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E LETTERARIE

INDIRIZZO LINGUISTICA, FILOLOGIA E LETTERATURE ANGLO-GERMANICHE  
CICLO XX

**SEMANTIC STYLES IN THE BRITISH DAILY PRESS:**

**A CORPUS STUDY**

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**CONTENTS OF THE ATTACHED CD****CORPUS\_ANALYSED<sup>1</sup>**

- **CORPUS\_APPRAISAL**
- **CORPUS\_PARTICIPANT\_IDENTIFICATION**
- **CORPUS\_INTERPERSONAL\_METAFUNCTION**
- **CORPUS\_CONJUNCTION**
- **CORPUS\_TRANSITIVITY**
- **CORPUS\_FORMALITY\_METAPHORS**
- **CORPUS\_CLAUSE\_COMPLEXES**
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- **FIRST\_EXCEL**
- **DATA\_TEXT\_ANALYSIS**
- **CORRECTED\_VALUES**

**MANN\_WHITNEY\_RESULTS**

- **M\_W\_1**
- **M\_W\_2**
- **M\_W\_3**
- **M\_W\_4**
- **M\_W\_5**
- **M\_W\_6**
- **M\_W\_7**

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<sup>1</sup> The articles from *The Times*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Financial Times*, *The Daily Express* and *The Daily Star* are reproduced with permission in this work. The syndication departments of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily Mail* could not be contacted despite all efforts.



## Summary

This study aims at establishing whether the lexico-grammatical and semantic differences between British popular and quality newspapers can be connected to the concepts of *coding orientations* (Bernstein 1973, 1975, 1977, 1982, 1990) and *semantic styles* (Hasan 1973, 1984, 1986, 1989). For this purpose, a corpus of 83 British newspaper articles has been collected. The articles are on the same topic and were published on two consecutive days, but they belong to different genres, in particular news report and editorial comment. The corpus has been divided into different sub-corpora on the basis of the genre the articles belong to, and on the basis of the kind of newspaper they are taken from (quality or popular). The corpus has been tagged with tagging systems based on Halliday's (1994) systemic functional grammar, and the frequencies of the various tags have been counted using the *Wordsmith Tools* program. The data have then been elaborated using a non-parametric statistical test, the Mann-Whitney test, in order to establish which lexico-grammatical and semantic categories indicate statistically significant differences between popular and quality newspapers.

The data thus obtained lie at the basis of the discussion of the main differences between quality and popular newspaper articles. These differences have been interpreted in relation to Basil Bernstein's and Ruqaiya Hasan's studies on the different values which inform the language used by different social groups, focussing on how journalists adapt their language to the presumed values of the social groups their newspapers are addressed to.

The first chapter of the dissertation explains the concepts of coding orientation and semantic style and the main aspects of Halliday's systemic functional model, within which these concepts have been elaborated and / or developed. In the same chapter an overview is given of the main differences between quality and popular newspapers which have been discussed so far in the literature.

Chapter two illustrates the corpus which has been analysed, the sub-corpora it has been divided into, and the rationale behind the choice of the articles and their categorisation.

Chapter three describes the grammatical categories the corpus has been tagged for, the 300 different tags which have been adopted, and the aims of the various analyses. It offers short illustrations of the theoretical aspects which lie at the basis of the different systems the corpus has been analysed for, i.e., *Transitivity*, *Ergativity*, *Clause Complexing*, *Conjunctive Relations*, *Participant Identification*, *Mood and Modality*, and *Appraisal*.

Chapter four briefly illustrates the statistical test which has been applied to the data and it shows all the statistically significant outputs, i.e., those for which the error chance was 5% or less. It also shows the outputs of the statistical test for some categories which, contrary to expectation, were not statistically significant.

Chapter five presents the discussion and interpretation of the results on the basis of the concept of semantic style.

Chapter six offers some final reflections on the concept of ideology and its place in the systemic functional linguistic theory. In particular, in this chapter it is claimed that this concept lies at the very basis of the models of language and context which systemic theory has developed.

## Riassunto

Scopo del presente elaborato è comprendere se e fino a che punto le differenze linguistiche e semantiche tra la “popular press” e la “quality press” inglesi possano essere ricondotte ai concetti di *coding orientation* (Bernstein 1973, 1975, 1977, 1982, 1990) e *semantic style* (Hasan 1973, 1984, 1986, 1989). A tale scopo, è stato raccolto un corpus di 83 articoli di quotidiani inglesi sullo stesso argomento, pubblicati nell’arco di due giorni, e che appartengono a generi diversi, come il *news report* e l’*editorial comment*. Il corpus è stato diviso in vari sub-corpora proprio in base al genere e al tipo di giornale da cui i vari articoli sono stati tratti (*quality* o *popular*). Il corpus è stato annotato servendosi di sistemi di annotazione basati sulla grammatica sistemico-funzionale di Halliday (1994), e dati numerici sono stati raccolti riguardo alle frequenze delle varie categorie linguistiche usando il programma *Wordsmith Tools*. In seguito, i dati ottenuti sono stati analizzati grazie all’uso di un test statistico non parametrico, il test di Mann-Whitney, che ha permesso di individuare tra i dati quelli per i quali le differenze tra le due categorie di giornale erano statisticamente significative.

I dati ottenuti hanno costituito la base per la riflessione sulle differenze principali tra gli articoli tratti da giornali *quality* e gli articoli tratti da giornali *popular*. Queste differenze sono state interpretate in relazione alle intuizioni di Basil Bernstein ed agli studi di Ruqaiya Hasan sui valori diversi che stanno alla base del linguaggio usato da gruppi sociali diversi, ponendo attenzione a come i giornalisti adattino il loro linguaggio in base ai presunti valori dei gruppi sociali cui il giornale si rivolge.

Il primo capitolo della tesi illustra i concetti di *coding orientation* e *semantic style* ed i concetti principali del sistema teorico nel cui ambito essi sono stati elaborati e/o sviluppati, cioè il modello sistemico-funzionale di Halliday. Nello stesso capitolo si offre una breve sintesi delle differenze, linguistiche e non, tra *popular newspapers* e *quality newspapers*, analizzate finora dalla letteratura pertinente.

Il secondo capitolo illustra il corpus analizzato, i sub-corpora in cui è stato diviso e le ragioni che hanno costituito la base per la scelta degli articoli e la loro categorizzazione.

Il terzo capitolo descrive le varie categorie grammaticali per le quali il corpus è stato analizzato, i circa trecento diversi marcatori utilizzati e gli obiettivi delle diverse analisi. Esso offre sintetiche illustrazioni degli aspetti teorici che stanno alla base delle diverse analisi effettuate, vale a dire *Transitivity*, *Ergativity*, *Clause Complexing*, *Conjunctive Relations*, *Participant Identification*, *Mood and Modality*, e *Appraisal*.

Il quarto capitolo illustra il test statistico applicato ai dati numerici ottenuti ed illustra tutti i risultati statisticamente significativi, per i quali la probabilità di errore è risultata inferiore o uguale al 5%. Esso inoltre riporta alcuni dati per i quali ci si attendeva una significatività statistica che invece non è emersa.

Il quinto capitolo offre una discussione e interpretazione dei risultati ottenuti basata sul concetto di stile semantico.

Il sesto capitolo propone alcune riflessioni conclusive sul lavoro svolto in rapporto al concetto di ideologia e sul posto che tale concetto occupa nell'ambito della teoria sistemico-funzionale. In particolare esso afferma l'importanza di tale concetto per i modelli di lingua e contesto che la teoria sistemica ha elaborato.

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## Introduction

The term semiotic style is used by Hasan (1984:105-6) to refer to ways of meaning, being and behaving which are typical of a culture. “To say that there is a culture-specific semiotic style is to say that there is congruence, a parallelism between verbal and non-verbal behaviour, both of which are informed by the same set of beliefs, values and attitudes.” In Hasan’s view, “... the very organising concepts which control the congruence of the semiotic style are also the ones which underlie that community’s world-view.” Within this framework, a semantic style “can be succinctly described as the style of meaning verbally”. The same concept is termed by Halliday (1984: xxx-xxxi) semantic code. As Halliday points out, “That there is a relationship between a code and the culture that engenders it is beyond question; but it is an extremely complex and abstract one.” “To understand the code, we need an overview of the grammatical system”: we cannot describe and explain a language code just taking single grammatical features in isolation. Of course, this overview, this grammatical description, needs to be one which relates form to function, where grammatical categories are posited and described because they are manifested in form, but then they are explained in terms of the functions they serve within language, the meanings they construe and reflect to allow the language to work in a physical and social environment.

If it follows from the reasoning above that the speakers of a language share the same code, at the same time, at a higher degree of delicacy, different sub-codes can be recognised within the same language: age groups, gender groups and social groups all have their specific sub-codes, and ultimately, every individual person can be said to have his or her own idiolect. Hasan and Cloran (1987) and Hasan (1989) described the semantic style of two different social groups (distinguished by the degree of autonomy in the profession of the family bread-winner) by analysing oral interaction between mothers and children.

Halliday's framework and Hasan and Cloran's work lie at the basis of the present research. The choice of this perspective is due to its emphasis on the social nature of language, to its focus "upon the social functions that determine what language is and how it has evolved" (Halliday and Hasan 1989:3). The aim of the present research is to describe and explain in the light of the concept of semantic style the difference one perceives when confronted with different uses of language such as the following:

"TONY BLAIR has weighed into the immigration debate, ordering Charles Clarke, the Home Secretary, to toughen policy because of fears that Labour was losing ground to the Conservatives on the issue.

The Prime Minister has instructed Mr Clarke to include a 'points system' for new arrivals from outside the EU, according to Labour sources."

(Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 6, Blair orders Clarke to use points system for new immigrants, by Marie Woolf, Chief Political Correspondent)

"TONY Blair was accused last night of panicking over Labour's failure to tackle Britain's immigration shambles.

In an unusual move, the Prime Minister took to the airwaves on a Sunday night to defend the Government's record on asylum.

It was seen by MPs as a sign of how rattled Labour is as it faces huge voter anger over immigration."

(Monday, February 7, 2005, page 2, "Blair rattled over asylum. PM says public 'right to be worried'", by Nic Cecil, Political Correspondent)

The two texts are about the same events, but the first is taken from *The Independent*, the second from *The Sun*. British daily newspapers are commonly divided into two categories: tabloid and broadsheet, or popular and quality. While the first terms only refer to their format, the second suggest that there are more abstract differences

between the two groups. There are obviously differences in the contents – the space devoted to the various news items, how much gossip is included etc. But there are also differences in language use. What are these differences? Is it possible to claim that popular and quality newspapers display different semantic styles? If so, can these styles be related to different values, beliefs and attitudes? Can they even be ultimately related to specific social groups? Answering these questions is the aim of the present research.



## CHAPTER 1 **The bases of this study**

The fact that popular and quality newspapers differ in style, and the connection between this difference and the target audiences of the two newspaper kinds, is perhaps commonsense. But how do the differences in style correlate with the different audiences? One possible answer is provided by systemic functional theory and the concept of semantic style. The following sections introduce systemic functional theory and offer a brief account of previous studies which have tried to analyse the differences between popular and quality newspapers.

### **1.1 The systemic functional model of language and society**

The idea that language is inherently social lies at the very basis of systemic functional linguistic theory. “Language is a product of the social process. A child creates first his child tongue, then his mother tongue, in interaction with that little coterie of people who constitute his meaning group” (Halliday 1978:1). The social nature of language is the very *raison d’être* of language: “Language is as it is because of the functions it has evolved to serve in people’s lives” (Halliday 1978:4). In other words, what language has to do in society determines how language is: the tasks it carries out shape its system. The features of the social situation in which language is used, i.e. the context in which linguistic interaction takes place and the needs or purposes by which it is motivated, will also be factors which shape language and determine how language is used and which meanings are produced.

When small children start to speak, they encode meanings directly by means of sounds: in other words, in their language there is a direct relationship between meaning and expression, similar to the direct relationship which associates different colours to different commands in the traffic-light code. In the adult system, instead, there is an intermediate level of coding between meanings and sounds, i.e., the lexico-grammar: it is the resources of the lexicon and the grammatical patterns which allow us to encode

extremely complex meanings. These resources are organised around three main functions which are intertwined in each utterance, three general functions that language has evolved to serve: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual metafunctions. Language is used to make sense of the world (ideational) in interacting with other people (interpersonal), and in doing so it must be organised in such a way as to be able to function within the surrounding text and in the physical and social context (textual metafunction). The three metafunctions shape the whole linguistic system, which is analysed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:24-26) as a stratal system: each level encodes, realises and at the same time creates the higher level. The three strata inherent in language are, starting from the highest, semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology or graphology. Phonology and graphology constitute the material thanks to which communication can take place: sounds and letters; they realise lexicogrammatical patterns, which in their turn realise meanings. The level of meanings is considered to be an integral part of the linguistic system, and not external to it, because the basic assumption is that language is shaped by the functions it performs, and these functions are essentially meanings, or they are realised in and through meanings. Meanings are encoded in and by the lexicogrammar through networks of options. Each metafunction is associated to a set of networks; the choices that are made within one set of networks constrain the other choices within that same set, but they do not constrain the choices which are made within the sets of networks associated with the other metafunctions.<sup>2</sup>

The whole system of language realises and creates the social system: there is no language without society and no society without language. Accordingly, any instance of language reflects and creates an instance of the social system: when people interact, they interact in a socially significant environment which determines the meanings produced and

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<sup>2</sup> There are, however, more and less typical associations of the choices made within the three metafunctions, due to the fact that in a culture some associations of the three parameters of context of situation are more typical and others less likely, or unlikely, to occur. See also Chapter 3, note 33, below, and see Hasan 1999:244-246 for a discussion of how field, tenor and mode are permeable domains.

is itself construed by these meanings, i.e., the context of situation. Halliday and Hasan (1989:12-14) distinguish three variables in the context of situation which are related to the meanings produced in it: the field of discourse, i.e. the kind of activity that is relevant for the meanings that are expressed, and its features; the tenor of discourse, i.e., who is taking part, and with which roles or statuses; and the mode of discourse, i.e. the part that language is playing<sup>3</sup>. The context of situation is a socially significant environment in the sense that it is a product of the social system: of all the characteristics of the physical situation in which a text is produced, only some become relevant for the meanings that are exchanged. Which elements of the physical world shape the instances of language produced in a particular situation, and the way they do so, is one of the features that make one culture different from another one. In other words, the context of situation as a configuration of variables constituting field, tenor and mode is a semiotic construct, a configuration of meanings, in the sense that particular characteristics of the context are assigned a particular and culturally-specific significance, on the basis of which they activate the meanings that are produced linguistically. These features of the situation as a semiotic construct are realised and construed by the selections that are made within the three metafunctions: the field of discourse of a situation type typically activates the selections made within the ideational metafunction, that is, it is associated to particular ideational meanings; this same relationship holds between tenor and interpersonal meaning and between mode and textual meaning.<sup>4</sup> The set of meanings which is typically associated with a situation type is called register: register is a semantic construct, a configuration of meanings which are made through language.

To sum up, in the same way that a text is activated by and helps create the context of situation, so the linguistic system is activated by and creates the social system. Each text

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<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed description of field, tenor and mode see Halliday 1978:33, 62-64, 115-117, 143-145, and Halliday & Hasan 1989:12-14 and 24-28. For an earlier presentation of these parameters of the context of situation by Halliday see Halliday, McIntosh and Stevens 1964:90-94.

<sup>4</sup> See also Chapter 3, section 3.1 below. For a more detailed explanation see Halliday and Hasan 1989:24-27.



is an instance of a register, and each context of situation is an instance of a situation type. Each register is a linguistic variety in the linguistic system, which constitutes the semantic meaning potential of a culture. In the same way, the whole set of situation types partly constitutes the social system.

### **1.2 Coding orientations or semantic styles**

A linguistic system is by no means a homogeneous whole. For example, there are dialects, which are in a sense similar to registers, in that both register and dialect are varieties of language, the former according to use, the latter according to user.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes it is not easy to establish whether a linguistic system is a language or a dialect.<sup>6</sup> Registers, as well, are different varieties of language, determined by the context of situation. Besides the variety which is inherent in the system, language varies according to the kinds of meaning which are typically associated with some contexts of situation by different speakers: the same context may be perceived differently by different interactants and activate different kinds of meanings. This phenomenon is accounted for by the concept of codes or coding orientations. Codes are not varieties of language,<sup>7</sup> but “types of social semiotics” (Halliday 1978:111), they are “above the linguistic system”: “different social groups tend to have different conceptions of the meanings that are appropriate to given contexts of situation – that is, they have ... different coding orientations” (Halliday & Hasan 1989:42). The meanings typically associated with a particular context of situation may display some differences according to the coding orientations of the speakers. These differences have nothing to do with the speakers’ competence (Bernstein 1990:113). The

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<sup>5</sup> See Hasan ([1973] 2005:160-193) and Halliday (1978:33-35) for a detailed account of the distinction between Code, Register and Dialect.

<sup>6</sup> For a more detailed discussion on dialects, and the criteria to distinguish a dialect from a language, see, for example, Akmajan, Demers, Farmer and Harnish 1992:193-212.

<sup>7</sup> Bernstein (1982:338) emphasises how “it is (...) highly misleading and inaccurate to equate a standard variety with an elaborated code and a non-standard variety with a restricted code”, because “codes and dialects belong to different theoretical discourses, to different theories and address fundamentally different problematics”.

concept of code was introduced by the sociolinguist Basil Bernstein.<sup>8</sup> Starting from the necessity to account for educational failure of working class pupils in British schools, Bernstein studied the speech of middle and working class pupils, and found linguistic differences which did not correlate to the subjects' IQ, but to their social class. For example, in one of his studies (1977:95-117), Bernstein found that working class pupils and middle class pupils differed in their frequency of use of "I think", of "sympathetic circularity" expressions, such as "you know", of the passive voice, of complex verbal stems, i.e., verbal stems containing more than three units, of uncommon<sup>9</sup> adverbs, adjectives, and conjunctions, of the prepositions "in" and "of", and of personal pronouns. On the basis of his studies, Bernstein (1977:176) started to develop his theory of different kinds of meanings and coding orientations. He distinguished particularistic and universalistic meaning systems: in the former, "much of the meaning is embedded in the context and may be restricted to those who share a similar contextual history", while in the latter the meanings "are in principle available to all, because the principles and operations have been made explicit, and so public". Bernstein argued "that forms of socialisation orient the child towards relatively context-tied or relatively context-independent meanings": "elaborated codes orient their users towards universalistic meanings, whereas restricted codes orient, sensitize, their users to particularistic meanings". In other words, the elaborated code orients the speaker towards the production of meanings which do not require that the listener shares unspoken assumptions for their understanding – what Bernstein calls "universalistic" meanings. On the other hand, a restricted code is one which presupposes a lot of shared knowledge and leaves much implicit: the meanings that it expresses are "particularistic", i.e., they are implicit, linked to a particular shared context, and the speakers have, so to speak, to "fill in the gaps". We could say that particularistic

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<sup>8</sup> Bernstein's theory has sometimes been utterly misunderstood and harshly criticised. See Bernstein (1990:113-130) for clarifications in reply to criticism.

<sup>9</sup> Bernstein (1977:101) used arbitrary classifications to distinguish uncommon adverbs, adjectives and conjunctions.

meanings are produced for an addressee who knows, while universalistic meanings are produced without any assumption that the addressee knows our world.<sup>10</sup> Generally, every speaker is able to master both kinds of codes, according to the situation in which they are involved, and every utterance displays characteristics of both codes, though in different proportions. However, Bernstein discovered that pupils belonging to different social classes differed significantly in that middle-class pupils tended to be more ready to activate universalistic meanings in teaching environments, even when this was not formally prescribed to them (Bernstein 1990:103-106).

Bernstein (1973:1557-1559) also distinguished between two main kinds of families: positional and personal families. In positional families, the status of a member depends on one's position, on one's being mother, or father or child, while in personal families the status of each individual depends on their personal characteristics. Moreover, these differences are correlated with different ideologies, no matter whether consciously subscribed to or not: a personal family is one where individuality is a value, where who does what depends on a member's personal attitudes and abilities; a positional family is one where it is not the individual that matters, but the community and the roles ascribed to its members according to its conventions. Bernstein's findings indicate a *typical* correlation between kind of family and code, such that positional families tend to adopt the restricted code while personal families tend to adopt the elaborated code when talking to their children.<sup>11</sup> The restricted code is more typical when community is given more value, where 'the members' membership' is the necessary condition for being able to interact, while the elaborated code allows us to produce meanings which are aimed at being understood by

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<sup>10</sup> I would also suggest that particularistic meanings *tend* to be *mainly – not uniquely* - associated with ancillary uses of language, i.e., with language which is functional to the performance of some kind of socially meaningful action, such as the exchange of goods and services (Halliday and Hasan 1989:58-59), while universalistic meanings tend to be associated with situations where language constitutes itself the ongoing activity, e.g., literature, news broadcasts and newspaper articles, tales. However, the suggestion is tentative and requires further reflection on various types of language use, including casual conversation.

<sup>11</sup> As for the other less typical combinations, a personal family where the restricted code is used is one where a code shift is likely to occur, while a positional family which does not use the restricted code will use a particular kind of elaborated code, one which displays an orientation to objects rather than to people.

any speaker of a given language. In addition, Bernstein postulated a significant correlation between code, kind of family and social class: in the lower working classes families tend to be positional and to use the restricted code when interacting with their children, while in the higher classes families tend to be personal and parents tend to use the elaborated code. When children are small they do not yet share the knowledge and values of their families, which they acquire precisely through interaction with their parents. Since the elaborated code is the one which is required at school, where one has to learn to produce universalistic meanings, it is reasonable to expect that there will be more probabilities of educational failure for pupils reared in families where the restricted code is favoured.

The connection between social class, coding orientations and educational failure shows that there is a close link between language use in context and social division of labour. Furthermore, as Hasan ([1995] 2005:123-124) emphasises, power<sup>12</sup> and control are also involved. Hasan ([1992] 2005, [1995] 2005, [2002a], 2005, [2002b] 2005, [2004]2005) shows that the different forms of social interaction are determined by inequalities in the distribution of power and in the principles of control, and determine different forms of consciousness. In Bernstein's (1990:13) own words, "Class relations generate, distribute, reproduce, and legitimate different forms of communication, which transmit dominant and dominated principles for the exploration, construction and exchange of legitimate meanings, their contextual management, and their relation to each other" (Bernstein 1990:13). At the same time, the orientation to meaning which is required at school is an elaborated one, so that "the school's dominant curriculum (...) acts selectively upon those who can acquire it" (Bernstein 1990:118).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The notion of power is problematic and would require lengthy discussions. For the purposes of the present work, however, it seems enough to me to clarify that, in advanced liberal democracies, "power is not so much a matter of imposing constraints upon citizens as of 'making up' citizens capable of learning a kind of regulated freedom. Personal autonomy is not the antithesis of political power, but a key term in its exercise, the more so because most individuals are not merely the subjects of power but play a part in its operations" (Rose and Miller 1992:174).

<sup>13</sup> Of course, Bernstein is not implying here that there is a deliberate design to exclude some sectors of society from access to the symbolic capital, or that social change is not possible despite these constraints.

Bernstein's theory has been misunderstood and criticised by linguists such as Labov (1969) and Stubbs (1983). One main misunderstanding has been that code theory has been interpreted as a theory of deficit, while it is a theory of difference: "Code refers to a specific cultural regulation of the realisation of *commonly shared competences*" (Bernstein 1990:113, emphasis mine). As Hasan ([2002]2005:216-217) points out, another criticism concerns the kind of linguistic evidence on which the theory was based.<sup>14</sup> In this respect, Hasan remarks how "the problem lay with the linguistic models, none of which offered any viable resources for the analysis of meaning in discourse". Hasan maintains that the systemic functional model offers such resources, and demonstrates it in her analysis of mother-child talk (Hasan 1989, Hasan [2002] 2005, Hasan [2004] 2005, Hasan and Cloran 1990). Hasan's studies seem to corroborate code theory, showing how the coding orientations construct and convey different world-views, and these are construed by mutually related sets of semantic options. Hasan's research also demonstrates a correlation between ideology and social class, where social class was defined on the basis of the degree of autonomy and control over other people in the job of the family's breadwinner. Hasan analysed conversation between mothers and small children of a higher autonomy profession group (HAP) as opposed to a lower autonomy profession group (LAP). She found that each group tended to choose some semantic options and to avoid others, so that in the two groups different sets of semantic options co-occurred. HAP mothers tended to make use of supportive statements, e.g., elaborated commands, and of reasons and reasoning grounded in the physical world, and to avoid challenging questions and bald orders (Hasan 1992:297-298). On the other hand, mothers from the LAP group showed that they "tend to choose reasons that are mostly social", they "are much less likely to choose cooperative reasons than coercive ones", "their reasons tend to be cryptic rather

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See Hasan ([2004]2005:228-255) for a discussion of how the elaborated code is required at school and its possession is the basis for successful formal learning.

<sup>14</sup> See Bernstein (1990:113-130) for replies to criticisms and clarifications of misunderstandings of code theory.

than elaborated” and “their commands are typically not [indirect] or [suggestive] but [direct], often bordering on imposition” (Hasan 1992: 298). The features within each set of options are interrelated: the choice of one makes more likely the choice of another, because each set of options is related to a different attitude of the mother towards the child. The sets of options described above construe different world-views: in Hasan’s (1992:298-299) words,

If coercive reasoning is the favoured basis for justifying commands, it implies that the power of authority is considered to be such that it can constrain others’ behaviour. I would suggest that the social position of the LAP families provides them with sufficient personal validation of this principle. So it is not accidental that the patterns of reasoning in the LAP group show the power of authority in a naked form: If commands are likely to be direct rather than suggestive or consultative, this is indicative of the fact that the person giving the command has a position of dominance; if coercive reasoning is employed more often than in the HAP group, this is because the person giving the reason wishes to emphasize the fact of power which can constrain. In short, as Bernstein said, the principles of control in the working class are **visible**: The controlled persons know what is the ground on which they are being controlled. Reasoning then becomes a means of ‘teaching’ the child the nature of power and of authority – clearly this is not irrelevant to the expected – and statistically validated – life patterns of the working class members.

By contrast the HAP group’s reasoning in the environment of control tends to be **invisible**. The child is typically not ‘directed’ but is manoeuvred into acting in the required way. It is objectively not the case that mothers in the middle class have less authority, less power over their children; it is simply that this authority remains invisible. Explicit elaboration of both Claim and logical Reason takes precedence. The power of authority need not be tested, need not be made visible. In fact, it would be dysfunctional to sensitize the child to issues of domination: This could conceivably get in the way. I am suggesting that if you are in the social position of largely being subjected to the power of authority, then you need to be able to recognize it. If, on the other hand, you are in the social position of exercising power of authority, then it is far more ‘sensible’ to mask it as something that is dictated by ‘reason’.

