). Or it may be seen as a pervading feature of social life per se, not restricted to a specific field, but signifying the explicit or implicit negotiation of power that takes place in every social practice (Wilson 2001). This latter view does not imply that everything is politics, but that politics is everywhere, that it is a factor of every social practice. A

third understanding, midway between the above mentioned, stresses the open-endedness, the unstable borderlines of politics (Chilton & Schäffner 2002). Politics is when power becomes an issue, when power in social practices, be it in the family, in the public or at the workplace, is problematized. In this view, *politization* and *de-politization*, rather than politics vs. non-politics, are focal points. In this article, I shall restrict myself to politics in the first sense, but with specific attention to the – political – negotiation and redefining of the scope of politics.

Without going further into the question of the defining characteristics of politics – a question that runs across disciplines such as political science, sociology, rhetorics, media and communication studies, and indeed discourse analysis – I would like to emphasise two characteristics of politics in contemporary and (to some extent) pluralistic democracies: Firstly, politics is a *rhetorical* activity in the double sense that it is oriented towards persuasion of an audience, and that this persuasion must take place in a field of competing players, equally trying to persuade. In that sense, political communication is akin to many forms of business communication. But, secondly, and in contrast to marketing, politics is loaded with *normative ideals* about achieving consent through argumentative reasoning in a public sphere, ideals that are closely connected to the notion of democracy.¹ This latter characteristic has to do with the status of politics as a meta-field: apart from being a particular societal field, politics is also a field that is supposed to set the conditions for other societal fields. The rhetorical and the normative dimension, I would suggest, make up an inescapable tension of modern political communication: On the one hand, there are strong efforts by political players to persuade others and position themselves in order to be (re-)elected, and on the other hand there is always a risk of falling short of the normative expectations to the public sphere by precisely these efforts. This tension is not just a theoretical matter, a way of describing politics academically, but is also a tension within politics as it is done and made sense of by political players. The normative dimension is not just pure normativity, but is an “active” or “working” ideal as Habermas has put it (Habermas 1962:97). Journalists and political commentators bring it to the fore when they question and assess political actors, and politicians may draw it into the rhetorical dimension of politics by invoking the spirit of democracy or the fairness of the debate. Therefore, persuasive efforts which do not recognise that politics is more than persuasion, can indeed be counterproductive: they can be turned around and used – persuasively – by competing political players.

The political newspaper advertisement

One of the central and often mentioned features of modern politics is the *professionalization of political communication*. The term does not primarily refer to the fact that being a politician has become a full time occupation, but to the involvement of *communication experts* in the political process. Gurevitch and Blumler defines it as follows: “By this we mean the ever deeper and more extensive involvement in political message making of publicity advisers, public relations experts, campaign management consultants, and the like” (Gurevitch & Blumler 1990: 279). Professionalization of politics is not a new phenomenon, but a long term process, connected to other central developments in modern political culture such as the diminishing loyalty among voters towards the political parties and the increasing importance of the mass media. In the terminology of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), professionalization designates that political communication has become a highly *designed* – not just a *produced* – type of discourse, where different types of communication experts take part in the design process. The professionalization of political communication is obviously a refinement of the rhetorical dimension of politics, but does not thereby supersede the tension between the rhetorical and the normative.²

The political newspaper advertisement is a clear instance of the professionalization of political communication. It has received relatively little attention by discourse analysts in comparison with other political and/or media genres such the interview, the television debate, the talk show and the news report (see Vigsø 1996; Lazar 2000; Beard 2000; Bolívar 2001; and Kjeldsen 2002 for related analyses). One can only speculate why this is so: a contributory factor could be the obvious and acknowledged one-sidedness of the political advertisement, which may not have the same appeal to the critical analyst as e.g. the news report with its presumed neutrality neatly waiting for revealing analysis of biasness. Within the American tradition of political communication studies there are several analyses of political advertisements (see for instance Diamond & Bates 1992 and Benoit 1999), but focused on television advertisement, and based rather on content analysis than on close textual analysis. Within media and communication studies, Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (1995) provides a comparative and quantitative approach to political advertising, mainly but not exclusively on television. It also seems significant that McNair as a media scholar includes a chapter on political advertisements in his “Introduction to Political Communication” (McNair 2003), whereas Paul Chilton as a discourse analysts sets other priorities in his “Analysing Political Discourse” (Chilton 2004).

However that may be, there seems to be a significant potential for discourse analytic research on the political newspaper advertisement. The focus in this article is on the conjoinment of politics and multimodality, and I do not intend to present a full-fledged genre analysis of the political newspaper advertisement. Instead, I will sketch out some communicative conditions of the genre in order to guide the subsequent analysis, more precisely production format, strategic intention, audience expectations, and situatedness in media and politics.

Concerning *production formats* (Goffman 1981) the political newspaper is a bought public space, it is physically in the newspaper, but does not form a part of the journalistic material. The newspaper only has the role of the animator in the production format, whereas the promoted political actor has the role of the principal and shares the role of the author with the PR or advertising agency.

Newspaper advertisements are costly, both with regards to design and newspaper space. When political players invest in newspaper advertisement, they obviously do so with a *strategic intention* to influence the election decision of the voter in favour of the advertising party or person, be it by presenting information that is positive for this person or party and/or negative for the opponent party or person. The political newspaper advertisement is thus a one-sided, hortatory genre.³ One may further distinguish between political advertisements which aim at maintaining existing voters, and advertisements, which aim at capturing new voters (Vigsø 2004).

Since the advertisement is not subordinated to the editing principles of the journalistic media, it is an opportunity for the political actor to address the voter directly, without any journalistic “noise”. In terms of *audience or reader expectations*, there is a price to this though: Firstly, the reader will normally be aware of the one-sidedness and persuasive intentions of the advertisement, and can therefore be expected to read it with a sceptical attitude, depending on his/her political position. And, secondly, the media context of the genre is the newspaper, which is hardly read for the sake of advertisements. Like other advertisements, there is therefore a risk that the political newspaper advertisement will simply be turned over.

Finally, in a broader context, the political advertisement is situated in a *political field*, which implies a risk of inconsistency with other utterances from the political player promoted as well as a risk of contestation by political opponents or commentaries.

In summation, this means that several challenges are posed for the producer of the political advertisement: it must catch and maintain the attention of the reader, establish trustworthiness for the promoted political player, seek

consistency with other campaign initiatives, and be relatively resistant to negative reactions from opponents and/or commentaries. These are basic requirements for the persuasive efforts to have a persuasive effect – and for an analysis to pay attention to.

Multimodal discourse analysis

A political advertisement can easily take up a whole or half a newspaper page, and in principle it could consist of solely a dense verbal text. In reality, this is rarely the case, since a strong reader interest cannot be assumed (not to say that there are no creative ways of making even densely written hortative texts attractive). Rather, the political advertisement is often a condensed message, in which the verbal is generally just one among several important modes of signification, such as photos, drawings, and typography. This makes a multimodal approach which pay attention to the different modes of signification as well as their interrelation, highly relevant.

One may ask how a multimodal discourse analysis relates to and differs from discourse analysis? One way of defining discourse analysis is to say that it is concerned with the role of language in social life, rather than with language as an object for philological studies. Discourse analysis, in that sense, studies how language contributes to (or even constitutes) meaning making in social practices, e.g. in approaches like systemic functional linguistics, conversation analysis, discourse theory, and critical discourse analysis. Moreover, many discourse analysts are concerned in another sense of the word, in that they focus on the relation between language and power,⁴ be it through an interest in the constitutive power of language for the (discursive) construction of reality, or be it through an interest in uncovering power relations in contemporary societies.

The rise of discourse analysis, the “discursive turn” within linguistics and within the humanities and the social sciences in general, has indeed produced central insights into the role of language in society, but has simultaneously led to a sense of the *limits* of this approach. The focus on language in social practices has, in a self-reflective move, produced an increased awareness of the limits of studying language as *the* resource for meaning making in social practices.

The study of multimodal discourse forms a central part of this development.⁵ Multimodal discourse analysis is an attempt to study social meaning making through language *and other* semiotic modes such as image (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996) or music and sound (Van Leeuwen 1999). The distinctive virtue of multimodal analysis is in my view that it focuses on a *multiplicity*

of modes as well as their *interplay* in multimodal texts.⁶ Multimodality is by no means something new, but increasing dissemination of the electronic media and tendencies to visualization in the print media may have contributed to the increased theoretical attention to multimodality in recent years.⁷ In order to analyze the interplay of different modes in multimodal compositions, multimodal discourse analysis has formulated *multimodal categories* of meaning making that cut across different modes, categories such as “boundary marking, attributing qualities to entities, calling to attention”, and “modality” (Van Leeuwen 2004:15). Furthermore, the point has been made that also every *verbal* text is multimodal in the sense that its material realization necessarily involves other modes, whether visual (written texts) or auditory (spoken texts), and that these modes matter in the meaning making process (Lemke 2002; Scollon & Scollon 2003). This implies that, instead of distinguishing between mono- and multimodal texts, it would be more precise to distinguish between degrees of *modal density* (Norris 2004), i.e. the amount and intensity of the different modes employed, as well as between degrees of foregrounding or backgrounding of specific modes. Finally, multimodal discourse analysis has been combined with another currents within discourse analysis, not at least the focus on flows and transformations of meaning across time and space (Iedema & Wodak 1999; Iedema 2001; Solin 2001), and the processes of *resemiotization* where discourse is transformed from one mode to another as it moves through different social spaces (Iedema 2003; Horsbøl 2005).

Part two: Analysis

The following analysis aims to point to some changes in the Danish political discourse, represented by the right-wing liberal party Venstre. Venstre won the parliamentary election in 2001, i.e. became the largest party (31,2%) in parliament and was able to form a government with the conservative party after 8 years of social democratic government. In the election in 2005 the government kept its majority, though with a loss of 2,2% for Venstre. As indicated, a newspaper advertisement from Venstre in the 2005 election will be compared to similar advertisements from the Conservative Party in the 1987 election, where the Conservatives were in a similar situation as the largest right wing government-party campaigning for re-election.

The Venstre newspaper advertisements in 2005 consisted of a few advertisement where Venstre's policy was presented as a whole, and a handful advertisements presenting the policy within a particular policy area such as health,

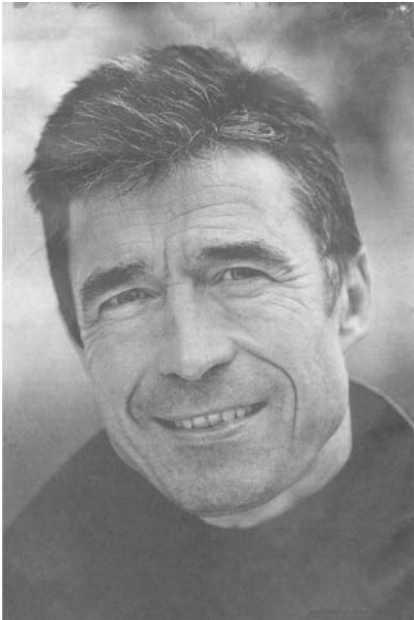
education, immigration and taxes. The former were accompanied by a photo in grand size of the prime minister and leader of Venstre, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the latter by a grand size photo of an “ordinary person” relevant to the particular policy area. Fogh Rasmussen, remarkably, was the only politician who appeared in the advertisements. The Conservative campaign in 1987 also had newspaper advertisements verbally presenting the overall policy as well as some presenting the policy within a particular policy area. But instead of “ordinary people” only politicians were represented on the photos in both advertisement types. And not only the prime minister and party leader, Poul Schlüter, but several conservative politicians were shown.

As indicated, my pivotal point will be one Venstre advertisement in which both the overall policy and the prime minister is displayed (Figure 1). The advertisement is composed of two equally big elements: a close-up photo of the prime minister to the left, and a text field with a verbal presentation of the overall policy to the right. In the first part of the analysis, I will compare these two elements to similar representations in the 1987 Conservative advertisement, more precisely to a close-up photo of the then prime minister, Poul Schlüter (Figure 2), and to a verbal presentation of the results and overall policy of the Conservatives (Figure 3). In the second part of the analysis, I will deal with the co-articulation of verbal and visual elements. More specifically, I will regard the above mentioned Venstre advertisement as a multimodal composition and compare it to similar visual-verbal co-articulations in the 1987 Conservative advertisements. Some remarks on typography – in itself a meeting point of the verbal and the visual – will also be included. Generally, I will focus on the way in which the communicative conditions of the political newspaper advertisement, as referred to above, are played out, i.e. how the images, the verbal and their co-articulation realize a condensed, persuasive political message.

The presentation of the prime minister in the close-up photos

The close-up photos of the two party leaders and prime ministers both appear in grand size, gazing smilingly at the reader. As such, they are similar representations of persons in politics, but within these similarities, a range of differences can be found:⁸

Firstly, the photo of Fogh Rasmussen is cut a touch closer in the breadth, so that only face and neck are visible, not the shoulders as in the case of the photo of Schlüter. Related to that, the clothes of Schlüter fill up a little more of the advertisement space. And, importantly, Schlüter’s clothes are clearly visible; he is seen wearing a pin-striped suit, white shirt and tie. On his left shoulder a



Valgflæsk eller virkelighed?

Da jeg blev statsminister, lovede jeg, at jeg ville holde mine valglofter til punkt og prikke. Det har jeg gjort. Her tænker jeg på skattestoppet, de kortere ventelister på sygehusene, strammere regler for asyl og familiesammenføring, frit valg af hjemmehjælp, hårdere straffe for vold og voldtäkt og den fleksible barselsorlov. Og sådan skal det være. Man skal kunne stole på, at valglofter bliver til noget.

Sådan vil det også blive, hvis jeg igen bliver statsminister. Vi står over for en stor udfordring. Danmark og danskernes velfærd er presset fra øst af stigende konkurrence og lave lønninger. Derfor skal vi i de kommende år investere massivt i forskning, udvikling og uddannelse, samtidig med at vi skal forbedre den velfærd, vi kender. Denne gang lover jeg:

- Vi vil investere 10 milliarder kroner i forskning og udvikling
- Vi vil forhøje børnechecken og nedsætte prisen på pasning
- Vi vil opfylde de personlige ønsker og behov i ældreplejen
- Vi vil reducere ventetiden på operationer yderligere
- Vi vil styrke vandmiljøet og skabe flere grønne områder
- Vi vil fastholde skattestoppet
- Vi vil fortsætte den ansvarlige udlændingepolitik

VENSTRE
Så ved du, det blir til noget

Headline: “Electoral bribes or reality?”

Body of the text: “When I became prime minister I promised to keep my election promises to the letter. I have done that. Thereby I mean the tax stop, the shorter waiting lists at the hospitals, stricter rules for asylum and family reunion, free choice of home help, tougher punishments for violence and rape, and the flexible maternity leave. And that is how it should be. One must be able to trust that election promises are fulfilled.

That is also how it will be, if I become prime minister again. We are facing a huge challenge. Denmark and the welfare of the Danes are pressed from the Eastern part of the world by increasing competition and low wages. Therefore, in the coming years, we must invest massively in research, development and education, and at the same time we must improve the welfare we know. This time I promise:”

Bullet points:

“We will invest 10 billion kroner in research and development

We will raise the child benefit and reduce the price of care

We will fulfil the personal wishes and needs in eldercare

We will reduce the waiting lists for operations further

We will improve the aquatic environment and create more green areas

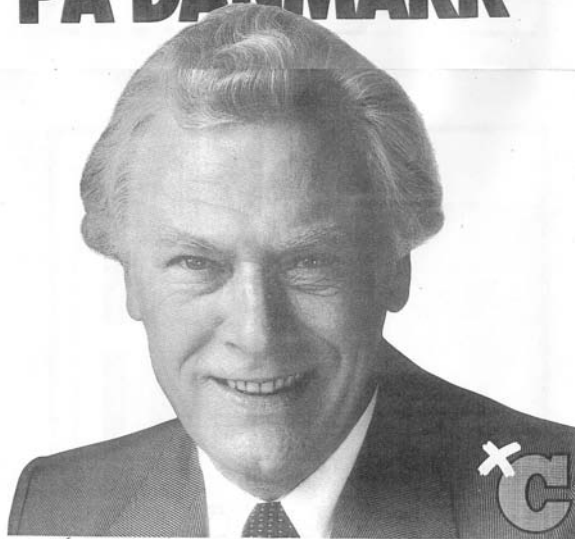
We will maintain the stop for new taxes

We will continue the responsible immigration policy”

Sub-line: “Venstre – then you know that things will get done”

Figure 1.

STEM PÅ EN STATSMINISTER DER KAN HOLDE SAMMEN PÅ DANMARK



Headline: "Vote for a prime minister who can keep Denmark together"

Figure 2.

xC is placed (C being the letter for the Conservatives on the ballot paper and x an index for the ballot vote). The clothes of Fogh Rasmussen, on the contrary, cannot be described in exact terms due to lack of differences in colour, but he seems to wear a black winter coat and possibly a black scarf, the characteristics of which are not visible. In terms of formality degree, Schlüter's clothes clearly signify formality, whereas Fogh Rasmussen's are vague.

Secondly, there is no "natural" background in the Schlüter photo in the sense of traces of the location in which Schlüter has been photographed; the bright uniform background of the photo is the same as the background of the



VI HAR EN PLAN

Friklorets politik har siden 1982 skabt 200.000 nye arbejdspladser. Investeringerne i det private erhvervsliv er fordoblet. Der er startet 10.000 nye virksomheder. Danmark har fået optimismen igen.

Men det kan blive endnu bedre. Vi skal styrke konkurrenceevnen. Regeringen har derfor fremlagt en plan, der gavner beskæftigelse, produktion og eksport. Målet er at skabe yderligere 150.000 nye jobs.

Frikloret har vist, at det kan holde sammen og skabe resultater. S-SF's politik ville uanset lige før til større offentlige udgifter, prisstigninger, forringer konkurrenceevnen og dermed større arbejdsløshed.

STEM PÅ EN REGERING, DER KAN HOLDE SAMMEN PÅ DANMARK



Headline: "We have a plan"

Body of the text: "The policy of the quartet has created 200,000 new jobs since 1982. The investments in the trades and industries have doubled. 10,000 new businesses have been launched. Denmark has regained optimism.

But it can become better yet. We must strengthen our competitive position. That is why the government presented a plan which benefits employment, production and export. The goal is to create a further 150,000 new jobs.

The quartet has shown that it can stay together and bring about results. The policy of S-SF would inevitably lead to higher public expenses, price increases, a weaker competitive position and therefore higher unemployment."

Sub-line: "Vote for a government that can keep Denmark together"

Figure 3.

headline text above.⁹ The Fogh Rasmussen photo, on the other hand, has some sort of (open air?) background, though completely out of focus and not identifiable, as could be expected from an outdoor close-up shot. Furthermore the photo is clearly delimited from the text field to its right by a sharp change in colour. The overall effect is that the Schlüter photo appears as a studio photo, the Fogh Rasmussen photo as taken somewhere out there. In terms of modality, the naturalistic modality of the Fogh Rasmussen photo is higher (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996; Machin & Thornborrow 2003).

Thirdly, hair and skin are different: Schlüter is perfectly combed and shaved, and possibly some wrinkles have been retouched. Fogh Rasmussen, in contrast, has a relaxed out door hair style, neither untidy (for Danish standards at least), nor with every single hair in its combed place. The wrinkles on his forehead and between the eyes are clearly visible, as one would expect it from a man around fifty, and the dark complexion on his lower face borders on unshaved. Again, this points to a significant difference in degree of formality.

Finally, both photos are, as indicated, “demand” images, where the displayed person engages with the viewer through the gaze (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996: Chapter 4). But though both politicians look into the camera smiling at the viewer, the form of engagement is different. Schlüter is shown from the front, while Fogh Rasmussen tilts his head to one side, adding to his gaze a more listening quality. Also the gaze in itself seems different. This is indeed hard to spell out in distinctive features, and goes beyond the categories of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), but it is at least my impression that Schlüter’s gaze addresses the viewer in a way that initiates and/or insists on contact, where Fogh Rasmussen’s gaze rather seems like a response to an other-initiated contact, as if he would be smiling at a remark made by the viewer.

In summation, though similar a first glance, the closeness of the two close-up photos and their persuasive appeal is not the same: Through clothes, hairdo and photo studio style, the Schlüter photo invites a more distanced and formal, though still friendly relation with the reader/voter. The Rasmussen photo, in contrast, looks as if it could have been shot by a good friend on a Sunday stroll, and so invokes a closer, more personal relation with the voter. It does so, though, without exceeding the intimate potential: precisely the vagueness of background and clothes avoids situating it in an intimate sphere, and correspondingly the gaze is friendly rather than intimate. It is a relaxed man, but a man in control. Further, of the two demand photos, the Schlüter photo is the most demanding so to speak: Through gaze and frontality it addresses the reader in a more insisting way (supported by the xC on the shoulder), whereas Fogh Rasmussen’s lightly tilted head softens the contact and in combination

with the gaze makes him appear more responsive. The interpersonal function, in Halliday's terminology, in the two photos is different: Independent of any propositional political content, they do not enact the same relation between politician and voter.