To sum up, social groups differ from each other in their ways of enacting the meaning potential of a language, reflecting differences in ideology and culture. The different ways of meaning that coexist in a society were called coding orientations by Bernstein, while Hasan calls them semantic styles. Speakers differ according to which semantic style they *typically* choose: “To talk about a characteristic semantic style is to imply the possibility of other semantic styles which are *not* characteristic. Style presupposes option; but the frequency of the selection of a particular set of options is itself a significant fact” (Hasan 1992:107). On the other hand, if different semantic styles coexist within a culture and hence within the language of single speakers, it is also true that “each language has its own semantic code, although languages that share a common culture tend to have codes that are closely related” (Halliday 1985: xxx). A code in this sense is characterised by language-specific ways of meaning – what Whorf called “fashions of speaking”: these ways of meaning to some extent constrain the way a language speaker views the world. For example, Halliday (2003:225) remarks how “our dominant grammars lock us in to a framework of beliefs that may at one time, when they first evolved in language, have been functional, and beneficial to survival, but that have now become inimical to survival and harshly dysfunctional: the motifs of bigger and better (all ‘growth’ is positively loaded), the uniqueness of the human species as lords of creation, the passivity of inanimate nature, the unboundedness of natural resources like water and air, and so on”. Similarly, Whorf noted that in “standard Average European” we can use plurality and cardinal numbers for cyclic sequences, so that we can say “ten days” (Whorf 1956:139), while in the Hopi language ordinals are used with singulars, so that “our ‘length of time’ is not regarded as length but as a relation between two events in lateness” (Whorf 1956:140). Another example is Hasan’s comparative analysis of phoric devices in Urdu and English (Hasan 1984:105-162). Hasan discusses the degrees of implicitness which are permitted by reference (personal pronouns and the definite article), substitution and ellipsis in English,

where implicitness is a function of the amount of shared knowledge which is necessary for the addressee to correctly interpret the message. Hasan creates a taxonomy of encoding devices, which has as the most implicit items the exophoric ones, divided into “instantial” exophora, where the interpretation depends on the addressee’s sharing of the material situational setting, “intermediate” exophora, where the sharing of the same material situational setting is necessary but not necessarily sufficient for the correct interpretation of the message, and “restricted” exophora, where the interpretation is not possible on the basis of the material situational setting, so that shared knowledge is presupposed on the part of the addressee. Hasan grades English reference items along this cline, from those with the lowest potential implicitness to those with the highest potential implicitness. She then notices how it is possible in Urdu, but not in English, to have third-person subject ellipsis, so that the potential implicitness of this device is higher in Urdu, where third person ellipsis can refer to participants which are not present in the material situational setting. Moreover, in Urdu it is possible to also ellipse the complement, even in contexts where the subject is also ellipsed: it is possible to utter the equivalent of “cooked?”, meaning “have you cooked it?” (Hasan 1984:150). She concludes that “the characteristic semantic style in English is the explicit one”, and “this is even more so with regard to the educated middle-class English speakers”, while “the potential for implicitness is higher in Urdu than it is in English”, and the implicit style “is characteristically employed by Urdu speakers over a wide range of contexts” so that she concludes that “the dominant Urdu style is the implicit one” (Hasan 1984:133-135). Hasan (1984:154) also re-connects these features of the Urdu and English languages to the role systems of the two speaking communities:

(...) role systems can vary in respect of how well defined their boundaries are:  
 i.e., how clearly established the rights and obligations accruing to the role are.  
 Obviously the more determinate these boundaries, the less likely it is that



ambiguity will arise in social interaction. I am suggesting that the role system for the community of Urdu speakers is considerably more determinate than it is for the middle-class English speaker. It is only this kind of social structure which will explain why the optimally implicit style has such wide currency in the community. We must postulate that the set of expectations regarding who does what, when, where, why and in relation to whom must be fairly well established.

Other interesting remarks about the connections between language and culture are offered by Wierzbicka (2006:3-102), who analyses the frequency, history and significance of words such as “right”, “wrong”, “fair”, “reasonable”, “pros and cons”, of discourse markers such as “on the one hand ... on the other hand” and “as a matter of fact”, of “causative” constructions, and of “epistemic” expressions such as “in my opinion”, “I think”, “presumably”, “allegedly”, “arguably”, in what she calls “Anglo”<sup>15</sup> English, i.e., the variety of English spoken in the UK, Ireland, the U.S.A., Canada, New Zealand and Australia. She connects the proliferation and frequency of usage of causative constructions in English with the needs of a democratic and complex society: “The new managerial type of society (...) needed an increased scale of interpersonal causations: for the new society to function smoothly and efficiently, lots of people had to be told what to do. This had to happen, however, in the context of a democracy, where people might be willing to take ‘directions’ or to follow ‘instructions’ but not to obey ‘orders’ or ‘commands’” (Wierzbicka 2006:173). Moreover, Wierzbicka connects the frequency and meaning of epistemic expressions such as “I think”, “I presume”, “I gather”, “I suppose”, to the cultural climate which was brought about by the Enlightenment in Britain and the influence of Locke’s *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, which emphasises that human knowledge is limited and consequently one’s opinions should not be imposed on others.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Wierzbicka 2006:9-16.

<sup>16</sup> Wierzbicka’s (2006) analysis is much deeper and more detailed than the brief summary offered here might lead one to think. Wierzbicka (1972, 2001, 2006) emphasises the need for a meta-language enabling cross-

Both Whorf (1956:158) and Halliday (1994:xxxix) point out that the connections between fashions of speaking and world-view require deep and complex analyses to be brought into light; fashions of speaking “cut across lexical and grammatical classifications, so that such a ‘fashion’ may include lexical, morphological, syntactic and otherwise systematically diverse means coordinated in a certain frame of consistency” (Whorf 1956:158).

The analysis of the relationships between code and cultural norms requires a very complex examination of the culture and the language as a whole.<sup>17</sup> The semantic code of a language or, adopting Hasan’s terminology, a language’s semantic style is the linguistic side of a culture’s total ways of meaning, or semiotic style, linked to a culture’s ideology (Hasan 1984:105-106):

The term semiotic style covers not only characteristic ways of saying but also of being and behaving (...). These, taken together, exhaust the means by which men can mean. (...)

To say that there is a culture-specific semiotic style is to say that there is a congruence, a parallelism between verbal and non-verbal behaviour, both of which are informed by the same set of beliefs, values and attitudes.

The semantic style of a language is made up of meanings and ways of meaning through language which pervade the linguistic system, while the semantic styles that coexist within a language/culture, or Bernstein’s coding orientations are different ways of

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linguistic and cross-cultural understanding. This can be achieved by means of a “Natural semantics metalanguage” which uses semantic primitives, i.e., simple and universal human concepts which have exponents in all languages and facilitate intercultural communication. This meta-language should be used in the analysis of differences between cultures. It also allows us to search for what is universal, a human “irreducible core”. She argues, for example, that not all languages have words for “right and “wrong”, hence these are culture-specific concepts, but all languages have words for “good” and “bad”, which she considers to be self-explanatory and universal.

<sup>17</sup> Another example of the associations between a language system and the world-view it conveys is provided by Eco (2003). He focuses his discussion on the lexicon, on the peculiar meanings of certain words in different languages. For example, he discusses how the chromatic field is segmented in different ways across languages (Eco 2003: 183-193). Eco’s book offers an interesting discussion of how translation, and hence mutual understanding, is possible despite the different ways different languages encode experience.

using the *same* linguistic system and are instances or variants of the same semantic code of a language. So, to go back to the example used by Whorf, when time is encoded in our linguistic system it is objectified, and this depends on our language's semantic code. But then speakers can also choose among the semantic options of their language, and in doing so they can construct different world-views *within* the linguistically-constructed reality of their culture. This amounts to recognising that the notion of culture is "variable in delicacy" (Hasan 1992:106): we can say that two cultures are distinct or the same according to the degree of delicacy that we choose. The same happens with sub-cultures or social groups in a given society: an analysis which focuses on the more general and abstract aspects reveals how they belong to the same culture and share the same semiotic style; a more delicate analysis shows how they are related to different coding orientations, how they represent the voices of heteroglossia in that language and culture. This co-existence of unity and diversity is related to Bakhtin's conception that centrifugal and centripetal forces co-exist in society and are reflected in language (Bakhtin 1981:270-271) and to the idea that stability in contemporary capitalist societies may depend "not so much upon an implicit consensus among social members, but rather upon a pervasive *fragmentation* of the social order and a proliferation of divisions between its members" (Thompson 1984:62). In this respect, the co-existence of the elaborated and the restricted code would be functional to the maintenance of differences between social groups which give stability to our society.<sup>18</sup> To sum up, in Hasan's words (1984:107):

(...) while within the range of its systemic options each language provides a very wide set of resources for meaning, distinct sub-sets of its speakers characteristically select only a particular sub-set of the options permitted by the overall system. In comparing two languages we are thus concerned with two questions: one, how do the overall systems differ from each other; and

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<sup>18</sup> The above discussion should not lead one to think that individuals who typically select a certain semantic style or, at a higher level of delicacy, speakers of a language, are imprisoned in a certain linguistically-constructed ideology. In Hasan's (1984: 107) words, "Language is not a strait-jacket constraining its speakers into one invariable mould."

secondly, what resources of the system are characteristically deployed by which sections of the speakers.

Bernstein's (1973, 1975, 1977) and Hasan's (1992) analyses of spoken pupil and mother-child language, and their interpretations of their results in terms of semantic styles, are, in my opinion, extremely important studies whose results cast light on the ways our societies are organised and power-relationships are maintained. The way codes are connected to the construction of world-views and the social order may lead us to wonder whether they may be reflected in one of the most pervasive discourses in our society, i.e., media discourse. The connections between media language and ideology have been studied extensively in recent years, for example in Coulthard and Caldas-Coulthard 1996, Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995a and 1995b, Kress and Hodge 1979 and 1988, Lemke 1990, Martin 1986. Such studies investigate ideology intended as the way of construing and passing unchallenged certain opinions and ideas. On the other hand, however, such ideological meanings can be created and reflected because they are conveyed in language that people are willing to understand and accept. The aim of the present study is to see whether the two different semantic styles described by Hasan and Bernstein in some way influence the way journalists write for their audiences. In other words, does the language used by journalists writing for a working class audience reflect some implicit, probably unconscious, notion of working class language and values? And does the language used by journalists writing for a middle or upper-middle class audience reflect some implicit, probably unconscious, notion of upper-middle class language and values? Furthermore, is it possible to reconnect these implicit ideas of middle and working-class language to Bernstein's and Hasan's semantic styles? The present work aims precisely at answering these questions by analysing the language of popular and quality British newspapers. The reason for undertaking such a study is the idea that inequality is perpetuated by different people having different access to different semantic styles. The elaborated code is the

language of science, politics, the school. It is true, on the one hand, that this code can also be used to justify one's beliefs and confer them an aura of rationality. But it is also true that, precisely because of this, those who have difficulties with an elaborated code are potential victims of deceit, or they are excluded from any more rational debate in any case. At least in our Western World, we do not know or generally do not approve of any other means of analysing reality but what we call "rational discourse", and access to this discourse requires mastery of the elaborated code. As a consequence, I would argue that the existence and maintenance of two distinct codes, and the fact that some people select an elaborated code less frequently than others, means that some people are excluded from a complete understanding of the political debate and from active participation in it. If some newspapers devote very little space to politics, the reason might be the pre-supposition that their readers will not be interested in it, and perhaps these readers are uninterested because their coding orientation makes them dismiss deep analyses of complex phenomena as irrelevant or meaningless. So, if the differences between popular and quality newspapers can be connected to Bernstein's codes and Hasan's semantic styles, this would mean that the newspapers' aims of selling and making money end up perpetuating class differences. This is partly the reason why the articles in the corpus analysed here are all on politics: these are the articles which people are more likely to take into account when deciding if and how to vote, so a significant difference between popular and quality newspaper language in this area might, in my opinion, be the most meaningful in terms of the consequences.<sup>19</sup> As I said above, even the elaborated code can be used deceptively, but the possession of this code is necessary for people to be able to challenge false assumptions, deceptive reasoning, and the dominant ideological meanings which are produced by the news. If the popular and quality newspaper languages can be demonstrated to reflect and

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<sup>19</sup> I am not suggesting that other kinds of news, for example hard news, do not influence how people vote. However, the political articles re-contextualise hard news and attribute different stances and responsibilities to different parties.

perpetuate class differences, the following remark by Hartley (1982:55-56) acquires a stronger meaning:

The social function of the news emerges from this analysis as very different from its everyday, obvious function of providing information, entertainment and the like. Along with other social agencies which also perform more than their ‘stated’ functions, the news contributes to the ‘climate of opinion’, to the horizons of possibility, and to the process of marking the limits of acceptable thought and action. In other words, it functions to produce social knowledge and cultural values. But knowledge and values are themselves actively productive, contributing to the process whereby people’s submission to the ‘prevailing climate’ – including the continuity within this climate of class inequality – is secured.

### **1.3. The British daily press: some background information**

Before starting the analysis, it is necessary to summarise the main differences between the two kinds of newspapers, and previous studies investigating these differences. As Hartley (1982:48) and O’Driscoll (1995:153) emphasise, British newspapers are owned by private corporations whose main interest is business: selling copies and attracting advertisers. Hartley (1982:55-56) points out the connection between this imperative need for financial survival and the “production of dominant ideological meanings”, whereby the kinds of knowledge and values which are reflected and produced by the news perpetuate submission to the “prevailing climate”. One very clear example of this phenomenon is offered by O’Driscoll (1995:153), who reports the “abrupt turnabout in the stance of the Scottish edition of *The Sun* in early 1991”: the newspaper “had previously, along with the Conservative party which it normally supports, vigorously opposed any idea of Scottish independence or home rule; but when it saw the opinion polls in early 1991 (and bearing in mind its comparatively low sales in Scotland), it decided to change its mind completely”.

The need for financial survival also determines a newspaper's language and world-view, as Hall et al. (1978:71)<sup>20</sup> put it:

Of special importance in determining the particular mode of address adopted will be the particular part of the readership spectrum the paper sees itself as customarily addressing: its target audience. The language employed will thus be the *newspaper's own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed*: its version of the rhetoric, imagery and underlying common stock of knowledge which it assumes its audience shares and which thus forms the basis of the reciprocity producer/reader.

Hartley points out how this view of the public is not completely accurate:<sup>21</sup> it is a sort of "caricature" only taking into account some "common denominators". However, this stereotyped view of their audience is responsible for the different newspapers' languages, and for the ways they reflect and construe reality. This is emphasised by Cotter (2001:428-429) as well:

While mass communication models position the audience in a nearly invisible role, and some media discourse researchers have made the strong claim that journalists are only interested in reporting for their peers, I make the strong counterclaim that these assumptions can be challenged, and then better characterised, by ethnographic evidence, and by a consideration of the intentions (if not outcomes) of journalists in relation to their audience.

Precisely the different newspapers' envisaged audiences are considered by Jucker (1992:47-59) to lie at the basis of the differences between the British popular and quality newspapers. In fact, Jucker rejects the traditional dichotomy between quality and popular, because "what counts as 'quality' in one type of paper may not be desirable as an aim for the other types of papers", and because "a look at the circulation figures (...) reveals that 'popularity' does not provide a reliable criterion to distinguish between newspaper categories". Thus, he prefers to use the term "up-market" for the quality newspapers and draws a further distinction between down-market (*The Sun*, *The Star* and *The Daily*

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<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Hartley (1982:95-96).

<sup>21</sup> He quotes John Westgaard's article "Power, Class and The Media" (Westgaard 1977)

*Mirror*) and mid-market (*The Daily Express*, *The Daily Mail*) popular newspapers, in line with a previous study by Henry (1983). Jucker (1992:48) points out that “the up-market papers are exactly those that are published in broadsheet format”. In fact, this is no longer the case: *The Times* and *The Independent* are now published in tabloid format. Jucker shows that the main difference between the audiences envisaged by the various British daily newspapers is social class, rather than sex or age. He makes reference to the 1987 National Readership Survey to show that, “while it is true that all newspapers are read by members of all social classes”, it is also true “that the proportions in which the different social classes are represented in the readerships of different newspapers vary to a very considerable extent”. The National Readership Survey distinguishes between six social classes on the basis of the assumption that “the occupation of the head of household (i.e., the person who either owns the accommodation or is responsible for the rent) or the chief wage earner (i.e., the senior working member of the household) gives the best indication of the informant’s social standing in the community” (Jucker 1992:49-52). The social classes thus distinguished are upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class, skilled working class, working class, and “those at lowest level of subsistence”. Among the up-market readers, 80% belong to the first three classes, as opposed to just 50% of the mid-market readers and of 25% of the down-market readers. Jucker further points out that “journalists may well under-estimate, or possibly over-estimate the intelligence of their readerships but they will be in no doubt about the socio-economic market segment their newspaper is aimed at”, and that the reasons for aiming at different target audiences lie in the way the newspapers are financed. Up-market newspapers “get almost two thirds of their revenue from advertising”, whereas “the down-market papers get more than three-quarters of their total revenue from the sales revenue”. As a consequence, “it is (...) of paramount importance for the up-market papers to appeal to the affluent, well-educated socio-economic classes in order to attract advertisements to their expensive pages”, while,



for the down-market papers, “it is more important to reach a maximally large readership”.<sup>22</sup> Increasing circulation cannot be a major aim for the up-market papers, because this would mean broadening and thus diluting their readership, making it “less attractive to prospective advertisers”. These observations appear to be in line with O’Driscoll’s (1995:152) data for the year 1990, when the average daily circulation of the popular newspapers was about six times as much as that of the quality newspapers.

Jucker (1992:54) also reports data as to age and sex of readers: they do not seem to be connected to newspaper category. It might, however, be interesting to notice that those newspapers whose readership is older according to Jucker’s sources, i.e., *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Express* and *The Daily Mail*, are all newspapers which O’Driscoll (1995:153) classifies as right-wing (*The Daily Telegraph*) or right of centre (*The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*). More than 50 per cent of the readers of these newspapers are above forty-five, and, in the case of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily Express*, forty per cent are above fifty-five. For the popular newspapers the connection between political stance, as indicated by O’Driscoll, and age is not perfect, since *The Sun* is the most right wing but its readership does not stand out for being particularly old – it is in fact the youngest among the popular newspapers except for *The Daily Mirror*. On the other hand, in the case of the quality newspapers the connection appears to be clear: the most right wing newspaper is also the one with the oldest readership.

Other non-linguistic differences between up-market, mid-market and down-market newspapers which are listed by Jucker (1992:56-58) have to do with appearance and coverage. Firstly, the mid-market papers all include a foreign news section and a business section, while among the down-market papers only *The Sun* regularly includes a business section. Secondly, according to a 1988 survey by the magazine *Which?* (August 1988), whose results are reported by Jucker, the various newspapers differ in the number of

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<sup>22</sup> Jucker’s source for these data and explanations is Mander 1978.

articles they devote to different topics: in this survey, the down-market papers had more articles on celebrities, sex, disasters, human interest stories or the royal family, the mid-market papers on religion, human interest features, consumer information or the royalty, while the up-market papers published more articles on law and order, property, consumer information, sports, politics, science, defence, the environment, health, social welfare, arts, TV and radio, foreign news, finance, business, economy or the trade unions. In other words, the quality newspapers ranked first for their numbers of articles on politics and society, while the down-market papers ranked first for articles on élite people, scandal, or disasters; as for the mid-market papers, they stood in-between in that their best-ranking categories included religion and consumer information, and not sex, disasters or celebrities as the down-market papers did, but they did not rank first in any political category. In addition, “all the tabloid-sized papers (...) give a very British view of the world with very few foreign news stories”. Thirdly, all the down-market papers regularly publish pictures of sparingly dressed women on page 3. Fourthly, the height of the main front page headline was “10 mm in the *Financial Times* and about 15 mm in the other four up-market papers”, in the mid-market papers it varied “from about 30 to 45 mm”, and in the down-market papers it was “generally greater than 45 mm” and could be “up to about 100 mm” (Jucker 1992:57). In my corpus, the height of the main front page headline in the quality newspapers is as follows: *The Financial Times*: 9 mm, and 14 mm for capital letters; *The Times*: 10 mm, and 15 mm for capital letters; *The Daily Telegraph*: 11-15 mm; *The Guardian*: 13-17 mm; *The Independent*: 4-21 mm. In other words, in the quality newspapers it ranges from 9 to 14 mm, and from 14 to 21 mm for capital letters. As for the “mid-market papers” in my corpus, the size of the main front-page headline is 34 mm and 41 mm (all capital letters) in *The Daily Mail*, and 38 mm in *The Daily Express*. In the down-market papers, on the other hand, sizes range from 28 to 42 mm. Finally, according to Jucker the cover-prices of the newspapers in October 1987 were 20 pence for the down-

market papers, 22 pence for the mid-market papers and 25 pence for the up-market papers. In February 2005, when my corpus was collected, they were 20 pence for *The Star*, 30 pence for *The Sun*, 35 pence for *The Daily Mirror*, 40 pence for *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*, 50 pence for *The Times*, 60 pence for *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Daily Telegraph*, and 1 Pound for *The Financial Times*.

#### **1.4 Linguistic differences between quality and popular British newspapers: some previous studies<sup>23</sup>**

A first account of some linguistic differences between quality and popular newspapers is offered by Crystal and Davy (1969:173-192). Admittedly, their account is an introductory one whose main aim is to outline some general stylistic features of newspaper language. They only analyse two articles, and do not even mention the words “quality” or “broadsheet” and “tabloid” or “popular”, although the articles they analyse are clearly taken from one quality and one popular newspaper: the authors only declare how the language differences between the two articles “can largely be explained by reference to the very different audiences envisaged by the two papers concerned” (Crystal and Davy 1969:174). The two articles are on the same topic, because in this way the authors feel “that the different stylistic colouring which each paper throws over the story may be more clearly seen”. The main aspects which differentiate the two articles in Crystal and Davy’s analysis (1969:178-188) are:

- paragraphing: paragraphs are longer in the quality newspaper article;
- dashes: in the popular newspaper article, the dash is used “informally” “to link expansions of thought or afterthoughts with the main part of the sentence”;

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<sup>23</sup> In the present section, four studies which compare the language of popular and quality newspapers are reviewed. The aim here is not to offer an introduction to newspaper language or to media language in general. Literature reviews on media discourse can be found in Van Dijk 1988: 5-16, Jucker 1992: 32-45, Fairclough 1995: 22-34, Bell and Garret 1998: 1-20, Cotter 2001, Bednarek 2006: 11-18. A very comprehensive study of news media is Bell (1991).

- alliteration: the popular newspaper article makes repeated usage of alliterative patterns, while the quality newspaper article “goes in for more complex rhythmical effects, using balanced phrases and antitheses”;

- sentence length: sentences are much longer in the quality newspaper article;

- coordination: both at group level and at clause level, coordination is used more often in the quality newspaper article;

- subordination: at clause level, the quality newspaper article has more subordination; within the nominal group, the popular newspaper article “tends to rely more on non-finite clauses using *-ing* (...) and relative clauses”;

- inter-sentence coordination: this type of sentence linkage occurs more frequently in the popular newspaper article, while the quality newspaper article “relies on other techniques of reference between sentences”, such as “the definite article, the demonstrative and personal pronouns, lexical repetition, “prop” words (such as *one*), and certain kinds of adverbial” ;

- demonstrative reference at the beginning of sentences, assuming background knowledge on the readers’ part: this device is used in the popular newspaper article three times, and contributes to a tone of familiarity and intimate relationship between writer and reader;

- adjectives: they tend to be “vividly descriptive” in the popular newspaper article, and more technical in the quality newspaper article;

- nouns: they tend to be more “particularising” and “concrete” in the popular newspaper article, and more abstract in the quality newspaper article;

- passives: “the tendency in the popular press is to use the active voice rather than the passive”;

- vocabulary: the popular newspaper article shows “greater inventiveness in compounding than is normally seen in English”, more emphatic vocabulary, with “extreme”, “absolute” words, greater informality and a “tendency to word-play”.

These language features all point to some main semantic differences between the two articles: the aforementioned more intimate relationship between writer and reader and a more emphatic tone in the popular newspaper article, as opposed to a more formal and restrained tone in the quality newspaper article, and a higher interest on the human, personal angle of the story in the popular newspaper article, as opposed to a higher emphasis on facts and objectivity in the quality newspaper article. Although Crystal and Davy’s analysis has not been carried out on a large corpus but just on two texts, its insights appear to be worthy of consideration and further investigation.

Bell (1991:107-110) carried out a more specific analysis on a larger corpus of 4000 noun phrases: he investigated the phenomenon of “determiner deletion” in three quality newspapers as opposed to four popular newspapers. Determiner deletion is the phenomenon whereby the determiner is deleted in appositional naming expressions: one example from Bell (1991:107) is “Australian entrepreneur Alan Bond”, instead of “the Australian entrepreneur Alan Bond”. Bell found that “the three ‘quality’ newspapers, *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *Daily Telegraph*, delete very few determiners”, while “the four ‘popular’ newspapers [*Daily Mail*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mirror*, *Sun*] delete most of the determiners”. In other words, the frequency of determiner deletion is connected to the social status of their newspapers’ readerships. Bell also quotes other previous studies by Ryden (1975) and Jucker (1989)<sup>24</sup> which confirm his results. What is more, other data which he obtained from the analysis of New Zealand radio stations’ language showed that “in another country and another medium, the same patterns reappear” (Bell 1991:110). In

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<sup>24</sup> The studies quoted by Bell are: Ryden, M., 1975, “Noun-name collocations in British English newspaper language”, *Studia Neophilologica* 47 / 1: 14-39, and Jucker, A.H., 1989, ‘Stylistic variation in the syntax of British newspaper language’, Unpublished MS. Zurich: University of Zurich.

the latter study, Bell also analysed the news agencies' input and saw that "variable editing rules ... function to shift the style of the input text closer to the style which the station deems suitable for its kind of audience". In other words, "... diverse outlets have widely differing audiences, and language styles to match. They take a common input and apply variable editing rules to shape the style towards their own audience" (Bell 1991:125).

A third study of popular and quality British newspapers was carried out by Jucker (1992), who investigates differences in noun-phrase modification. His corpus is made up of noun-phrases from eleven newspapers, i.e., *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Times*, *The Financial Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Express*, *The Daily Mail*, *Today*, *The Sun*, *The Star*, *The Daily Mirror*, categorised into up-market, mid-market and down-market papers (see section 1.3 above). His noun-phrase samples are also sub-categorised according to newspaper section, i.e., arts, business, foreign news, home news, sports, although the arts section was only to be found in the up-market papers, *The Financial Times* had no sports section, *The Sun* had no foreign news section and *The Daily Mirror* and *The Star* had no business and foreign news sections. One-thousand noun-phrase samples were collected for each section of each newspaper from between two and five issues bought at random between October 1987 and February 1988, and analysed for kinds of pre-modification, post-modification and apposition. Jucker applied statistical methods, such as one-way ANOVA, cluster analysis and X-square test, to assess the significance level of his results. He shows that there is significant variation in the use of modifiers both according to newspaper section, and according to newspaper category. Firstly, he found that noun-phrase modifiers are used most frequently in the up-market papers, and least frequently in the down-market papers, while the mid-market papers stand in-between. The same holds true for concatenated modifiers and noun phrases embedded within modifiers. In other words, there is an increase in the density and complexity of modification from the down-market papers through the mid-market papers to the up-market papers. In addition,

the sports sections have the smallest densities of noun-phrase modifiers, and the arts sections the highest. The sports sections of all newspaper categories are also less complex than any other sections, with less concatenated modifiers and less noun phrases embedded within modifiers. He then found that the up-market papers have more complex noun phrases in subject position, with degree of complexity determined by the number of modifiers. Jucker (1992:117) interpreted this result in terms of formality, making reference to Quirk et al. (1985:1351), who point out how the tendency to use more simple noun-phrases in subject position and more complex ones in non-subject position is stronger in informal speech and weaker in scientific writing. In other words, Jucker's analysis shows that the language of the quality newspapers shares with the language of scientific writing the tendency to have complex noun phrases in subject position. In this respect, however, *The Guardian* is an exception in that it is more similar to the down-market papers.<sup>25</sup> As regards pre-modifiers and post-modifiers, Jucker (1992:185) concludes that "the newspaper category (...) is not significant for the choice of specific types of pre- or post-modifiers". Instead, he found some significant variation in terms of newspaper section, and also analysed actual examples to describe differences across the newspaper categories. As for pre-modifiers, the descriptive ones – central and post-central<sup>26</sup> pre-modifiers – are privileged in the arts and sports sections, while classifiers are preferred in the other sections, especially the foreign news sections. In addition, Jucker's analysis of actual examples shows how the down-market papers use pre-modifiers of names in alliterative patterns with their heads, and how words referring to people are modified by a small range of stereotypical modifiers (Jucker 1992:75-76). As for post-modification, Jucker's main findings are the highest shares of prepositional phrases and the lowest shares of post-nominal names and relative clauses in the business and home news sections of the up-

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<sup>25</sup> One might wonder whether this feature could be connected to a choice to use less formal language and to *The Guardian*'s being classified as the most left-wing of the quality newspapers (see O' Driscoll 1995:153).

<sup>26</sup> Jucker relies on Quirk et al.'s (1985:437, 1337-1342) classification of pre-modifiers. See Jucker (1992:62-68) for an account of the different classes and their functions.

market papers and in the foreign news sections of *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, and the highest shares of non-finite verbal post-modifiers in the business, home news and foreign news sections of the up-market papers; the highest shares of post-nominal names and the lowest shares of prepositional phrases in the home news and foreign news sections of the mid and down-market papers, and the highest shares of finite relative clauses and the lowest of non-finite verbal post-modifiers, i.e., post-modifiers with the verb in the present or past participle or the infinitive, in the sports sections of all categories of newspapers. Finally, Jucker's most statistically and stylistically significant results are those connected to variation in apposition kind, which are discussed below (Chapter 3, section 3.3.3 and Chapter 5, section 5.1.1).

Jucker's analysis has the strengths of being carried out on the basis of clear formal categories, with the support of statistical methods on a large noun-phrase sample, and of including the analysis of actual instances. His conception of style as intra-speaker variation correlating with speaker's audience, which he derives from Bell (1984:145-204), is also significant for the present study, because readership appears to be the main factor which influences the differentiation between quality and popular newspapers, although his findings for the different newspaper sections also show that syntactic variation is connected to other contextual aspects.<sup>27</sup> It is thus a basic assumption of Jucker's work and of the present study that "Journalists, whether on television, radio or in the print media, adapt their language to their targeted audiences" (Jucker 1992:32). On the other hand, Jucker warns that "it is (...) not a straightforward matter to correlate (...) syntactic categorisation with semantic differences that might be used in an interpretation of the

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<sup>27</sup> If my reading of Jucker is correct, he sees style as intra-speaker variation determined by speaker's audience. Hence Jucker's 'style' could be translated as 'tenor' in Systemic Functional terms. Jucker seems to reject a distinction between "the two types of variety, style and register", claiming that "the former term will suffice to encompass all the varieties that have been envisaged under both of them" (Jucker 1992:25). However, if style is language variation determined by audience, then style is narrower than register, because it excludes variation connected to field and mode. As a consequence, I do not think that the term 'style' can encompass 'register'. In the present study, register is used as a technical term and lexico-grammatical variation is considered to be a factor of variation in one or more register variables, Field, Tenor and Mode (see chapter 3, section 3.1 below).



different frequencies with which individual types of post-modifiers are used". Although I agree that this is not a straightforward matter, I also think that there must be a reason why syntactic patterns vary according to newspaper section and newspaper kind, especially when the variation is statistically significant: I agree with the systemic functional theory that patterns of variation in language use are socially and contextually motivated. In chapter five, I will try to explain the statistically significant differences in my data in terms of the different target audiences of the different newspapers and their different values.

Another study which analyses differences between quality and popular newspapers was carried out by Bednarek (2006). She analysed a corpus of 100 news stories taken from the main British national daily newspapers, five quality newspapers (*The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*) and five popular newspapers (*The Sun*, *The Star*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Daily Express*). Bednarek developed her own framework for the analysis of evaluative meaning, which is discussed in chapter 3, section 3.4.4. The framework is one which connects lexicogrammar and semantics from the start, looking for semantic features through the analysis of language patterns. Bednarek looked for evaluations expressed in terms of parameters such as "comprehensibility", "reliability", "emotivity", "importance", "expectedness", "evidentiality", "necessity", just to give some examples, and calculated their frequencies as percentages of the total number of evaluations in her quality and popular newspaper corpora. She found that popular and quality newspapers "exhibit a distinct evaluative style, characterised by mitigation and negation in the case of the broadsheets, and by EMOTIVITY, unexpectedness and references to emotion in the case of the tabloids" (Bednarek 2006:203-204). Bednarek interprets her results in terms of the values of the target audiences of the different newspapers:

The broadsheet newsmakers adopt a less explicit, subtle, mitigated and stylistically varied evaluative style in order to attract the educated and affluent

readers that make up their target audience, whereas the tabloid newspapers adopt a more explicit, ‘intense’, emotional and stylistically simpler evaluative style in order to attract a larger, less educated and less affluent audience.

Bednarek does not try to reconnect the differences to the newsmakers’ implicit perceptions of their audiences’ coding orientations. However, I would argue that explicitness, intensity and emotivity can be connected to group membership and community: common sense suggests that intense expressions of emotions generally occur in the presence of friends or family. On the other hand, more implicit and mitigated evaluations can be connected to a wish to be more objective and to not challenge different views directly, being thus more “universally acceptable”. Finally, Bednarek does not apply any statistical test to her results. Jucker (1992:184-185) claims that statistical tests “... have their main value in the fact that they safeguard the analyst against attributing too much weight to variations in the data that numerically appear to be important but are merely a result of random sampling.”<sup>28</sup> Statistics is considered to be important in the present work, where the corpus is not very large and the results need some statistical validation. These aspects will be picked up again and further discussed in the following chapters, which describe the corpus which has been analysed, the method of analysis and the statistical tests which were applied.

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<sup>28</sup> Jucker (1992:24 and 184-185) also claims that in sociolinguistics, “it is still all too often assumed that social differences correlating with linguistic differences explain the linguistic differences”, and that “statistically significant variation does not necessarily entail stylistically significant variation”. In Jucker’s definition, style is “a variety that is established on the basis of non-linguistic features that distinguish the speech as produced by the same speaker on different occasions”, and this “intra-speaker variation” is “a correlate of the speaker’s audience” (see also note 27 above). From this perspective, Jucker’s claim that statistically significant variation does not always entail stylistically significant variation can be accepted only in the sense that Jucker’s style, i.e., one aspect of Halliday’s tenor, is not the only parameter which can explain language differences between texts: one must also take into account other contextual factors, precisely those connected to the three register variables of field, tenor and mode. So, in the perspective adopted here, statistically significant variation does entail register variation.



## CHAPTER 2 **The Corpus**

In order to analyse the main differences between quality and popular British newspapers, a corpus of newspaper articles has been collected. The following sections describe the corpus and explain the rationale behind the choice of the articles and their categorisation.

### **2.1 Corpus collection and sub-categorisation**

In order to describe how the newspapers differ, it has been chosen to analyse articles issued on the same days (7 and 8 February 2005) and about the same topic, i.e., immigration policy and the immigration debate in Britain. This choice was made in order to keep to a minimum language differences due to differences in topic. More specifically, the articles are mainly about some declarations by the PM Mr Blair and the Home Secretary Charles Clarke on a new points system to control the flow of immigrants, with other related subtopics: public expenditure for immigrants, the difficulty for employers to find workers for some kinds of jobs, the different parties' positions on immigration policy, the connections between Clarke's declarations and the parties' election campaigns, the Spanish plan to legalise more than a million immigrants, the workings of the immigration system in Australia, immigration policy and the Danish election campaign.

A corpus of 83 articles (45510 words) from ten British daily newspapers has been collected. Both comments and news reports have been included, with the aim of forming four sub-corpora: quality news articles, quality comment articles, popular news reports and popular comment articles. However, the distinction between news report and editorial comment was not always clear-cut: while in the majority of cases comment articles were on the comment page, there were articles in the news sections which were not simply news reports. In *The Guardian*, for example, one article (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 4: "Immigration debate": "Vox populi": "At the moment they can almost walk in", Interviews by Faisal al Yafai) is an interview to ordinary people asking for their view

on the topic. The same happens in *The Independent*, with the difference that the interviewees are either intellectuals, or have some institutional or professional role by virtue of which they are involved in the problem of immigration, and are for the most part immigrants (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8, “Immigration Debate: Has politicians’ fixation with this issue sparked a rise in racism?”). In addition, two quality newspaper articles inserted in the news sections (*The Daily Telegraph*, Tuesday, February 8, 2005, page 10, “Blair finds it opportune to talk about immigration”, by Andrew Gimson, and *The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 8, “Tough on tough talk and the causes of tough talk”, by Ann Treneman) were labelled “political sketch” or “commons sketch” and were clearly ironical in tone. Besides, there were another two ‘anomalous’ articles. One was a personal report<sup>29</sup> from Fuerteventura in *The Independent* (Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5, “The desperate plight of dispossessed people. The seizure of three boatloads of African migrants off the Canary Islands highlights the human anguish behind the immigration debate” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands) describing - and commenting on - what happens to migrants coming to Spain. This is a front page article and it clearly displays a compassionate attitude towards immigrants. The other one is a report from Calais in *The Daily Express* (Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 9, “Tony Blair will give me a passport because he is a good man. England is still the best place for me and my friends”, from Nick Fagge), describing the situation in Calais, a passage to Britain for many asylum seekers. Finally, there was a comment article in the news sections of *The Daily Mirror* (Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: “Immigration crackdown: Kevin Maguire on why Labour will be the losers with proposals which are a pale blue imitation of Tory policies”), and a very short paragraph in the *Daily Express* which could not be easily defined either as news or as

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<sup>29</sup> On the basis of a previous study by Lüger (1983, *Pressesprache*. Germanische Arbeitsbriefe 28. Tübingen: Niemeyer), Jucker (1992:45) defines a personal report as a report which “employs a more personal point of view, which is indicated by deictic elements suggesting that the reporter is an eyewitness of the reported events at the time of writing the article”.

comment - recalling all the past articles where the newspaper warned Tony Blair that there were too many immigrants and that this was a problem which needed to be faced (*Daily Express*, Monday February 7, 2005, page 5: “We have been saying Mr Blair...”). Moreover, in the news sections of both popular and quality newspapers, there were twelve articles which were just a summary of the different parties’ proposals on the issue of immigration, and which have been included in a separate section which has been called ‘overviews’. When elaborating the results statistically, besides comparing quality and popular newspaper articles as whole categories comprising different genres (46 quality newspaper articles and 37 popular newspaper articles), the sub-corpora of quality versus popular news reports (24 and 19 articles respectively), and quality versus popular comment articles (11 and 9 articles) have been focussed upon, in order to compare more generically homogeneous groups. Hence, the latter comparisons left out all the articles which were not clearly either news or comment, including the ‘overview’ articles. The sizes of the sub-corpora that were compared were thus reduced to 13007 words for quality news articles, 8499 for popular news articles, 9423 for quality opinion articles, 3906 for popular opinion articles. When the quality and popular sub-corpora as wholes were compared, however, all articles were included, so that a quality newspaper sub-corpus of 30540 words was compared with a popular newspaper subcorpus of 14970 words. Moreover, at a further level of delicacy the main categories of news and opinion can also be sub-categorised: comments can be divided into open editorials, by journalists or other people expressing their opinions as individuals, and comments proper, which should stand for the newspaper’s stance; news can be divided into news by editors, where the journalist is said to be home affairs editor, Whitehall editor or political editor, news by correspondents, where the journalist is said to be Home, home affairs or political correspondent, and news by reporters, where the journalist’s role is not specified. These further sub-distinctions can be drawn on the basis of the hypothesis that the various categories might display formal

differences. In particular, Martin and White (2005:161-183) investigated a corpus of seventy-five broadsheet newspaper articles for evaluation and found differences in the amount and kinds of evaluations deployed not only between news and comment articles, but also, within news, between news written by reporters and news written by editors and correspondents. Even though Martin and White's analysis does invite further investigation, the size of the corpus at hand does not allow us to compare these latter more delicate categories by means of statistical tests.

## 2.2 Some quantitative data

Table 2.1 below summarises the number of articles per category, while table 2.2 shows the corpus in detail, with the articles<sup>30</sup> for each category and their headlines, authors and number of words, as well as the number of words for each category.

*Table 2.1 Corpus overview*

a	Quality news articles by reporter	5
b	Quality news by editor	
c	Quality news by correspondent	
	<b><i>Total quality news</i></b>	<b>5</b>
a	Quality comment	
	Quality open editorial	

<sup>30</sup> The articles are reproduced in the attached CD. The articles from *The Times*, *The Sun*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Financial Times*, *The Daily Express* and *The Daily Star* are reproduced with permission in this work. The syndication departments of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily Mail* could not be contacted despite all efforts.

b		
	<i>Total quality comment</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>Quality overview</i>	
	<i>Quality sketches</i>	
	<i>Quality from Fuerteventura</i>	
	<i>Quality interview</i>	
	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF QUALITY NEWSPAPER ARTICLES</b>	<b><u>6</u></b>
a	Popular news articles by reporter	
b	Popular news by editor	
c	Popular news by correspondent	
	<i>Total popular news</i>	<i>9</i>
a	Popular comment	
b	Popular open editorial	
	<i>Total popular comment</i>	
	<i>Popular overview</i>	
	<i>Popular from Calais</i>	
	<i>Popular: comment or news?</i>	



	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF POPULAR NEWSPAPER ARTICLES</b>	<b>7</b>
	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF ARTICLES</b>	<b>3</b>

*Table 2.2 The corpus in detail*

Quality news by reporters	5
© <i>The Financial Times</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: “Australia’s refashioned rules still leave a place for skilled migrants” by Leora Moldofsky	70
© <i>The Financial Times</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: (inserted in “Australia’s refashioned rules still leave a place for skilled migrants”) “POINTS SYSTEM FAILED TO SCORE”	85
© <i>The Financial Times</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: “English’s ‘given up on work ethic’” by Jonathan Moules	55
© <i>The Financial Times</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 7, International News, Europe: “DANISH ELECTION. Premier stands by tough line on immigration ahead of poll. Main parties try to play down the issue but allies have made it their main campaign theme, reports Clare MacCarthy” by Clare MacCarthy	12
© <i>The Financial Times</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: “Hot issue that could sway voters. Asylum and immigration will play a big role in the general election, writes Jean Eaglesham” by Jean Eaglesham	80
© <i>The The Guardian</i> , Monday February 7 2005, page 3: News “Clarke aims to steal Tories’ thunder with tough immigration package” by Alan Travis and Michael White	08

<p>© <i>The Guardian</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 1</p> <p>“Labour’s migration squeeze targets unskilled”</p> <p>By Alan Travis and Michael White</p>	07
<p>© <i>The Guardian</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 4: “Immigration debate”</p> <p>“Spain and Denmark expose contrasts in policy”</p> <p>By Ben Sills in Madrid and agencies</p>	09
<p>© <i>The Independent</i>, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 4-5 “The immigration debate”:</p> <p>“Alarm over Spanish plan to legalise more than a million migrant workers”</p> <p>By Elizabeth Nash in Madrid</p>	02
<p>© <i>The Independent</i>, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8,</p> <p>“Immigration Debate”:</p> <p>“BLAIR ACCUSED OF ‘BIDDING WAR’ WITH TORIES AFTER ANNOUNCING TOUGHER IMMIGRATION LAWS”</p> <p>By Andrew Grice and Nigel Morris</p>	72
<p>© <i>The Times</i>, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 1</p> <p>“New controls to stem flow of migrants”</p> <p>By Greg Hurst and Richard Ford</p>	54
<p>© <i>The Times</i>, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 9:</p> <p>“Immigration: Election rivals join battle to talk tough on immigration. SPANISH AMNESTY FOR MILLION UNLAWFUL WORKERS”</p> <p>from David Sharrock in Madrid</p>	27
<p>© <i>The Times</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 8:</p> <p>“Immigration”&gt;</p> <p>“Low-skilled immigrants to be barred from settling. Charles Clarke set out the Government’s plans to cut immigration from the EU and Western Europe”.</p> <p>Richard Ford reports</p>	42
<p>© <i>The Times</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 9: “Immigration”</p> <p>“Tories’ best issues fail to connect with voters”</p> <p>By Peter Riddell</p>	64
<p>© <i>The Times</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 9:</p> <p>“Immigration”:</p> <p>“Right staff and tools ‘could have saved £1/2bn”</p>	92

by Richard Ford	
<b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY NEWS ARTICLES BY REPORTER</b>	<b>279</b>
Quality news by editors	
© <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , Tuesday, February 8, 2005, No 46,551, page 1: “Clarke to ban low-skilled migrants from settling” By Philip Johnston, home affairs editor	56
© <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , Tuesday, February 8, 2005, No 46,551, page 10: News “Asylum case backlog costs taxpayer £500m” By Philip Johnston, home affairs editor	91
<b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY NEWS ARTICLES BY EDITOR</b>	<b>047</b>
Quality news by correspondents	
© <i>The Financial Times</i> , Monday February 7 2005, Politics and Policy, National News: “Labour to adopt migrant points system” by Cathy Newman, Chief Political Correspondent	48
© <i>The Financial Times</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: “Clarke sets out immigration aims” by Jean Eaglesham, Political Correspondent	29
© <i>The Financial Times</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: (within “Clarke sets out immigration aims”) “BUSINESS FEARS LEGISLATION WILL SEND COST OF EMPLOYING LEGITIMATE STAFF SOARING”	20
© <i>The Independent</i> , Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 6: “The Immigration Debate”: “Blair orders Clarke to use points system for new immigrants” By Marie Woolf, Chief Political Correspondent	54
© <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 1: “‘Rattled’ Blair to set tough tests for migrants” By Toby Helm chief political correspondent	33
© <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , Tuesday, February 8, 2005, No 46,551, page 10: News:	54

<p>“Ukip shuns Kilroy as it talks tough on migrants” By Brendan Carlin, political correspondent</p>	
<p>© <i>The Times</i>, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 8:(Immigration: “Election rivals join battle to talk tough on immigration”): “Clarke plans to curb rights for dependants” By Richard Ford, Home Correspondent</p>	43
<b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY NEWS ARTICLES BY CORRESPONDENT</b>	<b>881</b>
<i>Total quality news articles</i>	<b>4</b>
<b><u>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY NEWS ARTICLES</u></b>	<b><u>3007</u></b>
Quality comment	
<p>© <i>The Financial Times</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters “Ill-timed debate on migration controls. But Labour’s proposals appear preferable to the Tory plans” Editorial Comment</p>	72
<p>© <i>The Guardian</i>, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17 (Comment and Analysis): “Immigration. It has to be faced”</p>	75
<p>© <i>The Guardian</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23 (Comment and Analysis): “Labour and immigration. Tough on rhetoric”</p>	27
<p>© <i>The Independent</i>, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30 (Editorial and Opinion): “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe”</p>	05
<p>© <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: “Labour’s plan will not control the influx” Editorial Comment</p>	80
<p>© <i>The Times</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 17 (Comment): “HOME TRUTHS. The debate about immigration appears to be growing up”.</p>	49
<b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY COMMENT ARTICLES</b>	<b>508</b>

Quality open editorial	
© <i>The Guardian</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”: “Fear of immigration and crime is driving the parties to outbid each other. We hate our politicians, but we’ve never had it so good” By Martin Kettle	216
© <i>The Independent</i> , Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “Stop this continual abuse of immigrants” By Yasmin Alibhai Brown	234
© <i>The Independent</i> , Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: THE IMMIGRATION DEBATE: “I know why our border controls are so ineffective” By Shamim Chowdhury	62
© <i>The Independent</i> , Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: THE IMMIGRATION DEBATE: “Why is a Labour government dancing to Mr Howard’s tunes on immigration?” By Steve Richards	179
© <i>The Times</i> , Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 21: comment: “I wouldn’t call Howard’s Tories racist. Merely absurd, laughable opportunists” By Tony Blair	424
<b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY OPEN EDITORIALS</b>	<b>915</b>
<i>Total quality opinion articles</i>	<i>1</i>
<b><u>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY OPINION ARTICLES</u></b>	<b><u>423</u></b>
Quality sketches	
© <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , Tuesday, February 8, 2005, No 46,551, page 10: News: “Blair finds it opportune to talk about immigration” By Andrew Gimson, commons sketch	12

© <i>The Times</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 8: “Immigration”: “Tough on tough talk and the causes of tough talk” Ann Treneman, political sketch	33
<b><u>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY SKETCHES</u></b>	<b><u>145</u></b>
<i>Quality overview</i>	
© <i>The Independent</i> , Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 9, “The Immigration Debate”: “Sorting myth from fiction on electoral hot topic” By Nigel Morris, Home Affairs Correspondent	62
© <i>The Guardian</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 4: “Immigration Debate”: “Where the parties stand”	46
© <i>The Guardian</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 4, “Immigration debate”> “SEEKING A SYSTEM FAIRER TO UK AND MIGRANTS” By Alan Travis, Home affairs editor	00
© <i>The Independent</i> , Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8, “Immigration Debate”: “STEALING TORY CLOTHES?”	41
© <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> , Tuesday, February 8, 2005, No 46,551, page 10: News: “How the parties compare on policy” By Philip Johnston, home affairs editor	91
© <i>The Times</i> , Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 9: “Immigration: Election rivals join battle to talk tough on immigration”: “HOW THE PARTIES DIFFER ON ‘DIFFICULT’ ISSUE”	72
<b><u>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY OVERVIEWS</u></b>	<b><u>812</u></b>
<i>Quality from Fuerteventura</i>	
© <i>The Independent</i> , Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate”: “The desperate plight of dispossessed people. The seizure of three	603

boatloads of African migrants off the Canary Islands highlights the human anguish behind the immigration debate” By Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands	
<i>Quality interview</i>	
© <i>The Guardian</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 4: “Immigration debate”: Vox POPULI “At the moment they can almost walk in” interviews by Faisal al Yafai	<b><u>46</u></b>
© <i>The Independent</i> , Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8, “Immigration Debate”: “Has politicians’ fixation with this issue sparked a rise in racism?”	<b><u>04</u></b>
<b><u>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY INTERVIEWS</u></b>	<b><u>350</u></b>
TOTAL QUALITY	<b><u>6</u></b>
<b>TOTAL WORDS IN QUALITY NEWSPAPER ARTICLES</b>	<b>0540</b>
Popular news articles by reporter	
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, page 4: “Immigration: too little too late?”: “Blair’s asylum quiz on TV”	79
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, page 5: “Immigration: too little too late?”: “New Met chief in plea for a force to police our borders” by Daniel Thomas	44
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 1: “Asylum: still no limit on entries. Blair chickens out with half measures” by James Slack and Patrick O’Flynn.	012
© <i>The Daily Mail</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, page 6: “Voters who have had enough”	18
© <i>The Daily Mail</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, page 6 “The Spanish solution”	11
© <i>The Daily Mail</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 7: “The toll on homeowners”	06
© <i>The Daily Star</i> , Monday February 7 2005, page 2:	

<p>‘SPONGERS FACE BOOT. Blair gets tough on migrants” By Stephen Rigley</p>	28
<p>©<i>The Sun</i>, Monday, February 7, 2005, page 2 “£2K FINES FOR BOSSES”</p>	68
<p><b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN POPULAR NEWS ARTICLES BY REPORTER</b></p>	<b>366</b>
<p>Popular news by editor</p>	
<p>©<i>The Daily Mail</i>, Monday February 7, 2005, page 1: “Asylum: you’re right to worry. After eight years in power, Blair admits that the public have real cause for concern on immigration” By Benedict Brogan, Whitehall Editor</p>	47
<p>© <i>The Daily Mail</i>, Monday February 7, 2005, page 6: “Knives already out for Clarke. As Labour finally realises how much the public worries about asylum and immigration, Cabinet whispers question the ability of Blunkett’s successor” By Benedict Brogan, Whitehall Editor</p>	73
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<p>©<i>The Daily Mirror</i>, Monday February 7 2005, page 2: “I’ll drive out the illegals. CLARKE’S 5-YR PLAN” by Bob Roberts, Deputy Political Editor</p>	22
<p>©<i>The Daily Mirror</i>, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: “Immigration crackdown”: “We will take in those we need ...and take out those we don’t. Blair’s hard line to beat abuses” by Oonagh Blackman, Political Editor</p>	94
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by Macer Hall, Political editor	
© <i>The Sun</i> , Tuesday, February 8, 2005, page 2: “Rattled Labour’s migrants plans. PM slams door on low-skill workers” by David Wooding, Whitehall Editor	69
<b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY NEWS ARTICLES BY EDITOR</b>	<b>918</b>
Popular news by correspondent	
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, pages 1-4; page 4: “Immigration: too little too late?”: “Immigration: action at last. After pressure from the Daily Express., Blair finally says he will tackle the chaos” by Kirsty Walker, Political Correspondent	010
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 8, “Labour in a panic over immigration”: “Chaos is costing taxpayers millions” by James Slack, Home Affairs Correspondent	51
© <i>The Daily Mail</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 6, “Clarke scorns a limit on migrants” “Two months to do nine hours of work” By Matthew Hickley, Home Affairs Correspondent	58
© <i>The Sun</i> , Monday, February 7, 2005, page 2: “Blair rattled over asylum. PM says public ‘right to be worried’” By Nic Cecil, Political Correspondent	96
<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS IN QUALITY NEWS BY CORRESPONDENT</b>	<b>215</b>
Total popular news	9
<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS IN POPULAR NEWS ARTICLES</b>	<b>499</b>
Popular comment	
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, page 12: comment:	

“Scandal of immigration plan five years too late”	31
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© <i>The Daily Mirror</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 6: “Voice of the Daily Mirror”: “It will work for Britain”	48
© <i>The Daily Star</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 6: “Daily Star says”: “Britain has had its fill”	48
© <i>The Sun</i> , Monday, February 7, 2005, page 8, “The Sun says”: “Another plan”	9
© <i>The Sun</i> , Tuesday, February 8, 2005, page 8: “The Sun says”: “Who delivers?”	98
<b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN POPULAR COMMENT ARTICLES</b>	<b>745</b>
Popular open editorial	
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 12: comment: “IMMIGRATION: DON’T BE FOOLED BY LABOUR’S LATEST LAME PROMISES” By Patrick O’Flynn, Political Editor	54
© <i>The Daily Mail</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 14: Comment: “Why should we believe them now? For years the Government denied there was an immigration crisis. Now, as an election looms, they’ve vowed to get tough” by Sir Andrew Green	207
<b>NUMBER OF WORDS IN POPULAR OPEN EDITORIALS</b>	<b>161</b>
<i>Total popular opinion articles</i>	
<b><u>NUMBER OF WORDS IN POPULAR OPINION ARTICLES</u></b>	<b><u>906</u></b>
<i>Popular from Calais</i>	
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 9, “Labour in a panic over immigration”: “Tony Blair will give me a passport because he is a good man. England is	69

still the best place for me and my friends” From Nick Fagge in Calais	
<i>Popular overview</i>	
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, page 5: “Immigration: too little too late?”: “AT A GLANCE”	65
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 8, “Labour in a panic over immigration”: “ADDING UP BRITAIN’S IMMIGRATION COSTS”	38
© <i>The Daily Mail</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, page 6: “MIGRANTS: THE GREAT DIVIDE. With asylum and immigration expected to be key issues in the forthcoming election, both main parties are increasingly anxious to project a ‘tough’ image. But how do their policies measure up and whose promises are credible?” Matthew Hickley reports	74
© <i>The Daily Mail</i> , Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 6, “Clarke scorns a limit on migrants”: “THE PROPOSALS”	45
© <i>The Daily Mirror</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: “Immigration crackdown”: “The Key changes”	3
© <i>The Sun</i> , Tuesday, February 8, 2005, page 2: “Rattled Labour’s migrants plans. WHO’S IN, WHO’S KEPT OUT”	44
<b><u>NUMBER OF WORDS IN POPULAR “OVERVIEW” ARTICLES</u></b>	<b><u>659</u></b>
<i>Popular ‘comment or news?’</i>	
© <i>The Daily Express</i> , Monday February 7, 2005, page 5: “Immigration: too little too late?”: “We have been saying Mr Blair...”	<b><u>10</u></b>
© <i>The Daily Mirror</i> , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: “Immigration crackdown”: “KEVIN MAGUIRE on why Labour will be the losers with proposals which are a pale blue imitation of Tory policies”	<b><u>27</u></b>

NUMBER OF WORDS IN POPULAR 'COMMENT OR NEWS?' ARTICLES	<u>37</u>
TOTAL POPULAR NEWSPAPER ARTICLES	<u>7</u>
NUMBER OF WORDS IN POPULAR NEWSPAPER ARTICLES	4970
TOTAL ARTICLES	<b>3</b>
TOTAL WORDS	<b>5510</b>

Table 2.3 compares the popular and quality newspapers in the corpus, showing the number of articles and the number of words per category.

*Table 2.3 Comparing the sizes of the Popular and Quality newspaper sub-corpora*

	Articles		Words	
	Quality	Popul	Quali	Popul
News reports	15	8	7279	2366
News by editors	2	7	1047	3918
News by correspondents	7	4	3881	2215
<b>News overall</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1220</b>	<b>8499</b>
Comment	6	7	3508	1745
Open editorial	5	2	5915	2161
<b>Opinion overall</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9423</b>	<b>3906</b>
<b>Overview</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3812</b>	<b>1569</b>
<b>Fuerteventura / Calais</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2603</b>	<b>569</b>
<b>Sketch</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1145</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Interview</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1350</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Comment or news?</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>337</b>

Table 2.3 shows that the only categories where the number of articles is more or less the same are comment, overview and the two reports from the points of entry (Calais and Fuerteventura). In addition, as for number of words, quality and popular newspaper articles are never comparable: apart from the sub-category of the news written by editors, in all the other cases the quality newspapers devote much more space to the topic than the

popular newspapers. As a consequence, it has been necessary to normalise the occurrences of the features under examination, and to adopt statistical procedures which make it possible to compare samples of different sizes. In addition, besides being under-represented in terms of number of texts, the last three categories - ‘Sketch’, ‘Interview’ and ‘Comment or news’ - are only found in either quality or popular newspapers, so that they do not allow us to compare the two kinds of newspaper.

Table 2.4 shows the distribution of the articles and number of words per category and newspaper.