The verbal presentation of the overall policy

In contrast to the Venstre advertisement in Figure 1, the Conservative visual counterpart in Figure 2 has no verbal presentations of the results and policy of the government, apart from the implied appraisal in the head-line slogan: "Vote for a prime minister, who can keep Denmark together". I will return to these differences in distribution and interplay between the verbal and the visual in the second part of the analysis, but for a comparison of the verbal presentation of the overall policy, I shall draw in another conservative advertisement (Figure 3), of which a photo of two conservative ministers forms the visual part.¹⁰

The verbal text in this advertisement is divided into three text fields: headline, body text and sub-line. The body of the text can be seen as performing three moves, one in each of the three paragraphs: Firstly, claims are made about the achievements of the government policy since 1982 (200,000 new jobs, private investments have doubled, optimism is back). The achievements are partly presented in material processes in the passive voice, focusing precisely on the results of the action rather than on its origin (sentences 2 & 3), partly in a material process with the government as actor (sentence 1).¹¹ Secondly, a government "*plan* which benefits employment, production and export" (my emphasis) is mentioned, and through the "therefore" causally connected to the preceding deontic statement that "we must strengthen the competitive position". The beneficial effect of the plan is elaborated with a reference to its goal: "the goal is to create further 150.000 new jobs". Finally, the effectiveness of the government is resumed and compared to the policy of the *opposition alternative*, which "would inevitably lead to higher public expenses, price increases, a weaker competitive position and therefore higher unemployment". The co-occurrence of these moves – appraisal of own achievements, presentations of future plans stemming from societal needs, and comparison with inferior opposition alternative – makes out, I would suggest, a quite typical structure of the political newspaper advertisement. Moreover, the representations of results, future plan and opposition alternative are all realized in what one may term a *state economic discourse*, characterized by abstract nouns, nominalizations and numbers, and in which the society is viewed from the position of the

state economy as a whole, neither from the point of view of the individual nor from other societal perspectives.

The verbal presentation of the overall policy in the Venstre 2005 advertisement (Figure 1) differs in important ways from the conservative predecessor. One major difference is a *promise orientation*, which is completely absent in the Conservative 1987 advertisement, but runs through all the individual text fields of the Venstre advertisement: The note is struck already in the semantic contrast of the headline (“Electoral bribes or reality?”) and continued in the body of the text where the whole first paragraph is about fulfilment of the promises given before the last election. The promise orientation is further reflected in a text field between body text and sub-line (non existing in the 1987 advertisement), which consists of seven bullet points in bold, each representing a new promise given for the 2005 election. Finally, the sub-line slogan (“Venstre, then you know that things get done”) stresses the importance of promise realization in itself, not a specific content to be realized. Most pervasively, the promise orientation is seen in the first paragraph of the body text: The performative verb “promise” is used to describe the prime minister’s speech acts after the last elections along with the noun “election promises”, and these promises are said to have been fulfilled “to the letter”.¹² And after the list of fulfilled promises, the keeping of promises is evaluated at a general level (“One must be able to trust that election promises are fulfilled”), as if it were an issue of dispute – a point I shall return to.

In a way, two of the three moves identified in the body text of the Conservative advertisement (Figure 3) are also present in the Venstre advertisement: Own achievements are praised (first paragraph of the body text), and future plans are presented (the bullet points) as an answer to societal challenges (second paragraph of the body text). But the moves appear in the text as *framed* by two other moves: to document that a promises has been kept, and to make new promises. Obviously, results and achievements are presented, but they are presented as proofs of kept promises. And obviously intentions and plans of the government are expressed, but they are expressed as part of newly made promises, in the sense that predicating a future intended act necessarily forms part of the act of promising (Searle 1969).

Secondly, the Venstre 2005 text has a *personal* touch that cannot be found in the conservative counterpart. The promises are represented as the promises of the prime minister personally – those given at the last election as well as for the coming election – and so are the fulfilments (“I have done that”). The results listed in the first paragraph of the body text therefore stand out as the personal achievements of the prime minister. Moreover, the specific personal

touch is realized not just in the reference to Fogh Rasmussen, but also in the enunciative structure: Fogh Rasmussen not only stands out as a person in the text, he is also constructed as a person *speaking* in the text. And furthermore the style of Fogh Rasmussen as a speaking instance is closer to the style (Fairclough 2000 & 2003) of ordinary (no-nonsense) conversation, not only in the pervasive use of “I” but also in the packaging of information, e.g. by the split of information into separate sentences such as “I have done that” and “And that is how it should be”.

Thirdly, the state economic discourse referred to above, does *not* preponderate in the Venstre advertisement. The political achievements and plans mentioned cover other fields than the economy, and they are more tangible and “softer” (reduction of waiting time for operation, higher child benefits, more green areas), though not particularly specific (what kind of reduction, how high the raise, how many new green areas?). Nevertheless, the orientation to societal economy is not omitted, but now found within the context of a globalized economy where the inclusive “we” (the Danes) is threatened by competition from the vaguely phrased “Eastern part of the world”. Moreover, through causal connections policy areas such as research and education are presented as necessary means to improve the competitiveness of Denmark (i.e. Danish economy) and thereby subordinated the economy.

Finally, there is *no* explicit mentioning and refusal of the opposition alternative in the Venstre advertisement. In that sense, the advertisement is less polemical than the conservative – and than many other political texts.¹³ On a more subtle level though, as indicated earlier, the stating of the seemingly obvious point that one should be able to trust election promises, can be seen – from the point of view of a discourse historical approach (Wodak et al. 1990; Wodak & Meyer 2001) – as an implicit orientation towards an opponent which is presumed to be less trustworthy. Indeed, in 2001 the social democrats lost the election among other things because of an unexpected retirement reform which made them untrustworthy in the eyes of many otherwise committed voters. The Venstre text may well be read as evoking that opponent construction.

In summation, apart from shifts in the political content towards “softer” issues, the “results-plan-opposition alternative” structure found in the Conservative 1987 advertisement has been replaced by a strong orientation to personal promises accompanied by a downplaying of political differences in the Venstre 2005 version. The persuasive focus is now pronounced on trustworthiness and reliability.

The co-articulation of verbal and visual elements

Above, I made the observation that Fogh Rasmussen was installed as an enunciative instance in the Venstre advertisement. But the deictic reference of the “I” in the text is taken for granted rather than established verbally. Instead, the identity of the “I” emerges from the photo next to the text. The photo is placed to the left of the text, and can as such be read as given information, while the text makes out the new information (Kress & Van Leeuwen, Chapter 6). By this multimodal composition the prime minister is presented to the reader as already known, and the verbal message as not yet known. More precisely, resulting from the enunciative structure of the text, Fogh Rasmussen is presented as the sayer of the text, resulting in a *extensive* relation between visual and verbal (Barthes 1977): the visual and verbal extend each other in the sense that the visual identifies the sayer and the verbal represents what is said by him. The visual and verbal thereby form a multimodal text that would be incomplete, would one of the elements be omitted.

There are also *elaborative* relations between the verbal and visual in the Venstre advertisement. The image does not only identify the speaker of the verbal text, it characterizes him as well. As analyzed above, the photo represents Fogh Rasmussen not as the prime minister, but as a human being, a friendly, relaxed and reliable man – with whom the reader is presumed to be on rather confidential terms. This, of course, rubs off onto the enunciator of the text. The prime ministerial promises given in the text are in that way *anchored* in the human being on the image.¹⁴ The image provides an interpersonal relation suitable for the giving and assessing of personal promises in the verbal text. Though the image and text part of the advertisement are separated clearly into two halves of the advertisement by a vertical frameline, the connection between image and text is at the same time hand supported by a *colour rhyme* between the two, in which the colour of Fogh Rasmussens hair, eyebrows and clothes rhymes with the black letters in the text, while the colour of his skin rhymes with the light background of the text. The personal touch and appeal to trustworthiness in the verbal, is thereby supported by the image.

In the conservative advertisement showing Poul Schlüter in a close-up, the relation between image and verbal is different. Not only is the verbal text limited to the call of the head-line (“Vote for a prime minister who can keep Denmark together”) and the “xC” on the right, also this call is not represented as spoken by, but *about* Schlüter. On the photo, Schlüter addresses the reader directly (through the eye contact), but in the verbal he is talked about (“a prime minister”) by another enunciative instance also addressing the reader directly

(through the imperative “vote for” and the “xC”). The appeal in the image and the verbal does not have the same source, and the source of the verbal is not established by the image as in the Fogh Rasmussen case but rather surrounded by another instance in the verbal. Moreover, due to the placement of the text above the image, which in the terms of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) would imply a relation of ideal vs. real, the appeal of the verbal can be read as expressing the essence of the message, and the image its concrete and detailed manifestations. The appeal by Schlüter in the image is in that sense mediated by the appeal in the headline: the headline hands the word over to Schlüter for further specifications.

Another difference, concerning the wider *distribution* of the elements in the two advertisements, is that the extensive relation between the image of Fogh Rasmussen as sayer and the verbal text as his utterance, is repeated in several other Venstre advertisements. In some advertisements with the same overall composition, the same photo is used with a different text, close to the election day even in a two-page opening. And in other advertisements with another composition and another main image, the same photo of Fogh Rasmussen appears in a small size, situated below the main image and left of the body of the text. In that way, the small photo and the verbal text form a multimodal sequence in which the photo presented is the (given) sayer of the (new) verbal text. This distribution of the photo over several advertisements – quite different from the Conservative 1987 campaign – also endows it with the character of a *logo*, in the sense of a de-contextualized and visually expressed “essence” of an organisation, in casu Venstre.¹⁵

Finally some observations on *typography*:¹⁶ Starting with the typography of the Conservative 1987 advertisements, I mentioned above that the text on Figure 2 was “limited” to the one-sentence headline. But spatially the headline is not exactly limited: In terms of size it takes up almost the whole upper half of the advertisement. Furthermore the headline is all written in black sans serif capitals with a very heavy weight.¹⁷ These features of letterform, size and spacing, typical for the paratexts of the conservative 1987 advertisements, altogether give the verbal text a rather *massive* touch, as a message that is read out loudly, concerned only with getting through, not with any further nuances. The attention of the reader is appealed to by a visual megaphone so to speak. In advertisements with sub-line, such as Figure 3, the same letterform and spacing is used, but in a smaller size – and with grammatical correct punctuation. Only the C in the xC to the left of the sub-line sticks out in the paratextual typography with a change of colour and introduction of a serif.

The typography in the Venstre 2005 advertisements offers a very different picture. Whereas the body of the text uses a similar letterform, the typography of the paratexts differs significantly from the earlier Conservative version. Immediately noticeable, the letter size is much smaller, and with the exception of the party signature “Venstre” at the bottom, capitals are only used at the beginning of a sentence, and though in bold type, the letter weight is by no means as heavy as in the Conservative advertisements. Instead, a more condensed style is used, with lower case sans serif letters in a more condensed width, compressed in a spacing with less distance between the individual letters.

The use of this rather individual typography – the same letterform, recognisable from the typography of the other parties in the election campaign, was used on Venstre leaflets and posters – carries meaning in different ways: Firstly, it is a means of expression to single out the political player using it, like a temporary visual signature for the duration of the election campaign. Moreover, the actual typography carries meaning beyond its pure “uniqueness” by addressing the reader in a way quite different from the earlier Conservative advertisements: the smaller size and lower case headline does not shout for the attention of the reader, but addresses him/her in a more discrete and soft-spoken way. Finally, the choice of typography also carries meaning in an interplay with the image and the verbal: The soft-spokenness of the letters thus corresponds to the interpersonal closeness invoked by the photo – it would indeed be rude to speak loudly at that distance, or to appeal insistingly with that facial expression. And the upright, condensed style of writing corresponds to the verbal orientation to trustworthiness and keeping-ones-promises. Typography, in that sense, elaborates the image and the verbal.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis has suggested several changes in the use of the political newspaper advertisement from the Conservative 1987 to the Venstre 2005 campaign. The changes can be divided into changes in the representation of *policies* – what may traditionally be considered as political content – and of *political relations and identities*.¹⁸

Given the role of both parties as right wing parties in government, no tremendous changes in policies were to be expected. Still, a shift in focus from the economy of the state to issues that are considered “softer” and/or of more direct relevance to the ordinary voter has been found. On the other hand, the orientation to the competitiveness of the societal economy is still strong,

and areas such as research and education are now represented as measures to improve the competitiveness of Denmark (i.e. Danish economy) in a globalized world. In that sense, the economy orientation is less pronounced, but more encompassing. Globalization, moreover, is presented as a phenomenon towards which there are no competing political answers, but simply competing countries, Denmark being the boat “we” are assumed to be in.

Notwithstanding these shifts, more significant changes, in my view, can be found in the representation of political relations and identities. Firstly, the voter-politician relation in the Venstre 2005 advertisements is represented as a relation of interpersonal trustworthiness, in which the ability to keep one’s promises is accentuated as *the* political virtue. This promise orientation does not simply replace the orientation to results and plans, prevalent in the Conservative 1987 advertisements, rather it overlays and frames it: Results are presented as kept promises, and plans are presented as new given promises.

Secondly, political differences to competing political actors are downplayed in the Venstre 2005 advertisement whereas they are quite pronounced in the Conservative 1987 advertisements. While the differences are explicitly asserted in the latter, they are implicitly hinted to in the former. And while the differences in the latter involve political content, they involve trustworthiness and reliability in the former.

These changes are of course political changes. But more precisely, they are changes in the *scope* of politics. The Venstre 2005 advertisement indicates a re-defining of political relations and identities in which politics is not represented as a battleground for ideas, attitudes and interests, but as a question of personal capacity of the politician to fulfil a limited number of promises. This implies a *de-politization* of politics in the sense that conflicts are downplayed and the capacity to react flexibly on new societal problems and insights is restricted. The scope of politics is reduced, both in terms of the action scope of the politician, and the participatory scope of the voter. Whether this de-politization can be found beyond the narrow empirical limits of the analysis above, i.e. in the broader professional communication of the political parties and in the political discourse in general, would be an issue for further critical discourse research.

The changes resumed above are all, to a smaller or larger degree, realized multimodally. They are realized in different modes, and they are realized in an interplay between different modes. Among the changes in the use of multi-modal resources I will accentuate three: Firstly, there is a *higher degree of modal density* in the Venstre advertisement, primarily due to the more elaborated use of typography as a separate mode. Typography supports the personalized orientation to trustworthiness in the verbal and image. Secondly, there is a *stronger*

multimodal integration in the Venstre advertisement. Again, this has to do with typography, now as an increasingly separate mode which is integrated in elaborative relations with text and image. But it also has to do with the relation between image and text, be it by visual rhymes, spatial composition, or similarities between verbal style and facial expression plus clothing. Therefore, the political relations and identities invoked in the Venstre advertisement are to a considerable extent realized in interconnections between different modes. Rather than a displacement of the verbal by the image – as it is sometimes suggested in public discourse on our (changing) semiotic environment – the issue seems to be a stronger integration of the two modes, involving both extensive and elaborative relations and seemingly guided by multimodal design principles. And thirdly, the analysis points to another *distribution* of modes in the Venstre campaign: not just verbal slogans, but also images are decontextualised and distributed in different texts, genres and media.

Finally, I would like to mention some points of future multimodal research on political communication that are relevant to, but go beyond the scope of this article: The first point concerns the *design process*, i.e. the design of multimodal political texts involving not just politicians and communication experts, but also experts in different modes (text, photo, layout, typography) and communicative levels (practical, analytic, strategic). In the light of a probably stronger integration of multimodal resources in professional political communication, as indicated in the analysis above, it seems to me an important task for discourse analysis to study the practices of the design process and the way multimodal texts are negotiated and arrived at in a poly-skilled environment. The second point concerns the way multimodal political texts are *discursively received*, i.e. how they are made sense of in public or private discourse. Here, it would be relevant to investigate which modes are attended to, and how the different modes are resemiotized in the political debate, not at least how the visual is talked about verbally.¹⁹ Finally, I consider it a long term project for multimodal discourse analysis to help develop a *public language* for discussing multimodal texts in a way that keep pace with more elaborate designs of such texts within political communication. This could enhance visual literacy and qualify the normative dimension of politics instead of leaving it with conceptions of visualization and multimodality as simply identical with a decline of the public debate.

Notes

* I'm grateful to Inger Lassen and Jeanne Strunck for constructive comments on a previous version of this article. And to Johannes Andersen for access to "the archive".

1. Drawing on Habermas in his seminal work on the public sphere (Habermas 1962).
2. The spin debate, which has in recent years been quite extensive also in Denmark, is an example of that. Spin represents on the one hand a certain type professionalization, but has on the other hand been analyzed and criticized by commentators and political analyst for corrupting the political debate. The spin doctors, in that way, have been accompanied by "spin detectives". And, moreover, accusations for spin have become a frequent rhetorical move by politicians to be used against political opponents.
3. Though not necessarily a hortatory *text type*, see Vestergaard (2000) for a useful distinction between genre and text type.
4. As reflected in the title of Norman Faircloughs "Language and Power" (1989), which may be seen as a key moment point in the development of critical discourse analysis (although the name was not invented until several years later).
5. For introductions to and key arguments within multimodal analysis, see fx Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), Lemke (2002), Iedema (2003), Scollon and Scollon (2003), O'Halloran (2004), and Van Leeuwen (2005). I understand multimodal discourse analysis in continuity with the general ambition of (critical) discourse analysis to study social life critically through the close analysis of language use – only language is now understood metaphorically as including the "language" of images, music, the body etc.
6. There is an obvious overlap with multimodal semiotic analysis. To differentiate, one may point to the conceptual inspiration from functional linguistics as well to the preference of historically changing "resources" over "code".
7. See Machin (2004) for an analysis of the globalization of images through "image banks".
8. Close-up photos of politicians used in election campaigns are no new phenomenon and cannot be taken as an instance of a recent personalization of politics. The classic Danish example is a 1935 election poster by the social democrats showing prime minister Thorvald Stauning in a close-up along with a now legendary (and much paraphrased) text: "Stauning or chaos"!
9. If there is a background, it is indeed the headline text, which is overlapped by the very upper part of the photo.
10. As it is generally the case in the Conservative 1987 advertisements, the two ministers are formally dressed and also associated with other attributes of power, in this photo by carrying attaché cases. Generally, the Conservative politicians are both shown in narrative images, representing them in (non-transactional) action as in Figure 3, and conceptual images, representing them a in state of being (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996: Chapter 2 & 3).
11. I am drawing on terminology from systemic functional linguistics, see for instance Halliday (1994) or Martin and Rose (2003).
12. Actually, for a stricter look, the "I promised to keep my election promises" is a pleonasm, doubling the promise orientation of the text. One might speculate if it reflects an inflationary

need for presumed untrustworthy politicians to outbid the traditional political promise by promising also to keep the promise...

13. Here, the consensus orientation in the rhetorical style of Tony Blair as analysed by Fairclough (2000: Chapter 4) would make an obvious comparison.

14. This is a multimodal parallel to Fairclough's point in the analysis of the rhetorical style of Tony Blair that "[...] Blair's political identity is anchored in his personal identity: or, more accurately, in how his personal identity is constructed in his public performance" (Fairclough 2000: 98). Peculiar to the Fogh Rasmussen case is the anchoring of the promise orientation pervading the text.

15. According to Neuenschwander (1993: 79) "[a] logo is a composition in miniature that serves to identify a corporation, institution, event or product. [...] Logos] must be capable of use in several sizes and on a variety of materials."

16. Typography is especially interesting in an multimodal context since it by nature forms a link between the visual and the verbal. Yet, "[t]ype is often treated as a completely utilitarian element in graphic design, used only to communicate verbal information in compositions whose strength lies elsewhere, in brilliant photographs, illustrations and abstract shapes. Yet letterforms, even typographic forms, can never be neutral elements in a design" (Neuenschwander 1993: 29). Van Leeuwen (2005: Chapter 2) suggests that meaning can be ascribed to typography in two ways: through *connotation* with a context in which the letterform has previously been used, and through *experiential metaphor*, where the material features of the typography are read metaphorically. To study the latter meaning potential, the analyst will need to focus on the "distinctive features" of the letterform such as weight, compression and typeface. Particularly the latter forms of meaning are investigated in the analysis of this article.

17. The grammatically correct comma after "prime minister", according to the then most widely-used Danish punctuation system, has probably been left out for visual, ie. aesthetic, reasons: it would disrupt the symmetrical organisation of the text. This is a common feature of typographic design, from anarchistic hot-dog stand decoration to comprehensive corporate design, and forms a parallel case to the illustrative analysis of the Annapelle purse by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), according to whom "[p]unctuation is used as a mode to play its part in the realisation of the aesthetic discourse" (ibid.: 63).

18. See Fairclough (2000 and 2003) for further elaborations.

19. An example: During the Danish parliamentary election campaign in 2005 campaign the social liberal party "Det Radikale Venstre" published a video on their website, adding written quotes of the Minister of Integration to short video sequences showing immigrants in Denmark. The video achieved massive public attention (and outcry) and was even analysed by spin detectives' throughout a 30 minutes television programme. But striking to me was the general lack of analysis of the images: the verbal quotes were scrutinized, but little attention was paid to the visual and the interplay with the verbal, although, I would suggest, exactly the use of images was decisive for the public outcry.