*Table 2.4 Categories, articles and words per newspaper*

News (total)	News total (per day)	News by correspondent	News by editor	Report about system abroad	News by reporter		
4 (2034)	1 (833) 3 (1201)	1 (833) 1 (154)	- 2 (1047)	- -	- -	Daily Telegraph	02/07 02/08
8 (3499)	1 (448) 7 (3051)	1 (448) 2 (1049)	- -	- 2 (982)	- 3 (1020)	Financial Times	02/07 02/08
3 (1724)	1 (708) 2 (1016)	- -	- -	- 1 (309)	1 (708) 1 (707)	Guardian	02/07 02/08
3 (1628)	2 (956) 1 (672)	1 (554) -	- -	1 (402) -	- 1 (672)	Independent	02/07 02/08
6 (3322)	2 (1597) 4 (1725)	1 (843) -	- -	- 1 (227)	1 (754) 3 (1498)	Times	02/07 02/08
5 (2796)	3 (1533) 2 (1263)	1 (1010) 1 (251)	- -	- -	2 (523) 1 (1012)	Daily Express	02/07 02/08
7 (3317)	5 (2653) 2 (664)	- 1 (558)	3 (2424) -	1 (111) -	1 (118) 1 (106)	Daily Mail	02/07 02/08
2 (716)	1 (322) 1 (394)	- -	1 (322) 1 (394)	- -	- -	Daily Mirror	02/07 02/08
2 (637)	1 (328) 1 (309)	- -	- 1 (309)	- -	1 (328) -	Daily Star	02/07 02/08
3 (1033)	2 (564) 1 (469)	1 (396) -	- 1 (469)	- -	1 (168) -	Sun	02/07 02/08

Total words	Total words per day	Interviews	Fuerteventura or Calais	Sketch	Comments	Overviews	Total comments	Total Comment per day	Open	Comment
3617	1313 2304	- -	- -	- 1 (512)	- -	- 1 (591)	1 (480)	1 (480)	- -	1 (480)
3971	448 3523	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 (472)	- 1 (472)	- -	- 1 (472)
6134	1383 4751	- 1 (646)	- -	- -	- -	- 2 (1246)	3 (2500)	1 (675) 2 (1843)	- 1 (1216)	1 (675) 1 (627)
10218	5498 4720	- 1 (704)	1 (2603) -	- -	- -	- 2 (1303)	4 (3980)	2 (1939) 2 (2041)	1 (1234) 2 (2041)	1 (705) -
6600	3021 3579	- -	- -	- 1 (633)	- -	- 1 (672)	2 (1973)	1 (1424) 1 (549)	1 (1424) -	- 1 (549)
4963	2039 2924	- -	- 1 (569)	- -	1 (110) -	1 (165) 1 (138)	2 (1185)	1 (231) 1 (954)	- 1 (954)	1 (231) -
6364	3739 2625	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 (774) 1 (345)	3 (1928)	1 (312) 2 (1616)	- 1 (1207)	1 (312) 1 (409)
1284	322 962	- -	- -	- -	- 1 (227)	- 1 (93)	1 (248)	- 1 (248)	- -	- 1 (248)
785	328 457	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 (148)	- 1 (148)	- -	- 1 (148)
1574	663 911	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 1 (144)	2 (397)	1 (99) 1 (298)	- -	1 (99) 1 (298)

The next chapter illustrates the analyses which have been performed on the corpus as well as the theoretical frameworks they were informed by.





## CHAPTER 3 Analysis of the corpus: aims and methods

The following sections illustrate the analyses which have been carried out on the corpus and their aims. Explanations and summaries of the relevant theoretical aspects are also included, because they are necessary in order to grasp the connections between the grammatical features analysed and the contextual aspects they reflect and construe.

### **3.1 Metafunctions, register variables and grammatical systems in systemic functional linguistics**

In a systemic functional perspective, the meanings which language allows us to make are classified and described along three dimensions: ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. These dimensions of meaning correspond to the main functions which language has evolved to serve: making sense of the world by construing/reflecting experience and interpersonal relationships and being able to do so by using language effectively and economically in context. Thus, the meanings we make, and the language we use to make them, serve ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. These functions shape language: “language is as it is because of the functions in which it has evolved in the human species” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:31). That is why they are called metafunctions in the systemic functional theory.

The metafunctions work together at every one of the ranks we recognise in language: in the case of English, they operate at clause rank, at phrase and group rank, at word rank and at morpheme rank (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:9).

The metafunctions also enact and construe the context of situation in every instance of text, along the three dimensions of field, tenor and mode:

1. The FIELD OF DISCOURSE refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?

2. The TENOR OF DISCOURSE refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?

3. The MODE OF DISCOURSE refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like. (Halliday and Hasan 1989:12)

The field of discourse is reflected and enacted by ideational meanings, the tenor by interpersonal meanings and the mode by textual meanings. The more traditional systemic functional models (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:309-10, Matthiessen 1995:17-18) split the ideational metafunction into two components: logical and experiential. The logical component has the function of “constructing logical relations”, while the experiential component has the aim of “construing a model of experience” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:61). This subdivision has been questioned and different alternative models have been put forward: for example, McGregor (1992:139) argues that the experiential and logical metafunctions should be separated and not put together “under the rubric ‘ideational metafunction’”, and Hasan (1978:243) as well would account for it as a fourth metafunction. On the other hand, Taylor Torsello (1996:160) would look for a different model highlighting how the logical semantic component “can act in combination with the experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions, mixing its characteristics with those of each of these.” Although her arguments seem to be convincing, Taylor Torsello (1996:180) herself notices that this new view leaves some open questions and requires a restatement of the theory. For these reasons, the

traditional account will be followed here, based on Halliday's (1974:96) statement that the logical component in the linguistic system is "ideational in origin, in that it derives from the speaker's experience of the external world."<sup>31</sup>

In the case of the corpus at hand, broadly speaking, the field, tenor and mode are supposed to be the same: the participants are the newspapers' editorial staffs and readers, information and opinions are being given on the same political issue, and the channel is written, with a difference in what Halliday and Hasan (1989:12) called "rhetorical mode"<sup>32</sup>, between news and opinion articles. On the other hand, the distinction between popular and quality is mainly connected to the participants involved: quality newspaper readers are better educated than readers of popular newspapers, while the popular newspapers have a larger readership, selling about four times as many copies as the quality newspapers (see Chapter 1, section 1.3 above, and Bednarek 2006:13). This difference is supposedly connected to the tenor dimension. It might be argued that, since the main contextual difference between the two kinds of newspaper is target audience, they should only differ in tenor, hence in the choices connected to the interpersonal metafunction. However, the hypothesis can be made that different target audiences might also influence the way the world is depicted (ideational metafunction), the logical relationships which are established between events (logical metafunction), and even the way a text achieves texture (textual metafunction). As Bednarek (2006:13) points out, the difference in the target audiences of the two kinds of newspapers also influences the space devoted to the different topics (field), and "design, typography, the use of photographs and other visual techniques, and the formality of language" (mode). Similarly, Bernstein's (1973, 1975, 1977, 1990), Hasan's (1989) and Hasan and Cloran's

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<sup>31</sup> Notice that Halliday states that the logical component derives from our *experience* of the external world, not from the external world in itself.

<sup>32</sup> Hasan (1999b:274-313) re-formulates the concept of Rhetorical mode as "kind of verbal action", pointing out how the reformulation captures the connection between verbal action and field. In terms of her networks, in news articles the kind of verbal action is 'constitutive: conceptual: narrating: recounting: communal: immediate: narrow focus'. As for comment articles, it can probably be analysed as 'constitutive: conceptual: informing: commenting', but this analysis would require further reflection and more delicate system networks.

(1990) studies of coding orientations or semantic styles provide examples where the differences in the participants' social class are reflected in language features such as the frequency of the passive voice (Bernstein) or reasons and reasoning grounded in the physical world (Hasan), i.e., features which can be connected to the experiential (reasons grounded in the physical world) and textual metafunctions (passive voice). This amounts to recognising that the relationships between context variables and metafunctions and language systems is not a one-to-one correspondence: differences in tenor cause differences in the instantiation of language systems connected not only to the interpersonal, but also to the experiential and textual metafunctions<sup>33</sup>. As a consequence, the choice has been made to analyse language systems connected to all three metafunctions. It was not possible to analyse the texts for every language feature: only some aspects were selected, on the basis of initial hypotheses which are explained in the next sections along with the different analyses which were carried out.

In the following sections, the main strands of meaning which systemic functional linguistics recognises in language, i.e., the ideational, the textual and the interpersonal, will be briefly introduced, along with some of the grammatical systems whereby these strands of meaning are construed and by which they are reflected, which have been the object of the present analysis. Before that, however, it is necessary to clarify the double meaning of the word 'multifunctional' in the systemic functional model. The main meaning of the word is that each clause constituent plays more than one role, associated with more than one metafunction, so that it is involved in three layers of structure at one time (see for example Eggins 2004:135-138 and 210-213). However, Taylor Torsello (1996:156-9) also emphasises

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<sup>33</sup> Although I recognise that the relationships between register variables and metafunctions are not as straightforward as a naïve formulation of the "context-metafunction hook-up hypothesis" might suggest, I still think that the correlation between field and ideational, tenor and interpersonal, and mode and textual metafunction is valuable and useful at the lower levels of delicacy in the analysis. See Hasan (1995:224-263) and Thompson (1999:120-139) for discussion of the two different viewpoints. I think that the conflict can be solved in terms of Hasan's (1999:244 and 272) remarks that the three contextual parameters of field, tenor and mode "are not (...) three strongly classified domains, each with a clear-cut boundary of its own: they are in fact permeable", and that they "are not just three completely separate ingredients of social situations: it may be in fact more profitable to think of them as three inter-related perspectives on the social context with reference to which speaking is done".

the fact that “structures whatever their functional origin can have inner structures of a logical kind”, i.e., they can be multifunctional in the sense that the same structure has a sort of ‘mixed’ meaning, realising at least two metafunctions at one time - the logical metafunction and another one - and goes on to show how the system of tense, for example, can be seen as realising the interpersonal, the logical and the textual metafunction. By the same token, Matthiessen (1995:97) shows how the logical relationships of expansion and projection are realised by circumstantial elements, which the tradition primarily connects with the experiential metafunction<sup>34</sup>, by conjunctive adjuncts, primarily connected to the textual metafunction, and by relational, verbal and mental processes (experiential metafunction), besides being involved in the systems of mood and modality when projection creates grammatical metaphor. This second aspect of multifunctionality will be taken into account in the elaboration and interpretation of the results of the analysis.

### **3.2. Ideational Grammar**

The first analysis which has been applied to the corpus under examination is ideational analysis. The experiential component of the ideational metafunction is enacted through the system of transitivity, at clause level, through qualification, epithesis, classification and thing type at group level in the noun phrase, through event type and aspect at group level in the verb phrase, through circumstance type in the adverb phrase and through minor transitivity in the prepositional phrase (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:63). The logical component of the ideational metafunction is mainly associated to clause complexing, above the level of the clause, and to modification and tense at group level (nominal and adverbial groups and verbal group, respectively). At the level of the word, the logical metafunction is manifested in the systems of derivation, while the experiential is manifested through denotative meaning. The logical metafunction also acts in phonology in the systems of tone sequence and tone concord.

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<sup>34</sup> But see McGregor 1992:136-149.

Experiential meanings are encoded in terms of “configurations of elements each of which has a special and distinct significance with respect to the whole” (Halliday [1995]2002:202), i.e., elemental configurations. In other words, they tend “to construct experience as inter-related parts of a whole” (Martin 1992:10-13). For example, at clause level, a process and the participants involved in it together constitute a figure, the semantic representation of an event. Each of the elements (the process, or the different participants) brings its own peculiar contribution to the construction of the whole, i.e., the figure (semantics) / clause (lexicogrammar). As for logical systems, they manifest themselves in recursive systems, i.e., “as another kind of particulate structure – but this time part/part rather than part/whole”. For example, a clause complex is made up of clauses which, rather than being related to the whole, are related to each other in a sort of chain which starts from a Head (the primary clause), thus forming a “univariate” structure, whereas the part/whole relationship between a process or some participants and a figure as a whole constitutes a multivariate structure.

The ideational systems which have been taken into account for analysis in the corpus are the system of transitivity and the system of taxis and logico-semantic type. In other words, the corpus has been analysed for the workings of the experiential metafunctional component at clause rank, and for the workings of the logical metafunctional component in constructing clause complexes. These analyses are concerned with the way we construe and reflect our experience of the world inside and outside us in terms of events, and with the logical relationships we establish between events.

### *3.2.1 Experiential Grammar: theoretical framework*

In the systemic functional model, the system of transitivity allows us to construe and reflect our experience of events in terms of different kinds of processes and participants. Processes are classified on semantic grounds according to their pertaining to the world of abstract relations, or to the world of consciousness, or to the physical world: relational, mental

and material processes (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:172). In addition, there are processes which come in-between these three main categories: verbal processes lie at the boundary between relational and mental processes, behavioural processes are half-way between material and mental, experiential processes share aspects of material and aspects of relational processes.

Material processes are processes of doing and happening: they “construe a quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:179). Material clauses always involve the participant function of actor, “the one that does the deed” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:179). They can involve other participants: goal (the entity impacted by the deed), scope (the domain over which the process takes place), client (the one for whom the process takes place) and recipient (of goods which are being transferred). When a material process extends to a goal, the process is transitive; when it does not, it is intransitive. Here are three examples from the corpus: the first is intransitive, the second and the third are transitive, and in the third there is also a recipient (“you”):

1. “First on Thursday one of the little pateras, the migrants’ boats, arrived in the far south of the island, (...)”

2. “(...) you would hesitate to row your family across a municipal pond in this vessel.”

(*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands)

3. “When did someone born in this country last serve you a cup of coffee?” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: “THE IMMIGRATION DEBATE.. Why is a Labour government dancing to Mr Howard’s tunes on immigration?”, by Steve Richards)

Mental processes “are concerned with our experience of the world of our own consciousness”: our thoughts, emotions, perceptions, desires (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:197-199). They involve a senser (the one who thinks, perceives or experiences feelings) and a phenomenon, i.e. that which is thought, felt, perceived, wished. Mental processes have the potential for being construed either “from senser to phenomenon”, as is the case in clauses like “Mary liked the gift” or “from phenomenon to senser”, as is the case in clauses like “the gift pleased Mary”: they are the only processes which can be encoded bi-directionally without changing the voice of the verb. The following two clauses are mental, the first is encoded from phenomenon to senser, the second from senser to phenomenon:

1. “It has dismayed Spain’s EU partners, (...)” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands)

2. “ ... three-quarters now want a cut in the numbers allowed in”. (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 9, “The Immigration Debate”: “Sorting myth from fiction on electoral hot topic”, by Nigel Morris, Home Affairs Correspondent)

Relational processes are processes of being and having: they can be attributive, when an entity has some class ascribed or attributed to it, or identifying, when some thing has an identity assigned to it. Attributive and identifying relational processes involve the participant roles of carrier and attribute and token and value respectively. In addition, identifying relational processes involve the participant functions of identified and identifier, which are assigned to the token and the value, so as to yield two different combinations: token/identified and value/identifier, and token/identifier and value/identified.<sup>35</sup> Attributive processes always have the carrier as subject, while identifying processes may have either the token or the value as subject. In addition, relational processes can be classified into intensive, circumstantial, or possessive. Here are three examples of attributive relational processes and one of an

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<sup>35</sup> See Davidse (1996:368-393) for a detailed account of the complexity of identifying clauses and the different meanings construed by the different combinations of token and value, identifier and identified.



identifying relational process from the corpus (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands): 1. “This was another huge weekend for Africans in the Canaries” (intensive and attributive); 2. “... they no longer had any possessions in any case” (possessive attributive); 3. “if they have been in the country for six months (...)” (circumstantial attributive). 4. “The Canaries are the destination of choice now” (intensive and identifying)

Verbal processes enact a “symbolic exchange of meaning” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 253-256). They involve a sayer, i.e., the ‘source’ of the meanings, a verbiage, i.e., what is said, and a receiver, “the one to whom the saying is directed”. An example of verbiage is “terrible tragedies” in “Around Christmas, terrible tragedies were reported” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands), while an example of Receiver from the same articles is “them” in “(...) if you haven’t told them where you come from, (...)”. Some verbal processes can also involve a target, “the entity that is targeted by the process of saying”, for example, “the Tory plans” in “New Labour, which had been happy for its friends in the liberal press and the race relations industry to condemn the Tory plans, today comes out with its own policy” (*Daily Mail*, Monday February 7, 2005, page 14, Comment: “The real choice on immigration”). Finally, verbal clauses share with mental clauses the ability to project other clauses, for example:

1. “The party says that the Scottish economy is reliant on regular influxes of new workers”: “the party says” verbally projects “that the Scottish economy is reliant on ...” (*The Times*, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 9: “How the parties differ on “difficult” issue”)
2. “I feel we’ve already reached the point where we’re almost full”: “I feel” mentally projects “we’ve already reached the point where we’re almost full”

(*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 4: “Immigration debate”, Vox populi: “At the moment they can almost walk in”, interviews by Faisal al Yafai)

Behavioural processes are processes of “physiological and psychological behaviour, like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:248). They involve a behavior, e.g., “his old friends” in “If only his old friends would listen” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23, Comment and Analysis: “Labour and immigration. Tough on rhetoric”). They may even involve a behaviour, e.g., “A cough” in “Judy gave a cough” (Taylor Torsello 1992:259), or “a sigh of relief” in “Labour pundits can now breathe a sigh of relief about ...” (*Daily Express*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 12: comment: “Immigration: don’t be fooled by Labour’s latest lame promises” by Patrick O’Flynn, Political Editor). In addition, they may involve a phenomenon (e.g., “John sniffed the soup”, Eggins, 2004: 234), but there were no such instances in the corpus.

Existential processes “represent that something exists or happens” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:256) and only involve one participant, the existent. An example from the corpus is “There will no doubt be more point-scoring between the parties on immigration in the coming weeks” (*The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 17: “Home truths. The debate about immigration appears to be growing up”).

Material and relational processes may also involve an additional participant which initiates the process from outside – it causes something to happen (material), or assigns qualities or identity to another participant (relational). This participant is called initiator in material clauses, attributor in attributive relational clauses and assigner in intensive relational clauses. There were no constructions with an assigner in the corpus. Examples of initiator and attributor are emphasised in bold in the following extracts from the corpus:

- Initiator: “in Mohamed’s case, **they** let him go” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands)

- Attributor: “**Such a unilateral move** would make it harder to negotiate with other countries appropriate restrictions (...)” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters: “Ill-timed debate on migration controls. But Labour’s proposals appear preferable to the Tory plans”, Editorial Comment)

The main formal criteria on the basis of which Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:301) distinguish between the different kinds of processes are:

- Unmarked present tense: present in present<sup>36</sup> for material and behavioural processes, simple present for the other processes
- Number of inherent participants: behavioural, verbal and attributive relational processes have one inherent participant, mental processes and identifying relational processes have two, material processes have one or two, existential processes have one participant<sup>37</sup>
- Nature of the participants involved: behavioural and mental processes require that one participant be a conscious being, and mental, relational and existential processes can have fact clauses as participants – in mental clauses the phenomenon and in existential processes the existent can be a fact clause, in relational processes both carrier and attribute, and both token and value, can be fact clauses
- Ability to project: only mental and verbal processes can project ideas (mental) and locutions (verbal)

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<sup>36</sup> See Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:337-348) for an account of the system of tense in systemic functional terms.

<sup>37</sup> Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 258-9) analyse meteorological processes of the kind “It’s raining” as existential. This special class of existential processes has no participants.

- Pro-verb: not all the processes can be probed by the general pro-verb “do” or “do to/with”: only material processes, behavioural processes and the *please* type of mental processes can be probed by asking “What does (actor or behavior) do?” or “What does (actor or phenomenon) do to (goal or sener)”?
- Directionality: only mental processes can be encoded bi-directionally without changing the voice of the verb
- Accentuation of verb: material, behavioural and *please*-type mental processes are accented, relational and existential processes are unaccented, verbal and *like*-type mental processes can be either accented or unaccented.

Besides the transitive system, the systemic functional description of English identifies a parallel system, the ergative. While the transitive system is concerned with whether the action extends beyond the active participant or not, the ergative system asks “is the action caused by the affected participant or not?” (Halliday [1970]2002:188). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 295) suggest that “probably all transitivity systems, in all languages, are some blend of these two semantic models of processes, the transitive and the ergative”, i.e., probably all languages encode processes and participants both in terms of extension and of causation. In English, all processes can be seen as involving one core participant “through which the process is actualised” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:284). This participant is called the medium. The medium is “the one that is critically involved, in some way or other according to the nature of the process” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:292), and it is also the participant which is most closely connected to the process.<sup>38</sup>

The medium corresponds to the goal of transitive material clauses, to the actor of intransitive material clauses, to the sener of mental clauses, to the sayer of verbal clauses, to

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<sup>38</sup> See Halliday and Matthiessen (1999:155) for linguistic evidence demonstrating the close connection between medium and process.

the target of targeted verbal clauses, to the token of identifying relational clauses, to the carrier of attributive relational clauses, to the existent of existential clauses and to the behavior of behavioural clauses. Medium and process thus form the nucleus of a figure.

The other participants which are directly connected to a process – but not as closely as the medium is - are the beneficiary (the recipient or the client in material clauses, the receiver in verbal clauses), the range (the scope in material clauses, the behaviour in behavioural clauses, the phenomenon in mental clauses, the verbiage in verbal clauses, the attribute or the value in relational clauses) and the agent. Precisely the agent is crucial to an understanding of the ergative interpretation. Any figure is constituted by a nucleus of process and medium, but the process may be seen as self-engendered or as engendered ‘from outside’, having a participant different from the medium, i.e. the agent, as a source of energy. When this external causation is present, the clause is effective; when the process is construed as self-engendered, the clause is middle. The agent corresponds to the initiator or actor in material clauses, to the attributor or assigner in relational clauses, to the phenomenon in the so-called “*please-type*” of mental clauses, i.e., those encoded from phenomenon to senser<sup>39</sup> and to the sayer in “targeted” verbal clauses.

The mappings of the ergative categories of agent, medium and beneficiary onto the interpersonal category of subject determine the textual (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:295-298, 349) system of voice: effective clauses are operative when the agent is subject and the verb is active, while they are receptive when the medium is subject and the verb is passive. Receptive clauses can be agentive or non-agentive, according to whether the by-agent is expressed or not. They can also be beneficiary-receptive, with a passive verb, the beneficiary as subject and a by-agent. Here are some examples:

- Effective: operative: “So companies will still be able to import cheap workers with no regard whatever to their impact on surrounding

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<sup>39</sup> See Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:201).

- communities” (*Daily Express*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 12: comment: “Immigration: don’t be fooled by Labour’s latest lame promises”, by Patrick O’Flynn, Political Editor).
- Effective: receptive: agentive: “But Labour attempts (..) have been hampered by the resignations of Beverley Hughes as Immigration Minister and David Blunkett as Home Secretary, (...)” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 9, “The Immigration Debate. Sorting myth from fiction on electoral hot topic”, by Nigel Morris, Home Affairs Correspondent)
  - Effective: receptive: non-agentive: “(...) they will supposedly be sent home”. (*Daily Mail*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 7: “Clarke scorns a limit on migrants”, by Benedict Brogan, Whitehall Editor)
  - Effective: beneficiary-receptive: agentive: “She was sent flowers by her nephew” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:296, no examples in the corpus).

In addition, in English, middle clauses can be medio-receptive, where the medium is realised by a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition “by”, the verb realising the process is passive in voice and the subject is a range, or even a circumstantial element. Some examples are:

- Middle: ranged: “Neither ‘armada’ nor ‘invasion’ describes it” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands):
- Middle: non-ranged: “...the deluge began again last week” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The

immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands):

- Medio-receptive, with range as subject: “It was seen by MPs as a sign of ...” (*The Sun*, Monday, February 7, 2005, page 2: “Blair rattled over asylum. PM says public ‘right to be worried’”, by Nic Cecil, Political Correspondent)
- Medio-Receptive, with circumstance as subject: “The bed had not been slept in by anyone”, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:297 (no examples in the corpus).

Finally, besides a process and its obligatory and optional participants, a clause can entail some circumstantial elements. Circumstantial elements can be grouped into the broad logical semantic categories of elaborating circumstances, extending circumstances, enhancing circumstances and circumstances connected with projection. Elaborating circumstances are circumstances of ‘role: guise’ and of ‘role: product’. For example, we can analyse as circumstance of role “as an election issue” in “Tony Blair neutralised Europe as an election issue ...” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8, Immigration Debate: “Stealing Tory clothes?”), and we can analyse as circumstance of product “into terraces of miniature suburban villas” in “Entire volcanic cliffs looking out to sea have been carved into terraces of miniature suburban villas ...” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands). Extending circumstances are circumstances of accompaniment, like “with the countries of failed asylum seekers” in “Government will work with the countries of failed asylum seekers to ensure...”. (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 4, “Immigration debate”: “Seeking a system fairer to UK and migrants”, by Alan Travis, Home affairs editor). Enhancing circumstances are circumstances of ‘extent: distance’, ‘extent: duration’, ‘extent: frequency’, ‘location:

place’, ‘location: time’, ‘manner: means’, ‘manner: ‘quality’, ‘manner: comparison’, ‘manner: degree’, ‘cause: reason’, ‘cause: purpose’, ‘cause: behalf’, ‘contingency: condition’, ‘contingency: default’, ‘contingency: concession’. They are exemplified by the phrases in bold in the following clauses, taken, if not signalled otherwise, from the article in the corpus “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5):

- ‘extent: distance’: “The masks and gloves will pursue them **every mile of their European passage**”.

- ‘extent: duration’: “Spain will quarantine them **for forty days**”

- ‘extent: frequency’: “At first there were just a few **every year**”

- ‘location: place’: “The Spanish and Portuguese navies were reported to be doing joint manoeuvres **in the channel**”,

- ‘location: time’: “More than 7,000 illegal immigrants from Africa clambered ashore these islands **last year**”,

- ‘manner: means’: “We crucified them **with World Bank and IMF solutions ...**”,

- ‘manner: quality’: “It was **quickly** replaced by the more systematic and ruthless mafias that ...”,

- ‘manner: comparison’: “Last week he got out of the 40-day detention the Spanish government imposes, **like a sort of quarantine**, on ...”,

- ‘manner: degree’: “The island’s population has soared **from 20,000 to 90,000 today**”,

- ‘cause: reason’: “**Given the climate of public paranoia**, perhaps the word Armada comes to mind”,

- ‘cause: purpose’: “The idea that the vast majority of poor immigrants come to Britain, or any other European country, **with the sole intention of living on tax-payer**



**funded benefits** is one of the most pernicious of our age” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of fortress Europe”),

- ‘cause: behalf’: “who have fought **for their own homeland** ...”,

- ‘contingency: concession’: “and during that time there has been a massive rise in both **despite the yearning of communities for more stability and less population ‘churn’**” (*Daily Express*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 12: comment, “Immigration: don’t be fooled by Labour’s latest lame promises”, by Patrick O’Flynn, Political Editor),

- ‘contingency: default’: “Hospitals, (...) and information technology sectors would be crippled **without migrant employees**” (*Daily Mirror*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: “Immigration crackdown”: “Kevin Maguire on why Labour will be the losers with proposals which are a pale blue imitation of Tory policies”)

- ‘contingency: condition’: “**In the event of a typhoon**, open all windows” (Halliday 1994: 156).

Finally, the circumstances connected to projections are circumstances of matter and angle (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:261-280 for a more detailed account), for example: “**In Mohamed’s case**, they let him go here” (matter) or “their lives at the mercy of smugglers **for whom** they are no more than pieces of merchandise” (angle) (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The immigration debate: The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands).

### 3.2.2 *Experiential Grammar: Aims of the analysis*

The model of Transitivity outlined above has been used to analyse the corpus in order to answer the following questions:

- Do the different sub-corpora display differences in the frequencies of the kinds of processes they use to construe experience? If so, why?

-Do the different sub-corpora display differences in the frequency of effective versus middle, and operative versus receptive constructions? If so, why?

-Do the different sub-corpora display differences in the frequency and kind of circumstantial elements chosen? In particular, do they display differences as to the degree to which cause-conditional relationships are encoded through circumstantial elements?

-Do the different sub-corpora display differences in the percentages of main and paratactic, hypotactic and embedded clauses, paratactic projections and hypotactic projections? If so, why?

Connected to these questions is Bernstein's (1977:95-117) study of the language of middle and working class pupils (aged 15 to 18). Among Bernstein's findings are the fact that middle class pupils used the passive voice more often, and the fact that they used prepositions symbolising logical relationships more often than preposition indicating spatial and temporal contiguity with respect to working class pupils. These differences might appear to point to higher or lower degree of complexity, but Bernstein shows they have nothing to do with the pupils' IQ: in fact, he connects them to different degrees of explicitness and of verbal explication of personal intent, in their turn connected to the different value which is placed on the individual as opposed to the community: in the restricted code the meanings tend to be "implicit and so condensed (...). A greater strain is placed on the listener, which is relieved by the range of identification which the speakers share" (Bernstein 1977:111). If this is found to be the case in the present analysis as well, the interpretation could be along the same lines: newspapers which pre-suppose that their readers place more value on subjectivity would feel the need to discuss things in more detail in terms of cause and consequence, and perhaps would use less typical, more "marked" structures, such as the passive (Halliday 1994:33), in order to put forward their own viewpoints, while newspapers whose target audience is

supposedly used to language which pre-supposes the sharing of the same viewpoint would not feel the need to include detailed and elaborated discussions. The analysis was aimed at checking these hypotheses, as well.