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Icons as ideology

A media construction

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Despite mass-produced images being predominantly two dimensional, readers usually perceive them three dimensionally. The direction, position and movement of visual elements, such as gaze, within image texts cue this perception, signifying particular relations within space-time. Readers often interpret these relations subconsciously, or at least without serious reflection on how particular image relations affect modality and meaning. Kress and van Leeuwen (1990, 1996) have initiated many readers of images into the significance of four directions in physical space, but the following paper focuses on the significance of the other two: **background/foreground** or **in/out**. I analyse a specific genre of visual text, past and present representational icons of women, to exemplify this way of seeing.

Keywords: Genre, visual text, representational icons, gaze, modality, space-time, ideology

Almost anyone can become an icon today, in contrast to the situation prior to the end of the nineteenth century and the advent of photography; it has in fact become commonplace for non-religious, but popular media celebrities to have been deemed “icons” at one time or another, as in the cases of Marilyn Monroe, Princess Diana, Kylie Minogue and the modern day Madonna. Even the manner by which the media uses the term “icon”, a word derived from the Greek *eikon*, meaning likeness or image, a symbol suggestive of portraiture and piety, as well as a visual aid for making contact with the figure represented, has increased noticeably in frequency. Assisted perhaps through its adoption by the Gates’ empire as a synonym for “visual symbol” or “logo”, “icon” has become a “buzz-word” describing a diversity of images from wine, buildings, companies, special magazine issues, to software and media events.

As has the frequency and use of the term “icon” proliferated in verbal language, representational¹ iconic images have flourished despite fundamentalist and iconoclastic opposition to the idea that the spiritual can be made visible and human. Although the omnipresence of modern day representational iconic images seems to render them innocuous, nevertheless their subtle and powerful influence persists. An apparent and weakened function for images such as these is probably due to the ease with which they can be mass produced through photography and digitization and also, as will be explained, their independence from a specific place and time. However, graffiti-like degradation of celebrity posters and recent events,² which witness the violent destruction and/or banning of icons, can be read as belying their seemingly harmless procreation.

Within semiotics, however, “icon” has rarely been used in its religious and art historical sense. Yet, this dimension of the term will be addressed in this paper discussing representational iconic images. It was the famous semiotician, C. S. Peirce, originally, who acknowledged the iconic character of an image or the “perception of iconicity” (Sonesson 1998) as one reason for postulating a sign relation. Peirce became famous for his semiotic distinction of three types of sign according to their relations to the object they represented: icon, index and symbol. Peirce’s conception included the sign and its ground, as well as the object and the interpretant. An icon (the first type of Peirce’s signs), signified by virtue of its likeness or resemblance; “A sign may be iconic,” he wrote (1955: 104), representing its object mainly by virtue of its similarity and perhaps more correctly described as a hypoicon. According to Peirce, pure icons only appear in thinking, if at all. However, it could be that a sign (such as a photograph) has both indexical as well as symbolic or iconic properties. Hence, despite the rarity of semiotic analysis of icons from a religious and art historical perspective, iconic images are a legitimate genre of sign worthy of study from within a semiotic perspective.

In this paper I will identify the particular image elements which distinguish representational iconic images of the past and present, identifying the complex interaction of their image elements, which serves to construct a particularly significant type of image: a genre which embodies ideologies capable of stirring strong and lasting responses. I will argue that representational iconic images, recontextualised (van Leeuwen 1993) by new media, need to be identified and distinguished if their unique power is to be appreciated. In doing so, I will build on the theories of Nichols (1980), as well as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), Martin (2001) and White (2001). However, my focus will be on an analysis which concentrates on modality as part of the interpersonal and inter-

active function of image texts, arguing that the representational iconic images of earlier times offered the reader/viewer an image for prayer, focus and meditation, whereas the modern style of representational iconic image is one which attempts to persuade the audience to enter into an imaginary social relationship with the figure represented. It is perhaps this basic distinguishing feature, as regards the type of interpersonal response, which is responsible for the apparent difference between representational iconic images of today and those of earlier times. Nevertheless, representational iconic images of the past and the present both provoke contradictory and extreme interpersonal responses. The intensity of this interpersonal dimension cannot be ignored nor dismissed as simply irrelevant. Whatever their intent, iconic images of people constitute a genre of image, characterized by strong ideological associations, and so they demand attention and analysis.

Representational iconic images, more than other image genres, are capable of provoking paradoxical responses. It is the major purpose of this paper that the construction of such images be analysed in order that the extremities of judgement, attitude and appreciation that they evoke, are better understood. With understanding, it is hoped, there will come a heightened ability for audiences to respond with greater awareness.

It has only been since the end of the Second World War, moreover, that the mass communication of photographic texts has become the norm. It was towards the end of the twentieth century that the digitization of images began to allow their endless proliferation through duplication, narrowcasting and multichannelling. These two significant technological developments – photography and digitization – have brought with them an increase in the number of visuals and especially media items featuring female celebrities and their images. The results of content analysis research by Turner, Bonner and Marshall (2000: 23) provides “clear evidence that a massive production process has developed in Australia, since the mid-1980s, around the trade in celebrity stories.” It is within this context of new technology and celebrity that I will consider in particular the increase in the number of images representing women as icons and the possible implications for women in the construction of their social identities.

Prior to the advent of photography and digitization, representational iconic images, or deified images of people, were usually constructed for the purpose of worship and adoration, although they were also criticized for attempting to idolize a creative being other than God. Thus representational iconic images have always constituted a specific genre of image, which even today may still textually enshrine elements of both the sacred and the profane.

Representational iconic images are, on the one hand, usually meant to be worshipped by their audience, expressing as they did in the past the most noble and moral ideas (Borovets 1995), while the representational iconic images in the modern media are constructed principally to be engaged with, expressing as they do the values of fame and fortune. Notwithstanding their differences of intent, iconic images of the past and the present frequently, and usually unwittingly, foster an equal and opposite emotional response, one which can often alienate as well as enlist.

This paradoxical dimension of representational iconic images merits attention because its impact can be enormous. This becomes evident when reflecting upon the iconoclastic dispute, which raged throughout the Byzantine Empire during the eighth and ninth centuries. (Byzantine Emperor Leo III started this dispute between the Roman and Byzantine churches, ending in a schism as to the status of icons in different branches of Christianity.) The dispute was possibly an extreme reaction to the use of representational icons; today this dispute may even appear ludicrous, strong emotions seeming to have become diminished by the mass publication, duplication, distribution and communication of images since the middle of last century. However, in order to illustrate the lasting power of representational iconic images, it is instructive to consider the similarities as well as the differences in the construction of both past and present ones.

It is maintained here that, regardless of an apparent weakening in significance, modern representational iconic images remain penetrating and powerful expressions, alluding to the future by preserving something of the past. Furthermore, like their counterparts in the past, they simultaneously evoke two ideologies in the onlooker: one promotes and endorses or copies the practice of attempting to image the spiritual in humans; the other, its opposite, disparages, dismisses and disenfranchises such a practice. Consequently, representational iconic images promote idolatry and at the same time condemn it. Iconic images of women both deify and demonize the feminine. The possible contradictory and extreme responses evoked by iconic images of women³ (evident today in their mass popularity as well as in their general dismissal as pornography or kitsch) is thus of great concern for women and the way they are perceived, as well as for their perception of themselves.

Representational iconic images have developed a new standard and stereotype, identifiable not only in the choice of subject, but also in elements of the subject's gaze⁴ as well as the direction, position and movement of her body parts. Modality is affected by these changes. (Modality refers to the "slant" authors allow to the reality they depict and is thus part of their attempts to engage

the audience's attention, drawing in or distancing the reader/viewer from the world of the text.) In representational iconic images of the past the subject offered the audience a means of contacting the divine; the modern audience's relationship promotes the illusion of two-way interaction.

When represented as iconic images, either in the past or today, women may be framed full length, three-quarters or simply have their portraits reproduced as close-ups. Of course, the original Madonna is an icon of a radically different ilk to modern media's celebrities; yet Mary's images having once been idolized, probably now serve as moulds for the casting, cloning and evolution of iconic images today. The framing of these idols from the past and the present is nearly always taken from a slightly low frontal perspective, which raises and thereby adds status to the subject, whereas the colouring is soft and harmonious, appearing to glow or somehow radiate light. Representational iconic images of women from the past and present, as illustrated in Figures 1–9, appear to share this type of framing, the low frontal perspective and the importance of a type of spiritual light, although there may be slight differences in technique as well as differences in the construction of other image elements and their appraisal.

Significantly, earlier representational iconic images of women were usually constructed as offers (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996), a type of image which makes it possible for the audience to study, contemplate and even worship the subject framed, but not enter into an imaginary social relationship with her. The subject was distanced from the audience by the framing, gaze and position of visual elements associated with her representation. In contrast to the characteristic far-off gaze typical of offer-type images, today's modern style of representational iconic images is a demand-type image (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996), which is created by the strategic positioning of image elements towards the front of the frame/screen, as well as by the subject's gaze which, in contrast to the gaze of iconic subjects in the past, attempts to engage the audience. If reverence was the key emotion of past representational iconic images, intimacy, or the illusion of intimacy, is the key to modern ones. This difference in the key emotion elicited by the modern form of this image genre can be a contributing factor for a lessened degree of critical awareness on the part of the audience.

Another difference in representational iconic images today is pointed out by Nichols (1980:51) who stresses the importance of context and place for religious iconic images of the past. He explains that the meaning of past representational iconic images is dependent on their context:

These integral relationships between signifier, geography and meaning (or signified) have been totally altered by the camera and the reproducible image.

Duplicating images pries meaning loose from a necessary link to geography, place. The signifier becomes potentially free floating, unpinned, ready for exchange within (in our society) a cash nexus that determines new meaning. In fact, cash value, together with the pinning into place of the self-as-subject, becomes the principal signified of the reproducible photographic image in many instances.

In other words, photography and new media have achieved a recontextualisation of images and icons. In effect this means the significance of their original place and context no longer holds since the context of viewing for modern representational icons is random. Instead of context, the self and monetary value assume prominence. The original value of the icons, intended to endure over time, dissolves in a flood of digital reproductions, exchanges and distributions; or reverberates in a "Clash of Symbols" orchestrated by marketing which appropriates their values (Rushdie 1998).

As well as being constant and pervasive, the proliferation of images, which among other subjects, now includes the framing of women as icons, is both problematic and cumulative in effect. It is problematic, as previously mentioned, in the paradox of intent that it exemplifies: the genre of representational iconic image reproduction, since early in its inception, has focussed contrasting viewing points in fervent disagreement; in the case of women as icons, it is here argued, that this genre of image links emotions of worship and disdain to woman. In Australia, as in the rest of the world, infiltrated by global media, there exists the basis and potential for a dispute reminiscent of earlier times, recurring; this time owing to the digitization of images and placeless icons: and in particular, regarding the legitimacy of using women as iconic images to be idolized publicly, or the condemnation of such a practice with its extreme response possibly resulting in the confinement of women to the non-public realm under a burqa (see Figure 1: *cro1.eps*). In other words, in whatever manner that women are represented as icons, the iconic genre of image-making may epitomize and promote the creation of a simplistic dichotomy of values, a conflict pervading global perceptions of women today.

The existence of this dichotomy and conflict of values can be illustrated by comparing four main purposes for representational iconic images: first, for modelling, second for celebrity status via film and politics, next for religion and finally, for fantasy. One model whose image has become familiar today, is "The Body Corporate", Elle Macpherson, renowned for her sports image and lingerie line. It is possible to compare images of someone such as Elle, with famous images from the past, such as those of the Virgin Mary. Apart from their very different roles as icons, Elle as a model of the perfect body, the Vir-



Figure 1. cro1.eps

gin Mary as a model of the perfect mother, they are both promoted as icons. For this common aim, however, the technique is most noticeably different as regards the gaze of the subject. The difference is a focus of gaze which may be a result of the different purpose for which these women's portraits have been constructed: one for fashion and one for religion; however, the gaze itself remains a significant and distinguishing feature. Moreover, rarely is an image of a female constructed today wherein her gaze does not meet that of the imaginary reader/viewer. In images prevalent in the popular media today (see Figure 2: cro2.eps), the gaze of the framed female subject, which in this case is Elle, usually engages the audience by way of a vector, an imaginary line connecting the subject to the reader/viewer. The postmodern iconic image thus demands something from the audience; a dialogic relationship is anticipated. If encountered on the World Wide Web, the response expected may be as simple as a



Figure 2. cro2.eps

click on the mouse, but the significant factor is that an interaction rather than contemplation is expected. When the subject's gaze does not meet that of the audience, as was the case in less recent iconic portraits of women such as that of the Virgin, a visual offer rather than a demand type image is constructed (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996).

When compared with a thirteenth century image of Mary (see Figure 3: cro3.eps), it may seem to those of us accustomed to modern images, that Mary is engaging us with her eyes. A closer look, however, reveals that her eyes are actually completely dark and unfocussed, while her gaze has wandered off afar. She appears to be immersed in peaceful contemplation. Mary's gaze, unlike Elle's, distances her from the reader/viewer. Earlier iconic images of women (constructed often for religious rather than celebrity purposes) offered up



Figure 3. cro3.eps

their subjects for contemplation and worship; today's iconic images of women usually demand a physical or emotional response.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting and comparing at least one exception: the awareness by which images of Aung Sung Suu Kyi seem to have been taken mean that rarely does she engage the reader/viewer with her eyes. Moreover, when she does, her facial expression does not fit in easily with the four types of facial expression⁵ identified by Ferguson (1980: 227) as typifying the cover photos of British women's magazines. Instead, she is depicted in this familiar (see Figure 4: cro4.eps) reproduced image in almost beatific contemplation reminiscent of older-style representational images of women, possibly because her two-fold purpose (religious and political) is not one common to most images of women in the media of today.



Figure 4. cro4.eps

The *demand* status, thus evident in the majority of figures in the modern representational iconic image, is achieved not only via gaze, but also via a seeming prominence or even protrusion of parts of the subject's body beyond the front and bottom confines of the image frame. In the *Dior* image, a typical example of modern advertising images containing women (see Figure 5: cro5.eps), the frontal plane is dominated by the protruding element of the subject's left hand, positioned in such a way that it appears close enough to touch. This hand though is not quite that of a human, for it is draped in gold. The position of the hand suggests it belongs to a reality outside the text while the golden paint connotes a non-human dimension. Within the closeup framing, this image of the Dior model displays a recurring contradictory style of visualising woman: as a type of goddess and as an icon. In this advertisement, the modern iconic genre is realised through the low frontal perspective which



Figure 5. cro5.eps

confers importance and the golden paint creating a glow and connoting value, while its modernity is conveyed through the strategic positioning of some of its image elements in the lower front portion of the frame.

In other words, the arrangement of image elements in this image, as well as in the other images referred to in this paper, is of considerable significance. As Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) have commented, “The screen and page are coded with a grammar of position and movement known to those initiated into the composition conventions of various media texts”. Aspects of this grammar are revealed by the positions of right, which signifies the new; left, the given; top the ideal and bottom the real. In a similar vein, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have noted how verbal reference to these positions follows a parallel signification system: up is usually associated with heaven, positive experiences and

moral good, whereas down is associated with the real world, basically negative experiences and (often) moral bad.

In order to explain these directions/positions, Kress and van Leeuwen divided the screen and page, according to the symbol of the Cross, into four main sections.

This two-dimensional heuristic device does not, however, include all six of the directions/positions for physical space. Front and back (as well as right, left, top and bottom) are positions and directions which indicate that the reader is travelling deeper inside the text/story (back) or coming out of it (front). These remaining directions/positions are perceived by readers/viewers even when the text is a two-dimensional representation. Zettl (1990: 178–179) describes the power of these two positions, and the vector that joins them, as the z-axis (Zettl 1990: 133). He argues that motion along the z-axis, from front to back or from back to front, is “one of the strongest indicators of depth”. Therefore space, or the screen/page, is possibly more appropriately perceived as being integrated according to the symbol of an asterisk, star or compass rather than the perspective of the Cross. Image elements which seem to protrude are positioned at the frontal plane of the image text, as is the left hand of the Dior model, and reinforce the illusion of a three dimensional image world, inviting the reader/viewer to interact, touch, respond or somehow communicate with the figure represented, rather than use this figure as a mediator to a higher realm.

It is argued that, mainly due to these image elements of gaze, framing, direction, position and movement, representational iconic images of women today differ from their past counterparts, while their representation in both eras is characterised by a framing from a low frontal perspective and inclusive of a type of spiritual light or glow. It is also maintained that the interpersonal responses evoked and provoked by this group of image elements is of significant cumulative power so that it may not only be passive and insignificant responses which eventuate, but also suppressed and even destructive internal self-criticism or explicit and possibly violent reactions.

According to Althusser (cited in McQuail 2000), ideology is the imagined relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. This imagined relationship, or ideological perspective, is embedded in the construction of an image. Contradictory ideological perspectives can also be embedded, encoded and then shared among a community whose members hold similar values. Representational iconic images serve to link such shared imaginary and ideological relationships to an image type. Very often nowadays, the type of image which re-presents women as icons has adjusted itself to the virtual environ-



Figure 6. cro6.eps

ment of the online digital image, visually encouraging interaction (which may only involve a click of the mouse) via gaze or prominence of body parts.

Images reflect, represent and reveal a community's values, norms, culture and history. The reproduction of images idolizing women reflect, represent and reveal the paradox inherent in the valuing and devaluing of the female by post-modern Western society. Iconic images of women provide a point of reference for standardizing the feminine although the very basis on which their meaning is predicated may be ironic, confusing and ambiguous.

The provocative image of Germaine Greer (see Figure 6: cro6.eps), an icon of feminism, is offered as another example of the characteristics so far described as typifying the modern representational iconic image of women: in this instance the ironic, cheeky and defiant gaze of the subject typifies her role as ironic critic and simultaneous iconic image of a politically astute woman.



Figure 7. cro7.eps

Her gaze includes and positions the audience slightly in front but below her, while placed in the lower front portion of the screen are the subject's right arm and leg, arranged in such a way that they seem close enough to touch. Greer's gaze, perspective and positioning are therefore in sharp contrast to the positioning of image elements in past representations of figures such as Mary whose mounting on pedestals often involved their being placed further back along the *z-axis* within the frame, well out of reach and well distanced from the worshipper (see Figure 7: cro7.eps). Positioning towards the back was thus suggestive of the elements belonging to the world of the text and out of the audience's reach, whereas being positioned towards the front suggests these elements of the image become part of the reader/viewer's world and seem close enough to touch. Greer appears infinitely more accessible.

Of course, the purpose of the religious representational iconic image is obviously different from the political parody Greer illustrates; nevertheless both the image of Germaine Greer and the image of Mary fall into the same general category of representational iconic image, for both seek to evoke/provoke a significant degree of admiration for their subject even though this may be counterbalanced by a negative response from audience members who do not follow Mary or who dismiss Greer.

The fact that both Mary and Greer are seen as icons of some form or other, illustrates that despite the difference in modality regarding the type of interpersonal response engendered, some features of what constitute the representational iconic image have remained relatively similar. The characteristic halo of past religious iconic images, for instance, has remained a part of the imaging of modern representations of women as icons, although it has become muted through substitution via a subtle glow, a back-lit portrait or lighting which is diffuse. The audience becomes aware of a definite glow emanating from the back of the frame in the next (see Figure 8: cro8.eps) image of Mary. The light of this glow draws the audience's gaze deeper into the central or back position and reality of the text, while suggesting something extra-textual and possibly, spiritual. The image text may be two-dimensional, but it is perceived three dimensionally, its frontal and back planes connected by the z axis. Emerging from the back of the image, the representational iconic image typically contains a certain glow, a halo effect connoting light, sun and goodness. Restrained hues will harmonise in a general appearance of perfection, seemingly ordained by assistance from above. The audience's reading/viewing may focus on the larger-than-life size facial image while being cognizant of the mediation of a peculiar grace, indicated by the light or halo. The subject of the representational iconic image type is thus distinguished by the meaning given to its light, or its glow, in this case forming a halo effect. The illusion of depth created by harmonious lighting has continued to be employed, albeit in a modified form, in the creation of modern representational iconic images.

A final image, *Fact and Fantasy*, (see Figure 9: cro9.eps), that by a Sydney artist, Angela Paul, further illustrates the typical but paradoxical style by which women are represented today: more and more as celebrities, beauties and screen goddesses rather than religious or political figures. However, all these different roles for icons can carry with them contradictory connotations. In *Fact and Fantasy* the reader/viewer may initially be drawn into the depths of the image by the central position of the woman's face, visualized from a slightly low frontal perspective, on a background of light, as well as by her direct gaze. The framing of the subject may remain unnoticed until a closer look reveals its



Figure 8. cro8.eps

challenging comment: flesh and blood in the form of sheep's brains and hearts, surround the glitter in the centre of which is found, not a goddess, but just a woman. By distinguishing its framing, which appears in close enough detail to seem real, utilizing gaze and the positioning of its image elements, this painting asks the reader/viewer, as does this paper, to reconsider the wisdom of idolizing the female.

Although representational iconic images from the past and the present discussed in this paper have a variety of purposes, the essential similarity of low frontal perspective and a type of light suggestive of spirituality suggests an elevation of the subject. Awareness of the role of the *z-axis* for creating a sense of depth can help explain the seeming difference in representational iconic images of women today: modern day representational iconic images foster a positive sense of familiarity and involvement from their audiences. However, it



Figure 9. cro9.eps

is not uncommon that contempt is bred from becoming overfamiliar and so, a negative appraisal may be expected for the very same subject. No matter how beautiful, politically correct, sacred or familiar, it appears that representational iconic images carry with them the possibility of evoking or provoking extreme and contradictory responses from their audiences.

Therefore, in spite of such images having become increasingly common, the practice of idolizing the female in the form of a representational iconic figure seems to be fraught with difficulties. Framing woman as an icon, whether the purpose is fashion, religion, politics, fame or fantasy, means that two contradictory evaluations become linked to her representation and therefore her perception of herself as well as the ways by which others perceive her. Representational iconic images are capable of eliciting intense emotional responses such as awe or disdain and therefore need to be identified as well as decon-

structed by the audiences they infiltrate. A visual and critical literacy is a tool that can assist in this process of deconstruction. "Visuacy" already has a sound theoretical basis in the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (1990, 1996), Martin (2002) Nichols (1995), White (2001) and Zettl (1990), but it needs to be introduced to the wider public of the media so that it can become part of a global image literacy, applied to the new, multiple and diverse range of images currently being produced. Until now, some audiences consume images unawares, while a minority appraises them. The representational iconic image is only one genre of visual, distinguished by the intensity of interpersonal responses it frequently provokes, but a genre whose distinguishing characteristics illustrate the importance of developing a global visual literacy.

Notes

1. *Representational* icons are those which feature a human.
2. Such events include the beheadings of the icon for sailors, the Little Mermaid's statue in Copenhagen, in 1964 and again in 1998 (from *The Little Mermaid* at www.aok.dk/E/V/CPHDK/0006/13/44/cs2.html), the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhist icons on March 11, 2001 and the recent outlawing of shrines and icons on the front lawns of Holroyd City Council in Sydney Australia as reported by *Current Affair* on Channel 9 and *The Daily Telegraph* on July 3, 2002.
3. Woman represented as an icon has become a more than common practice in the Western history of image making, most noticeably since depictions of Astarte the earth Mother and subsequently Mary, the Mother of God, began to be worshipped.
4. *Gaze* refers to the eyes of the subject and the line that connects the direction of their look to a point/person inside or outside the picture frame.
5. These four types include the "Chocolate Box" which features a smile, teeth barely visible, full or three-quarter face to camera and a projected mood that is blandly pleasing but devoid of any individuality; the "Invitational" which emphasizes the eyes, only a hint of a smile, head to one side of looking back to camera and a projected mood suggestive of mystery, possibly sexual promise and advertising's soft sell; the "Super-smiler" which is full face, wide toothy smile, head thrust forward or chin thrown back, hair possibly windblown and a projected mood that is aggressive, demanding: a "come-on" and hard-sell approach; finally, the "Romantic or Sexual" which is more general, can include "twosomes" or a dreamy unsmiling head, or even overtly sexual, suggesting availability.

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- Figure 2: cro2.eps (Elle) – front cover of *Harper's Bazaar*. Australia: Hearst Magazines International. June/July 2002.
- Figure 3: cro3.eps (Mary) – *Rare Portraits of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. Presented by St. George and St. Anthony Coptic Orthodox Church, Heliopolis, Cairo, Egypt (online). Available from the World Wide Web: www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/3227/4.jpg
- Figure 4: cro4.eps (Aung Sung Suu Kyi) – "Icon" in *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Australia: Fairfax Publications, May 11–12, 2002: 9.

Figure 5: cro5.eps (Dior model) – back cover of *Harper's Bazaar*. Australia: Hearst Magazines International, June/July 2002.

Figure 6: cro6.eps (Germaine Greer) – *Marie Claire*. Melbourne, Australia: Murdoch Magazines, August, 2001: 22–23.

Figure 7: cro7.eps (Mary) – *Thumbnails of Marian Images* [online]. The Immaculate Heart of Mary, 2002. Available from the World Wide Web: www.immaculateheart.com/umbnails.htm

Figure 8: cro8.eps (Mary) – *Thumbnails of Marian Images* [online]. The Immaculate Heart of Mary, 2002. Available from the World Wide Web: www.immaculateheart.com/thumbnails.htm

Figure 9: cro9.eps (fantasy woman) – *Fact and Fantasy*. Angela Paul (Artist). Sydney. 1992.

Getting attention in the media

Interdiscursivity and ideology in advertisements

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The main purpose of this text is to explore interplay at the textual level (text types and genres) and at the ideational level (ideals and ideologies) in advertisements. The article investigates connections and mutual inspiration between the advertising discourse and other discourses by mapping techniques and text categories used for constructing advertisements. The data consists of a sample of direct mail and advertising supplements to a Swedish newspaper. Three of the discerned text categories are analysed: *facts check*, *the questions column* and *the interview*. The analyses show that hybridisation is the normal way of constructing advertisements in a way to dilute the commercial part with the status, authority and credibility from other discourses.

Keywords: Advertisements, discourses, interdiscursivity, intertextuality, hybridisation, genre, ideology

Advertising plays an important part in all kinds of contemporary media – radio, television, Internet, the printed media. Thus, whether we like it or not, we are surrounded by advertisements competing with other media texts for our attention. Cook (2001:2) makes a caricature by describing one extreme attitude on advertising as “amoral aesthetes mesmerized by its decadent beauty” and the other as “over-serious moralists appalled at its materialism”. It would not be an exaggeration, rather a repetition, to use the terms commercialisation and mediation as characteristics of the texts in our society. In pace with the increasing amount of media texts fighting for attention, the means used by commercial discourse to gain and keep the consumers’ interest have become more important. An assumption is that this endeavour can be observed in advertisements. Another assumption is that ideologies from different discourses

permeate media texts, from the most obvious commercial texts to the strictly non-commercial texts.

The material investigated consists of a sample of direct mail and advertising supplements to newspapers. The main purpose is to explore the role played by interdiscursivity in advertising genres by studying text types, genres and styles with hybridisation as a point of departure. More specifically, the article investigates whether there are recurrent connections and mutual inspiration between the advertising discourse and other discourses. The investigation of interdiscursivity is of course not limited to textual form, but also deals with ideational interplay, thus the connection between and restructuring of ideologies, ideals and images. The article also aims at examining the techniques used to construct these commercial texts by describing the interplay between verbal text, graphic form and illustrations in the advertisements analysed closely below. Finally, the generic status of advertisements will be discussed.

Discourses, genres and layout – points of departure

In this section I will describe the theoretical framework serving as points of departure.

Hermerén (1999) investigates advertisements in English texts, mainly printed texts, and discusses for instance the role of intertextuality in advertisements (the use of norms and wordings from other discourses), which he explains by consumers' dislike of advertisements and the advertising agencies' consciousness of this dislike. The result is advertisements partly pretending not to be advertisements. Hermerén exemplifies this with advertisements constructed by norms from other discourses, e.g. newspapers, magazines, dictionaries and love stories. In Hermerén's typology *consumer advertising* and *trade advertising* are the labels when the goal is to sell items to individuals vs. retailers. *Corporate advertising* or *institutional advertising* should in the first place create interest and confidence for a corporation or an organisation as a whole, in the second place for the items. Finally, Hermerén discerns *government advertising* and *charity advertising*.

Cook (2001: 9–10) discusses the constituents of advertisements, taking the definition of advertisements in Collins Concise Dictionary as a point of departure, "the promotion of goods or services for sale through impersonal media". Firstly, the commercial goal can vary between selling a product, promoting a life style or informing about the activities of the government. (Cf. Hermerén's categories above.) Secondly, the function of persuading to buy is often accom-

panied or replaced by other functions such as humour in a TV commercial or information in a government advertisement. Thirdly, songs or poems originally not constructed as advertisements can be used within advertisements. Even though the interplay between discourses seldom are that direct, Cook underlines that advertisements “draw upon, and thus share features with many other genres, including political propaganda, conversation, song, film, myth, poetry...”. Hermerén as well as Cook are important to bear in mind as they underline the composite textual character of commercial texts as well as the different goals attached to advertisements.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) (inspired by Halliday’s functional grammar) attempt to write a visual grammar for modern (western) media society. From the point of view of this article, the discussions on interplay between text and image in the textual metafunction are relevant. The chapter is called *The Meaning of Composition*, and deals with structure and layout, mainly thoughts on information value connected to three dimensions (see Figure 1 below). The horizontal dimension arranges familiar information to the left and new information to the right. The vertical dimension puts ideal or general information at the top of the visual space and the real or specific information at the

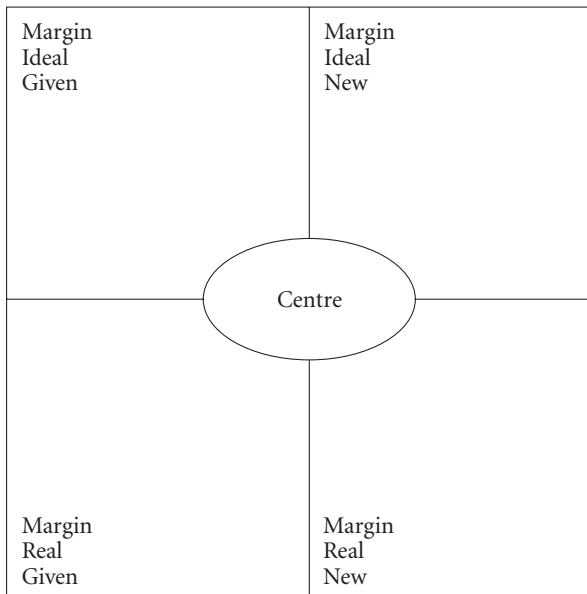


Figure 1. Three dimensions (horizontal, vertical, centre-periphery) of the visual space regarding layout and information value (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996: 208)

bottom. Comparing this to text structure, we can see a parallel in the heading of a section as the most general information, followed by more specific information further below in the text (of course though in several layers of general-specific information). Bearing in mind that written texts very seldom mechanically follow an information structure pattern going from general to specific, my conclusion is that this dimension should be interpreted with caution. The same conclusion can be made regarding the horizontal dimension as the given information can take the left position in the clause, however not necessarily does so.

The dimension of centre-periphery has no analogy in verbal text. The idea is that the centre is used for emphasis and that the other information parts form satellites around the centre of information value. Even if Kress and van Leeuwen mean that this dimension seldom is used in the Western media culture, they underline that this way of structuring information is more common in advertising discourse

I see the model of Kress and van Leeuwen as an important and useful complementary analytical tool in analyses of visual features and in analyses of the interplay between visual features and verbal text in the semiotic space. The model should of course, as all models, be questioned and used with scepticism. It is important to keep in mind that this is (as far as I know), the first integrated approach on interplay between verbal text and image.

In Swedish research this visual grammar has been used in investigations of the Swedish weekly press in the 19th century (Ledin 2000) and in analyses of texts and pictures in CD-ROMS (Alinder 1999).

A different, but in no way incompatible approach is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as developed by Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003) and his way of doing discourse analysis by combining three analytical frames – social practice, discursive practice and textual practice. This is a way to remind the analyst of the complexity of the discourse setting – from the widest socio-cultural and ideological settings via the text-institutional setting (under which conditions a text is produced and consumed) to concrete text analysis. The adjective critical in CDA should make the analyst aware of that the analytical view should be critical on all the analytical frames, but most of all regarding ideology and how power is articulated in ideological terms. For my purposes two notions discussed by Fairclough are particularly relevant, viz. genre and intertextuality.

Genre chains are genres connected to each other in systematic ways, forming chains with transformations between the linked genres (Fairclough 2003: 31). These transformations encompass of course changes in both content and style. Genres also constitute a means of governance, e.g. promotional gen-

res (p. 33). For the analysis of genres at different levels of abstraction, there are three notions: pre-genres, disembedded genres and situated genres (p. 68). Pre-genres are situated at the highest level of abstraction. Concerning the examples given by Fairclough – narrative, argument, description and conversation – there is an obvious connection to the notion text type. At the middle level we find disembedded genres, which are genres lifted out of “particular networks of social practices where they initially developed, and becoming available as a sort of ‘social technology’” (p. 68). Finally, situated genres constitute the most concrete form, embedded in a certain network of social practices.

Intertextuality and genre are related to each other e.g. as the transformations between genres are examples of an intertextual relation. Fairclough distinguishes two main types, manifest intertextuality (texts and parts of texts inserted in other texts) and interdiscursivity (styles and norms for one discourse used in another discourse). Thus, manifest intertextuality when is one text quotes part(s) from another text(s), e.g. the verbatim wording from a law text rendered in a news text about a law change. The label interdiscursivity is used for style mixture, e.g. a colloquial wording and syntax combined with a stylistically neutral wording and syntax as when a journalist gives the word to teenagers in an interview. When doing genre analyses, Fairclough not only stresses the hybrid character of the text in terms of intertextuality, but is also concerned with variation of styles, text types and genres within texts. For my purposes analysing intertextuality on the basis of Fairclough’s approach might turn out to be rewarding.

Linell (1998) has a partly different perspective on intertextuality as his main notion is re-contextualisation (originally from Bernstein 1990), which he explains as wordings, text norms, arguments and perspectives being transferred from one text or genre to another. Another difference is that Fairclough analyses one text and the traces left from other texts, whereas Linell focuses on the relations between several texts and text settings.

For a deeper understanding of text, genre theory and genre research are relevant. One of the most important works on genre within the tradition of New Rhetoric is Miller (1994 [1984]). Miller is not primarily interested in content and textual structure in genres, but rather in the communicative actions for which genres are used. Points of departure for her are the members of the discourse community and their common and everyday usage of language and texts.

Swales (1990) builds on Miller in his genre analyses of academic texts, belonging to the research tradition Language for Specific Purposes. A strategic remark is that genres are more than text: “While it remains necessary to

understand how texts organize themselves informationally, rhetorically and stylistically, textual knowledge remains generally insufficient for a full account of a genre" (Swales 1990:6). In other words: there is no necessary one-to-one relation between text structure and generic class membership, an important memento when investigating advertisements.

A model for analysing and characterising genres (partly building on Miller and Swales) is outlined in my thesis (Rahm 2002), where I stress the importance of elucidating the conventions used for the construction of meaning. A condition for the function of non-fictional texts (i.e. to be read) is that they are credible for the actual discourse. With discourse credibility I mean that the texts apply to the discourse members' expectations of text goal, text pattern and text style. This discourse credibility means that the texts apply to the discourse members' expectations of text goals, text patterns and text styles. Because of this, advertisements have to apply certain conventions to be functional. These conventions are established in the interplay between those purchasing and those designing advertisements, as well as between previous advertisements for the same product and previous advertisements within the same discourse setting.

A further observation to be made is that the textual range varies between a homogeneous pole and a heterogeneous pole. For advertising agencies it is as important to connect to the well known as to be innovative. Only a well-balanced mix (which of course is more or less innovative due to the commercial setting) can facilitate efficient advertisements in modern media society, where a huge number of texts compete to gain attention. The mix between the established and the innovative also applies to the goal of an advertisement. On the one hand it is of course most important that the commercial purpose is obvious, making the consumers of the advertisement also become consumers of the product. On the other hand, a too obvious commercial purpose can make the consumers resistant. Because of this it is probably effective to combine the main purpose with other purposes, e.g. creating recognition or (re)constructing an image for the target group or making the text humoristic or even ironic.

I also see texts of a certain kind (belonging to a certain genre or created for a certain context) as meeting places for other texts and utterances. As advertisements per se lack high status (see Hermerén 1999 above), it is important for commercial texts to achieve the status of other texts, usually from other discourses. The web of texts and utterances underlying a certain commercial text is a result of the endeavour to highlight this text among all other texts that the consumers meet in their everyday text life.

Data

During spring 2002 I collected all direct mail from my mailbox as well as the advertising supplements to the main regional newspaper in southern Sweden, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*. Out of this huge material I have omitted the main part, viz. the advertisements consisting only of price, product name and product illustration. The remaining material consists of 15 direct mails and advertising supplements in the daily press, containing coherent commercial texts connected to photos and other kinds of non-verbal illustrations. Among these are, for example, an advertisement for new housing in the harbour area in Malmö (construction firm), an advertisement from opticians in the area, a supplement called "May 1st" from the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions, and a supplement called "The Summer Road" (government advertisements about road maintenance). These examples show that the advertisements promote goods, information, interest, confidence and ideology.

Five ways of getting attention

As a first step the total set of data was studied thoroughly several times in order to systematise the texts and distinguish structures in text construction and layout. Then an intertextual analysis was carried out, pursuing ideas from Hermerén (1999), Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003) and Rahm (2002), aiming at elucidating on the one hand the conventions used for the semiosis of layout, text patterns, genres, and styles. On the other hand, the intertextual analysis should investigate if and how manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity with other genres and discourses accomplish this semiosis, as well as elucidating the connection between and restructuring of ideologies, ideals and images. The method includes an analysis of the interplay between pictures and texts inspired by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996).

As a result of the comparisons between the texts investigated, I discerned five textual categories used several times in order to construct coherent advertisements: *the testimonial*, *the alleged personal letter*, *facts check*, *the questions column* and *the interview*. For reasons of space I will restrict the analyses to the three latter of the categories discerned. The first text analysed below, a advertisement promoting skin lotion, comprises two of the text categories, facts check and questions column. The other text, an advertisement for a trade union, is constructed as an interview. In order to save space, I will not reproduce the Swedish texts in original, only in English translation. The only

exception will be some important names, which will be given in both Swedish and English. However, it is possible to study layout and part of the text in the reproductions of the advertisements below in Figure 2–4.

Facts check and questions column

The advertisement analysed promotes a skin lotion called *Vitalas Vital Face*, reaching the presumptive buyers as direct mail in the format of a small brochure of A-5 size, consisting of eight pages. The cover (see Figure 2) is dominated by a close-up of the face of a smiling middle-aged woman, probably symbolising the target group of the product. The main verbal text surrounds the close-up and reads: “Do you want to give your skin a second chance? The solution may be Vital Face! Vital Face – beauty for you!” Using the centre of the visual space is, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 206), one way of underlining information value.

On the first spread in the brochure (see Figure 3), we find a full-length portrait of the same woman on the left page. The woman is smiling, sitting at her dressing table with skin lotion products in front of her. The full-length portrait dominates the page as much as the cover photo does. A headline goes all the way across the top of the spread: “Vitalas Vital Face – one of today’s most highly developed forms of skin therapy.” The sub-headline is placed on the left page: “Try it yourself and see – you have nothing to lose!”

To the left on the page we find five statements about Vital Face:

Vital Face ...

- ...is deep-acting and shows visible results in a short time.
- ...stimulates the reconstruction of skin cells.
- ...strengthens and improves the quality and texture of the skin.
- ...gives the skin better firmness.
- ...reduces lines and wrinkles.

The given information (the woman from the cover) is to the left in the semiotic space, and the new information (the five statements) is placed to the right. In the terms of Kress and van Leeuwen this is an example of using the horizontal dimension for structuring the visual and verbal text according to information value. On top of the right side of the spread we find text organised as facts check:

VILL DU GE DIN HUD
en ny chans? **NYHET!**

Lösningen
kan vara
Vital Face!

*Vital Face
– skönhet
för dig!*

Värde 416:-
Prova i 20 dagar
– helt kostnadsfritt!
Öppna och läs mer!

Direkt hem i brevlådan • Inga avgifter tillkommer • Du binder dig inte till något

Figure 2. Using the centre of the semiotic space for highlighting information value

Vitalas Vital Face – en av dagens mest utvecklade former av hudterapi.

Prova själv och se – du har inget att förlora!

Vital Face...

- ...är djupverkande och visar på kort tid synliga resultat.
- ...stimulerar hudcellernas återuppbyggnad.
- ...stärker och förbättrar hudens kvalitet och ystruktur.
- ...ger huden en bättre fasthet.
- ...reducerar ålderslinjer och rynkor.



100%

Nöjd-Kund-Garanti.

- Våra produkter har sedan förslaget godkänntes 1987 fått med 100% Nöjd-Kund-Garanti.
- Det innebär att kunder som på något sätt inte är nöjda alltid har rätt pengarna tillbaka.
- Är du inte nöjd med produktens resultat kan du returnera förpackningen och få pengarna tillbaka oavgående.



Vital Face

En koncentrerad anti-rynk-krem i ampullform – avsedd för ansikte, hals och dekoltage. Koncentratet är tillverkat efter ett patenterat recept som bygger på en unik kombination av Retinol och C-vitamin. Du applicerar Vital Face vid sänggåendet på rengjord hy och avslutar med din vanliga nattkräm.

Vitalas Vital Face – effektiv och rekommenderas av ledande experter.

Aktiva ingredienser

RETINOL – ett rent A-vitamin och ett av de mest effektiva ämnena som finns mot fina linjer, rynkor och åldersfläckar. Det är djupverkande och analyser i många världsvida hudvårdspreparat.