### *3.2.3 Experiential Grammar: method of analysis*

Texts have been tagged for transitivity, agency, circumstances and taxis. The choice has been made to include redundant information in the tagging, as well. For example, the kind of process a clause encodes is signalled both by a tag before the verb (e.g., \$PMAT), and within a tag in front of the clause (e.g. \$EMNTMAT) which also includes information as to whether the clause is:

- a. middle, and ranged, non ranged or receptive, or
- b. effective, and operative or receptive, or
- c. causative, and operative or receptive.

In addition, every participant function is signalled by a tag, and every tag contains taxis information when the clause is not a main one: for example, \$FEMRACTHEHP is the tag for a participant which is medium and actor in a hypotactic projection within a hypotactic expansion. The decision to tag both the clause as figure and its constituent participants and processes, and to add tags for taxis, has been made in order to get as much information as possible from the tagging, so that the corpus might be ready for future analyses as well.

The tags which have been used are shown in tables 3.1 to 3.4.

Table 3.1: Tagging system for processes and participants

PROCESS	P	TAG	PARTICIPANTS	AG
Material	M	\$PMAT	Actor	RACT
			Goal	RGOA
			Range	RRAN
			Initiator	RINI
			Recipient	RREC
			Client	RCLI
Relational	Re	- \$PREL (intensive) - \$PRELC (circumstantial) - \$PRELS (possessive)	Identified	RIDD
			Identifier	RIDR
			Carrier	RCAR
			Attribute	RATT
			Attributor	RATB
			Assigner	RASS
			Beneficiary	RCLI
Mental	M	\$PMEN	Senser	RSEN
			Phenomenon	RPHE
			Inducer	RIND
Behavioural	Be	\$PBEH	Behaver	RBER
			Behaviour	RBEV
Verbal	V	\$PVER	Sayer	RSAY
			Verbiage	RVBG
			Target	RTAR
			Receiver	RREV
Existential	Ex	\$PEXI	Existent	REXT

Table 3.2 Tagging system for circumstances

Enhancing	Extent	Place	\$CEXP
		Time (duration/frequency)	\$CEXT
	Location	Place	\$CLOP
		Time	\$CLOT
	Manner	Means	\$CMAM

		Quality	\$CMAQ
		Comparison	\$CMAC
		Degree	\$CMAD
	Cause	Reason	\$CCAR
		Purpose	\$CCAP
		Behalf	\$CCAB
	Contingency	Condition	\$CCOC
		Default	\$CCOD
		Concession	\$CCON
Extending	Accompaniment	Comitative	\$CACC
		Additive	\$CACA
Elaborating	Role	Guise	\$CROG
		Product	\$CROP
Projection	Matter		\$CPRM
	Angle (source & viewpoint)		\$CPRA

*Table 3.3 Tagging system for agency*

\$FEA	Agent
\$FEB	Beneficiary
\$FEM	Medium
\$FER	Range
\$EEO	Effective: Operative clause
\$EERB	Effective: Receptive clause, with Agent expressed
\$EERN	Effective: Receptive clause, Agent not expressed
\$EEAO	Causative construction, Operative
\$EEAR	Causative construction, Receptive
\$EMR	Middle: Ranged clause
\$EMN	Middle: non Ranged clause
\$EMMB	Middle: Receptive clause, Medium expressed
\$EMMN	Middle: Receptive clause, Medium not expressed

*Table 3.4 Tags for taxis*

E	Paratactic expansion
P	Paratactic Projection
E	Hypotactic expansion
P	Hypotactic Projection
C	Embedded clause

C	Non-clause <sup>40</sup> .
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The tags have been used together so as to signal the ergativity and transitivity function of every element and the kind of clause it occurs in. Here is an alternative explanation of the method:

1. Clauses have been tagged for being operative or receptive, effective or middle, and, if middle, ranged and non ranged; after the ergativity tag, a tag was inserted to signal the ‘transitivity proper’ function of the clause (material, mental etc.), as in table 3.1 but preceded by the letter T instead of P;
2. Verbs have been tagged for the process they realise in the instance;
3. Nominal groups have been tagged for their transitivity and ergativity functions, starting from ergativity;
4. Nominal groups, prepositional phrases or adverbial groups serving as circumstances have been tagged as shown by table 3.2;
5. At the end of each tag, tags have been added to show taxis, following the logical order in which clause complexes were construed: a clause, and its elements, embedded in a hypotactic expansion of a paratactic projection would be tagged \$.....PPHEEC.

So for example, the clause

*TONY BLAIR has weighed into the immigration debate, ordering Charles Clarke, the Home Secretary, to toughen policy because of fears that Labour was losing ground to the Conservatives on the issue.*

has been tagged

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<sup>40</sup> This tag has been introduced to be added to participants in clauses which had no process, but whose nominal element had a function which was clearly inferable, and to clauses which were dependent on that element: i.e.; “A policy which costs taxpayers millions”, coming after an explanation of the policy at issue, would be interpreted as “this is a policy which costs taxpayers millions” and so analysed as “\$FERRIDDNC A policy \$EMRTRELINCEC \$FEMRCARNCEC which \$PRELINCEC costs \$FEBRCLINCEC taxpayers \$FERRATTNCEC millions”. ‘Non clauses’ are not tagged as operative, receptive etc., but the clauses depending on them are.

*SEMNTMAT \$FEMRACT TONY BLAIR \$PMAT has weighed \$CLOP into the immigration debate, \$EMNTVERHE \$PVERHE ordering \$FEBRREVHE Charles Clarke, the Home Secretary, \$EEOTMATHEHP \$PMATHEHP to toughen \$FEMRACTHEHP policy \$CCARHE because of fears \$EMRTMATHEEC that \$FEMRACTHEEC Labour \$PMATHEEC was losing \$FERRRANHEEC ground \$CCABHEEC to the Conservatives \$CPRMHEEC on the issue.*

Participants in processes displaying lexical ergativity, e.g. toughen, open and the like, have been analysed as consisting of initiator and actor rather than actor and goal: this option has been chosen simply for pragmatic reasons, i.e., to distinguish them from other effective operative constructions with non-lexically ergative verbs.

#### *3.2.4 Logical Grammar: Theoretical framework and method of analysis*

Besides analysing the flow of events in terms of their configurations of processes and participants, we also establish relationships between the figures thus construed, in terms of one event happening besides another one, or bringing about another one, or occurring before or after, or in spite of, another one, etc. In other words, we connect events to each other in terms of a range of logical-semantic relations. In the lexicogrammar, single figures are realised by clauses, and the relationships between figures are realised through clause complexes. The resources that allow us to establish relationships between clauses – and figures – belong to the logical component of the ideational metafunction and have been the object of the second tagging performed on the corpus.

In Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004:363-485) model of the logico-semantic relationships between clauses, a clause complex is realised by a sentence in writing and by a tone sequence in speaking. The clauses within a clause complex are connected to each other in different ways, according to the degree of interdependency and the kind of logico-semantic relations holding between them. From the point of view of degree of interdependency, clauses can be connected paratactically or hypotactically. Paratactic clauses are potentially independent clauses: each constitutes a proposition in its own right and as such could be

followed by a tag question, and they could select for different moods or stand on their own as single sentences. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:373) give as an example:

*“Kukul crouched low to the ground and moved slowly”*

*“Kukul crouched low to the ground, didn’t he? And he moved slowly, didn’t he?”*

*“Kukul crouched low to the ground but did he move slowly?”*

*“Kukul crouched low to the ground. He moved slowly”*

On the contrary, when clauses are linked hypotactically, only one of them could stand on its own, while the other one depends on it: one clause is dominant and the other is dependent. Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004:374) example reads as follows:

*“As he came to a thicket, he heard the faint rustling of leaves”.*

In this clause complex, only the second clause could stand on its own, be tagged or select for mood.

Finally, there is a third kind of interdependency relationship that we find in dealing with clauses, i.e., embedding (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:426-7). Embedding is in fact not a relationship between clauses, but between a clause and one part of it, in that “one clause (...) comes to function as a constituent within the structure of a group, which is itself a constituent of a clause”. Embedding is exemplified by the clause “How flexible this will be depends on the precise arrangements which have yet to be decided” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters: “Ill-timed debate on migration controls”, Editorial Comment), where “How flexible this will be” and “which have yet to be decided” are embedded: the second clause post-modifies the nominal group “the precise arrangements”, while the first clause functions itself as head of a nominal group. Another example of an embedded clauses functioning as the head of a nominal group is “But *refusing settlement to all but the skilled* could prove counter-productive”, from the same *Financial Times* article. Embedded clauses can also post-modify adverbial groups, for example “Immigration has increased *faster than those living here* (which includes many immigrants)



*think acceptable*” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”: “We hate our politicians, but we never had it so good”, by Martin Kettle).

As for logico-semantic relations, the main distinction is between expansion and projection. Expansion relates figures which belong in the same order of experience, while in projection one clause projects another one as a semiotic phenomenon or metaphenomenon, i.e., something which is said or thought, a locution or an idea. Projection and expansion intersect with parataxis and hypotaxis, so that we have paratactic and hypotactic expansion, and paratactic and hypotactic projection. Paratactic projection corresponds to what is traditionally called direct speech, or quote, while hypotactic projection is what is traditionally called indirect speech, or report. The categories of expansion and projection and parataxis, hypotaxis and embedding constitute the first, less delicate distinctions which have been signalled in the analysis as follows:

\$MC Main clause, i.e., primary clause in parataxis and dominant clause in hypotaxis

\$PE Paratactic expansion

\$PP Paratactic projection

\$HE Hypotactic expansion

\$HP Hypotactic projection

\$EC Embedded clause.

In addition, each sentence has been tagged \$SE, in order to know how many clause complexes there are in each text and each sub-corpus, and to be able to count how many clauses per sentence there are on average in each text and sub-corpus. Another distinction has been made for each paratactically projected clause: a) it may be fronted, i.e., it precedes the clause that projects it (\$BP), b) it can be encoded without a clause projecting it (\$FP), or c) it can be paratactically projected but without quotation marks (\$BF).<sup>41</sup> The clause which projects another clause paratactically and follows its projected clause has been tagged \$JC.

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<sup>41</sup> In the corpus, all instances of paratactic projection without quotation marks but one had the projecting clause following the projected clause.

Each clause has been tagged for its relationship to the clause which it was immediately connected to, and then the chain from the main clause to the clause in question was reconstructed and signalled: \$ECPEHEEC thus meant embedded clause, embedded within a hypotactic expansion of a paratactic expansion. The tag MC was omitted because in a clause complex a main clause is present by default. Headlines have been tagged \$TI, sub-headlines \$ST and headlines within the body of the article or new headlines after page interruptions have been tagged \$TB. Finally, in order to know if a sentence displayed all the kinds of expansion and projection or not, independently of the exact sequence of relationships between its clauses, an additional tag has been put at the beginning of each clause complex, with the following abbreviations:

\$PA Clause complex with paratactic expansion

\$PR Clause complex with paratactic projection

\$HY Clause complex with hypotactic expansion

\$HN Clause complex with hypotactic projection

\$EM Clause complex with embedding.

A clause complex displaying all of these relationships would be tagged \$PAPRHYNEM.

Besides these tags, each clause has also been tagged for its peculiar logico-semantic function, according to the more delicate categories of expansion and projection which are about to be listed. It will be noted that there is a degree of redundancy in the tagging. However, the less delicate tags illustrated above are necessary to reconstruct the chain of relationships, distinguishing, for example, hypotactic expansions within embedding, hypotactic expansions within projections and hypotactic expansions of main clauses. Putting the tags together would have made the analysis outputs more difficult to manage.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:378) distinguish two main kinds of projection and three main kinds of expansion: there are projected locutions and projected ideas, and expansions of the elaborating, of the extending and of the enhancing kind. The categories

resulting from these distinctions, and the further sub-categories which Halliday and Matthiessen describe (2004:363-485) will not be illustrated in detail here, but just listed together with the tags standing for them, and a few words will be spent only for aspects which differ from Halliday and Matthiessen's model.

Expansions of the elaborating kind can be hypotactic or paratactic. Paratactic elaborations can be expositions, exemplifications and clarifications, while hypotactic elaborations correspond to non-defining relative clauses and are not further subcategorised. We have thus four tags for elaboration: \$ELPE (paratactic elaboration: exposition), \$ELPX (paratactic elaboration: exemplification), \$ELPF (paratactic elaboration: clarification), \$ELHY (hypotactic elaboration). These categories are shown in the following corpus examples:

- ELPE: “On asylum it is worse: refugees will no longer be given permanent protection but only temporary leave to stay, subject to review after five years” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23, Comment and Analysis: “Labour and immigration. Tough on rhetoric”);
- ELPX: “...what Mr Blair could have got away with had he not been constantly looking over his shoulder at them: we would almost certainly be in the euro, for example, probably in the EU Constitution, too, and taxes would be far higher” (*The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: editorial comment: “Labour’s plan will not control the influx”);
- \$ELPF: “Neither “armada” nor “invasion” describes it: if this is an invasion it’s one of the weak, the desperate, those for whom home has become a place of terminal hopelessness” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands);

- ELHY: “The best test for yesterday’s electoral speeches was provided by Peter Hyman, former Blair speechwriter and Downing Street strategist, now working in an inner-London comprehensive, whose book we are serialising this week” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23, Comment and Analysis: “Labour and immigration. Tough on rhetoric”).

Expansions of the extending type can be additions, variations and alternations, hypotactic and paratactic, thus yielding six categories: paratactic addition (\$EXPA), paratactic variation (\$EXPV), paratactic alternation (\$EXPT), hypotactic addition (\$EXHA), hypotactic variation (\$EXHV), hypotactic alternation (\$EXHT). In addition, it has been chosen to distinguish a sub-category of paratactic addition, i.e., adversative paratactic addition (\$EXPD), given the frequency of adversative clauses in the corpus and the more complex semantic relation they realise. Some examples of extending expansions from the corpus are:

- EXPA: “They avoid artificial caps on numbers, and they do not require withdrawal from international agreements”. (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters “Ill-timed debate on migration controls. But Labour’s proposals appear preferable to the Tory plans”, editorial comment);
- EXPD: “Tony Blair we treat with open contempt, but Michael Howard’s ratings are even worse” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”: “We hate our politicians, but we’ve never had it so good”, by Martin Kettle);
- EXPV: “Familiarity has not eased such fears - as at one point it seemed might occur - but has aggravated them” (*The Guardian*, , Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”: “We hate our politicians, but we’ve never had it so good”, by Martin Kettle);
- EXPT: “People come to work and then refuse to go back; or then switch to claiming asylum” (*The Times*, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 21: comment: “I

wouldn't call Howard's Tories racist. Merely absurd, laughable opportunists", by Tony Blair);

- \$EXHA "While the need to unite family members was a priority for previous Labour governments, this has given way to skilled migration". (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: "Australia's refashioned rules still leave a place for skilled migrants" by Leora Moldofsky);
- \$EXHV "If, rather than sneering contemptuously, it had given thought to what this paper has been saying for more than five years, reflecting the legitimate concerns of our readers, there would be no need for yet another long-term plan." (*Daily Express*, Monday February 7, 2005, page 12: comment: "Scandal of immigration plan five years too late")
- EXHT: There are no instances of hypotactic extension: alternation in the corpus. One example from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 409) is "If you haven't lost it, then it's in that cupboard", meaning "either you've lost it, or it's in that cupboard".

Expansions of the enhancing type can be paratactic or hypotactic, and establish relationships of time, space, manner, cause and condition. In the present analysis, space includes 'physical' space, abstract or metaphorical space, and topic, and has been tagged \$EHPS if paratactic, \$EHHS if hypotactic. Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004:411-12) distinctions between 'manner: means' (\$EHPM, \$EHHM) and 'manner: comparison' (\$EHPA, \$EHHA) and 'cause: reason' (\$EHPC, \$EHHC), 'cause: purpose' (\$EHHP<sup>42</sup>) and 'cause: result' (\$EHPR, \$EHHR) have been maintained. For condition, on the other hand, it has been chosen to maintain Halliday and Matthiessen's category of concession (\$EHPN, \$EHHN), but to ignore the distinction between positive and negative condition, substituting it with a distinction between condition (\$EHHD) and hypothesis (\$EHHH). Enhancing

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<sup>42</sup> The category of 'paratactic enhancement: purpose' does not appear to be possible in Halliday and Matthiessen's analysis (2004:411).

conditional clauses involve some kind of requirement, e.g., “They’ll be sent home if they don’t find a job”, meaning that they, i.e., immigrants, are required to find a job: these clauses are nearer the realm of proposals, while hypothetical enhancing clauses are just hypotheses, as in the case of this example taken from the corpus “If you were to set off from the coast of Western Sahara in a small boat and sail all night, in the morning you would see the lighthouse of Fuerteventura” (*The Independent*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 5,712, pages 1 and 4-5 “The desperate plight of dispossessed people” by Peter Popham in Fuerteventura, Canary Islands). The reason why the distinction between condition and hypothesis has been set up is that the two kinds of conditional clauses involve different attitudes: in the latter case, they are used to make hypotheses, to discuss things that might happen in terms of likelihood, while in the first case they categorically say what will or will not happen if some requirements are or are not met. The paratactic versions of these two categories (condition and hypothesis) would be “Find a job or you’ll be sent home”, and “Set off from the coast of Western Sahara in a small boat and sail all night, and in the morning you will see the lighthouse of Fuerteventura”. There were no similar instances in the corpus, and there were no instances of Halliday and Matthiessen’s ‘paratactic enhancement: condition’, i.e., of clauses with ‘and then’ and ‘otherwise’, like “That would save a fortune, and then we’d have the cash ...” and “This is very much essential, otherwise a lot of time is usually wasted for sighting the staff” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:414). The tags which have been used to analyse enhancing relations between clauses, and some examples from the corpus, are:

- EHPS: there are no instances of ‘paratactic enhancement: spatial’ in the corpus. One example from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 413) is “He fell onto a sea of emerald grass and there he died”;
- EHHS (‘hypotactic enhancement: space’): “By far the best Tory issue is immigration and asylum, where the party is 8 percentage points ahead of Labour (at 36 per cent to

- 28)” (*The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 9: “Immigration”: “Tories’ best issues fail to connect with voters”, by Peter Riddell);
- EHPM: There are no instances of ‘paratactic enhancement: means’ in the corpus. One example from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 414) is “Keep on subtracting the difference, and in that way you will arrive at the correct figure”;
  - EHHM (‘hypotactic enhancement: means’): “But he must also make sure that his immigration officials do not continue to add to the difficulties by losing the papers of those who seek to enter legitimately” (*The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 17: “Comment”: “Home Truths. The debate about immigration appears to be growing up”);
  - EHPA: no instances of ‘paratactic enhancement: comparison’ have been found in the corpus. One example from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 414) is “Your body goes on changing every instant; and so does your mind”;
  - EHHA (‘hypotactic enhancement: comparison’): “The Tory pollsters will have told them it’s a hot issue for the public, as ours tell us”, (*The Times*, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 1: “New controls to stem flow of migrants”, by Greg Hurst and Richard Ford);
  - EHPC (‘paratactic enhancement: cause’): “These are not baby plans for they have not yet been born.” (*The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 8: “Tough on tough talk and the causes of tough talk”, by Ann Treneman, political sketch);
  - EHHC (‘hypotactic enhancement: cause’): “People flee tyrannies because they are in fear of their lives, not because they are hoping for a subsidised council flat” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe”);
  - EHHP (‘hypotactic enhancement: purpose’): “While the Home Secretary was making his announcements in Parliament yesterday, a group of concerned citizens was

meeting four miles away to share concerns about the Kafkaesque chaos reigning at the Immigration and Nationality Directorate at Lunar House” (*The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 17: Comment: “Home Truths. The debate about immigration appears to be growing up”);

- EHPR (‘paratactic enhancement: result’): “Britain will keep the same basic asylum rules ~~SPE~~ ~~EHPR~~ so applicants can stay here at public expense while their case is considered” (*Daily Mail*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 6, “Clarke scorns a limit on migrants”);
- EHHR (‘hypotactic enhancement: result’): “In order to fulfil this commitment, Labour doubled the number of work permits being issued, so that migrants no longer had to claim refugee status to remain in Britain” (*The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: editorial comment: “Labour’s plan will not control the influx”);
- EHPN (‘paratactic enhancement: concession’): “His skill level has yet to be identified ~~SPE~~ ~~EHPN~~ but surely it cannot be right that he should be excluded from his tough new world.” (*The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 8: “Immigration”: “Tough on tough talk and the causes of tough talk”, by Ann Treneman, political sketch);
- EHHN (‘hypotactic enhancement: concession’): “There was an urgent need to demonstrate action, commitment and a constant reforming edge, even if the initiatives did contradict or bump into each other” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23, Comment and Analysis: “Labour and immigration. Tough on rhetoric”);
- EHHD (‘hypotactic enhancement: condition’): “Last weekend, Ms Kjaersgaard said she wanted new laws to strip naturalised Danes of their citizenship and return them to their country of origin if found guilty of a criminal offence” (“Danish Election. Premier stands by tough line on immigration ahead of poll”, by Clare MacCarthy);



- EHHH ('hypotactic enhancement: hypothesis'): "The timing and nature of debate, however, is critical if community relations are not to be inflamed and migrants that Britain needs are not to be discouraged" (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters: "Ill-timed debate on migration controls", Editorial Comment).

Embedded elaborations and extensions have been analysed following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:426-441): defining relative clauses, appositive clauses and clauses with 'whoever', 'whatever', 'whichever', 'what', are embedded elaborations and have been tagged \$EEL, for example "Charles Clarke, home secretary, again rejected the annual quota for immigration \$EC \$EEL proposed by the Conservatives" (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters: "Ill-timed debate on migration controls", Editorial Comment). Defining relative clauses with 'whose' are embedded extensions and have been tagged \$EEX, e.g. "Alternatively, are we a nation whose fears about immigration, asylum and crime are now so strong that the parties are compelled to bid and outbid one another in an effort to keep pace with our anger?" (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: Comment and Analysis: "We hate our politicians, but we've never had it so good", by Martin Kettle). As for embedded enhancement, the distinctions introduced for paratactic and hypotactic enhancement have been maintained. Hence, we have the following categories:

- 'embedded expansion: enhancement: time' (\$EEHT): "Immediate pre-election periods are not the time to challenge prejudices, especially with the frenzied reports from some newspapers". (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: "Why is a Labour government dancing to Mr Howard's tunes on immigration?", by Steve Richards);
- 'embedded expansion: enhancement: place' (\$EEHS, \$EEHB if metaphorical): "Refugees would have to wait five years before being granted permanent leave to settle to see whether conditions improve in the country from which they have fled." (*The Daily Telegraph*,

- Tuesday, February 8, 2005, No 46,551, page 1: “Clarke to ban low-skilled migrants from settling”, by Philip Johnston, home affairs editor); abstract or metaphorical place: “A chasm remains between the two main parties on immigration at this, the first election in 20 years in which they are both addressing the question” (*The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: editorial comment: “Labour’s plan will not control the influx”);
- ‘embedded expansion: enhancement: manner: means’ (\$EEHM): “In practice, the best way to keep numbers down is to do all we can to keep those posing as refugees from arriving in the first place through tougher border controls” (*The Times*, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 21: comment: “I wouldn’t call Howard’s Tories racist. Merely absurd, laughable opportunists”, by Tony Blair);
  - ‘embedded expansion: enhancement: manner: comparison’ (\$EEHA): “It did away with embarkation control, by way of exit stamps in passports, giving rise to accusations that more people are overstaying than ever before”. (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: “I know why our border controls are so ineffective”, by Shamim Chowdhury);
  - ‘embedded expansion: enhancement: cause’ (\$EEHC): “The reason immigration and asylum policy is difficult is nothing whatsoever to do with political correctness”, *The Times*, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 21: comment: “I wouldn’t call Howard’s Tories racist. Merely absurd, laughable opportunists” by Tony Blair);
  - ‘embedded enhancement: purpose’ (\$EEHP): “On the immigration front, more than 300,000 overseas students were being given entry permits to study every year earning the nation £5bn” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23, Comment and Analysis: “Labour and immigration Tough on rhetoric”);
  - ‘embedded expansion: enhancement: result’ (\$EEHR): “Mr Blair has never quite shaken off his fear that the Tories could rally public opinion to such a degree as to chase him out of

Downing Street". (*The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: editorial comment: "Labour's plan will not control the influx").

As for the categories of condition, concession and hypothesis, there were no instances in the corpus, and there are no examples in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 432-437). In addition, embedded expansions also include "act clauses", which are similar to elaborations – they can post-modify nouns like "the act", "the process", e.g. "the act of threatening people" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:438). Embedded act clauses have been tagged \$EA. Two examples from the corpus are:

1. "In that context, it is depressing to see the parties outbidding each other on immigration and asylum as the election approaches" (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters: "Ill-timed debate on migration controls. But Labour's proposals appear preferable to the Tory plans", Editorial Comment);
2. "Weekend polls show feelings running very strong" (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17, Comment and Analysis: "Immigration: it has to be faced").