C-VITAMIN – en viktig antioxidant som renser ut och bejaktar fria radikaler. Forskning visar att när C-vitamin tillförs huden utöfrar, förbättras hudens fasthet och kvalitet samt hudfuktigheten reduceras. Perenna är tillräckligt att andas och huden skyddas mot skadliga miljöpåverkan.

Dessa vitaminer är mycket kända för sina och ljust, därför rekommenderas de i hudvårdspreparat. Retinol och C-vitamin – då bevaras vitaminernas naturliga och krämer förbättrar hudens kvalitet och fasthet. Blott till från konserveringsmedel.



MARIE EGELSTZ
Gårds Dermatolog
Hälsöingen

FRÅGESPÅLTEN

Professionell hudterapi av dig själv och hos dig själv – med Vitalas Vital Face!



Monica 49 år frågar: Min hud känns inte längre lika fast som förr och i badrumsspegeln har jag upptäckt linjer och rynkor som jag gärna hade varit utan. Det känns som om jag behöver något riktigt effektivt hjälpmedel! Vilka rekommenderar du?

Marie svarar: Jag tycker att du ska prova Vital Face – en av dagens mest utvecklade former av hudterapi. Den är djupverkande och visar på kort tid synliga resultat genom att stimulera hudcellernas återuppbyggnad, stärka och förbättra hudens kvalitet, ystruktur och fasthet. Efter en tid har den reducerat ålderslinjer och rynkor.

Ingetis 48 år frågar: Varför är Vital Face förpackad i engångspaplar och inte i en burk som andra krämer?

Marie svarar: Vital Face innehåller både Retinol, en A-vitamin, och C-vitamin. Dessa vitaminer är mycket känsliga för syre och ljus, därför vakuumförpackas krämen i engångspaplar – då bevaras vitaminhalten maximalt. Dessutom förbättrar krämen hygens och fräsch och tack vare den ställrika förpackningen, kan den vara helt fri från konserveringsmedel.



Figure 3. Promoting skin lotion by using the textual categories facts check and the questions column

Active ingredients

RETINOL – pure vitamin A and one of the most effective substances available against fine lines, wrinkles and age spots. It is deep-acting and is used in many well-known skin-care products.

VITAMIN C – an important antioxidant for cleansing and combating free radicals. Research has shown that, when vitamin C is applied to the skin, the firmness and clearness of the skin are improved and skin irritation is reduced. The pores are able to breathe more easily and the skin is protected from harmful environmental pollutants.

These vitamins are extremely sensitive to oxygen and daylight. This is why the lotion is vacuum-packed in disposable capsules – the vitamin content is preserved to the maximum and the lotion stays hygienic and fresh.

Totally free of preservatives.

Two types of vitamins are described in what, at least from a quick scan of the text, seems like a pure facts check or declaration of contents. However, interdiscursive relations can be found with more than one discourse, indicating that the facts check aims at something more than just helping out the reader with a list of important facts. The educational discourse, to make a more precise assumption a textbook, is lending formulations and style. Arguments for this interpretation are the thorough explanation of the difference between the vitamin types as well as the metaphorical description of vitamin C as soldiers in a fortress (*combating free radicals, the skin is protected*). As it is possible to clearly recognize the educational genre, this can be seen as an example of a disembedded genre.

Another source is the scientific discourse by referring to knowledge, research and expertise, which is used to increase the credibility and authority. But when the prestige sources are used they are mentioned in deliberately vague terms as “recommended by leading experts”, intentionally omitting to state who these experts are. Other examples can be found in the first paragraph, “many well-known skin-care products”, and in the second paragraph, “Research has shown”. The vagueness leads to questions like: Which well-known products? Which research conducted by whom? In this case it is impossible to establish a direct connection to a specific scientific genre as e.g. research article or lecture. The vague interdiscursivity deals with expressions rendering the advertisement a thin scientific aura but nothing more. Over the years numerous advertisements have benefited in similar ways from the credibility of science. The ideological background is to increase sales by pretending to mediate objective information in stead of subjective sales arguments.

The right margin of the page contains a photo of Marie Egelotz, introduced as a skin therapist holding a diploma from Cidesco, a presentation which of course neither explains the kind of status conferred by a diploma from Cidesco nor explains the institutional function and status of Cidesco. Marie Egelotz gives scientific authority and credibility, not only for the facts check but also for the whole spread, as she is the white-coat expert answering the letters in the questions column on the left page of the spread. Below the two pairs of question and answer are reproduced. The analysis follows after the quote:

Questions column

Professional skin therapy performed by yourself at home – with Vitalas Vital Face!

Monica, 49, asks: My skin does not seem as firm as before, and when looking in my bathroom mirror I have discovered certain lines and wrinkles which I would prefer to be without. It feels as if I need some really effective remedy. What do you recommend?

Marie answers: I think you should try Vitalas Vital Face – one of today's most highly developed forms of skin therapy. It is deep-acting and gives visible results in a short time by stimulating the reconstruction of skin cells, strengthening and improving the quality, texture and firmness of the skin. After a time it has reduced age lines and wrinkles.

Ingela, 48, asks: Why does Vitalas Vital Face come in disposable packages and not in a jar like other lotions?

Marie answers: Vitalas Vital Face contains Retinol as well as pure vitamin A and vitamin C. The vitamins are extremely sensitive to oxygen and daylight. This is the reason for packing the lotion in disposable vacuum capsules – the vitamin content is preserved to the maximum. In addition, the lotion stays hygienic and fresh, and, thanks to the ingenious packaging, no preservatives whatever are needed.

The question-answer pattern is recognised from readers' questions columns in weekly magazines and newspapers. In other words, this is a well-known and well-established way of structuring texts for the readers of the brochure on skin lotion. Middle-aged women asking the skin therapist for advice represent the target group. On the surface the answers seem to be constructed in the same way as the text prototype, the expert answering the curious readers in the questions column. But when the answers are compared with the rest of the text of the spread, it is obvious that it is not that simple. Marie Egelotz's answers are examples of intratextuality, that is an interplay with other text parts on the spread.

The first answer goes back to the headline running across the two pages – “Vitalas Vital Face – one of today’s most highly developed forms of skin therapy” – and the statements preceded by three dots (see above). There is manifest intertextuality with three of the phrases: “...deep-acting and gives visible results in a short time, ...stimulating the reconstruction of skin cells, ...strengthening and improving the quality, texture and firmness of the skin.” The intertextual connection is also strong to the remaining two statements, albeit not by repeating them verbatim.

The second answer (to be more precise beginning with the second sentence, “The vitamins are extremely sensitive to oxygen and daylight”) renders the exact wording of the last paragraph in the facts check, which is also a case of manifest intertextuality.

The function of this internal intertextuality is probably to repeat the main sales arguments in a discrete and effective way. Of course, the repetition of arguments only stays discrete and effective as long as the presumptive buyer of the product does not notice the repetition. As the usual way of reading advertisements is through a quick and superficial scan, the strategy is probably successful. Another interpretation would be that the producer of Vitalas Vital Face wants to ensure that the message comes through also when the advertisement is consumed in its usual way.

The category of interview

Första maj (‘May 1st’) is an advertisement supplement to *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, paid for by the LO, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation. In the supplement, there is a full page about *Handels*, the Swedish union for employees in shops, department stores etc. The text consists mainly of an interview with the head of the trade union, Ninel Johansson. However, there is no information about the interviewer or the author of the text. The explanation of this omission is found to the right on top of the page, where the word *advertisement* is written vertically. In other words, the page consists of an advertisement paid for by *Handels* in a supplement paid for by LO. The interview thus opens up like a Chinese box: in the first instance as an advertisement but also as a journalistic product, which in its turn is part of an advertisement supplement consisting of texts promoting the ideology of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation using journalistic genres and techniques. Finally, the supplement is distributed together with *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*. This box-in-box-relation is important for the reception of the text as I presume that the readers at first glance will be as favourably disposed to this advertisement as to the editorial

parts of the newspaper. The reason is simple – the advertisement looks exactly like an editorial.

The page has the layout of an interview in a newspaper with the headline “With a right to influence” followed by the lead “The good of the members, the election campaign, May 1st, and the grandchildren. These are some of the things that are particularly close to the heart of the chairman of Handels.” Below the heading and the lead there is a big photo of Ninel Johansson. The photo is hardly possible to interpret in terms of the dimensions of Kress and van Leeuwen as its position is in the middle of left margin.

Under the photo there are key words followed by condensed information. Most of the key words are well-known from interviews in newspapers: *Name, Title, Age, Family, Childhood dream, Pet hates, Positive qualities*. The key words connote a life world, far from the ideological struggle of the union. The key word *May 1st* is of course specific for this text and has a clear ideological meaning. The information following key words in newspaper interviews usually comes in the form of a phrase but rarely a full sentence. In this text, however, the key words are followed by full sentences in the voice of the interviewee (signalled by quotation marks in the Swedish original):

It [May 1st] has always been a more important festivity than Christmas and New Year. I have walked in the demonstrations since I was four and remember that I always got some new item of clothing. I still feel a tingle in my stomach and a lump in my throat when I march in the procession. It is a mighty feeling of being strong together.

Even the utterance connected to the ideological key word *May 1st* belongs to the life world as the perspective is on comparing festivities and Ninel’s personal memories over the years. In the final sentence the private perspective is connected to the public, ideological perspective and the main purpose of the demonstrations – showing unity and strength to the world.

The main text is constructed by an alternation between the voice of the interviewee and the voice of the anonymous interviewer. The utterances of the interviewee are dominated by direct speech (in roughly the same style as in the quotation above), but some of them are in indirect speech combined with the voice of the interviewer: “When asked where she gets her energy from, Ninel answers that she gets the stimulation from her grandchildren.” I see this passage as another way of illustrating the connection between the public and the private, promoting an ideal of a committed union leader but also a committed grandmother. This image of the union and leadership is important to mediate

to union member (and those thinking about joining the union) in order to get future union officials as well as new members.

The parts of the text in the voice of the interviewer aim at governing the interpretation of the direct voice as well as the indirect voice of Ninel Johansson, and also at describing the personality of the chairman (which is not unexpected in a text of this kind): “Even though the room is rather dull with shelves in beech veneer and a conventional grey sofa, the room is quickly filled with energy and commitment when Ninel Johansson begins to talk. A glowing passion is created, colouring the room and giving the Handels a soul.”

The passage shows that Ninel Johansson is dedicated to her mission and can fill the members with enthusiasm. It also tells us that the chairman does not waste her energy on decorating her office but uses it for the sake of the members of the union. At the same time, the portrayal is a way of giving the reader a feeling of being in the same time and place as the interviewer by means of the condensed description of the setting and the union leader. But the journalistic credibility is lost. The extract has interdiscursive connections with the exaggerated superlatives of old-fashioned advertisements. Another connection can be made to the ecstatic style of certain religious (Christian) discourse, promoting a strong preacher. It is also possible to see resemblances of the promotion of charismatic leaders in socialist discourse in Eastern Europe before 1989. The two latter connections are obvious examples of how to promote ideology in the form of the strong leader as a charismatic person.

Conclusions

I have showed three ways of constructing advertisements from two examples. The analyses of intertextuality indicate that hybridisation is the normal way of constructing advertisements.

In the category *questions column* the columns of the weekly press lend direct formulations as well as the style in general terms. But this inspiration seems to come from educational discourse as well, to be more precise, from a certain type of questions used for structuring the information in textbooks. Thus we have an example of interdiscursivity by using disembedded genres, that is genres originally created for a certain social setting than lifted into another social setting. The producers of the advertisement probably aim at reflecting the combination of the relaxed reading of the weekly press with the careful study of textbooks.

The category *facts check* is never used alone; it is combined with another category, as shown in the text about the skin lotion. Text boxes both in newspapers and in textbooks, containing a list of facts, are the obvious text patterns. From textbooks used for foreign language education, we recognise labels as *grammar check* and *spelling check*. The collections of facts are usually placed at the bottom of the page in advertisements as well as in textbooks and newspapers. The reason for this is probably to signal that the information is more specific and a complement to the information provided in the main text. It can also be interpreted as a condensed repetition of the central facts above on the page.

The category of *interview* is a journalistic technique for obtaining information in a personal way, often combined with some kind of depiction of the interviewee and the setting of the interview. The advertisement from the *LO* supplement goes back to this journalistic technique in a certain usage, the personal interview in the portrayal genre, a genre where it is important to produce a penetrating picture of the interviewee. In other words, the goal of the portrayal genre is to give a deeper and fuller understanding of the person portrayed. In the example discussed above (which is about the union leader Ninel Johansson) the interview has the same content and text structure as most interviews in print media, as well as giving a portrayal of the union leader. On the surface, the interview aims at depicting the personality of the union leader, but of paramount importance for the advertisement is its strive to promote the ideology, image and organisation of the union in order to give the union members a stronger feeling for their union as well as attracting new members. The content is built up around a blending of the ideological perspective into the personal perspective. As a consequence of this, the rather shallow portrayal of the energetic and enthusiastic Ninel Johansson is a means of conveying the image promoted by the advertisement. Ninel Johansson thus serves as a symbol and representative of a strong and active union, hoping to increase the number of members by means of the advertisement. The eagerness to promote the ideology and ideals of the union via the energetic and sympathetic Ninel sometimes creates interdiscursive relations to ecstatic religious style or to uncritical socialistic style, both paying homage to the strong leader.

Hybridisation is thus the normal thing for advertisements and a consequence of advertising agencies eagerly trying to use all their imagination to dilute the commercial part with the status, authority and credibility from other genres and discourses. The explanation behind this behaviour is of course the consumers' distrust and suspicion of commercial texts because of their fundamental goal, to promote products, ideal, life styles or ideologies. By trying or

at least pretending to have another goal for their advertisements, the agencies want to create sufficient attention for their advertisements in today's commercialised (text) society.

Finally I will discuss the genre status of advertisements. I see advertisements as the most important genre within the order of commercial discourse. Where many of the other commercial genres are homogeneous (e.g. sales letter, sales acceptance and invoice), the advertisement has a wide range in the construction of verbal text and visual features. Can we still talk about one genre of advertisements encompassing several distinctly different ways of constructing texts; each of them characterised by a mixture of different genres and discourses? My answer is yes, despite the wide range in textual construction. One important reason for this is the communicative purpose common for most advertisements: selling and promoting some kind of product, image or ideology. As Cook (2001) points out there are advertisements where other communicative purposes are more important (e.g. humour or information), but also these advertisements aim at selling or promoting something.

Let us finally make a comparison with the news genre. The standardisation process in the construction of news during the 20th century (compare Rahm 2002) can explain the relative homogeneity of text construction in the news genre. This homogeneity has become the ideal structure of news texts in order to facilitate the news consumption. For the genre of advertisements heterogeneity or the hybrid text is the ideal, probably mainly in order to steal splendour, glory and authority from non-commercial genres and discourses and thus for a moment obfuscate the commercial purpose.

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The big picture

The role of the lead image in print feature stories

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This is an analysis and comparison of two verbal-visual journalistic texts in different languages. Both texts are weekend news review feature stories on illegal entry to the country by foreign nationals – one from a high circulation Greek newspaper and one from an Australian newspaper. The aim is to explore how knowledge, ideology and attitudes on a similar issue are construed and mediated in two different cultures through such multi-modal print media texts.

The entry point into the study was analysis of the most prominent image in each text using Kress and van Leeuwen's image analysis framework (1996). This was extended by applying Systemic Functional Linguistics' Appraisal system for describing evaluative meanings (Martin 1996, 2001; Martin & White 2005) already used fruitfully in journalistic discourse analysis (Iedema et al. 1994; White this volume).

This study explores the differences between the Greek and Australian text in respect to their choices of, and within the prominent image, and in respect to the image's relationship to the verbiage – particularly the bold verbiage of headlines and subheadlines.

Keywords: Multimodal, journalistic/news, image analysis, discourse analysis, appraisal theory, evaluation, ideology

This paper will argue that the role played by prominent images in print media feature stories is a critical and primary one in positioning or orienting readers attitudinally towards the text that follows or accompanies the image. Prominent images within composite texts are seen to play an important role “in aligning communities around shared values”, making “an analysis of their rhetorical value as essential as analysis of their truth value” (Martin 2000). Although Martin was not examining media texts, his statements seem partic-

ularly pertinent to texts in high circulation daily or weekly papers. This study will focus particularly on examining the role of lead images in relationship to headlines, as the element of feature stories which reaches the wider audience.

Materials

The genre of long feature story or article in the News Review sections of high-circulation weekend newspapers was chosen as the site for analysis rather than hard news story or commentary. News feature articles often purport to, or are seen to have a higher truth value and status than do daily news stories, as sites of current knowledge on the topic of the text. For this reason they are often used formally as educational texts in schools and universities and informally by many regular print media readers looking for more detailed and researched information or commentary on an issue.

The choice of two such texts on a similar issue from two different countries and languages was made to provide the opportunity to explore and perhaps identify cultural differences in the mediation of social values. One of the texts is from a weekend edition of the highest circulation Australian newspaper, 'The Sydney Morning Herald', a middle-of-the road broadsheet and the other from the Sunday edition of an equally high-circulation Greek newspaper, 'Eleftherotypia-Kiriakatiki', whose origins were left-wing but whose circulation has increased as it has become more conservative in recent years.

Both texts were the top story of the paper's weekly news review section, featured on the first page of the section, and both were on the global issue of illegal entry into a country by foreigners – "boat people" and "asylum seekers" in the Australian story, and "illegal immigrants", or "aliens" in the Greek story. Both stories featured at the top of the first page of the story a large and prominent colour photo of what seems to be people in detention as can be seen in Figures 1 and 2.

Theoretical orientation

The approach taken for the analysis is a social semiotic one whereby the relationship of text to context is seen as one of realisation or reflection. Thus by examining texts closely one can simultaneously understand the social context being reflected. This close reading of the texts selected follows a systematic approach, detailing the choices made in their construction in order to show how they are designed or constructed to bring about certain reactions or atti-



Figure 1. Greek text: Three children behind bars (Photo: Reuters)



Figure 2. Australian text: Two adults behind wire fence (Photo: Paul Harris)

tudes. These choices or foregrounded attitudes are then examined to see how they reflect or are aligned with the social role of the newspaper, its political positioning, and aim of securing an ideal readership.

The image analysis framework used by Kress and van Leeuwen in *Reading Images* (1996) has been applied as the basis for carrying out a systematic analysis of the images in this study. Their framework of three main categories allows for three types of meaning choices made in constructing an image. These

are based on the three metafunctions of Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) theory (Martin 1992).

Kress & van Leeuwen categories SFL metafunctions	
Content	Representational Meanings
Social Relations between viewer and image	Interpersonal Meanings
Composition	Textual Meanings

Where the Kress and van Leeuwen categories are seen to be insufficient for this study, they will be enhanced or extended in line with the suggestions made by Martin (2000), particularly in regard to analysis of the prominence of images within a composite text. In regard to the choice of placing a very large image above a written text, Kress and van Leeuwen analyse this prominence in compositional terms. They analyse the size and location of these images above, to the left/right/centre or right across the entire verbal written text by applying the textual relations of Given/New, Ideal/Real and Centre/Margin. They do also say that such an analysis signals prominent images' lead role in "ideologically foregrounding the meanings taken up by the text below" (1996).

Martin suggests that the compositional framework needs to be expanded therefore to include the textual relation of Theme/Rheme (Martin 2002). Theme, in the Systemic Functional sense of predicting or orienting towards the following text, is the function of the first element in a clause. This can be applied to the text level, where the first element is called the Macrotheme, a higher-order theme. Themes can be of different kinds, Representational, textual or Interpersonal.

Martin points out that prominent images can function as Macrotheme for the whole text. However, they do not just function as higher-order orienting Topical (Representational) Themes, like a kind of topic sentence for the text, but as higher-order Interpersonal Themes. He likens this to a similar choice we have in verbal language, to thematise interpersonal meanings as well as topical (or representational) meanings. Just as the modal adjunct in first position in a clause, "Unfortunately," foregrounds the speaker's attitude to, or evaluation of the information that follows, so too might a prominent image in a multimodal text.

Such images, Martin suggests, have as their primary function to provoke a desired audience evaluation of the verbiage that follows and he points out that it is this ability of these images to provoke a reaction that needs to be explored as well as their information and truth value. This ability he specifically relates to choices made with respect to interpersonal meanings of evaluation.

To analyse these images therefore, a systematic exploration is needed of any evaluation or attitudinal values provoked by the image. The Kress and van Leeuwen framework does not suffice for such an exploration as there is no analysis of Interpersonal Meanings of evaluation. Only Interaction and Modality are included in their interpersonal category of viewer-image social relations. Thus, this study also takes up Martin's suggested extension of the Kress and van Leeuwen Interpersonal categories, using his model of interpersonal meanings of evaluation referred to as Appraisal (2000). In this model the system of Attitude, the most relevant to this study, consists of three subcategories of different types of Attitude as elaborated below.