In the area of projection, a distinction has been made between quotes (paratactic projections), reports (hypotactic projections) and free indirect reports, which in the corpus consisted in paratactically projected clauses without quotation marks and with the projecting clause following the projected clause. In addition, locutions have been distinguished from ideas, propositions from proposals, and giving from demanding. Locutions are projections of the verbal kind, while ideas are mental projections (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:443). The categories of proposition and proposal derive from the analysis of interpersonal grammar and the clause as exchange (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:106 ff.): clauses can be used to give or demand information (propositions) or to give or demand goods and services (proposals). The intersections of these dimensions yield twenty-four categories, as table 3.5 shows:

Table 3.5 Categories of verbal and mental projection

	Verbal Projection			Mental Projection		
	Quote	Report	Free indirect speech	Quote	Report	Free indirect
<b>Giving information</b>	Quote of locution: proposition: giving	Report of locution: proposition: giving	Free indirect locution: proposition: giving	Quote of idea: proposition: giving	Report of idea: proposition: giving	Free indirect idea: proposition: giving
<b>Demanding information</b>	Quote of locution: proposition: demanding	Report of locution: proposition: demanding	Free indirect locution: proposition: demanding	Quote of idea: proposition: demanding	Report of idea: proposition: demanding	Free indirect idea: proposition: demanding
<b>Giving goods and services</b>	Quote of locution: proposal: giving	Report of locution: proposal: giving	Free indirect locution: proposal: giving	Quote of idea: proposal: giving	Report of idea: proposal: giving	Free indirect idea: proposal: giving
<b>Demanding goods and services</b>	Quote of locution: proposal: demanding	Report of locution: proposal: demanding	Free indirect locution: proposal: demanding	Quote of idea: proposal: demanding	Report of idea: proposal: demanding	Free indirect idea: proposal: demanding

In Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004:106 ff.) analysis, proposals are offers and commands, and they are only realised by main or paratactic clauses. In addition, offers and commands are in the first or second person, while modulated clauses in the third person like "Mary will help" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:148) function as propositions. In the analysis here, however, it has been chosen to analyse the reported clauses for their 'original' function, i.e., for the function they would have had if they had not been reported, and to consider promises as kinds of offers ('proposal: giving'). As a consequence, reported proposals include modulated clauses in the third person where the speakers are promising that something will be the case, and where the subject of the projected clause is the same as the subject of the projecting clause, for example "she will help us" in "Mary says she will help us". In addition, modulated clauses in the third person where the speakers are saying that something should be the case have been analysed as reported proposals (demanding), for example "you should help

us” in “Mary says you should help us”. Here are examples of quoted and reported propositions and proposals from the corpus:

- ‘quote of locution: proposition: giving’ (\$QLNG): “‘I just can’t do it,’ he assured Labour activists, with a little catch in his voice” (*The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: editorial comment: “Labour’s plan will not control the influx”);
- ‘quote of locution: proposition: demanding’ (\$QLND): “This is the latest headline-grabbing initiative from a panic-stricken government in the run-up to a general election,” David Davis, the shadow home secretary, told MPs. “It has taken the government eight years to come up with a five-year plan ... We’ve heard it all before. Why should we believe any of it now?” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: “Hot issue that could sway voters” by Jean Eaglesham);
- ‘quote of locution: proposal: giving’ (\$QLLG): “‘We will establish a system which looks at the skills, talents, abilities of people, and ensures they have a job and can contribute to the economy.’” (*The Daily Star*, Monday February 7 2005, page 2: ‘spongers face boot. Blair gets tough on migrants’ by Stephen Rigley);
- ‘quote of locution: proposal: demanding’ (\$QLLD): “Commission for Racial Equality chairman Trevor Phillips said the Government should ditch the idea that Britain’s hospitality was being ‘tested’ by economic migrants: ‘Tell that to the 44,000 doctors and 70,000 nurses, and the teachers from Africa, Asia, Australia, Jamaica...’” (*Daily Mirror*, Monday February 7 2005, page 2: “I’ll drive out the illegals. Clarke’s 5-yr plan”, by Bob Roberts, Deputy Political Editor);
- ‘report of locution: proposition: giving’ (\$RLNG): “This, after all, is the Prime Minister who once said that refusing to play politics with immigration was part of his ‘irreducible core’” (*The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: editorial comment: “Labour’s plan will not control the influx”);

- ‘report of locution: proposition: demanding’ (\$RLND): “Ask those many, many Australians, white South Africans and Zimbabweans, Italians, Americans, French and now Poles and Russians, if the country welcomes them, and most will effuse unreservedly” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “Stop this continual abuse of immigrants” by Yasmin Alibhai Brown);
- ‘report of locution: proposal: giving’ (\$RLLG): “They have pledged to use Britain’s leadership of the G8 this year to deal with the many ills that afflict that continent” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe”);
- ‘report of locution: proposal: demanding’ (\$RLLD): “Mr Boleat urged the government to make clearer the distinction between those legitimately employed to work in the UK and asylum seekers, who are not” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: “Business fears legislation will send cost of employing legitimate staff soaring”);
- ‘free indirect locution: proposition: giving’ (\$FLNG): “When Gordon Brown was shunted to the sidelines of the pre-election campaign, the word went out from the arch Blairites: That’s it, we are free to fight a radical election, we are liberated from Brownite caution” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: “Why is a Labour government dancing to Mr Howard’s tunes on immigration?” by Steve Richards);
- ‘free indirect locution: proposition: demanding’ (\$FLND): no examples in the corpus. Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004: 466) example is “Was he sure, Fred asked”;
- ‘free indirect locution: proposal: giving’ (\$FLLG) “And there will be increased use of tagging of failed asylum seekers, said Mr Clarke”. (*The Daily Express*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 1: “Asylum: still no limit on entries. Blair chickens out with half measures”, by James Slack and Patrick O’Flynn);

- ‘free indirect locution: proposal: demanding’ (\$FLLD): no examples in the corpus. Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004: 467) example is “Wait there, she told him”;
- ‘quote of idea: proposition: giving’ (\$QING): no examples in the corpus. An example from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 457) is “‘The Gods must watch out for Kukul’, he thought to himself”;
- ‘quote of idea: proposition: demanding’ (\$QIND): no examples in the corpus. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:456-7) do not give any example either, because it is difficult to ask someone something without uttering anything. We could imagine situations and texts in which this would happen, for example in novels or short stories, but such instances would be extreme cases and probably metaphorical;
- ‘quote of idea: proposal: giving’ (\$QILG) and ‘quote of idea: proposal: demanding’ (\$QILD): no examples in the corpus. Proposals are projected mentally by processes of desire<sup>43</sup>, but “mental proposals are rarely quoted” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:461);
- ‘report of idea: proposition: giving’ (\$RING): “Large majorities think that this country does not need economic migrants and want much smaller amounts of migration than have become normal” (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17, Comment and Analysis: “Immigration: it has to be faced”);
- ‘report of idea: proposition: demanding’ (\$RIND): “Then they wonder why so many immigrants and their children repudiate calls (from the same leaders) for integration” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “Stop this continual abuse of immigrants” by Yasmin Alibhai Brown);

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<sup>43</sup> But, given my ‘broader’ interpretation of the category ‘proposal’ in the present analysis, I would analyse as projections of proposals clauses like “Three-quarters of us believe that immigrant numbers should be reduced and believe that the government is not tough enough on asylum seekers” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”: “We hate our politicians, but we’ve never had it so good” by Martin Kettle). Even though it may be too far-fetched, one could even analyse Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004:452) example “Mary thought she would go back there the next day” (‘Report of idea: proposal: giving’) as the mental projection of a proposal offering goods and services, for example the mentally reported analogue of “Mary said: ‘I will come back here to-morrow’”.

- ‘report of idea: proposal: giving’ (\$RILG): no examples in the corpus. With processes of desire we could have clauses like ‘He wanted to help us’ (my example), but such expressions, with a process of desire followed by another process without repeating the subject are better interpreted as instances of projection within the verbal group (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:515)<sup>44</sup>;
- ‘report of idea: proposal: demanding’ (\$RILD) “Three-quarters of us believe that immigrant numbers should be reduced and believe that the government is not tough enough on asylum seekers” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”: “We hate our politicians, but we’ve never had it so good” by Martin Kettle);
- ‘free indirect idea, proposition: giving’ (\$FING): “Economic factors seem relatively unimportant too, they reckon, since these shifts have taken place in times of material plenty” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”: “We hate our politicians, but we’ve never had it so good”, by Martin Kettle);
- ‘free indirect idea: proposition: demanding’ (\$FIND): no examples in the corpus. Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004: 466) example is “Was she dreaming, Jill wondered”;
- ‘free indirect idea: proposal: giving’ (\$FILG): no examples in the corpus. It is very difficult to think of an example, because we do not normally offer or promise to do things mentally;

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<sup>44</sup> The reason why they are better interpreted as projection within the verbal group is that they resemble nexuses of the verbal groups in some respects, namely (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:515):

(1) The projected element, a (typically perfective) non-finite, has – like the expansion types – given birth to what are now tenses of the verb, namely the two future forms *will* and *be going to*. (2) The WH\_probe is *what does she want to do?*, rather than simply *what does she want?*; compare *what is she trying to do?* not *what is she trying?*. (3) The command forms – those with change of Subject – resemble some of the causative expansions; compare the following pairs, including the passives:

She wants him to do it	she causes him /gets him to do it
He is wanted to do it	he is caused/got to do it
She wants it (to be) done	she causes it to be done/gets it done



- ‘free indirect idea: proposal: demanding’ (\$FILD): no instances in the corpus.

Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004: 466) example is “Wait there, she willed him”;

Projection also occurs with embedding. Embedded projections can be divided into two broad categories: embedded projections proper, which are projected by a noun which is the nominalisation of a mental or verbal process verb, and fact clauses, which come “ready packaged in projected form” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:470). Embedded projections are used “in the representation of arguments”, because they make it possible to oppose, contradict, confirm or reject proposals and propositions (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:468). When fact clauses are used, on the other hand, it is more difficult to challenge or reject their content, because it is pre-packaged, established as a fact, something which is actually the case. Two examples from the corpus are “... accusations *that more people are overstaying than ever before*” (embedded projection, from *The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: “I know why our border controls are so ineffective”, by Shamim Chowdhury) and “The very fact *that the Labour government is about to announce a package of detailed immigration policies ...*” (fact clause, from *The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17, Comment and Analysis: “Immigration: it has to be faced” ). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:469) divide embedded projections into eight categories:

- ‘propositions: stating: locutions’ (*statement, report, news...*),
- ‘propositions: stating: ideas’ (*thought, belief, knowledge, feeling*),
- ‘propositions: questioning: locutions’ (*question, query,...*),
- ‘propositions: questioning: ideas’ (*doubt, question...*),
- ‘proposals: offering: locutions’ (*offer, suggestion, proposal, threat...*),
- ‘proposals: offering: ideas’ (*intention, desire, hope, inclination...*),
- ‘proposals: commanding: locutions’ (*order, command, instruction...*),
- ‘proposals: commanding: ideas’ (*wish, desire, hope, fear*).

As for facts, they divide them into cases (*fact, case...*), chances (*chance, certainty...*) and proofs (*proof, confirmation, demonstration...*) in the realm of stating propositions, into cases (*problem, issue*) and chances (*uncertainty*) in the area of questioning propositions, and into needs (*requirement, need, rule...*) in the area of proposals. For the present analysis, a different sub-categorisation has been created, which is heavily based on the one by Halliday and Matthiessen, but somewhat more delicate. The categories of embedded projections that have been created, and the tags used for them, are:

- CLAIM (\$PNM): *claim, statement, report, news, rumour, assertion, argument, insistence; accuse of; deny that, pretend that*. E.g.: “The Home Secretary is admitting to the charge levelled by the anti-immigrant right that Britain is a ‘soft touch’” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe”)
- IDEA (\$PNI): *idea, thought, feeling, suspicion, opinion, assumption, confidence; someone is certain that*. E.g.: “Nothing that Charles Clarke can say today will dispel some of these critics” suspicions that, merely by addressing the immigration question at all, the government is pandering to a rightwing agenda set by the tabloid press - and worse” (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17, Comment and Analysis: “Immigration: it has to be faced”)
- QUESTION (\$PNQ): *question, doubt...; someone is not sure what...* “It is not known how many have died attempting these crossings, but given that many take to the sea in what are often little more than rusty tins, the number is likely to be in the hundreds” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe”)
- OFFER (\$PLO): *offer, suggestion, proposal, threat*. “Ministers were accused of starting a “bidding war” with the Tories to sound tougher on immigration and asylum after matching the Opposition’s pledge to bring in a points system for economic

- migrants” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8: “Blair accused of ‘bidding war’ with Tories after announcing tougher immigration laws” by Andrew Grice and Nigel Morris)
- INTENTION (\$PLI): *intention, plan, decision, inclination*. “In the Commons, Mr Clarke attacked Tory plans to pull out of the 1951 Geneva Convention on refugees as ‘unworkable, unjust, counterproductive and immoral’” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8, Immigration Debate: “Blair accused of ‘bidding war’ with Tories after announcing tougher immigration laws” by Andrew Grice and Nigel Morris)
  - WISH (\$PLW): *hope, wish, desire*. “But the Government’s apparent desire to make the immigration system transparent will also make the benefits more obvious” (*The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 17: Comment: “Home Truths. The debate about immigration appears to be growing up”).
  - FEAR (\$PLH): *fear, concern*. “Mr Blair has never quite shaken off his fear that the Tories could rally public opinion to such a degree as to chase him out of Downing Street” (*The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: editorial comment: “Labour’s plan will not control the influx”)
  - REQUIREMENT (\$PLR): *requirement, order, instruction, request*. “Mr Clarke came under strong pressure from Mr Blair to produce a tough package” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8, “Immigration Debate”: “Blair accused of ‘bidding war’ with Tories after announcing tougher immigration laws” by Andrew Grice and Nigel Morris)
  - LEAVE (\$PLL): *leave, permission, refusal to (let someone do something)*. “Asylum-seekers will lose the right to stay permanently<sup>45</sup>, instead being granted temporary leave to remain for up to five years” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713,

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<sup>45</sup> “To stay permanently” in “The right to stay permanently” has been analysed as an instance of embedded elaboration and not of projection.

page 9, “The Immigration Debate”: “Sorting myth from fiction on electoral hot topic”, by Nigel Morris, Home Affairs Correspondent)

- APPLICATION (\$PLA): *application*. “A points system will be developed to favour the applications of highly skilled immigrants to work in Britain” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 9, “The Immigration Debate”: “Sorting myth from fiction on electoral hot topic”, by Nigel Morris, Home Affairs Correspondent)
- ISSUE (\$PLU): *issue*. “The issues of who comes into this country, of whether they are entitled to be here or settle here, and of how our border controls work are perfectly legitimate aspects of public debate, just as Mr Clarke said” (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17, Comment and Analysis: “Immigration: it has to be faced”)

On the other hand, facts have been divided into cases, chances, proofs, and needs, similarly to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 470-480):

- CASE (\$FNS): *fact, case, point, principle; reveal, acknowledge, discover, find that....*: “The very fact that the Labour government is about to announce a package of detailed immigration policies will be enough to put the wind up some of its supporters” (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17, Comment and Analysis: “Immigration: it has to be faced”)
- CHANCE (\$FNC): *chance, possibility, likelihood, certainty...; it is (not) certain that..., it is (not) clear that..., it seems that ...*: “Nor is it clear that the additional information to be produced from visa applications can be processed usefully on the necessary scale” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters: “Ill-timed debate on migration controls”, Editorial Comment)
- PROOF (\$FNP): *proof, confirmation, demonstration, evidence...; prove, confirm, show that....*: “Immigration has risen; and recent surveys show that three-quarters of

the population want the numbers of immigrants to be reduced (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17, Comment and Analysis: “Immigration: it has to be faced”)

- NEED (\$FLN): *need, rule, obligation...; it is vital that...; ensure that...* “There was an urgent need to demonstrate action, commitment and a constant reforming edge, even if the initiatives did contradict or bump into each other (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23, Comment and Analysis: “Labour and immigration. Tough on rhetoric”)

### 3.2.5 Logical Grammar: Aims of the Analysis

The aim of the clause complex analysis is to examine whether there are significant differences in the way reality is construed in the texts within the corpus in terms of the relationships which are established between events. In particular, the hypothesis which has to be checked is whether the quality and popular newspaper articles differ as to:

- the degree to which “other” voices are included in the texts through projection, or the amount of what is traditionally<sup>46</sup> called direct and indirect speech;
- the degree and way in which sentences are complex, or how much parataxis, hypotaxis, embedding, are present;
- the degree to which cause-conditional relationships are encoded in the logico-semantic relationships between sentences.

Bernstein (1977:99) found that a more limited use of subordination was typical of the language of working-class subjects. On the basis of this finding, we might expect less subordination in popular newspapers. On the other hand, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:654) indicate that more grammatically intricate sentences, with more parataxis and hypotaxis, are more typical of less elaborated, more oral-like language. On the basis of this

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<sup>46</sup> See for example Quirk et al. 1990:297-303.

indication we might expect more grammatical intricacy in popular newspapers. The analysis should reveal if one the two hypotheses is actually true.

Besides ideational grammar, the texts have been analysed for Conjunctive relations and participant identification. These analyses are explained in the following sections.

### **3.3 Ideational/textual grammar: conjunctive relations and participant identification**

The choice has been made to analyse two aspects of grammar “around the clause” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:524), i.e., conjunctive relations and participant identification. Both systems can be seen as realising aspects of the textual metafunction together with aspects of the ideational metafunction: more specifically, conjunctive relations can be seen as realising the logical metafunction and the systems of participant identification can be connected to the experiential metafunction. These connections are explained in the following sections.

#### *3.3.1 Conjunctive Relations: theoretical framework and aims of the analysis*

The system of conjunctive relations is analysed differently in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:540-549) and Martin (1992:159-230). The main difference pertains to the metafunction they are considered to realise: textual for Halliday, logical for Martin. In fact, there are grounds for both analyses. The difference is one of perspective. Cohesive resources are considered to pertain to the textual metafunction by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:532), in line with Halliday and Hasan (1976:26-8), who state that “cohesion [therefore] is part of the text-forming component in the linguistic system”, because “it is the means whereby elements that are structurally unrelated to one another are linked together, through the dependence of one on the other for its interpretation”. On the other hand, Martin considers the system of text-forming resources as a different stratum above the lexicogrammar, which is called discourse-semantics. This stratum comprises resources which realise the different metafunctions above the level of the clause: the system of Negotiation is connected to the Interpersonal metafunction, the system of Identification to the Textual metafunction, the

system of Ideation to the Experiential metafunction, and the system of Conjunction to the Logical metafunction (Martin 1992: 26-29).

Despite the differences in the approach, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:540 ff.) do emphasise the fact that the relationships between clauses in clause complexes are logico-semantic relations of the same kinds that are manifested in the systems of circumstantiation and in relational processes within the clause, and of conjunction between clause complexes, i.e., elaboration, extension and enhancement. This emphasis seems relevant for the present analysis, one of whose aims is to see whether the different sub-corpora differ in terms of the kinds of logical relationships they deploy more often: for example, we might suppose that the quality newspapers construct cause-conditional relationships more often than the popular newspapers do. Is that really the case or not? In other words, theoretically, the interest is here on the logical aspect of conjunctive relations.

Cunjunctive relations can be divided into internal and external. Again, this distinction is very important both in Halliday and Matthiessen's and in Martin's framework. The following examples are taken from Halliday and Hasan (1976:239):

External: "First he switched on the light. Next he inserted the key into the lock"

Internal: "First he was unable to stand upright. Next, he was incapable of inserting the key into the lock"

In the first example, the conjunctions "first", "next" connect two events which are sequent in time. In the second one, they connect two steps of an argument which aims at demonstrating that the person in question was drunk. The difference can be explained in terms of rhetorical relations as opposed to experiential relations (Martin 1992:180). In Martin's words, internal relations "obtain in the organisation of the text itself rather than in the organisation of the world the text describes": "Internal relations structure semiosis; external ones code the structure of the world". Halliday and Hasan (1976:240) explain the difference in terms of interpersonal as opposed to experiential orientation: external conjunction "is a

relation between meanings in the sense of representations of ‘contents’, (our experience of external reality”, while internal cohesion “is a relation between meanings in the sense of representations of the speaker’s own ‘stamp’ on the situation – his choice of speech role and rhetorical channel, his attitudes, his judgements and the like”. The distinction is interesting in terms of the present analysis in that it could be connected with Bernstein’s research on language and social class, in particular to his restricted and elaborated codes, where he notices that an elaborated code implies using “I think” or just “I” more often (Bernstein 1977:110). I would suggest that this greater emphasis on explicitly signalling the speaker’s relationship to the message be connected with internal conjunctions, when the speaker is making her or his argument explicit. Bernstein also points out that in the restricted code the kind of interpersonal orientation is more listener-oriented, because expressions such as “you see” or “you know”, called “sympathetic circularity”, are used more frequently. I would suggest that signalling the steps of an argument explicitly by means of internal conjunctive relations implies more elaborated discussion and analysis and the presupposition that things can be seen differently, in the same way as “I think” “signals difference” and “invites a further ‘I think’ on the part of the listener” (Bernstein 1977:113). The question is whether the popular newspapers use internal conjunctions less often or not: is there a presupposition that explicit argument is unnecessary because there is no other way of looking at things, or that the reading public will share what is said, or not? The analysis is aimed at answering this question, as well.

### *3.3.2 Conjunctive relations: method of analysis*

The differences between Martin’s and Halliday and Matthiessen’s frameworks which are more likely to influence the analysis are those related to how they sub-classify kinds of conjunctions, which Martin himself discusses in some detail (1992:170-178). The main differences can be summarised as follows:

*Table 3.6 Martin’s and Halliday and Matthiessen’s categories of conjunctions*



<i>Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:540-549)</i>	<i>Martin (1992:159-230)</i>
ELABORATING CONJUNCTIONS I mean, for instance, actually...	INTERNAL COMPARATIVE CONJUNCTIONS
EXTENDING CONJUNCTIONS:ADVERSATIVE But, yet, on the other hand, however	ENHANCING: CONCESSIVE CONJUNCTIONS
EXTENDING CONJUNCTIONS: VARIATION: REPLACIVE On the contrary, instead	EXTERNAL COMPARATIVE CONJUNCTIONS: CONTRAST
ENHANCING CONJUNCTIONS: COMPARISON: SIMILARITY Likewise, similarly	EXTERNAL COMPARATIVE CONJUNCTIONS: SIMILARITY
ENHANCING CONJUNCTIONS: MATTER: POSITIVE and ENHANCING CONJUNCTIONS: MATTER: NEGATIVE Here, as to that, in that respect In other respects, elsewhere	No category
Sub-categories of <i>Enhancing</i> conjunctions: -SPATIO-TEMPORAL (then, finally, meanwhile, here, next, lastly ...) MANNER (likewise, similarly, in a different way ...) CAUSAL-CONDITIONAL (so, then, therefore, hence, as a result, in that case, otherwise, if not, yet, still, though, nevertheless) MATTER (here, there, as to that, in that respect, in other respects, elsewhere)	Categories of Enhancing conjunctions -TEMPORAL CONJUNCTIONS -CONSEQUENTIAL CONJUNCTIONS

Firstly, Martin has no separate category of elaborating conjunctions (e.g., *I mean, for instance, actually*) as Halliday has, but he has a category of comparative conjunctions whose internal sub-category subsumes Halliday's elaboration. As for the external conjunctions in this category of comparison, the similarity sub-category (e.g.: *likewise, similarly*) corresponds to Halliday's enhancing conjunctions of 'manner:comparison:positive', while the difference sub-category (e.g. *on the contrary, instead*) corresponds to Halliday's 'extension: variation'. Secondly, Martin does not draw any distinction between 'additive:adversative' extending conjunctions and concessive enhancing conjunctions, but only has the second category. As a consequence, Martin's extending conjunctions just comprise the two categories of addition and alternation, while Halliday and Matthiessen also have 'addition:adversative' (*but, yet ...*), 'variation:replacive' (*instead, on the other hand*) and 'variation:subtractive' (*apart from that, except for that*). Another main difference is that Martin (1992:206) has no category of matter conjunctions: he recognises that there is "a small set of locative relations", but goes on to say that all of them "could be analysed in other than conjunctive terms", i.e., in terms of phoricity.

Finally, as a consequence of what has just been said, the sub-categories of enhancing conjunctions are somewhat different: Martin does not have enhancing conjunctions of matter and of ‘manner:comparison’.

For the analysis to be carried out here, the choice has been to accept Halliday and Matthiessen’s framework. In particular, it has been chosen not to accept Martin’s separate category of comparison, which would have Halliday’s elaboration as its internal side, and Halliday’s ‘manner:comparison’ as its external side. It is true, as Martin emphasises, that “the opposition of similarity to difference is an important aspect of negotiation (comply/resist), identification (semblance / difference), and ideation (synonym/antonym)”, but this does not seem to be enough to me to set up a separate main category of comparative conjuncts, partly in view of the fact that the category of ‘contrast’ also seems to be involved in the semantics of concessive conjunctions. In addition, I would not consider, for example, ‘i.e.’ or ‘I mean’ to be the internal side of ‘likewise’, and ‘anyway’ or ‘in fact’ to be the internal side of ‘in contrast’. Another way of looking at the problem is here the question whether a comparative relationship of similarity is enhancing or elaborating, and whether a relationship of contrast like that expressed by ‘instead’ is more elaborating or extending. It is not easy to draw clear-cut distinctions here. My choice, however, is to accept Halliday’s framework, because it is based on the principle that similar relationships (elaboration, extension, enhancement) cut across the systems of Circumstantiation, Relational process types, Conjunction and Clause Complexing, thus making it possible to generalise across different systems. Martin seems to prefer to have “addition”, “comparison”, “time” and “consequence” as main categories for both cohesive conjunctions and clause complexes, at the level of discourse semantics, and to use the labels of elaboration, extension and enhancement for nuclear relations obtaining within the clause, nominal group and verbal group, at the level of lexico-grammar (Martin 1992:309-321). As for Halliday and Matthiessen’s distinction between adversative and concessive conjunctions, I would keep it: as Halliday and Hasan (1976:237,250) point out, the

meaning of “but” includes “and”, so that you cannot say “and but”. In other words, “but” expresses both extension and contrast. I am not certain, however, whether the same can be said for the other conjunctions which Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:541) consider extending and adversative, i.e. “yet”, “however”, “on the other hand”. ‘However’ and ‘yet’ have been analysed here as Enhancing conjunctions of concession, and ‘on the other hand’ as an extending conjunction of variation. Finally, as for Conjunctions of Matter (e.g., ‘in that respect’, ‘in other respects’), I have chosen to include them in my framework for the analysis. Although it is possible to analyse them as cohesive in terms of phoricity only, as Martin does, it seems to me that they do link parts of messages in a way that is similar to what conjunction does, i.e., beyond the single reference chain set up between the presenting and the presuming item (see section 3 below for the meaning of phoricity and presenting and presuming items).

Table 3.7 shows the framework which has been adopted, the tags which have been used, and examples of the main conjunctive expressions for each category. When the conjunctive relations were internal, the letter –I was added to the tag. It must be said that it was not always easy to establish with certainty if a conjunctive relation was internal or external. Martin (1992:178) suggests that some conjunctions are mainly internal: *moreover, in addition, alternatively, equally, that is, on the other hand, at the same time, finally, in conclusion, after all, nevertheless, admittedly*. Apart from these, in doubtful cases Martin’s suggestion (1992:226) has been followed to change the dependency relationship between the messages in question and see whether the reformulation involves projecting one of the processes by means of a verbal process – when this is possible, the relation is typically internal.

As for the frequent absence of explicit conjunctive expressions, the choice has been to mark the sentence \$CNO, i.e., to signal the absence of conjunction rather than interpreting what kind of relationship might have been implied. In Halliday and Matthiessen’s words (2004:549), the attempt to include implicit conjunction in the analysis “leads to a great deal of

indeterminacy, both as regards whether a conjunctive relation is present or not and as regards which particular kind of relationship it is.”

*Table 3.7 Tagging system for conjunctive relations*

\$CEA	ELABORATION	Apposition	In other words, for example...
\$CEC		Clarification	Or rather. Incidentally, in any case, in particular, to resume, in short, actually
\$CXA	EXTENSION	Addition	And, also, moreover
\$CXD		Addition: adversative	But
\$CXV		Variation	On the contrary, instead, apart from that, on the other hand
\$CHT	ENHANCEMENT	Spatial-temporal	Then , next, in the end, at once, soon,. Meanwhile
\$CHI		Spatial-temporal internal	Next, at this point, here, lastly, finally
\$CHA		Manner:comparison	Likewise, similarly, in a different way
\$CHM		Manner:means	Thus, thereby, by such means
\$CHG		Cause:general	So, then, therefore, consequently, hence, because of that, for
\$CHR		Cause:specific:result	In consequence, as a result
\$CHP		Cause:specific:purpose	On account of this, for that reason
\$CHC		Cause:specific:reason	For that purpose, with this in view
\$CHD		Conditional	Then, in that case, otherwise, if not
\$CHN		Concessive	Yet, still, though, despite this, however, nevertheless
\$CHO		Matter	Here, there, in that respect, elsewhere, in other respects

The next analysis which was carried out is the analysis of participant identification, discussed in the following sections.

### *3.3.3 Participant identification: theoretical framework and aims*

Both Martin (1992:93-129) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:549-570) connect the systems of reference and of ellipsis and substitution to the textual metafunction. These systems provide the grammatical resources to give a text “texture”, i.e., for the text to “function as a unity with respect to its environment” (Halliday and Hasan 1976:2). The same function is performed by lexical reference, which has not been analysed in the corpus. While conjunction links clause complexes, reference creates links between elements within<sup>47</sup> and

<sup>47</sup> As Martin (1992:145) points out, Halliday and Hasan (1976:340-355) only analyse cohesive ties “between, not within, sentences”. Here, on the contrary, in line with Martin, intra-sentence reference is included in the analysis, because the focus is on reference as a means to identify participants rather than to create cohesion.

across clause complexes. The main concern in analysing reference here, however, has not been to investigate how and to what extent cohesion is created in the texts, but to see how participants are introduced in the text and identified. This aspect of reference is emphasised by Martin (1992:93-129) who connects the lexico-grammatical systems of reference, ellipsis and substitution to his discourse-semantic system of participant identification. The reasons for this focus here are in part connected to Bernstein's work on the elaborated and restricted codes. Bernstein studied texts written by children on the basis of pictures. He noticed that the texts written by working-class children were "more closely tied to their context" (1977:178-179), so that the meanings were more implicit. By this he meant that the participants were not introduced explicitly, and their identification made it necessary for the reader to be involved in the immediate context of situation, i.e., to actually see the pictures. Of course, newspaper journalists are not five-year old children and we cannot expect to find the same differences here, but it is possible to imagine that the articles in the corpus might differ in the presuppositions they make as to how much information the reader shares. For example, one headline in *The Daily Express* reads "Aussie rules, OK?", and this presupposes that the reader should be familiar with the fact that immigration rules in Australia are really strict, besides involving the use of an informal expression (Aussie) which can again be taken as a signal of in-group membership. On the other hand, however, one might also presuppose that the quality newspapers can afford to take more for granted when dealing with politics, because their readers are expected to have a higher cultural level than the readers of popular newspapers. This hypothesis could be checked by seeing whether there is a difference in the number of proper names introduced in the text without an apposition explaining who the person in question is, and by the amount of reference which is homophoric, i.e., referring to the relevant context of culture. On the other hand, a greater amount of endophoric and textual reference (see below) can be taken as a signal that the text is less tied to its context.

### 3.3.4 Participant Identification: method of analysis

Given his emphasis on participant identification, Martin (1992:93-129) analyses in more detail than Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:549-570) the way participants can be introduced in a text for the first time before being referred to again, i.e., presenting reference, which “signals that the identity of the participant in question cannot be recovered from the context” and is “strongly associated with first mention” (Martin 1992:102).