Appraisal: Attitude

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Affect: | emotional response (feelings originating in our bodies)
love/hate, fear/security enjoyment/discomfort
e.g. I am afraid of him. He hit me. |
| Appreciation: | aesthetic response (feelings institutionalised as aesthetics)
shape, balance, proportion, colour, texture
e.g. It's beautiful. The dress matches the hat. |
| Judgement: | ethical response (feelings institutionalised as morals, laws)
good/bad, right/wrong, legal/illegal
e.g. That's the right thing to do. He helped the sick child. |

A distinction is made in this model between Inscribed (explicit) and Evoked (implicit) appraisal. In the sentence examples above – in the first of each pair of examples, the attitude is Inscribed, mostly made explicit in a single lexical item such as 'afraid', 'beautiful', 'right', (although attitude can also be inscribed in the accumulated meanings of a word group, a clause or proposition). Martin's model indicates the option of Inscribing attitude is available more in verbal language. The second example in each category given above illustrates Evoked attitude. In the model Evoked Attitude can be of two types, one is attitude Invited by representational meanings as are these three latter examples above. It is in the other type, Provoked Attitude, that Martin identifies images as one of the two ways of provoking attitude, the other being imagery or metaphor.

In the following analysis of the two texts in this study Kress and van Leeuwen's categories Content and Composition will be applied where they are useful or adjusted where necessary. Their two aspects of the category of Social Relations (Interaction and Modality) will be extended by adding a third, that of Appraisal – Attitude. Each image will be assessed in terms of the attitudinal meanings it provokes – Affect, Appreciation and/or Judgement.

The final appraisal analysis will take into consideration how choices made in all other categories of meaning combine to provoke a cumulative evaluative response from the viewer. The final question asked of each image is: What evaluative or attitudinal response is provoked by the image contents, their presentation and composition within the image, and the position of the image in overall layout? Finally, after a similar multifunctional analysis of the verbiage in the main headline, and of the relationship between the lead image and headline, a reading will be arrived at of the cumulative evaluative response provoked, invited or inscribed by this most prominent verbal-visual element in the feature story – that of the lead image and main headline.

Analysis of the Greek image

Contents

The only human participants are the faces of three children. The only attributes clearly shown are their youth, their very dark skin, and perhaps their isolation, exclusion or captivity. They are not involved in any process beyond looking through the cross frame of a window, representing a circumstance of place more than another participant, placing the children inside looking out or outside looking in. The cross frame could also be seen as representing an attribute of the children, as detained or excluded.

Following Kress and van Leeuwen's classification, this is a conceptual rather than a narrative image as the children are not involved in, nor is there any strong indication of a process as part of a sequence. If we follow their further classification of conceptual images then this image could be seen as both Symbolic Attributive where certain attributes are highlighted as having symbolic significance, and also Symbolic Suggestive where the whole image is presented as having symbolic value.

The attributes highlighted and given symbolic value are children's otherness, and their state of detention or exclusion. Firstly, this is achieved by reduced colour and light differentiation resulting in a silhouetting effect with a greater contrast between their dark brown skin and the brightness of the cross frame. Secondly, both their skin and the cross are in soft focus with little detail, so reinforcing the symbolic rather than real. This is in contrast to the high naturalism of the eyes which are in clear focus with details such as redness in the whites of the eyes being visible.

Inviting a symbolic reading of the whole image is the reduced naturalism of most of the image apart from the eyes. The reduced light and colour differentiation – the lack of shading and a palette of only three colours, brown, pink

and white; the unnaturalistic flat pink of the background; the lack of depth and perspective in the background; and the blurring of pink at the fuzzy edges of the bright white cross-frame in the foreground all contribute to this reading. Relevant here is that the symbolic value of the white cross for the Greek audience includes the fact that it is a significant part of the Greek flag symbolising the essential Christianity of the Greek nation. The Greek Orthodox Church has always played a very powerful role in Greek society, politics and education. Possible symbolic readings of the whole image here therefore range from 'crucified little black children' to 'excluded little black children' to 'suffering little black children in need of Christian help'.

Modality

Many of the defining characteristics of the symbolic as elaborated above such as soft focus, low colour and light differentiation, are in fact all interpersonal signs of low modality. Kress and van Leeuwen's Content analysis identification of the characteristics of conceptual images has made a Modality analysis seem unnecessary.

Interaction

This type of meaning refers to the kind of social relationship as set up between viewer and image, by the camera angle, position and shot type. In this image we have a close up frontal shot of human subjects with direct eye contact taken from a horizontal angle resulting in what Kress and van Leeuwen would term intimate social distance or close personal involvement. As mentioned earlier, the eyes are salient as they are most naturalistically represented feature in the image and particularly so because the childrens' mouths are not visible. They are also significant as interaction because they establish a vector by their gaze directly to our gaze. All the facial expression is in the eyes, which can be read as generally as expressing negative feelings – unhappy or at least passive with descriptions from viewers ranging from lost, needy, confused to scared and suffering.

Composition

The most striking compositional feature within the image is the bright white cross in the foreground and its position – geometrically sectioning the image into four balanced quadrants, three containing the face of a child. Another striking feature is the presence of three similar participants or repetition of the same message three times, a child's face filling three of the four squares – two filled spaces on the right where our typical reading path takes us, or where the

New information is. The only empty space in the left top corner maybe read as the Ideal and Given, perhaps a situation where there is no foreign child in need.

This is a centred image with the intersection of the cross, right in the middle. The vectors formed by the white lines of the horizontal and vertical axes draw the viewer's eyes into the centre of the cross allowing the cross and three faces to be held in view simultaneously. These same vectors also draw the viewer's eyes out into the story itself with the white lines leading into the white spaces between columns and the white margin framing the whole text and page itself. These compositional elements and vectors are displayed in Figure 4 below.

In terms of overall layout this is an image positioned as an integral element of the whole text and page with the white background and margin spaces linking all elements to make a cohesive whole – the image, the verbiage, and the page.

This is reinforced by the fact that there is no other text on the page besides the section heading which is smaller than the story headline. The only colour in the heading, red on black in a small logo is also used as an integrating element with a red in-text heading and reddish pink lines and shading in the image. The integration of the image within the whole is also achieved by its being surrounded on three sides by accompanying verbal text as seen in Figure 4 below.

I believe these compositional and layout choices make this image not only the largest single most salient element on the page but doubly prominent in terms of Kress and van Leeuwen's framework. In its position on top of the page it can play a lead role ideologically foregrounding the messages in the written text below, but also in its somewhat centralised position it could also be seen as playing a unifying role for the messages contained in the verbal text.

Appraisal – Attitude

If the overall reaction or evaluative response of the viewer to the image is a sum of all the meanings identified above then we can say all the choices identified, work simultaneously to provoke it. We can now analyse an image in terms of which of the three kinds of attitude are provoked by the choices in content, composition, and interaction. In the Greek image, there are in my opinion, for a Greek audience, relatively high values of all three kinds of attitude provoked simultaneously – affect, judgement and appreciation, with appreciation perhaps the highest. For a non-Greek audience, higher levels of affect than judgement would be provoked as explained below.

TRANSLATION of bold verbiage –all titles and headlines

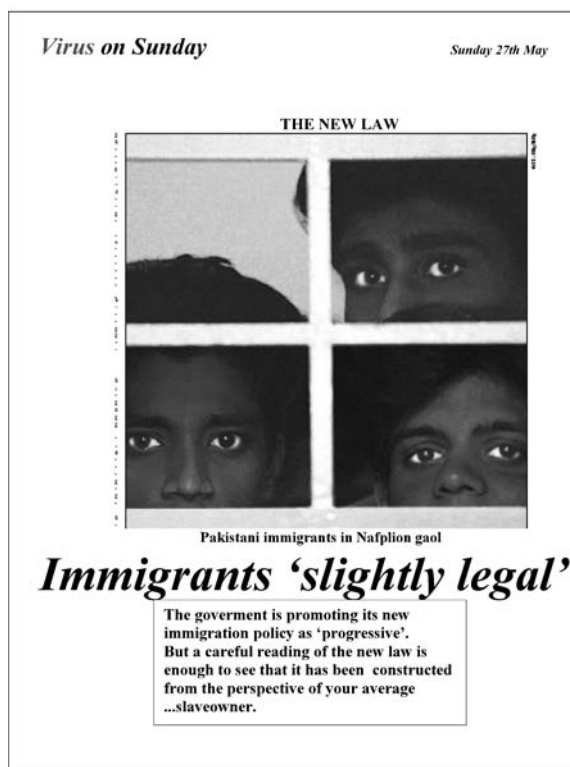


Figure 3. Diagram – Greek text layout and composition (Photo: Reuters)

In terms of affect, a viewer from any culture I believe, is positioned to react emotionally, in this case sympathetically or empathetically to the children in the image. This is achieved not only by interactional meanings (direct gaze, horizontal angle, close up) but also attitude evoked by representational meanings ('mute' faces of not one but three very young children, all possibly expressing suffering or need, in circumstances of exclusion or detention). Young children in need evoke such a universal and basic emotional response of empathy that a viewer either responds in this way, or turns away from the image.

However, with this image the viewer's sense of close personal involvement with the children and their plight is lessened somewhat by the less naturalistic or more symbolic presentation of the children as "others" and the window bars as "a cross". This symbolic presentation emotionally distances the viewer in all cases. However, in Greek viewers, I suggest it may be even more likely than

in some other groups, to activate Christian values invoking a moral framework and so position them in terms of judgement, to see the situation of these children as unfair and morally wrong.

So the strong affectual response of sympathy or empathy which may be universally provoked by the children is accompanied for these readers by a moral judgement beyond that which may naturally evolve from the affectual response. Here I suggest it is provoked more directly and conceptually by Christian symbolism. 'Those poor children.' (inscribed affect-suffering leading to empathy) 'They need help.' (evoked judgement – moral position/action required).

Interestingly, a second kind of distancing in terms of personal involvement between the viewer and the children and their plight is caused by the compositional choices. These position the viewer to react quite strongly to the image as an aesthetic artefact – the colours, the symmetry and crossed Mondrian-like lines are reminiscent of abstract modern art, and the beautiful faces with a general lack of detail and depth, reminiscent of naïve paintings of native peoples by European artists.

The appreciation values are thus very high in this image and are reinforced by the very clear and strong framing of the image in white space and as the only image on the page. So the first response to the image I suggest may be something like "What a beautiful picture." (appreciation) followed by "Those poor children." (affect) which is accompanied by "What beautiful children." (appreciation). This double cue for an appreciation response would therefore allow many more viewers to stay with the image than perhaps might otherwise.

So I suggest that in this image, to the extent that appreciation values are provoked in a number of ways, both affect and judgement responses are diminished. We have all three types of attitude activated in the case of Greek viewers and all three position the viewer to positively respond to the children. High and multiple appreciation values (aesthetic) outweigh interactional meanings (demand) and affect values (suffering). Thus the image distances the viewer from the children, provoking more contemplation or reflection than empathy and desire to help.

A less symbolic or more 'real' and a less 'beautiful' representation of children looking at the viewer in the same way may have provoked a different reaction, one without appreciation values, nor symbolic cues. In that case we may have had an image with more intense affect values, perhaps leading to consequent judgements arising "naturally" in the cultural context of the viewer, something like "Those poor children." (empathy) and then maybe even "They shouldn't be there" (anger – judgement) as well as "They need help".

Image-verbiage relations

The relations between the lead image and bold verbiage can be examined now in the light of Martin's (2000) suggestion that such relations "co-articulate attitude in a multimodal text". Here the small headline above the image, the large main headline below and the lead image will all be examined together as a unit likely to be read by all viewers of the page including those who do not go on to read the story. All verbal text has been literally translated from Greek into English for this study (see Fig. 3).

The main headline: Immigrants "slightly legal"

Content Representational meanings

The main headline contains a participant only, but no process or circumstances. The participant is a plural noun identifying a social group 'immigrants'. The headline therefore reflects the image in as much as the main content is human participants, not an event or process, but also categorises them as belonging to a certain social group. The headline also includes a classifier, 'legal', together with a modifier 'slightly'. Attributes therefore represented in the headline is their social and legal status – as opposed to attributes represented in the image which are biological and psychological, thus more universal human attributes of age, skin colour, appearance and emotional state.

The smaller headline above the image, The New Law, also contains a participant only but not a human one – here it is 'the law' which is also qualified as 'new'. This noun group collocates with and helps elaborate the meaning of the classifier 'legal' in the main headline. Both headlines work together to orient us to the main 'topic' of the story – the new immigration law and its effect on the status of immigrants in Greece. So we have here the headlines above and below the image clearly functioning as higher-order topical theme, telling us what the article is about.

The relationship between the image and the main headline could be read as the headline identifying the contents of the image – telling us that the children are 'slightly legal' immigrants. This reading is reinforced by the positioning of the headline in the typical caption location below the image, with the vertical white line in the image acting as vector leading down to the headline on its white background. The actual but very small caption under the photo seems to confirm this reading saying "Pakistani children in Nafplion gaol".

Thus the image and two main headlines – the small one above the image and the large one below – are three functional elements constituting one meaning unit. This could be glossed as a relational process 'Under the new law [these children] will be slightly legal immigrants'.

 Λόγος της Κυριακής

Representative of MAJORITY

Ο ΝΕΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ

Aπό το επίσημο Σάββατο 24 και έως έως 24 Αυγούστου φέρνουν οι συντάκτες της αγοράς τα πιο ενδιαφέροντα άρθρα των νέων εφημερίδων για τους ελλείψεις (Σελ. 200/0203 - 0202/17/Α - 2.2.2003). «Καθώς και αναφέρονται ελλείψεις των 7 «Εκπαιδευτική Επιστήμη». Κάθε ένα «Εκπαιδευτική Επιστήμη» με «Εκπαιδευτική» και «Εκπαιδευτική» Προσφορά, ο νέος δεν είναι δημοσιεύθηκε ο καινούριος με τον ίδιο και (ήδη) στην μέση ο καινούριος καινούριος ο καινούριος καινούριος.

Ανακαταρτίστηκε από τα ταξικά κομμάτια στην αριστερά οργάνωση (το δεξί στα συντάγματα τα προέβλεπε του ίδιου) επιταγή στην οποία υπήρχε η πρόταση του κομμουνιστικού κινήματος να οργανωθεί ο λαός σε συντάγματα. Ο λαός θα οργανωνόταν σε συντάγματα και θα υπήρχε η δυνατότητα να οργανωθεί ο λαός σε συντάγματα.

Die Daten zu erzeugen sind und die Aussagen zu analysieren ist ein Prozess, der von der Datenanalyse bis zur Dateninterpretation führt. Die Datenanalyse ist der Prozess, bei dem die Daten in eine Form gebracht werden, die für die Dateninterpretation geeignet ist. Die Dateninterpretation ist der Prozess, bei dem die Daten in eine Form gebracht werden, die für die Dateninterpretation geeignet ist.

Enlève ton capot-bonnet

Σήμερα, πρώτα φορά η ελληνική κοινωνία, στην αλυσίδα της φτώχειας, ηρμήνευσε άμεσα να ομαδοποιηθεί (και να υποστηρίξει) τον ελληνικό λαό αγωνιζόμενο, όχι με το «εθνικιστικό αίσθημα» αλλά ως δημοκρατικό πρόβλημα ανθρώπινου δικαιώματος.

[illegible]

Given these and other important advantages, many companies are beginning to use the Internet for e-commerce. This includes not only the sale of goods and services, but also the exchange of information and the provision of customer support.



Remember me I carry the message with me, in a little bottle.

Μετανάστες «οθλίγον νόμιμοι»

indicates the frequency the child has been given the opportunity to voice choice, and to also indicate the child's overall frequency of choice.

Ἡ ῥοπή τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἔκκειται ἐκ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου. Ἡ ῥοπή τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἔκκειται ἐκ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου. Ἡ ῥοπή τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἔκκειται ἐκ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου.

Τα προγράμματα είναι τα στοιχεία καλώς ή κακώς, υπάρχουν και εκτός. Ο Ν. 2833 δεν ήθελε να λείπει το προνόμιο που θα έπαιρναν

[illegible]

Η κωδ έρπηση διατηρείται ως «προσευχητική» ή «μετασυστημική πολιτική» της. Ομως μια προσεκτική ανάγνωση αυτού του νόμου είναι αρκετή για να κατανοήσουμε ότι είναι κατασκευασμένο από την πλευρά των συλλεγόντων του νόμου... διαλεκτικά.

λέει και το σκεπτόμενο διαπράττει
 των γυναικών, και πόσους παρρη-
 γας επιφέρει το να επιβάλλει το ε-
 λκυστικό σκεπτικό ή την άσχετη συ-
 γκευή, όπως, εθνική ασφαλεία
 αλλά και οικονομία τα συζητούμε.

παραμένει ανεργική η παροχή-
φία των μετετατών. Δεν τίθεται θέ-
μα. Το ελληνικό σύνταγμα στην
αυτοκρατορία των αρχών του κόσμου.

Ενδιαφερόμενοι σχετικά με το θέμα της διατήρησης των αυτοκινήτων με την προοπτική μιας ποιοτικής ζωής όπως η δική σας μπορούν να επικοινωνήσουν με τον Υπουργό Περιβάλλοντος και Ενέργειας ή με τον Γενικό Διευθυντή Διαχείρισης Περιβάλλοντος και Ενέργειας ή με τον Διευθυντή Επιστημονικών Θεμάτων του ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΡΩΝ (ΙΤΕΜ) στο τηλέφωνο 011-7986000.

The headline above the image: The new law and the main headline below image: “Somewhat legal” immigrants.

Figure 4. Greek image and bold verbiage

Appraisal – Attitude

There are two examples of evoked negative attitude in the main headline though none in the smaller headline. Both of these are judgement, the writer's negative judgement of the way these immigrants have been classified (and per-

haps treated) by the new law. This is achieved firstly by the selection of the word 'slightly' as a modifier of 'legal', which calls into question the validity of the classification. This marked use of 'slightly' destabilises the meaning of 'legal' from a classifier into a less specific epithet, which can be graded with expressions such as 'slightly' or 'very'. The writer also reinforces this evoked negative judgement of the new law's classification by the use of quotation marks around both classifier and modifier "slightly legal". These marks explicitly signal the writer's non-endorsement of enclosed words. There is no affect or appreciation as in the image, only very clearly evoked negative judgement.

The contrast between the meanings in the image and headline illustrate the different functions of each in terms of higher-order theme for the article. The image is an interpersonal orientation provoking high appreciation and high affect values leading to aesthetic contemplation or sympathy for the representatives of a social group identifiable in the image only as 'other' or 'non-Greek'. This is achieved by the choice of very young beautiful dark-skinned children innocent but excluded or imprisoned, in a beautifully presented and framed image.

The headline in contrast, provides a topical orientation, telling us what specific social group will be discussed in the article, immigrants, and the context of the discussion, their legal status. The headline also functions as an interpersonal orientation but of a different kind to the image, with no affect or appreciation values, only judgement, evoking high negative judgement of the new law and of the government who passed it.

The complementarity between the image and headline is also quite clear here, firstly in that the children in the image are identified as immigrants affected by the new law and secondly, in terms of the accumulation of evaluative meanings. The reaction provoked by the image can be seen as positioning the reader to more easily accept the strong negative judgement of the immigration law in the main headline.

The interpersonal orienting role of this most aesthetically pleasing picture, of these most universally appealing representatives of 'immigrants', in a situation represented by symbolic cues of Christian morality, is obvious. This is an image clearly, as Martin (2000) puts it, 'instigating and naturalising a reading position for the evaluation of all the verbiage – image texture which ensues.' This analysis is confirmed if we include all the accompanying written text of the whole article as not only is the writer's negative judgement continued and elaborated on in great detail throughout the entire written text, but also it is clear that the majority of immigrants affected by this law are white adult male. Unlike the image, there are no references to families or children through-

out the text, further evidence that the function of the image is predominantly evaluative.

The readership of this section of the Sunday paper is in fact a more homogenous one than the readership of the paper in general. This paper has gradually in the past decade changed from a paper clearly positioned politically as left-wing socialist to one which espouses more conservative or centrist positions. In doing so it has increased its circulation. However this news review section has been described as the last vestige of the paper's radical and polemic origins, and as such it attracts mostly left-wing readers. The typical readership could be described as a homogenous or even a monoglossic one.

The position of this writer in this text is a radical one, being critical of relatively progressive new legislation supported by the left which offers work and residence status to 'illegal' immigrants. The law is criticised as not going far enough, and as making the immigrants only 'slightly legal.' Perhaps only an audience already sympathetic to the cause of these illegal immigrants could be positioned by this image to consider and accept this text's critical perspective. Accepting this negative judgement extreme even for a leftist, may be easier with the beautiful and poignant lead image making the reader "think of the children" as we read.

Analysis of Australian image

Contents

The image contains two adult human participants, and a crosswire fence. The fence can either be read as a circumstance of place, or as an attribute of the people – detained people. The only other attribute visible is their clothing, with the person on the left wearing the more salient clothing – a white robe-like garment suggesting Moslem attire. The person on the right wears more typical casual or working clothes for males in many societies – a checked shirt and brown pants. The two people are not involved in any process that we can see beyond standing close to the fence holding their hands together behind their backs, perhaps waiting.

There are certain elements in the image which permit a reading of this as a narrative as well as a conceptual image. Signalling a conceptual image of the symbolic attributive type, the crossed hands are highlighted by the vivid contrast of their pink flesh tones against the mostly white, blue, grey, black tones of the clothes, background and fence – thus possibly symbolising the attributes of captivity or vulnerability. The narrative quality of the image derives not only from a possible representation of a process of waiting in the image, but also

from the modality values and compositional elements within the image itself and in the layout of the composite text, all analysed below.

Modality

There are many features of this image which contribute to its high modality values, that is, to being read as a real scene as we might observe in real life. These include the high colour and light differentiation in the interplay between light and shade, the many shades of each colour, automatically read by most viewers as a photo taken of people in an outdoor place on a sunny day. This is reinforced by the perspective indicated by depth shown from the foreground to the background and high focus showing an amount of detail in what is depicted. All these features contribute to a reading of this image as a naturalistic representation.

Interaction

Although we have a relatively close-up shot at a horizontal angle of two people which sets the viewer-image relations as close enough for personal involvement – they have their backs to us. Thus, not only is there no facial expression, nor eye contact, there is no head at all included in the image. As headless, faceless, legless, and genderless people we are clearly not invited to personally relate to them. The only aspect of their humanity which we can relate to is their hands. One hand of each person is open towards us, a gesture carrying a universal meaning of vulnerability, particularly in the context of the other hand encircling the wrist of the open hand, perhaps symbolising arrest or captivity.

Composition

Within the image itself, the two figures each equally take up most of the space and so we have a balanced image which has an empty centre – in contrast to the Greek image. This empty centre is a dark shadowy area between the two figures which on closer inspection is in fact people standing in front of the two main figures. There are clear vectors of two types – the first is the line from the crossed hands of the figure on the left which are high up in the frame, with the fingers of the open hand pointing down to the crossed hands of the figure on the left which are in the lower left frame. These vectors are also echoed in the repeated crosses of the wire fence.

Connecting the images, the lower open hand also points towards another pair of hands in the second smaller image which overlaps the prominent image in the lower left corner. This image contains another human subject, a young girl who is facing us with her hands raised towards her face in a gesture ac-

companying her speech. The third image of a handwritten letter by children also overlaps this second image. This set of continuous links first by vectors and secondly by overlapping images encourages a more narrative reading of the first image.

One important compositional choice made in overall layout of the story is the creation of two major sections – the top two thirds of the text containing the images and bold verbiage, and the lower third containing the story, four columns of written text. The separation into two sections is clear despite the link between them that the image of the letter provides. Framing of each section and cohesiveness within it is established by a monochrome background – white for the lower section and black for the more salient top section. The greater salience of the image-headline element confirms the assumption that this element is presented to be read by a much larger audience than is the story.

The most salient element of the whole text is in fact the large white headline on a black background below the lead image (like a large caption) and above the story. The position signals its centrality in the text perhaps but its size and salience indicates its macrothematic orienting function.

Further compositional choices in the page layout have the effect of reducing the salience of the whole composite text of the feature article on the page. The overall effect of the page, as well as the story layout, is that they are very crowded. There are number of different, either overlapping or closely placed elements, not encouraging or perhaps distracting readers from reading the feature story as a whole text. The story has an advertisement and a section index, containing both images and verbiage, on each of two sides with minimal margin space between them and the story. The presence of an advertisement below and an index to the left however seems to ensure that a greater number and more diverse group of readers go to this page than do the Greek text.

Appraisal – Attitude

The most significant results of an attitude analysis of this image are is that there is low affect and low appreciation provoked. Unlike the Greek text the content, composition, modality and interaction meanings reduce or preclude a personal emotional response to the people in the image. The only element in the image that may provoke an affectual response leading to empathy is the crossed hands, open palms and the foregrounded crosswire familiar to an Australian audience in recent years as a typical media representation of detention centres. However, even this empathy provoked for people caught and detained is kept very low in intensity by the cutting off and thus objectifying of the two figures, also reinforced by the visually distracting crowdedness of the image, text and page.

2 | News Review

Paul Sheehan
Back in the big league
Page 26

INSIDE



Learning curves
in the Prime
Minister's office
for the new science
and technology
minister, but foreman
Helenon came
longway since then.
Page 11



**Brought to
account**
As the U.S. Justice
Department begins
to look into the
Enron case, the
scandal has left the
endless trail of
international
accounting firm
Arthur Andersen
in a lurch.



A bit rich
Two years after their court case, the billion-
aire tycoons posed
on the road of dirty
washing on the line.
David J.

OPINION

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Wait in fright

The asylum seekers have polarised Australia, but the debate has been muddied on all sides by rhetoric and the language of fear. **Mike Secombe and Andrew Clennell** report.

RESEARCH The authors of the study, which was published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, say that the results suggest that the use of a single, low-dose, long-acting antipsychotic may be a more effective and less costly way to manage schizophrenia than the use of multiple, short-acting antipsychotics. The study was conducted by a team of researchers from the University of California, San Diego, and the University of California, Los Angeles. The researchers used data from the Medical Outcomes Study, a large, longitudinal study of the health and well-being of a representative sample of the U.S. population. The study included data on the use of antipsychotic drugs in the treatment of schizophrenia. The researchers found that patients who were treated with a single, low-dose, long-acting antipsychotic had a higher rate of symptom control and a lower rate of side effects than patients who were treated with multiple, short-acting antipsychotics. The researchers also found that the use of a single, low-dose, long-acting antipsychotic was associated with a lower cost of treatment. The researchers conclude that the use of a single, low-dose, long-acting antipsychotic may be a more effective and less costly way to manage schizophrenia than the use of multiple, short-acting antipsychotics.

Please stop us
 Please - please
 we are far children in
 human heart craft
 we are feeling long after
 every day we are seeing the
 people who are trying to
 their heart and we are trying
 to do this, we have not it
 better than saying now
 Please help us - do help to
 living love - please - please
 human child

There is a lot of talk about the importance of the Internet in the future of business. But what does it mean for the future of business? The Internet is a powerful tool that can be used in many ways. It can be used to create new products and services, to reach new markets, and to improve the efficiency of existing businesses. The Internet is also a powerful tool for communication and collaboration. It can be used to connect people from different parts of the world, to share ideas and information, and to work together on projects. The Internet is a powerful tool that can be used in many ways. It can be used to create new products and services, to reach new markets, and to improve the efficiency of existing businesses. The Internet is also a powerful tool for communication and collaboration. It can be used to connect people from different parts of the world, to share ideas and information, and to work together on projects.



Information is available on the following:

It is important to remember that the people who are most severely affected by the AIDS epidemic are the people who are most vulnerable to the disease. These are the people who are most likely to be infected by the disease, and they are the people who are most likely to die from the disease. This is why it is so important to focus on the people who are most vulnerable to the disease, and to provide them with the resources they need to stay healthy and safe.

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THIS SATURDAY • SUNDAY • MONDAY 10am-5pm
There are 3 days to *dist-dist* with the *biggie* and *chicken* that's all it is for the *biggie* a *biggie*
and *more* *competitive* *large* of *quality* *meat* *and* *vegetables* *before* *lunch*.

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NOW!
IMPORTS

Figure 5. Australian text composition and layout

Regarding appreciation values, these too are not provoked by the image as a whole in as much as framing is a minimal black line and the busyness of the texts around the frame is distracting. The elements which could be responded to aesthetically as well as symbolically is the dramatic cropping of the image and the consequently highlighted echoing of crosses in the hands and the wire, as a parallel patterning motif. This aesthetic effect is however overshadowed by the high naturalism of this close-up of an outdoor shot as well as the distractions of the crowded image and page.

If there is an attitude value provoked here it is more in the realm of moral judgement. However, unlike the Greek image it is not judgement arising from affect. Sympathy for 'the suffering' may lead to the secondary reaction 'it's wrong for them to be detained'. A distancing effect is produced by cropping and positioning which reduces affect and involvement here. However, if there is judgement provoked in the Australian image it arises from something other than a primary affectual response. This may be explained in terms of intertextual references making this image function like a nominalisation or abstraction in language – 'detention'.

This image I believe functions in Australia as an indexical one for the much debated government detention policy on asylum seekers and as such provokes people's already formed attitudes on the issue. Most Australian readers would have recognised this as detained asylum seekers without needing to have this identified verbally. The front on shot of a young girl of middle eastern appearance in the second image would confirm this. Unlike the readers of the Greek text, readers of the Australian text would have seen similar images of people behind crosswire, typical of detention centres around the country. During the months before this story appeared, there was a great deal of media coverage on the growing numbers of people detained and the government stand on asylum seekers.

Interestingly, if the judgement provoked by this image is whatever is already held by the viewer then this can be either positive or negative. This ability of the image to provoke quite different, even opposite judgements is dependent I suggest on its low affect values. As affect is the most basic attitude type, and is closest to our more universal somatic experience, provocation of strong affect may trigger personal or cultural triggers of judgement, seen as naturally evolving from this affect. If we can avoid provocation of affect and reduce involvement done here by 'abstracting' the contents in the image, we more easily allow for different judgement responses to what is represented.

The Australian image without the headline can therefore be analysed in the following ways:

Reading 1: The attributes of strong, healthy, foreign, and adult can be read as belonging to people who are capable of doing harm in our society. In this case the image may support a position that having them held and detained is making Australia safer.

The attitude here is positive judgement of the government's strict detention policy – "It is right to detain people like this".

Reading 2: The same attributes can be read as belonging to those of average adults like any other adults, like the readers themselves, people who have not been proved to have done any harm. In this case to support a position that holding and detaining such people is unAustralian.

The attitude here is negative judgement of the policy – "It is wrong to detain people like this".

Image-verbiage relations

The main headline: Wait in fright

Composition

This headline is the only one in the text and is very large and bold and white on black and as noted above, the most salient and centralised element of the top section of the text. It could be seen as more salient than the lead image, although like the Greek text it clearly forms a unit with the lead image. One possible reading path may be from prominent image directly down to headline via white line vectors leading from the image down to the beginning of the white headline. In the alternative more circular reading path it also begins with the prominent image following vectors of the hands to overlapping images and ending finally with the headline. Please refer to earlier Figure 5.

Content

The headline is radically different from the Greek headline in content. The Australian headline represents a process with no specified participants in a short either reduced or complete clause. If we see the verb 'wait' as representing the process in which the adults in the image are involved in, it may reinforce the interpretation of the contents of the image as a narrative. Following the verb is a circumstance of manner representing how they must wait, 'in fright'.

Rewritten bold verbiage (letter, caption, sub-headline)



Figure 6. Australian image and bold verbiage

Interaction

The clause, if complete, is an imperative, or a direct spoken demand perhaps by one more powerful than the addressee. The demand has two possible addressees, the pictured detainees or the readers. Alternatively, the headline maybe a reduced declarative clause – as in a heading or title where the third person subject is omitted as in ‘(They) wait in fright’.

Appraisal

The word 'fright' carries an inscribed attitude of high negative affect, unlike the Greek headline which carries no affect.

This high inscribed negative affect and 'wait' as a material process rather than circumstance in the headline are significant differences between the Australian image and headline. If we see the image as setting the evaluative framework for the verbiage, then the choice to have low affect values in the image where it is a perceptible attribute of a visually represented human subject is an essential one for allowing different judgements. This allows the high affect of the headline where it is not visual but neither is it verbally attached to a human subject to be read according to whichever judgement is provoked.

The image and verbiage here are, as in the Greek text, separate functional elements constituting a single verbal-visual meaning unit. '[These people in detention] wait in fright.' However, the attitude choices made here, I suggest, allow readers to maintain their already held attitudes of the government's policy regarding asylum seekers – either positive or negative judgement. This is due to the low affect via distancing or abstracting effects in the image of detainees and the separation of the strong affect in the headline from either visual or verbal human subjects. These choices reduce reader empathy with detainees which in turn have could provoked stronger negative judgement.

Conclusion

Although the choice of the two texts to study was based on the similarity of content of their lead images and topic of their stories, they have made as analysed above, very different choices in the range of meanings available. When these differences were examined in the light of the culmination of appraisal meanings, the lead image-headline units of the texts were shown to naturalise by their meaning choices, a desired evaluation of the issue reported. In both cases this confirms or identifies the desired readership of each text, and the known political position of the paper.

In the case of the Greek text, the analysis has confirmed the known readership as on the left of the political spectrum. However, acknowledging the need to prepare readers for this very critical commentary of a more sympathetic government policy on immigrants, there is a lead image foregrounding a sympathetic emotional response to immigrants tempered by an aesthetic response. This indicates an awareness that the majority of already sympathetic readers

may see the writer's criticism of the new law as too extreme and thus a need to orient them in this way.

In the Australian text, the choice of an abstracted lead image lower affect values than the headline allowing for a range of reading positions is evidence of the more heteroglossic readership of the particular paper. The target audience or readership of the Sydney Morning Herald and in particular the front page of Saturday News Review section is a quite diverse one, socially, politically and culturally. None of these readers would be attitudinally alienated by this image-headline unit.

Both texts predictably make use of high affect values to engage the readers' attention. However, to construct the evaluative macrotheme they desire for their text they each do this in different elements, in the Greek text only in the image, in the Australian text only in the verbiage. It is however the element with high affect in each text that is given the clearest framing and the most salience.

In this examination of the role of lead images in print media feature stories, I believe Martin's suggestion of the higher-order interpersonal orientation of prominent images has proved a very fruitful approach to take. The Appraisal system of Attitude has provided a initial framework for the detailed analysis in this study of the image-verbiage relationship in the most widely read element of feature stories that is made up of the lead image and headline. Additionally, since completion of this first stage of analysis, my further application of Appraisal systems of Engagement and Graduation and the notion of evoked evaluation is also proving useful in understanding the evaluative role played by these prominent macrothematic verbal-visual media texts.

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Media texts

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No byline (Writers/Editorial team: T. Kostopoulos, D. Trimis, A. Psarras, & D. Psarras)

Wait in Fright in The Sydney Morning Herald, Weekend Edition News Review Section 27.1.02

By Mike Seccombe and Andrew Clennel.

News bulletin captions as ideological indices*

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Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

The appearance of *captions* during the coverage of news items is a particular feature of Greek television news bulletins. Several questions are raised: “What is the use of adding captions to news items?”, “Are there any specific linguistic patterns used?”, “Do captions constitute innocent headings or do they rather serve as ideological tools?” This paper focuses on implicit values and intertextual issues that ultimately construct ideology. *Intertextual allusions* abound in captions challenging audiences to, not only retrieve the original texts cued in, but also to orient them towards specific interpretations of the news. *Metaphor-creating structures*, which are usually ‘highlighted’ by quotation marks, also abound in captions; this paper will try to demonstrate that they act as rhetorical devices in an effort to ‘control’ interpretations.

Keywords: Captions, ideology, critical discourse analysis, television news bulletins, implicit values, intertextuality, metaphor

1. Introduction

Television news in general, as a resource of language study, provides scholars with an abundance of linguistic phenomena to investigate. Semiotics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Sociolinguistics, Conversation Analysis, Appraisal Theory, but also Pragmatics, in general, all offer frameworks for analyzing the language of the media from various viewpoints. News bulletins worldwide display a good deal of common as well as particular characteristics. However, a comparison of news bulletins from various Greek, European and international channels via satellite and the internet confirmed my initial observation that Greek television news bulletins exhibit certain idiosyncratic attributes that deserve closer attention and study.

In particular, this paper concentrates on a single aspect of Greek television news: the appearance of text on screen during the news. These short phrases,

which we can conventionally call **captions**, for want of a better term, appear on the top right-hand corner of the screen. While this practice was initiated only in the mid nineties, it appears to be well-established now for all Greek TV channels. On the other hand, similar captions are not used in news bulletins on most television channels world-wide, such as the BBC World, Euronews, CNN International, ZDF, Deutsche-Welle, RAI, the Danish DR, etc. One might object that certain instances of text appearing in BBC World and CNN news, just above the bottom area of the screen, have the same role as that of captions considered here; however, these fragments of text act as headings or titles, since they aim at encapsulating the gist of the news item, rather factually (Wilson 1990). While acknowledging difficulties involved in claims of purely representative or 'factual' text (cf. Bakhtin 1986; White's appraisal theory 1999), as I hope to show below, captions used in Greek TV news act as comments rather than titles or headings, generating a particular perspective for viewing the news item (both as picture and language).

1.1 Statement of purpose

The purpose of this paper is to present those points in discussing the makeup of captions that primarily contribute to the construction of ideology, without aspiring, however, to an exhaustive analysis. Its aim is to provide evidence for the claim that most captions are not innocent résumés of the main import of the event presented with a straightforward and literal meaning, as they are purported to be. Rather, I argue, the editors of captions try to *preempt* the audience's interpretation of the news items by providing them with a clearly articulated (verbal) perspective as a more general framework for 'reading' the news item. In other words, I maintain that news items are specifically *perspectivized* (Langacker 1990, 1991) by this explicit articulation, thus firmly attempting to guide audiences to specific reconstructions and representations of the events 'presented' as news items. In other words, news editors attempt to *predispose* viewers to a preferred *reading* of news.

The issues raised in this paper are dealt with from a broad semantic perspective; extensive *intertextual discourse* and *the metaphor-creating structures* will be our main areas of investigation. While I believe that even captions can have a dialogic dimension and, therefore enact certain 'strategic functions', such as *coercion, resistance, opposition and protest, dissimulation, and legitimization or delegitimization* (Chilton & Schäffner 1997), I will not at this stage go into such issues, as I will not analyze conditions of production and consumption of this type of text (discourse type). I will not, therefore, con-

sider them as performing certain acts, neither as assigning or creating certain political positions or roles to their sources (specific channels, their role vis-à-vis the government, opposition, etc., such as specific political and ideological orientation).

2. Setting the stage

The captions in this paper are all taken from the eight o'clock news, i.e. the main evening news bulletins, on all terrestrially transmitted Greek nationwide channels. The news stories that the captions refer to cover a great range of topics: politics (captions 6, 7, 9, 10, 24, 25), social issues and social relationships (4, 5, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 26, 33, 34), religion (12, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36), showbiz (3, 13), crime (1, 2, 19, 20, 21, 22), world news (11, 32) and sports (8, 17). As a matter of fact, isolating the captions from the corresponding news stories and examining them out of context makes it quite difficult for the reader of this paper to fully comprehend them. Nevertheless, I hope that the discussion that follows will manage to throw some light on the use of the captions and help us understand their ideological function.

2.1 Formal characteristics

Let me briefly clarify the object of my study; first of all, it is necessary to explain further *what* is a caption and what is *not* one. It does not take long to realize that quite a lot of written text appears on television screen during a news bulletin. Yet, only what refers to the content of the news item itself is considered to be a caption. Therefore, any purely informative or technical text on the screen, which refers to locales, reporters' names, dates or any kind of technical terminology that bears no direct connection to the core of the news, is disregarded. For instance, there appear words or phrases like: *exclusive*, *live*, *telephone link*, *videophone*, *archive shots*, etc., all of which concern the technical and production norms of television news but do not concern the content of the news item directly.

In Greece, there are two state nationwide television channels: ET1 and NET and at least six private ones: MEGA, ANT1, STAR, ALPHA, ALTER and TEMPO. In this paper, data is included only from one of the two state channels, NET, simply because NET is the news channel par excellence, while ET1 has an entertaining character. As far as the private channels are concerned, all six of them were included in my data. Therefore, I recorded the main news bul-

letin of all seven channels on the same day for seven non-consecutive days over a period of two weeks. These seven random days correspond to a *constructed week* of video recording, a sampling technique that is commonly used in similar researches (Bell 1991).

3. Presentation and analysis of captions

In what follows, we turn our attention to intertextual correlates of captions first, before we look at metaphor more closely.

3.1 Intertextuality

It appears that intertextual discourse is predominant in the construction of captions. It is not surprising that intertextuality and interdiscursivity are fundamental features of all texts. What is rather surprising is the centrality of intertextuality in caption-texts, taking into account that they do not exceed, in most cases, two content words and that they do not come in full structures. Captions are highly elliptical, just as titles are. Moreover, if the term ‘intertextuality’ primarily covers relations with similar texts or text-types or similar discourses, this is not the case with captions. The range of text sources is surprisingly wide. Many kinds of genres and discourse types act as sources for constructive elements of this new discourse-type. I will demonstrate this with some examples.

- (1) ΑΥΤΗ Η ΝΥΧΤΑ...ΜΕΝΕΙ [ANT1 15/3/2001]
This night remains. ‘This is [our] final night [together].’
It points directly to a well-known Greek song (Verse/Popular discourse).
- (2) ΤΗ ΣΚΟΤΩΣΕ ΓΙΑΤΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΑΠΟΥΣΕ... [ANT1 15/3/2001]
‘He killed her because he loved her.’
It points directly to a well-known Greek song (Verse/Popular discourse).
- (3) Η ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΤΙΝΟΥ [ANT1 15/3/2001]
The Odyssey of Dino. ‘Dino’s Odyssey.’
It draws a parallel to the long journey of Ulysses (Historical discourse).
- (4) ΕΠΙΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΣ... ΥΠΟΨΙΕΣ [STAR 15/3/2001]
‘Dangerous suspicions.’
It refers to ‘Dangerous Liaisons’, well-known novel and film (Literary/Cinema discourse).