A presenting item is “generic” when the understanding of its meaning merely depends on the knowledge of the language (Martin 1992:122). Martin’s generic reference appears to correspond to generic reference as Quirk et al. (1985:265,283) define it, i.e., reference to a class in general. In Martin’s analysis, generic presenting items can be preceded by the articles “a” or “the” in the singular, and “the” or “zero” (no article) in the plural. Quirk et al. (1985:283), on the other hand, point out how generic reference is expressed by means of “a” and “the” in the singular, and zero article in the plural: they explicitly remark that, apart from nationality nouns and phrases with an adjective head referring to a group of people, “the + plural noun cannot be used for generic reference”. I would accept Quirk’s framework in this case: Martin’s (1992:103) example of plural generic reference with “the” is “the true hot deserts”, which I would not analyse as generic presenting reference, but as presuming reference combining relevance and reminding phoricity, similarly to what happens with superlative epithesis (Martin 1992:112). Generic presenting items have been tagged \$PG in the corpus: an example is “Employers” in “Employers would be expected to help police the system for all but the most highly skilled workers, acting as a ‘sponsor’ for migrants they want to take on” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: “Clarke sets out immigration aims”, by Jean Eaglesham, Political Correspondent). On the other hand, a presenting item can be specific and total, tagged \$PO, where every single member of a class is implied (e.g. pronominal: “everything”, “everybody”, nominal: “every” plus noun), or specific and partial, when just some specific members of a class are referred to, in which case

we have the pronominal expressions beginning by ‘some’ and ‘any’ (‘something’, ‘anything’ etc.) and the nouns introduced by ‘a’, ‘some’, ‘any’ (Martin 1992:104-105). ‘Partial specific presuming reference’ can be further sub-classified into ‘unrestricted’, which has been tagged \$PU, when ‘any’ or ‘no’ member of a class is implied, or ‘restricted’, which has been tagged \$PR, when the item is introduced by ‘some’, ‘a’, ‘one’ (Martin 1992:107). Sometimes even the pronoun ‘who’ can be presenting, as is the case in ‘Will reintroduce exit checks for all passengers to see **who** leaves the country when **their** visas expire’, where I would interpret ‘their’ as referring back to ‘who’ (*Daily Mail*, Monday February 7, 2005, page 6: ‘Migrants: the great divide’). Such instances of the pronoun ‘who’ have been tagged \$PW. Even a stretch of text can be presenting, i.e., it can be referred to afterwards or introduced beforehand by means of a pronoun (typically ‘this’ or ‘that’), for example ‘A: - She saw them building a new school. B: - That’s impossible.’ (Martin 1992:139) Stretches of text which are presenting have been tagged \$PT. For example, the first sentence in the following example from the corpus is referred to by the pronoun ‘this’ in the second sentence and is, as a consequence, presenting: ‘In it, he will propose a points-system for economic migrants and announce strict measures to prevent our asylum system from being ‘abused’. The implication of this is unmistakable’ (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, page 30: ‘It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe’, editorial comment).

As for presuming reference, Martin (1992:98-102) makes reference to the concept of phoricity: phoric nominal groups are nominal groups whose grammar signals that the identity of the participant they realise is recoverable. There are three main kinds of phoricity: reminding, relevance and redundancy phoricity. Reminding phoricity occurs when the identity of the participant is itself recoverable, while relevance phoricity signals that the identity which is recoverable is the identity of one or more participants related to the participant being realised. As for redundancy phoricity, it ‘is concerned not with tracking the identity of

participants but with signalling (in the context of nominal groups) that experiential meaning is to be recovered from the context”.

One main kind of reminding phoricity is pronominal reference. First, second and third person pronouns have been tagged \$RPF, \$RPS, \$RPT respectively; and the letter G has been added to the appropriate tag when “we”, “you” and “they” were used “with reference to ‘people in general’” (Quirk et al., 1985:353-354). There is then demonstrative reference: the specific deictics “this”, “that”, “these”, “those” have been tagged \$RDD, while demonstrative reference to time (“now”, “then”) has been tagged \$RDT, and demonstrative reference to place (“here”, “there”) has been tagged \$RDP. As for non-specific demonstrative reference (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:556-560), the definite article has been tagged \$RDH, while the demonstrative pronoun “it” has been tagged \$RDI.<sup>48</sup> To these tags, further letters were added to signal whether the reference was:

- exophoric (X), when the presenting item was to be retrieved in the extra-textual context;
- anaphoric (A), when the presenting item was retrievable in the preceding text;
- cataphoric (C), when the presenting item was to be retrieved in the following text;

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<sup>48</sup> In fact the pronoun “it” can be used in different contexts and with different functions: as Quirk and Greenbaum (1990:113) summarise, it can be used for “a singular noun phrase that does not determine reference by *he* or *she*” i.e., for “collectives, noncount concretes, and abstractions”: in these cases, it is a personal pronoun and has been tagged “\$RPT#”. It can also be used as “dummy” operator, mainly “in clauses signifying (a) time, (b) atmospheric conditions, (c) distance (Quirk and Greenbaum 1990:212) or it can be used in cleft sentences like “It is not the law or the quality of our public life that stand to lose most” (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, Number 49271, page 17, Comment and Analysis: “Immigration: it has to be faced”): these cases are not examples of intra- or inter-clausal reference and have not been tagged. Alternatively, *it* can be used cataphorically to anticipate an embedded clause which would be in subject position, e.g. “It is not known how many have died attempting these crossings” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe”): in this example, *it* is structural and does not start a chain. Structural *it* has been tagged \$RDIS because more information has been obtained from the corpus than necessary, but it is not relevant for the analysis of identification. Finally, *it* can also be used to refer to a clause, sentence or sequence of sentences, as in Quirk and Greenbaum’s example “I don’t like to say it but I must. You have lost your job because you didn’t work hard enough.” Precisely this use of *it* corresponds to Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004:560) example of demonstrative *it*, i.e. “Alice made a short calculation and said ‘seven years and six months.’ “Wrong!” Humpty Dumpty said triumphantly. “You never said a word like it.” Since I also considered intra-sentence linkages as instances of reference (see note 45 above), I would also consider the first *it* in the following example from the corpus as an instance of demonstrative reference: “And though the politicians dare not say it, for fear of being ridiculed, the truth is that most of us have never had it so good”.



- homophobic (H), when the identity of the participant was supposed to be known by the addressee because he or she belonged to the community which makes such knowledge available;
- esphoric or structural (S), when a participant's identity was to be retrieved within the same nominal group, e.g., the first "the" in "The recognition that Labour may be about to bring the third successive election" (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7 2005, page 17, Comment and Analysis: "Immigration: it has to be faced");
- bridging, anaphoric (BA) or cataphoric (BC), when the phoric nominal group presumed "information that is implied rather than directly retrievable", e.g. "the result" in "On asylum it is worse: refugees will no longer be given permanent protection but only temporary leave to stay, subject to review after five years; more detention and tagging of failed applicants; stronger border controls, including fingerprinting visa applicants, as well as electronic checks on those entering or leaving the country. The result will be a two-tier labour system, (...)." (*The Guardian*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, page 23: "Labour and Immigration. Tough on rhetoric", editorial comment);
- textual, anaphoric (TA) or cataphoric (TC), where reference is being made to a strand of text, e.g. the second "this" in "The British public seems to derive comfort from this unflattering relationship. Our default position is to see ours as a society in which the politicians are always the source of the problem and the public their innocent victims. Admittedly this can have its positive side" (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 22: "We hate our politicians, but we've never had it so good", by Martin Kettle).

As for relevance phoricity, it is realised through comparative reference, which can generically signal identity (e.g. "same", "equal"), tagged \$RCS, similarity ("similar", "such"), tagged \$RCM, and difference (e.g. "other", "different"), tagged \$RCD, or it can signal whether the comparison is in terms of some specific quality (e.g. "bigger", "more important"),

tagged \$RCL, or quantity (e.g. “more”, “fewer”), tagged \$RCN. To these tags, the tags shown above for anaphoric, exophoric, and bridging anaphoric reference were added (there were no cataphoric instances in the corpus).

Some reference items involve both reminding and relevance phoricity (Martin 1992:112-114). These include the non-selective deictics “both”, “neither”, “either”, “each”, tagged \$RSO, the non-selective interrogative pronoun “which”, tagged \$RSW, the selective reference items indicating order and position, e.g. “first”, “second”, “next”, “last”, tagged \$RSN, and the selective reference items indicating quality, i.e. the superlatives (“the biggest” etc.), tagged \$RSQ. Again, to these tags the letters A, BA, TA, X, H were added for anaphoric, bridging, textual, exophoric and homophoric reference (there were no cataphoric instances in the corpus).

The final kind of phoricity is redundancy phoricity, realised through ellipsis and substitution. The tags which have been used for ellipsis and substitution are:

- \$EYP for yes/no ellipsis of the whole clause;
- \$EYM for yes/no ellipsis of part of the clause;
- \$EWC for wh-ellipsis of the whole clause (e.g. “What?”, “Who?”, “John”);
- \$EWM for wh-ellipsis when the elements retained are the wh-element and the Mood (“Who could?”, “I could”);
- \$EWP for wh-ellipsis where the wh-element and the polarity are retained (“Why not?”, “Not me”);
- \$EN for noun ellipsis;
- \$SWC for substitution of the whole clause by means of ‘so’ and ‘not’;
- \$SCP for substitution of part of the clause, with ‘so’, “nor”, “neither” and the mood, or the mood and “do” or “do so” (e.g., “so are the measures to tackle the evil people-trafficking trade”, from *The Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 18: Leaders and letters: “Ill-timed debate over immigration controls. But Labour’s

proposals appear preferable to the Tory plans” or “That he should be doing so at all is none the less a handsome compliment to the Tory leader, Michael Howard”, from *The Daily Telegraph*, Monday, February 7, 2005, No 46,550, page 17: editorial comment: “Labour’s plan will not control the influx”);

- \$SGV for substitution of the verbal group by means of “do”;
- \$SGN for substitution of the noun by means of “one”;

As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:562) point out, redundancy phoricity is not a relationship in meaning, as reference is, but in wording. As a consequence, this kind of phoricity “is essentially a textual relation: it exists primarily as an anaphoric (or occasionally cataphoric) device”<sup>49</sup> (Martin 1992:121). Accordingly, it has been chosen here not to add to the ellipsis or substitution tag any number indicating a chain, in line with Martin (1992:144), in whose analysis “redundancy phoricity is not taken as contributing to the structure of reference chains, since it is not concerned with presuming the identity of participants, but simply with presuming some aspect of their experiential meaning.” On the contrary, the other kinds of endophoric elements have also been tagged for the chain to which they belonged, signalled by a number added to the tag: each chain of reference was distinguished by its number, which was also put after the presenting item starting the chain.

In addition to the straightforward cases listed so far, there were some special cases in the corpus. For example, some participants may start a chain while at the same time involving reference which is presuming. This can be the case with exophoric, homophoric and esphoric reference. Exophoric, homophoric and esphoric reference items starting chains were tagged \$PX, \$PH and \$PE, respectively, followed by the number of the chains they started. Demonstrative deictics involving esphoric reference and starting chains were tagged \$PDS (e.g., “Those granted refugee status”). Another special case is when a participant starts a chain and is at the same time identified by means of the Saxon genitive or a possessive deictic: in

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<sup>49</sup> Incidentally, all the instances in the corpus were anaphoric, so that it was deemed unnecessary to tag them as such.

these cases, the presenting item was tagged \$PV, while the possessive deictic was tagged as a presuming reference item. In all the other cases when an item started a chain but belonged to another one, the item starting the chain was tagged \$B, followed by the number of the new chain, and it was also tagged with a separate tag for the kind of reference it involved and the other chain to which it belonged.

It may also happen that an item which is not a participant starts a chain. These items should be excluded from the analysis following Martin (1992:129), whose list of non-participants includes:

- the structural “it” (see note 48 above),
- idioms,<sup>50</sup> such as Martin’s example (1992:130) “flash in the pan”, where “the pan” does not refer to a participant in the text,
- indefinite nominal groups under the scope of negation, e.g., “(...) I cannot foresee any massive increase in detention capacity”, from *The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: “I know why our border controls are so ineffective”, by Shamim Chowdhury,
- the Transitivity roles attribute, range, circumstance of extent, circumstance of role (see section 3.2.1 above),
- possessive deictics (*my, your* etc., and the Saxon genitive)
- pre-deictics, pre-numeratives, pre-epithets and pre-classifiers: Martin’s (1992:133-134) examples are respectively, “**The top** of the mountain”, “**a pair** of boots”, “**the tallest** of the mountains”, “**that kind** of gear”. In Martin’s words:

(...) These structures take a single participant and split it in two. Pre-Deictics do this by focussing on some facet of the whole: back, side, face, front, back, top etc. Pre-Numeratives parcel off a measurement: jar, bunch, pack, carton, slice etc. Pre-Epithets provide distinct nominal groups for both the participant being differentiated (...)and the group out of which (...) or with respect to which (...) it is being distinguished (...). Pre-classifiers bring the class, breed, kind, type, species etc. of Thing to nominal attention.

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<sup>50</sup> In The Collins-Cobuild English Dictionary definition, an idiom is “a group of words which have a different meaning when used together from the one they would have if you took the meaning of each word individually”.

However, in some cases in the corpus a range or a circumstance of extent did start a chain, in that it was necessary for the identification of some participant on subsequent mention. In these cases, the non-participant item starting the chain was simply tagged \$P, followed by the number of the chain it started. In very few cases, even a classifier started a chain, for example, “Tory” in “The **Tory** pollsters will have told **them** it’s a hot issue for the public, as ours tell us” (from *The Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 3: “Hot issue that could sway voters. Asylum and immigration will play a big role in the general election”, by Jean Eaglesham): this was tagged \$PC, but then excluded from the analysis because there were just four instances in the corpus.

Another special case it was chosen to tag was apposition. When it was a proper name, it was tagged \$PNA (e.g., “The home secretary, \$PNA Charles Clarke”); when it indicated the role of a person and followed the proper name it was tagged \$A (e.g., “Charles Clarke, \$A home secretary”), or \$VA if it included a possessive pronoun or a Saxon genitive (e.g., “Charles Clarke, \$VA his home secretary”), or \$RDHHA if it included a homophoric “the” (“Charles Clarke, \$RDHHA the home secretary”). All of these instances are examples of nonrestrictive apposition (see Jucker 1992:78-79), characterised by the fact that “both appositives contribute relatively independent information units”, which is marked in writing by means of a comma. On the other hand, apposition can also be restrictive, when “the two appositives form one information unit in that one restricts the reference of the other”. In this second kind of apposition the proper name always follows the role designation. These cases were tagged \$PA, or \$PAV when at the same time they involved a possessive pronoun or a Saxon genitive (“his home secretary Charles Clarke”). Jucker (1992:80) claims that “this type of construction is one of the most clearly stratifying features across the various papers. It is a very popular construction in the down-market papers, and it is almost completely shunned in the up-market papers”. If the results of the analysis carried out here confirm those obtained by

Jucker, some reflection will be necessary to see how this fact can be explained in terms of participant identification and different semantic styles.

Finally, there is the case of proper names. As Martin (1992:110) notices, proper names are always phoric: “when the identity of the participant to which they refer is not recoverable, identification breaks down”. In the corpus, all proper names were tagged \$PN, and, when they started a chain, the tag included its number. However, there was a difference between proper names whose identity was recoverable because it was explained, e.g. by means of an apposition, or because the instance was not a first mention, and proper names where knowledge of the identity of the participant was taken for granted. In this last case the name was tagged \$PNF. Names of countries and places were tagged \$PNP, or \$PNM if the place was metaphorical for some institution (e.g., “Downing Street”). Names of newspapers or other institutions such as the BBC were tagged \$PNI. Names referring to historical events, such as a “Marshall plan”, were tagged \$PNS. Finally, names in headlines were tagged \$PNH.

### **3.4. Interpersonal Grammar**

The methods of corpus analysis which have been illustrated so far are connected with the ideational and the textual metafunctions, realising the register variables of field and mode. The third metafunction whose realisations have been analysed in the corpus is the Interpersonal metafunction, which is connected with the register dimension of tenor. The interpersonal metafunction of language allows us to construe those meanings whereby we enact social relationships in our linguistic interactions. When we interact, we perform some main immediate functions, i.e., exchanging information and goods and services, but the way we do so is constrained by, and creates, relationships of power and solidarity, which in their turn are connected to systems of values.

Interpersonal relationships are construed and reflected by the lexicogrammatical systems of mood and modality at clause level. As for discourse-semantics, interpersonal

meanings which are at stake in the organisation of dialogic turns constitute the discourse-semantics of negotiation (Martin and White 2005:11, Martin 1992:31-91), and interpersonal meanings which are involved in the expression/construction of evaluations in our texts constitute the discourse-semantics of appraisal.

The following sections illustrate the aims and methods for the analysis of the lexicogrammatical systems of mood and modality and of the discourse-semantic system of appraisal.

#### *3.4.1 Mood and modality: Theoretical framework*

The analysis of Mood and Modality was carried out based on Halliday and Matthiessen's framework (2004:106-167, 616-625). Through the grammatical system of mood the language allows us to distinguish between statements and questions, i.e., between utterances offering information and utterances asking for information and between these and commands and offers, i.e., utterances demanding or offering goods and services. The mood element of a clause is precisely that part of it which is affected by grammatical variation when the clause is changed from a question to a statement. The mood is made up of the subject and of the finite operator. The subject is that element "by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:117). It can be identified by adding a tag-question to a clause: the subject is the element which is taken up by the personal pronoun in the tag question. The finite, on the other hand, is part of the verbal group: it is the verbal operator expressing tense or modality. The finite makes the proposition arguable by anchoring it "in the here and now" of the speech event (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:115), either by reference to time or to modality. The following table, taken from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:116), shows the main English finite verbal operators. Temporal operators can be past, present or future, while modal operators can have low, median or high value.

*Table 3.8 Temporal and Modal Operators*

Temporal Operators			
	Past	Present	Future

Positive	Did, was, had, used to	Does, is, has	Will, shall, would, should
Negative	Didn't, wasn't, hadn't, didn't + used to	Doesn't, isn't, hasn't	Won't, shan't, wouldn't, shouldn't
Modal Operators			
	Low	Median	High
Positive	Can, may, could, might	Will, would, should, is/was to	Must, ought to, need, has / had to
Negative	Needn't, doesn't/didn't need to, have to	Won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, (isn't / wan't to)	Mustn't, oughtn't to, can't, couldn't, (mayn't, mightn't, hasn't / had't to

The part of the clause which is not included in the mood is the residue, which consists of: one predicator, up to two complements, and an indefinite number of adjuncts. The predicator is “the verbal group minus the temporal or modal operator” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:121-123). The complement is “an element within the Residue which has the potential for being Subject but is not”, i.e., it could become subject if we changed the voice of the verb from active to passive or vice-versa; an adjunct is “an element that has not got the potential of being Subject; that is, it cannot be elevated to the interpersonal status of modal responsibility”.

The presence of the mood element and the relative positions of subject and finite allow us to distinguish between indicative and imperative clauses, and between declarative and interrogative clauses: if the mood is present, the clause is indicative. The indicative is typically used to exchange information. When in a clause the subject precedes the finite, the clause is declarative, giving information; when the finite precedes the subject, it is interrogative, asking for information. A clause is also interrogative if the subject coincides with an interrogative pronoun, even though the order in this case is subject<sup>^</sup>finite. On the other hand, the imperative can be realised in different ways. If it is positive: i. it can have no mood (unmarked form: “Look”), with the verb consisting of predicator only; ii. the mood can consist of subject only (form marked for subject: “You look”); iii. the mood can consist of



finite only (form marked for polarity: “Do look”). As for the negative imperative, the unmarked form is finite “Don’t” plus predicator (e.g., “Don’t look”), the form marked for polarity is “Do not” plus predicator (e.g., “Do not look”), and the form marked for subject is finite “Don’t” plus subject plus predicator (e.g., “Don’t you look”).

Clauses can also be exclamative, with a WH- element conflating with a nominal or adverbial group, e.g. “How the leaders of this country waxed lyrical on Holocaust memorial day” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “Stop this continual abuse of immigrants”, by Yasmin Alhibai Brown).

The system of mood is closely connected to the degree of proximity or distance between interactants, and to whether the relationship between the interactants is one of power or of solidarity. We would not use the blunt imperative with people we are not acquainted with and whom we have no control over.

#### 3.4.2 *Mood and Modality: Aims of the analysis*

The main aim of the analysis of Mood and Modality in the corpus was to see whether popular and quality newspapers differ in the degree to which they construe a relationship of power/solidarity and proximity/distance with the reader. In other words, do the various newspapers try to appear more respectful towards their readers, maintaining a degree of distance, for example by modalising their assertions so that they do not sound too black-and-white and the readers can draw their conclusions for themselves? Or do the newspapers tend to construe a more proximate relationship, taking for granted that there is a set of shared values and beliefs, so that assertions are not modalised and exclamations and direct forms of address are more frequent? Connected to these aspects is also the question whether certain newspapers privilege the direct expressions of meanings related to obligation. Of course there are not supposed to be modal verbs of obligation directly addressed to the reader in the corpus, because what is being exchanged is information, not goods and services. However, if

a more friendly relationship and the sharing of values are pre-supposed or aimed at, newspapers will probably feel entitled to directly say how things should or should not work.

The following section introduces the theoretical framework in more detail and explains the method used for the analysis of interpersonal grammar in the corpus.

### 3.4.3 Mood and Modality: Method of Analysis

In order to explore the interaction between writer and reader, the following mood tags were used:

#### Indicative:

- \$A Assertive declarative
- \$E Exclamative
- \$P Polar interrogative
- \$W Wh-interrogative

#### Imperative

- \$I Imperative

These tags were used those for ranking clauses which were non-hypotactic and non-projected clauses, because only these select for mood (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:373).

The tag \$E was used more broadly than the theory would dictate, including not only clauses with a WH- element conflating with the complement, but also some clauses with “if only”, “no wonder” and “as if”, used as single sentences in the following examples from the corpus:

- “If only his old friends would listen” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23, Comment and Analysis: “Labour and immigration. Tough on rhetoric”);

- “No wonder the Tories talk repeatedly about immigration and tax (...)” (*The Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, No. 68305, page 9: “Immigration: Tories’ best issues fail to connect with voters”, by Peter Riddell);

- “As if they were to blame for the lack of adequate facilities at the museum on this crowded afternoon” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “Stop this continual abuse of immigrants”, by Yasmin Alhibai Brown).

In the corpus there was also one instance of a tag question, tagged \$QT (“We’ve won then, have we?”, *The Daily Express*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 12: “Immigration: Don’t be fooled by Labour’s latest lame promises”, by Patrick O’Flynn, Political Editor), and one clause with emphatic *do*, tagged \$EM (“But he did come up with a few sensible ideas”, *The Daily Star*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 6: “Britain has had its fill”). In addition, by way of exploration, additional mood information concerning primary and secondary tense was added. Primary tense is the means whereby the proposition is grounded with respect to the time of speaking, while secondary tense specifies reference to time relative to the primary tense. So “I have finished” is ‘past (secondary) in present (primary)’: the proposition is grounded in present time relative to the speech event, but in the past relative to this present grounding (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 337-348 for a more detailed explanation). The tags used for tense were the following:

Primary tense:

- \$PA finite past (simple past)
- \$PR finite present (simple present)
- \$FU finite future (will)

Secondary tense:

-PA, -PR, -FU were added to the tags for primary tense giving: past in present (i.e., present perfect): \$PRPA; present in present (i.e., present continuous): \$PRPR; future in present (“is going to”): \$PRFU; past in past (i.e., past perfect): \$PAPA; present in past (past continuous): \$PAPR; future in past (“was going to do”<sup>51</sup>): \$PAFU; present in future (“will be doing”): \$FUPR; future in future (“will be going to do”): \$FUFU; past in future (“will have done”): \$FUPA.

Only non-hypotactic and on-embedded clauses were tagged for tense. When they also displayed negative polarity, the letter –T was added to the tag.

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<sup>51</sup> In their table of finite and non-finite/modalized tense systems, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:340-341) do not include the conditional form with “would”, which can also be analysed as ‘future in past’ in clauses like “They said they would give the police their full cooperation” (example taken from the Collins Cobuild English Dictionary). In the corpus, conditional “would” has been tagged \$MD. None of the instances, however, seemed to be a straightforward example of future in past.

The second set of tags which was used for the analysis concerns modality. Modality is the system whereby propositions and proposals are grounded to the speech event by reference to the speaker's judgement of the validity of what is being said in terms of parameters such as probability, usuality, inclination and obligation. Probability and usuality express the speaker's assessment with respect to the location of a proposition between the two poles of asserting and denying (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:147), and are referred to as *modalisation*. On the other hand, inclination and obligation together are referred to as *modulation*, and express assessments which stand between prescribing and proscribing.

Modalisation can be expressed congruently by means of modal adjuncts and modal operators. Modulation instead is realised congruently by means of modal adjuncts or by an expansion of the predicator by a passive verb (e.g. "Be supposed to") or an adjective (e.g. "be keen to"). Both modalisation and modulation, on the other hand, can be realised through clauses, and the realisation of modality through a clause nexus is an example of grammatical metaphor<sup>52</sup>. Examples of these different realisations are shown in table 3.9, adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 620).

*Table 3.9 Congruent and metaphorical expressions of modality*

	Congruent		Metaphorical	
	Subjective Implicit	Objective: Implicit	Subjective: Explicit	Objective: Explicit
Modalisation: Probability	Mary <i>will</i> know	Mary <i>probably</i> knows	<i>I think</i> Mary knows	<i>It is likely</i> that Mary knows
Modalisation: Usuality	Fred <i>will</i> sit quiet	Fred <i>usually</i> sits quite	-	<i>It's usual</i> for Fred to sit quiet
Modulation: Obligation	John <i>should</i> go	John <i>is supposed</i> to go	<i>I want</i> John to go	<i>It is expected</i> that John goes
Modulation: Inclination	Jane <i>will</i> help	Jane <i>is keen</i> to help.	-	-

These distinctions are interesting for the analysis at hand, because they allow us to see if the sub-corpora tend to express modal assessments as grounded in the writer's

<sup>52</sup> See Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:586-658) for a detailed account of grammatical metaphor. Basically, in this case, interpersonal meanings are realised through structures that in themselves are mainly connected to the Ideational metafunction (clause nexuses).

subjectivity or as objective judgements, and to see whether they tend to make these different orientations explicit or not.

Another aspect of Modality is its value: high, median or low. The test which allows us to establish this paradigm is transferred negative polarity. If we want to make negative the proposition “that must be true”, we can negate the proposition or the modality. If we negate the proposition, we have “that must be not true”, but if we want to transfer the negation to the polarity we must change the modal operator: “That can’t be true”. This happens with the extreme values, high and low, but not with the median values, where the operator remains constant for positive and negative polarity, as table 3.10 (from Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:149) exemplifies:

*Table 3.10 Values of Modality*

	<b>High</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Low</b>
<b>Positive</b>	That must be true That’s certainly true	That will be true That’s probably true	That may be true That’s possibly true
<b>Negative</b>	That must be not true That’s certainly not true	That will be not true That’s probably not true	That may be not true That’s possibly not true
<b>Transferred negative</b>	That can’t be true That’s not possibly true	That won’t be true That’s not probably true	That needn’t be true That’s not certainly true

It has been chosen to tag modality for value as well, in order to see whether the sub-corpora display significant tendencies to privilege high or low degrees of probability, usuality, obligation and inclination.

Finally, the account of modality offered so far needs to be completed by the categories of ability/potentiality, expressed by “can/can’t” (subjective implicit), “be able to” (objective implicit) and “it’s possible for ... to” (objective explicit).