- (5) ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΝΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΪΑΦΑ [TEMPO 15/3/2001]
 ‘From Annas to Caiaphas.’
Both names are characters from the New Testament (Religious discourse).
- (6) ΟΙ ΧΟΡΟΙ ΚΑΛΑ ΚΡΑΤΟΥΝ! [ANT1 19/3/2001]
 ‘The dances are still on.’
It is a frequently used collocation (Folk discourse).
- (7) ΠΑΤΕΙΣ ΜΕ ΠΑΤΩ ΣΕ! [ANT1 21/3/2001]
 ‘Full house / Run pell mell.’
It is a commonly used expression (Folk discourse).
- (8) ΣΤΗ ΛΕΩΦΟΡΟ ΤΗΣ... ΑΓΩΝΙΑΣ [MEGA 21/3/2001]
 ‘On the avenue to anxiety.’
It probably refers to the film ‘On the waterfront’ (Cinema discourse).
- (9) “ΕΔΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΡΑ” ΤΟ ΕΠΙΔΟΜΑ [STAR 21/3/2001]
 “‘Here and now’ the extra pay.’
The phrase in quotations is reminiscent of the early days in politics of late prime minister Andreas Papandreou (Political jargon).
- (10) ΕΠΙΒΑΤΕΣ... ΕΔΑΦΟΥΣ-ΕΔΑΦΟΥΣ [TEMPO 21/3/2001]
 Passengers of ground to ground. ‘Ground to ground passengers.’
It refers to ‘Ground to ground missiles’, a type of military equipment (Military discourse).
- (11) ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΠΟΙΗΜΕΝΗ... ΒΙΑ [TEMPO 21/3/2001]
 ‘Globalized violence.’
An analogy is created with globalized economy (Political discourse).
- (12) ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΙ [ANT125/3/2001]
 Scribes and Pharisees. ‘Hypocrites.’
Collocation from the New Testament (Religious discourse).
- (13) Η ΩΡΑΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ [ANT1 25/3/2001]
 ‘La belle de jour.’
It is the title of the well-known film by Luis Buñuel (Cinema discourse).
- (14) ΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗ: ΜΑΤΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΡΑΒΩΝΑΣ [NET 25/3/2001]
 ‘Katerini: Bloody engagement.’
It refers to Lorca’s ‘Blood wedding’ (Literary discourse).
- (15) ΤΟ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΟ ΑΝΤΙΟ [ANT1 26/3/2001]
 ‘The last goodbye.’
It is a commonly used phrase, a book and a TV series (Literary/Cinema discourse).

- (16) ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΜΑΡΤΗ ΚΑΛΟΚΑΙΡΙ! [MEGA 26/3/2001]
And from March Summer. 'March takes us into the Summer.'
It is the second part of a Greek proverb (Folk discourse).
- (17) "ΚΑΠΤΑΙΝ ΝΕΜΟ" ΜΕ... ΠΑΝΙΑ [STAR 26/3/2001]
'Captain Nemo with sails.'
It refers to Jules Verne's famous captain (Literary discourse).
- (18) ΑΜΑΡΤΙΕΣ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ [ANT1 28/3/2001]
'The sins of the fathers [...are visited upon the children].'
It is the first part of A Greek proverb (Folk discourse).

Evidently, captions in Greek main news bulletins draw upon a great variety of other discourses, a procedure extensively discussed by Fairclough (Fairclough 1992, 1995b). Intertextuality, thus, constitutes a powerful tool that enables us to transfer meanings and connotations from one text to another. *New* media discourse is built on *previous* familiar discourse making the new discourse likewise familiar and assimilative. However, as has been said and can be seen in the captions presented, intertextual features of captions do not draw on similar discourse types, but on various types. The viewer-reader recalls the original text, which is incorporated in the new discourse and has now acquired new meaning in a new co-text and context. The embedded text appeals to the cultural knowledge the viewer/reader already possesses. Each time an intertextual element is identified in any given caption a whole frame is activated.

I categorized all these captions exploiting intertextuality into two classes.

- a. The *pure analogies* or *purely analogical*. The purely analogical captions explicitly try to create direct analogies. Their semantic content (primarily lexical meaning, content-words) makes no reference to the event or incident that is the subject of the news item, but, instead, evokes another discourse, usually totally unrelated to the present, such as a myth, a popular saying or a proverb, a parable, a song, a film, etc. Such captions specifically invoke a distinct frame of knowledge that acts as the analogy of the event presented in the news. In search for relevance (Sperber & Wilson 1995), the viewer-reader is invited to map this activated frame onto the news-item and detect its significance and relation to the issue at hand by identifying the associations and similarities to it. Naturally, such associations and similarities need not be forthcoming but can be 'coerced' on the audience. Captions, thus, far from being innocent, actually 'control' to a considerable degree viewers' interpretations of what they hear on the news, since they

manage to create a specific perspective from which audiences view-hear or read the news. Analogical captions are: 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 15 and 16.

- b. The *mixed analogies*. Captions of mixed analogies make specific reference to at least one participant or an event or a side-event of the news item presented. At the same time, some of its lexes (mostly just one, since captions average to two or three content words) activate an alien frame of knowledge that coerces the viewer to go through the same procedure as in purely analogical captions. Such mixed analogies are: 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17 and 18.

In both cases, apparently unrelated specific frames of knowledge are called up and put into service in highlighting the news item in distinct ways as informed by the activated knowledge that spills over the reconstruction of the event presented. It must be stressed, however, that those frames represent cultural knowledge that is mostly specific to the language community or, more generally, to the community sharing the same culture in the sense of discourses or intertextuality. In other words, culture as discursive formation. In some cases, our captions activate knowledge frames that represent general knowledge that need not be considered cultural as pertaining to discursive formations of a particular community; in these cases, however, these knowledge frames have been 'acculturated' (appropriated by the culture) and adopted by the more specific culture, in the case at issue the Greek culture.

This embedded intertextuality in captions is a rhetorical technique of expediency: it may contribute to making a much stronger statement, or making the point more poignant than if intertextual features were absent, it may invoke emotions, such as excitement, sympathy, or it may ridicule the event or may implicate a comment on the issue, such as in irony or sarcasm, or it may just have an entertaining effect in the most innocent cases; in all cases, these captions seem to do ideological work; however, I will not go into this aspect of viewer-reception at this stage.

Naturally, these roughly categorized captions do not work in isolation. The presentation of each news item by the news-caster, the report that follows it, the frequent music accompaniment and everything else that goes in a news bulletin, all taken together work towards the same intended effect. This paper, though, concentrates on captions; so, let us take a closer look at how ideology is constructed and propagated exclusively through captions, acknowledging (of course) that all the other elements of the news are also conducive to creating similar effects.

The claims made so far can be vividly illustrated if we compare captions that are taken from the presentation of the same news item on different TV channels. Let us compare (19) and (20) which appeared in different private channels, to some other captions on the same issue, also appearing in private channels.

News item: A well-known businessman sets fire in competitors' establishments on the island of Mykonos.

- (19) Ο...ΝΕΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΥΚΟΝΟΥ [ANT1 15/3/2001]
 'Nero of Mykonos.'
 It draws a parallel to the Roman arsonist emperor (Historical discourse).
- (20) Ο ΜΠΟΥΡΑΟΤΙΕΡΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΥΚΟΝΟΥ [STAR 15/3/2001]
 'Captain of a fire-ship from Mykonos.'
 It refers to Kanaris, the well-known captain of a fire ship (Historical discourse).
- (21) ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΜΑΤΙΑΣ ΕΜΠΗΣΤΗΣ [ALPHA 15/3/2001]
 Businessman – arsonist. 'Arsonist businessman'
 It states that the person who put the fires was a businessman.
- (22) ΕΜΠΗΣΤΗΣ ΜΕ...ΟΝΟΜΑΤΕΠΩΝΥΜΟ [MEGA 15/3/2001]
 Incendiary with a full name. 'Well-known incendiary.'
 It states that the incendiary person was well known.

With the exception of (21), they are all captions of mixed analogies, since there is clear reference to the participant in the event (actually the instigator or perpetrator) but they also clearly evoke familiar cultural frames. Caption (22) evokes the usual connotations invited by the idiomatic expression 'with a full name' which means 'well-known' or 'public figure', thus juxtaposing the action to the identity of the perpetrator. The evocation of the specific frame adds a rather ironical comment, implicitly associating publicity with notoriety.

Both captions (21) and (22) concentrate on the fact that the person who had put fire to several business establishments was no ordinary criminal but a well-known businessman who wanted to harm his competitors. Caption (21), however, devoid of any intertextual correlates, does not appear to be making any implicit comments other than stating that the arsonist was a businessman, which corresponds to the reality of the situation. Both captions (21) and (22) exhibit similar structures: The former (21) consists of two Nouns in a near-equative sentence; the Noun that refers to the perpetrator's status as a businessman is topicalized (thematized) and the Noun that denotes his incendiary activities is focalized. The arsonist status is not foregrounded. On the

other hand, caption (22) does exactly that: it foregrounds the arsonist's status, thus generating implicatures related to the un-expectancy of the source of the action. It contains a construction of a Noun referring to the act and an idiomatic prepositional phrase that ordinarily is used of public figures. Therefore, his publicity and social position on the island, is likewise stressed by being linguistically positioned finally and thus focalized. The dots, usually denoting hesitation, enhance the generated implicature of the unexpected nature of the news to come: the importance of having a public name (being highly reputed) and being an arsonist at the same time.

Yet, both (21) and (22) seem quite innocent if we contrast them with captions (19) and (20). It is the *markedly intertextual character* of these captions that makes the difference. The exaggeration is apparent: in (19), *which, indeed, is a clear metaphor*, the arsonist is compared to the Roman Emperor Nero, while in (20) the comparison is drawn between Kanaris, a hero of the Greek revolution back in 1821, and the businessman-arsonist in question. Viewers are, therefore, invited to awesome images of fires and destruction. Additionally to an amusing effect, these highly intertextual captions achieve to also ridicule the event, or, more precisely, the arsonist (since people and their actions can be ridiculed but not just actions disassociated from their agents). In (19) the arsonist is compared (analogized) to a well-known emperor arsonist, thus minimizing the businessman's act, in (20) to a heroic act of a great historical figure, thus exacerbating the anti-heroic nature of his act. While (19) is a clear metaphor, (20) calls up a frame by associations rather than analogy. In both cases, the event is perspectivized in frames that ridicule it, thus ridiculing the perpetrator.

While analogical captions can include metaphor too, I chose to distinguish a class of analogical captions on account of rather wholesale analogical reasoning, which could be wholesale metaphors in some case (examples 3, 5, 12, 17) invoking, nevertheless, a completely different frame of knowledge. However, the majority of analogical captions do not display metaphor. In any case, what is very characteristic of analogical captions is their pronounced intertextuality. We now turn to the use of metaphor in captions.

3.2 Metaphor

Metaphor is "[a] crucial conceptual and semantic mechanism in the production of political meanings" (Chilton & Schäffner 1997: 221). Political discourse is packed full of metaphor, as has been amply demonstrated in the literature (Gibbs 1994: 140; Kövecses 2002). However, our focus here is not on typi-

cal (and well-grounded) metaphorical aspects that are well entrenched in our everyday political discourse, such as *sports* and *war* metaphors, as described in Gibbs (1994). For, as he writes, “Sports and war metaphors are not just rhetorical devices for talking about politics, for they exemplify how people ordinarily conceive of politics” (Gibbs 1994: 142). Rather, we will look at specific metaphors that do not reflect unconscious schemes of thought, and need to be actively negotiated in order to reach intended (or near-intended) interpretations. Such use of metaphor is, indeed, deployed as a rhetorical device in an effort to ‘control’ interpretations by adopting particular perspectives.

The numerous instances of metaphorical language are usually accompanied/singled out by the ample use of quotation marks in captions taken from news bulletins on MEGA and STAR. I am *not* referring either to the quotations used to report what someone else has said, or to the quotations we use to enclose a title; I am referring to quotation marks around words and phrases used with a specific intention. A contemporary Greek dictionary (Babiniotis 1998) renders two distinct uses of quotation marks except those mentioned above: (a) Quotations can have a metalinguistic function, which is obviously not the case in TV captions and (b) The speaker or writer uses quotations to *give* a different meaning to a word or to **comment** on meanings and ideas. Apparently, it is the latter interpretation of quotation marks that concerns us here. Let us first cite a few instances from my data:

- (23) “ΕΜΠΡΗΣΤΙΚΟ” ΠΕΙΡΑΜΑ [MEGA 15/3/2001]
“‘Incendiary’ experiment.”
- (24) “ΑΝΑΚΩΧΗ” [STAR 15/3/2001]
“‘Truce’”
- (25) “ΜΠΛΟΚΟ” ΣΤΑ ΜΥΔΙΑ [STAR 15/3/2001]
“‘Blockade’ to mussels. ‘Clampdown on mussels.’
- (26) Η ΖΩΗ “ΚΟΣΤΙΖΕΙ” 2,5 ΕΚΑΤΟΜΜΥΡΙΑ [STAR 19/3/2001]
‘Life “costs” 2.5 million.’
- (27) “ΚΟΝΤΡΕΣ” ΡΑΣΟΦΟΡΩΝ [STAR 19/3/2001]
“‘Clashes’ between men of the cloth (the clergy).’
- (28) “ΜΑΤΩΣΕ” Η ΕΙΚΟΝΑ [STAR 20/3/2001]
“‘Bled’ the Icon. ‘The Icon bled.’
- (29) ΤΟ “ΑΙΜΑ” ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ [STAR 21/3/2001]
‘The “blood” of Holy Mother.’
- (30) “ΟΥΡΕΣ” ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ [STAR 21/3/2001]
“‘Queuing’ for the Icon.’

- (31) Η “ΜΑΤΩΜΕΝΗ” ΕΙΚΟΝΑ [STAR 25/3/2001]
‘The “bleeding/bloody” Icon.’
- (32) “ΒΡΟΧΗ” ΑΠΟ ΡΟΥΚΕΤΕΣ [STAR 25/3/2001]
‘A “rain” of rockets.’
- (33) “ΠΑΛΗ” ΤΗΣ ΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ [STAR 25/3/2001]
‘The “struggle” of hope.’
- (34) ΤΟ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΟ ΤΗΣ “ΤΑΞΙΔΙ” [STAR 26/3/2001]
‘Her last “journey”.’

Clearly, the aim here is to construct metaphors; and metaphors construct ideology (Kitis & Milapides 1997). The extensive use of quotation marks actually demonstrates the extent to which metaphors pervade this kind of texts. We may consider that the word in quotation marks assigns a metaphorical attribute to the rest of the phrase. In actual fact, what we have here is mostly an attributive mini-clause with the theme (or topic) (an NP) being backgrounded and the attribute (an NP or an epithet) being focalized as in (23, 31, 34). In some other cases we have a deverbal noun and an agentive genitive as in (27, 29, 32, 33) or a prepositional phrase (25, 30). Instances of complete, non-elliptic sentences are very rare (26, 28).

Let us pay a closer attention to some of the above instances of captions and discuss how ideology is constructed.

- In caption (23) the experiment becomes “incendiary” owing to its secret conduct by a student; experiments conducted in school labs have no incendiary purpose ever. A mistake the student makes in the teacher’s absence incurs some unfortunate consequences. The incident is magnified, since the word “incendiary” is understood by drawing on a frame from battlefields and the army and mapping it (and its correlates) on a rather insignificant school-lab accident. MEGA channel, the source of the caption, has often overemphasized accidents in schools, thus implicitly criticizing the Department of Education and, consequently, the government.
- “Truce” in caption (24), a one-word caption, is in quotation marks revealing the channel’s skepticism about the desired prospect for fewer ‘duels’ – another metaphor used in political discourse – within the leading political party. The channel’s critical attitude towards the present government has often been registered. This caption utilizes a well-known political metaphor, but by embedding it in quotation marks, the channel achieves to spill over its skepticism, and therefore its oppositional criticism.

- The mussels are banned and therefore “blocked” in caption (25). The expression used in quotation marks is metaphorized from police discourse and is equivalent to the English expression ‘clampdown on’. Of course, mussels cannot be blocked. Their trade is stopped on public health-related grounds. The word “clampdown [blockade]” entails that the ban was imposed despite the mussel producers’ protestations. The channel, therefore, perspectivizes a particular angle from which it chooses to make an ‘implicit comment’ on the event it presents: government regulations are blockading the allegedly ‘poor’ producers’ trade. (An objective one would be ‘Ban on mussels’.) The affected patient (the argument of ‘clampdown [blockade]’) is always a human being, or a set of ones, and, by selecting this particular deverbal nominal, the caption-author successfully transposes the affected patient from the mussels (which are banned) to their producers and their ‘predicament’ (who are clamped down upon).
- The “cost” of human life points to the ‘fiscal’ value of life and the way it is sometimes “measured” in caption (26). The text here contributes to the formation of the idea that the health system is dealing with human life not in humanistic, but in financial (fiscal) terms. The caption, thus, becomes critical of the government’s approach to the delicate issue of human life.
- Men belonging to the clergy are not expected to fight with each other, so their “duels” are in quotation marks in caption (27). What needs special attention here is the quoted word, which derives from discourses of youngsters’ motorbike-races and football matches. The news editors in this case promote the activation of frames alien to the clergy. The expression ‘the cloth’ is a metonym for the clergy. Thus, the channel effectively implicates a critical stance towards the clergy.
- Four of the captions have a common subject (28, 29, 30, 31). Blood-related expressions in all of them are in quotation marks implicitly conveying the channel’s attitude to either discredit or dissociate from a potential miracle. Caption (28) is noteworthy: even though Greek language allows free word order, the focalization of the predicate ‘bled’ and the subsequent backgrounded position of the theme ‘the Icon’ is impressive. (This word order: V+NP implicates focus in initial position). Caption (30) refers to the same incident; it stresses, though, the ‘queues’ that people make to worship the Icon. The word is used in a somewhat unconventional manner. Possibly, there is some irony here as well.
There were channels that ignored the alleged miracle, whereas one channel (captions 35 and 36) betrayed a positive attitude to the incident, both of its own and of its targeted audience:

(35) ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΝ ΣΤΟ ΘΑΥΜΑ [ANT1 21/3/2001]

‘They believe in the miracle.’

(36) ΠΙΟΣΚΥΝΟΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΧΑΡΗ ΤΗΣ [ANT1 26/3/2001]

‘They bow before Her grace.’

- Caption (32) deploys the oft-cited metaphor of rain to signify the impact of bombing. One can just recall the notorious “bomb campaign” (instead of air strikes, air raids or air bombings, viz. just as we say “peace campaign”), frequently employed in western and mostly Anglo-American media to denote the same event (Koutoupi-Kitis 2001), to appreciate ideological work done in each case.
- Caption (33) addresses the audience’s emotions. The word ‘struggle’ is very powerful and is certainly used metaphorically. Television news often presents sad and unfair situations people are involved in. The aim is to stress the failures of the health system and propagate the idea of a general decline of public services; by adopting the patients’ perspective we are led to sympathize with their predicament, and from this emotionally laden perspective ‘assess’ health services and ultimately their source, the government.
- Death and funeral (34) are frequently described as the final journey of people (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Quotations here are used to underline the metaphorical sense of the word. Again, the appeal is to viewers’ emotions.

4. Conclusions

Full perception of the event presented in the news programme does not seem to rely solely on the visual footage and the voice over; a short title is always present on the screen to remind viewers of the incident being presented and, evidently, direct them towards a favoured interpretation of the messages transmitted.

Certainly, there are aspects of the language of captions that still need to be studied. In the present paper, I only presented my major observations, which, I think, deserve further research. It becomes, nevertheless, clear that captions are not merely objective titles of the news item presented. We have briefly looked into two major paths that news copy editors follow in order to convey their preferred reading of a caption and, consequently, of the event itself: intertextuality and metaphor-creating words – often in quotation marks.

Intertextuality works at the level of the speaker’s common cultural background. The linguistic choices create links between the caption-title of the news

item and a great variety of previous texts most people are expected to be familiar with. The audience is invited to exploit the meaning as well as the pragmatic implications of the embedded text and transfer it onto the new text of captions and to the event itself in negotiating and constructing meaning.

The abundance of quotation marks enclosing lexical items in our data serves as a 'facilitator' towards comprehending these items as metaphors. And as Fowler (1987, 1991) and Fairclough (1995a) note, ideology is articulated through language, while, at the same time, language shapes ideology and constructs meanings based on selective incorporation of preferred stereotypes in the making of news.

Of course, not all captions are ideologically laden; captions from the state channel news appear to be more descriptive in the light of the above discussion.

While there appear to be significant differences between channels in respect of their use of captions, it remains to be seen to what extent private channels and state-controlled ones choose to mediate particular interpretations of the news.

Naturally, audiences need not be considered altogether receptive of biased or promoted interpretations in news media discourse. In other words, 'coerced' interpretations are not always achieved. In fact, separate studies will have to deal with media interpretation and impact. However, even if captions are regarded as descriptive titles or subtitles, they still retain their function, and we can safely assume that 'aggregates' of audiences – resonating Goffman – need not be aware of ideological 'coercion' that is textually effected. I hope to have shown that captions function, in their overwhelming majority, as *ideology constructors or ideological indices*, zooming on a particularly selected angle, just like the camera selects a particular scene out of the whole event to zoom upon.

Note

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