The tags used for modality are the following:

- \$MSSE: ‘modalisation: subjective: explicit’, with the letters –P or –U added for probability and usuality, and –H, –M and –L for the different values, high, median, low. E.g.: “\$MSSEPLT But somehow **I don’t think** it’s going to happen anytime soon” (*The Times*, Monday February 7, 2005, page 21: “I wouldn’t call Howard’s Tories racist. Merely absurd, laughable oportunist”, by Tony Blair);
- \$MSSI: ‘modalisation:subjective:implicit’, again with the letters –P or –U added for probability and usuality, and –H, –M and –L for the different values, high, median, low. E.g.: “These levels of anxiety \$MSSIPLC **may** be exaggerated, imperfectly informed and in some respects dangerous” (*The Guardian*, Monday February 7, 2005, page 17: “Immigration. It has to be faced”, editorial comment);
- \$MSOE: ‘modalisation:objective:explicit’, -P or -U and -H -M, or –L. E.g.: “Yet now, at the end of that age, \$MSOEPL **it sometimes seems** as if there is still a divide between two mutually uncomprehending nations, distant but direct descendants of those about which Disraeli wrote, and that in some respects the divide is as deep and unbridged as ever” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”: “We hate our politicians, but we ve never had it so good”, by Martin Kettle)
- \$MLSE: ‘modulation:subjective:explicit’, with the letter –O added for Obligation, and –H, –M and –L for the different values, high, median, low. No examples in the corpus.
- \$MLSI: ‘modulation:subjective:implicit’, with the letters - I or -O added for Inclination and Obligation, and -H, -M or –L for the values High, Median or Low. E.g.: “Immigration, like all policy issues, \$MLSIOMC **should** be a matter for open and frank discussion” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: Leaders and Letters: “Ill-timed debate on migration controls. But Labour’s proposals appear preferable to the Tory plans”, Editorial Comment);

- \$MLOE: ‘modulation:objective:explicit’, with -O and -H, -M or -L. E.g.: “(...) \$MLOEOH **it behoves us** to do what we can to warn of the dangers. (*The Daily Telegraph*, Tuesday, February 8, 2005, No 46,551, page 10: News: “Blair finds it opportune to talk about immigration”, by Andrew Gimson, commons sketch);
- \$MLOI: ‘modulation:objective:implicit’, with -I or -O and -H, -M or -L. E.g.: “\$MLOIOH Those from "higher-risk countries" **will be required to** deposit a unspecified financial bond which they will forfeit if they fail to return home”, from *The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 1: “Labour’s migration squeeze targets unskilled”, by Alan Travis and Michael White.
- \$MASI: ‘ability:subjective:implicit’: E.g.: “\$MASI A progressive foreign policy **can** free countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan from persecution, but there will always be tough choices” (from *The Times*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 17: “Home Truths. The debate about immigration appears to be gowing up”, editorial comment).
- \$MAOI: ‘ability:objective:implicit’. E.g. “\$MAOI Skilled workers, including nurses and teachers, **will be able to** come only to fill a vacancy” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 8, “Immigration Debate”: “Blair accused of ‘bidding war’ with Tories after announcing tougher immigration laws”, by Andrew Grice and Nigel Morris)
- \$MAOE: ‘ability:objective:explicit’ (“It is possible for .. to...”): no examples in the corpus.

The category of ‘objective:implicit’ modalisation has been signalled by directly tagging mood adjuncts of modality as follows:

- Modality:Probability:High (*certainly, definitely, no way*): \$MAPH
- Modality:Probability: Median (*probably*): \$MAPM
- Modality:Probability:Low (*possibly, maybe, perhaps, hardly*): \$MAPL
- Modality:Usuality:High (*always, never*): \$MAUH
- Modality:Usuality:Median (*usually, typically*): \$MAUM
- Modality:Usuality:Low (*sometimes, occasionally, seldom, rarely*): \$MAUL

On the other hand, the tag \$MSOI has been used for expressions connected to modalisation, for example, “X is likely / X is expected to<sup>53</sup> .../ X seems to...”, which I would consider another way of realising objective implicit modalisation, analogous to objective implicit modulation (“be required to”, “be supposed to”, “be keen to” etc.), and other expressions which Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:499) analyse as hypotactic elaboration of the verbal group in terms of reality phase, i.e., ‘seem to’, ‘appear to’ in the constructions ‘*subject seems to / appears to verb*’.

Other mood adjuncts described by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 128-129) are mood adjuncts of temporality, mood adjuncts of ‘intensity:degree’ and mood adjuncts of ‘intensity: counterexpectancy’, tagged as follows:

- Temporality<sup>54</sup> relative to now (*eventually, just, soon, once*): \$MATN
- Temporality relative to expectation (*already, still, no longer, not yet*): \$MATE
- ‘Intensity:degree:total’ (*totally, utterly, entirely-completely*): \$MADT
- ‘Intensity:degree:high’ (*quite, almost, nearly*): \$MADH
- ‘Intensity:degree:low’ (*scarcely, hardly*): \$MADL
- ‘Intensity:counterexpectancy:exceeding’ (*even, actually, really, in fact*): \$MACE
- ‘Intensity:counterexpectancy:limiting’ (*just, simply, merely, only*): \$MACL.

Another aspect which it was chosen to include in the analysis was whether the modal operators belonged to the category which is traditionally referred to as “central modal auxiliaries” (Quirk et al. 1985:135-137): the letter –C has been added to the modality tag for

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<sup>53</sup> Taking into account Halliday and Matthiessen’s analysis (2004:620) and the definition in the Collins Cobuild English dictionary, the basic meaning of the expression “be expected to” is connected with modulation and not modalisation, as in the example from the corpus “After five years the situation in their country will be revised; they will be expected to go home if it is safe” (*The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 4: “Seeking a system fairer to Uk and migrants”, by Alan Travis, home affairs editor). In other corpus examples, however, it seemed to me clear that the meaning was one of modalisation, for example: “The Danish People’s Party won 12 per cent of the vote in 2001 and is expected to capture a similar proportion today” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 7, International News, Europe: “Danish Election.Premier stands by tough line on immigration ahead of poll. Main parties try to play down the issue but allies have made it their main campaign theme”, by Clare MacCarthy). Cases like the latter were tagged as ‘objective implicit modalisation’, while cases like the former were tagged as ‘objective implicit modulation’.

<sup>54</sup> More delicate distinctions in the temporality category, such as future vs. non-future, positive vs. negative, have not been included in the analysis.



the central modal auxiliaries, i.e., *can, could, shall, should, may, might, will, would*, and to the marginal modal auxiliary *need*, while the letter –A has been added for the modal idioms *be to* and *have got to* and the semi-auxiliary *have to*.

To complete the picture of interpersonal clause grammar, comment adjuncts need to be taken into account. Comment adjuncts “express the speaker’s attitude either to the proposition as a whole or to the particular speech function” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:129), and have been tagged as follows:

**Propositional comment adjuncts:**

- ‘on whole: asseverative’<sup>55</sup> (*naturally, inevitably, of course, obviously, clearly, plainly, doubtless, indubitably, no doubt*): \$CAA
- ‘on whole: qualificative: prediction: predictable’ (*unsurprisingly, predictably, to no one’s surprise*): \$CAWPDP
- ‘on whole: qualificative: prediction: surprising’ (*surprisingly, unexpectedly*):  
\$CAWPDS
- ‘on whole: qualificative: presumption: hearsay’ (*evidently, allegedly, supposedly*):  
\$CAWPSH
- ‘on whole: qualificative: presumption: argument’ (*arguably*): \$CAWPSA
- ‘on whole: qualificative: presumption: guess’ (*presumably*): \$CAWPSG
- ‘on whole: qualificative: desirability: desirable: luck’ (*luckily, fortunately*):  
\$CAWQDL
- ‘on whole: qualificative: desirability: desirable: hope’ (*hopefully*): \$CAWQDH
- ‘on whole: qualificative: desirability: undesirable’ (*sadly, unfortunately, worryingly*):  
\$CAWQDU
- ‘on subject: wisdom: positive’ (*wisely, cleverly*): \$CASWP

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<sup>55</sup> Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004:130) more delicate distinction between “natural”, “obvious” and “sure” asseverative adjuncts has not been included in the analysis.

- ‘on subject: wisdom: negative’ (*foolishly, stupidly*): \$CASWN
- ‘on subject: morality: positive’ (*rightly, correctly, justifiably*): \$CASMP
- ‘on subject: morality: negative’ (*wrongly, unjustifiably*): \$CASMN

**Speech functional comment adjuncts:**

- ‘unqualified: persuasive: assurance’ (*truly, honestly, seriously*): \$CAUPA
- ‘unqualified: persuasive: concession’ (*admittedly, certainly, to be sure*): \$CAUPC
- ‘unqualified: factual’ (*actually, really, in fact, as a matter of fact*): \$CAUF
- ‘qualified: validity’ (*generally, broadly, roughly, ordinarily, by and large, on the whole*): \$CAQV
- ‘qualified: personal engagement: honesty’ (*frankly, honestly, to be honest*): \$CAQEH
- ‘qualified: personal engagement: secrecy’ (*confidentially, between you and me*):  
\$CAQES
- ‘qualified: personal engagement: individuality’ (*personally, for my part*): \$CAQEI
- ‘qualified: personal engagement: accuracy’ (*truly, strictly*): \$CAQEA
- ‘qualified: personal engagement: hesitancy’ (*tentatively*): \$CAQEE

Since comment adjuncts represent the speaker’s “intrusion” into the communicative event, one may wonder whether they are more typical of the popular or quality newspapers. On the one hand, they might signal that there is a more proximate relationship between writer/newspaper and readers, and this is the case especially with propositional comment adjuncts such as like “wisely”, “wrongly”, “foolishly”, “sadly” etc., which do make reference to a presumed set of common values. On the other hand, they might make it explicit that what is being said is an individual’s opinion, especially in the case of qualified speech functional comment adjuncts (e.g., “personally”, or “tentatively”). The analysis is supposed to show whether there is some significant tendency for the different kinds of comment adjuncts to occur in specific sub-corpora.

#### 3.4.4 *Appraisal: Aims*

The second set of interpersonal meanings which have been analysed in the corpus is the system of evaluative meanings, which reflect and construe values and power/solidarity relationships. Appraisal is a discourse-semantics rather than lexico-grammatical system (Martin and White 2005:11): it is concerned with patterns of meanings which extend beyond single clauses and with a wide range of different kinds of structures, and not only with strictly interpersonal structures, as will emerge below where the framework is illustrated in more detail.

The aims which informed the appraisal analysis undertaken here are similar to those which motivated the analysis of interpersonal clause grammar, i.e., exploring relationships of power and solidarity as they are construed in the texts. More specifically, the analysis was meant to see whether there are significant differences between the sub-corpora as to the following questions:

- how often are emotional responses and judgements encoded?
- whose emotional responses and judgements are encoded (the author's, or other participants'?)
- are the emotions and judgements expressed strongly or in a balanced way?
- are the texts more heteroglossic, opening up space for different opinions and viewpoints, or more oriented to excluding them?

At the one extreme, we could have texts which encode authorial emotions and judgements very often and exclude different viewpoints: such texts could be interpreted as being imposing on the reader, and so creating a strong relationship of power, or, alternatively, and in my opinion more probably, as pre-supposing that the reader shares what is said, and so appealing to and reinforcing a bond of solidarity. At the other extreme, we could have heteroglossic texts which express emotions and judgements in a more balanced way or even do not directly express them, being apparently more respectful towards the reader, and pre-

supposing that the reader might not share the world-views expressed: such texts give more importance to individuality rather than community. If we had such extreme cases, we could recognise two different semantic styles in the corpus similar to those Hasan (1989:266-7) recognised in a corpus of mother-child spoken interaction. However, the configurations of meanings will probably be more complex and require careful interpretation. The analysis is precisely intended to answer these questions.

### *3.4.5 Appraisal systems: Theoretical framework*

To date, two main frameworks for the analysis of evaluation have been put forward, the first one by Martin and White (2005), the second one by Bednarek (2006). Although Bednarek's framework has been specifically designed for newspaper language, the choice here has been to adopt Martin and White's appraisal theory for four main reasons. Firstly and more generally, appraisal theory is definitely rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistics, as Bednarek herself notices (2006:32), while Bednarek's framework aims at offering an approach which uses an "eclectic perspective", trying to provide a "synthesis of various approaches" and not requiring "an exclusive commitment to, or a detailed prior knowledge of, any one particular theory". The commitment to SFL of appraisal theory is far from a drawback here: systemic functional theory has been chosen as a general framework for this research, because in my opinion it allows us to capture and explain those connections between language and social context which are the object of the present study. Secondly, Martin and White's framework draws a clear distinction between the appraisal categories of affect and judgement. This distinction is considered important here because (i) in a previous exploratory study (Samiolo 2004:394) some quantitative data on a very small corpus raised the question, to be investigated here, whether the popular newspapers privilege negative affect over negative judgement, and because (ii) the expression of the author's emotional evaluations can be considered more typical of an informal relationship, along with the expression of direct negative judgement, which generally entails the expectancy of a shared set of beliefs and the

direct challenging of some participants (politicians in the case of the present corpus). Thirdly, Martin and White's framework includes the analysis of heteroglossia in texts, i.e., of the interplay of the authorial voice, and hence world-view, and of other voices and viewpoints, and the study of this aspect was one main purpose for undertaking evaluation analysis here (see section 3.4.3 above). Finally, almost all the aspects which Bednarek (2006:32-35) considers to be drawbacks in Appraisal theory are not seen as problematic for the present analysis. These potential drawbacks, and the reasons why they are not considered problematic here, can be listed and summarised as follows:<sup>56</sup>

1. "The inclusion of both authorial and non-authorial expressions of emotion in one and the same category/system": "Non-authorial expressions of emotion are not part of evaluation proper, which is concerned with the expression of the speaker's attitude per se." This potential drawback has been overcome by distinguishing authorial from other participants' emotions in the tagging. Besides, although non-authorial emotions should be kept distinct from authorial ones, they can point to a text's emphasis on emotional aspects and perhaps evoke a response in the reader, so in my opinion they should be included in the analysis.
2. "There is no separate parameter for IMPORTANCE; instead, it seems to be included as Appreciation (Valuation), although importance does not necessarily relate to the good-bad parameter." Admittedly, this aspect is problematic. However, in the present study importance was analysed as 'valuation: positive' ("important") or 'valuation: negative' ("trivial"). In the corpus, importance was virtually the only parameter as to

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<sup>56</sup> The list quotes and then discusses the potential drawbacks which Bednarek (2006:32-35) emphasises.

valuation, so there was no danger of putting together things which are different.

3. “The sub-division of Attitude into three different systems of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. This can be seen as problematic in terms of actual text analyses. As White himself acknowledges, the distinction between Judgement and Appreciation is a fine one (...), and there are also connections between Affect and Appreciation (...). In any case, for me the crucial issue is whether writer approval or disapproval is expressed, whether via Affect, Judgement or Appreciation.” It is true that the category of appreciation is a difficult one, unless we consider it strictly as a way of evaluating in terms of aesthetics, as appeared to be the case in a previous sketch of the theory by Martin (2000:142-175). However, the distinction between affect and judgement did matter for the present analysis, as has been explained above. In the case of the present corpus, where truly aesthetic evaluations were virtually absent, appreciation has been used as a category to tag importance (see point 2 in this list) and complexity, which is a sub-category of appreciation in Martin and White’s framework, and was used in the corpus to qualify the problem of immigration. All in all, the category of appreciation should probably be restricted to aesthetic evaluations, and new parameters should be found for importance and difficulty, but in the case of the analysis at hand, where aesthetic evaluations were absent, the labels ‘appreciation: valuation’ and ‘appreciation: complexity’ have been used for evaluations which did not fit in the other categories of Martin and White’s framework. In view of these remarks, in the future

appraisal theory might perhaps need some re-adjustment or reformulation.

4. “The fact that, as far as I understand it, appraisal theory does not appear to work as well with expressions of deontic and dynamic modality (...). Such cases (...) are regarded by appraisal theory as part of interpersonal grammar rather than appraisal (even though the two notions are positioned on a cline and such expressions are connected to judgements of propriety and capacity; Martin and White 2005:55).” These aspects of modality are in fact analysed in detail as realisations of interpersonal clause grammar and have been included in the analysis as such, but this does not mean that they are excluded from appraisal theory: they are also included in appraisal theory as instances of ‘engagement: entertain’ and ‘judgement: propriety’ (deontic), and of ‘judgement: capacity’ (dynamic), as Bednarek herself recognises. The fact is that Appraisal theory is not concerned with distinguishing different lexico-grammatical categories: as far as I understand it, it is not a grammatical system, but, on the contrary, a discourse semantic system, realising different semantic motifs which run across different lexico-grammatical categories (e.g., modality, projection, epithesis, kind of process etc.).
5. “Expressions of counter-expectation are included both as Judgement (Normality, e.g. NORMAL, ODD, etc.) and as Engagement (Counter, e.g., SURPRISING, BUT; Deny: negation).” In my view, such expressions do belong to different categories, as Bednarek herself recognises, because “evaluations of expectedness do not carry with them meanings of approval or disapproval”. Bednarek goes on to suggest that evaluations of expectedness should perhaps be considered

per se, because “it is also arguable whether negations and contrasts involve the notion of dialogicity more than they involve the notion of expectedness”. In my opinion, negations and contrasts often involve the notion of dialogicity more than they involve the notion of expectedness, and the notion of dialogicity is also very important for the purposes of the present analysis. Perhaps it is not so clearly involved in an adjunct such as ‘surprisingly’, for which, however, Martin and White offer an alternative or complementary label: ‘realis affect: insecurity: surprise’. The choice of one or the other label, or perhaps both, will be guided by the co-text, and this, in my opinion, is far from a weakness in Appraisal theory. Evaluative meanings, like all interpersonal meanings, have a prosodic realisation (Martin and White 2005:20), so that they collectively and interdependently construe evaluative prosodies in the texts, whereby the meaning of one item is constrained and constrains the meanings of the other items.

6. “Within engagement, I find problematic that hearsay markers such as *apparently, is said to, I hear* (entertain) are not considered as attributions (...) on the grounds that the Sayer is not specified, as well as for grammatical reasons (...). However, expressions such as *the myth that, it’s rumoured that* which similarly do not involve specific Sayers *are included* as attributions (attribute: distance).” Bednarek is referring here to earlier versions of appraisal theory: she goes on to say that “This problem has been recognised by the most recent outline of appraisal theory where the category of attribution now includes expressions such as *reportedly* and *it is said that*.”



7. “I think it is questionable whether expressions such as *X compellingly argued* should be included in the same category as *naturally, of course, there can be no doubt that* (proclaim) rather than including it with attributions. This classification seems to blur the distinction between explicit attribution (*X has said, shown, claimed that*) and non-attributions (*naturally, there can be no doubt that*). In other words, why not simply distinguish three categories of attribution”: “endorse *X has compellingly argued that*, acknowledge: *X said that*, distance: *X claims that*.” This objection is well grounded, but Martin and White’s choice, as Bednarek herself points out, is motivated by the focus on whether an utterance is dialogically expansive, opening up space for alternative positions, or contractive, closing such space. Attribution, in its sub-categories of acknowledge and distance, is more expansive, while endorsement has been included in the broader category of “proclaim”, i.e., in the area of contractive engagement. For the purposes of the present analysis, the distinction between expansive and contractive engagement is very important, and not including endorsing statements with attributions does not seem to create any problem.

Besides all of these aspects, a further reason to privilege Martin and White’s framework is their organisation of evaluative meanings into categories with different degrees of delicacy, with categories and sub-categories which allow us to choose different degrees of generalisation: we can broadly analyse how much engagement, affect and judgement, or how much expansive and contractive engagement and positive and negative affect or judgement, or even choose to analyse each sub-category in detail. Bednarek’s parameters, on the other hand, do not afford such choice, because they are not organised as a system network. Bednarek also emphasises that her categories are based on other corpus-driven frameworks (Bednarek

2006:36), and “not on categories established on an *a priori* basis”. However, Martin and White’s categories appear to me to be natural, intuitive categories. For all these reasons, the choice has fallen on Martin and White’s framework. It goes without saying that this does not amount to dismissing Bednarek’s framework: it allowed her to find interesting results in her hard-news corpus analysis, and it can be used by those who do not want to commit themselves to a particular theory of grammar. More importantly, different frameworks can be equally valuable, and the choice of one over the other depends on the theoretical premises and on the purposes of the research which is undertaken.

Before listing in detail Martin and White’s categories, it must be added that there was one point as regard to which the analysis undertaken here is similar to Bednarek’s and different from Martin and White’s, i.e., the place of ‘graduation’. Intensifying expressions constitute one separate main category in Martin and White’s framework, along with attitude and engagement. Here, on the contrary, they are included in the analysis of attitude, which can be expressed in stronger or weaker terms, or they are considered in their potential to evoke evaluations: in other words, in line with Bednarek (2006:44-45), “Intensity is not considered as a ‘parameter’ of evaluation in the framework adopted here, but rather as a *modulator* of evaluation”. In addition, I agree with Bednarek that “there is no appropriate methodology available for identifying the exact position of an evaluator on an evaluative scale”, so that the choice has been made to tag evaluations as “high” when they are intensified or particularly emphatic, but not to tag for median and low values. This final remark takes us to the tagging method, which will be illustrated in the following section.

#### 3.4.6 *Appraisal systems: Method of analysis*

In what follows, the main categories of appraisal and the tags used to analyse them in the corpus will be listed and very briefly explained. For a detailed account see Martin and White (2005: 42-169).

Firstly, appraisal theory draws a broad distinction between three main categories: attitude, engagement and graduation. Attitude covers the semantics of emotion, ethics and aesthetics: it is sub-divided into affect, judgement and appreciation.

Affect deals with “positive and negative feelings”, judgement deals with “attitudes towards behaviour”, and appreciation involves “evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena” (Martin and White 2005:42). All the sub-categories of affect can be positive or negative, expressed as an undirected mood or as a feeling directed at or reacting to some particular stimulus, and manifested as a surge of behaviour or as an internal experience. In addition, affect can be ‘realis’, when it is a reaction to an actual stimulus, or ‘irrealis’, when it is directed towards stimuli which are not yet the case (i.e., fear or desire). Thus, we have the following categories of affect, and the corresponding examples (from Martin and White 2005:45-51) and tags:

- ‘IRREALIS AFFECT: NEGATIVE’
  - ‘FEAR: SURGE’ (e.g. *tremble, shudder, cower ...*<sup>57</sup>): \$AFIRFS.
  - ‘FEAR: DISPOSITION’ (e.g., *wary, fearful, terrorised...*): \$AFIRFD
- ‘IRREALIS AFFECT: POSITIVE’
  - ‘DESIRE: SURGE’ (e.g., *suggest, request, demand ...*): \$AFIRDS
  - ‘DESIRE: DISPOSITION’ (e.g., *miss, long for, yearn ...*): \$AFIRDD
- ‘REALIS AFFECT: NEGATIVE’
  - ‘UNHAPPINESS: MISERY: SURGE’ (*whisper, cry, wail...*): \$AFRMIS
  - ‘UNHAPPINESS: MISERY: DISPOSITION’ (*down, sad, miserable ...*): \$AFRMID
  - ‘UNHAPPINESS: ANTIPATHY: SURGE’ (*rubbish, abuse, revile...*): \$AFRANS
  - ‘UNHAPPINESS: ANTIPATHY: DISPOSITION’ (*dislike, hate, abhor ...*): \$AFRAND

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<sup>57</sup> The fact that the examples in parentheses are processes and qualities does not mean that these are the only ways affect is realised. For example, we can also have adverbials realising adjuncts or circumstantial elements, and nominalisations of processes and qualities (see Martin and White 2006: 45-52).

- ‘INSECURITY: DISQUIET: SURGE’ (*restless, twitching, shaking...*): \$AFRDIS
- ‘INSECURITY: DISQUIET: DISPOSITION’ (*uneasy, anxious, freaked out...*):  
\$AFRDID
- ‘INSECURITY: SURPRISE: SURGE’ (*start, cry out, faint...*): \$AFRSUS
- ‘INSECURITY: SURPRISE: DISPOSITION’ (*startled, jolted, staggered...*):  
\$AFRSUD
- ‘DISSATISFACTION: ENNUI: SURGE’ (*fidget, yawn, tune out...*): \$AFRENS
- ‘DISSATISFACTION: ENNUI: DISPOSITION’ (*flat, stale, jaded...*): \$AFREND
- ‘DISSATISFACTION: DISPLEASURE: SURGE’ (*caution, scold, castigate*):  
\$AFRDPS
- ‘DISSATISFACTION: DISPLEASURE: DISPOSITION’ (*cross, angry, furious...*):  
\$AFRDPD
- ‘REALIS AFFECT: POSITIVE’
- ‘HAPPINESS: CHEER: SURGE’ (*chuckle, laugh, rejoice...*): \$AFRCHS
- ‘HAPPINESS: CHEER: DISPOSITION’ (*cheerful, buoyant, jubilant...*): \$AFRCHD
- ‘HAPPINESS: AFFECTON: SURGE’ (*shake hands with, hug, embrace...*):  
\$AFRAFS
- ‘HAPPINESS: AFFECTION: DISPOSITION’ (*be fond of, love adore...*): \$AFRAFD
- ‘SECURITY: CONFIDENCE: SURGE’ (*declare, assert, proclaim*) \$AFRCOT
- ‘SECURITY: CONFIDENCE: DISPOSITION’ (*together, confident, assured...*)  
\$AFRCOD
- ‘SECURITY: TRUST: SURGE’ (*delegate, commit, entrust*): \$AFRTRS
- ‘SECURITY: TRUST: DISPOSITION’ (*comfortable with, confident in, trusting*)  
\$AFRTRD
- ‘SATISFACTION: INTEREST: SURGE’ (*attentive, busy, industrious*) \$AFRINS

- ‘SATISFACTION: INTEREST: DISPOSITION’ (*involved, absorbed, engrossed...*)  
\$AFRIND
- ‘SATISFACTION: PLEASURE: SURGE’ (*pat on the back, compliment, reward*):  
\$AFRPLS
- ‘SATISFACTION: PLEASURE: DISPOSITION’ (*satisfied, pleased, thrilled...*):  
\$AFRPLD

Within these tags, after the first two letters (AF), a letter was inserted to signal whether affect was felt by the author (A), by some quoted participant within his or her speech (Q), or by some other participant (O).

As for judgement, it can as well be sub-categorised into two main areas: judgements connected to social esteem, further sub-divided into normality, propriety and capacity, and judgements of social sanction, sub-divided into veracity and propriety. All the categories of judgement can be positive or negative. Here are Martin and White’s (2005:52-55) categories, their examples, and the tags used for each category in the present analysis:

- ‘JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL ESTEEM’:
  - ‘NORMALITY: POSITIVE’ (*lucky, normal, fashionable...*): \$JUSENOP
  - ‘NORMALITY: NEGATIVE’ (*unlucky, odd, retrograde...*): \$JUSENON
  - ‘CAPACITY: POSITIVE’ (*powerful, witty, expert...*): \$JUSECAP
  - ‘CAPACITY: NEGATIVE’ (*weak, incompetent, unsuccessful...*):  
\$JUSECAN
  - ‘TENACITY: POSITIVE’ (*heroic, meticulous, flexible...*): \$JUSETEP
  - ‘TENACITY: NEGATIVE’ (*cowardly, hasty, unreliable...*): \$JUSETEN
- JUDGEMENT: SOCIAL SANCTION:
  - ‘VERACITY: POSITIVE’ (*truthful, honest, frank...*): \$JUSSVEP
  - ‘VERACITY: NEGATIVE’ (*dishonest, deceptive...*): \$JUSSVEN
  - ‘PROPRIETY: POSITIVE’ (*good, law-abiding, modest...*): \$JUSSPRP

- 'PROPRIETY: NEGATIVE' (*bad, immoral, rude, selfish...*):

\$JUSSPRN

Again, after the first two letters indicating the type of attitude (\$JU), a letter was inserted indicating whether the judgement came from the author (A), some quoted or reported participant (Q) or other participant (O). In addition, there were cases in which words were used which carried a judgement in themselves, although they were being used as factual, to categorise people or phenomena: e.g., mention was often made of "genuine" vs. "bogus" asylum seekers. Such expressions do convey attitude, but in a way which is not direct. They could have been analysed as evoking attitude, but in their co-texts it did not seem so clear to me that some kind of evaluation was being meant to be evoked. As a consequence, I chose not to provide any indication of whether the evaluation came from the author or some other source. Henceforward, I will refer to these instances as "factual evaluation".

As for appreciation, we have the three main categories of reaction, composition and balance, with further sub-categorisations, i.e. (Martin and White 2005:56-58):

- 'REACTION: IMPACT: POSITIVE' (*arresting, fascinating, dramatic...*):

\$APREIMP

- 'REACTION: IMPACT: NEGATIVE' (*dull, boring, monotonous...*):

\$APREIMN

- 'REACTION: QUALITY: POSITIVE' (*fine, good, appealing...*): \$APREQUP

- 'REACTION: QUALITY: NEGATIVE' (*bad, ugly, repulsive ...*):

\$APREQUN

- 'COMPOSITION: BALANCE: POSITIVE' (*balanced, consistent, logical...*):

\$APCOBAP

- 'COMPOSITION: BALANCE: NEGATIVE' (*unbalanced, flawed, distorted...*): \$APCOBAN

- ‘COMPOSITION: COMPLEXITY: POSITIVE’ (*simple, pure, elegant...*):  
\$APCOCOP
- ‘COMPOSITION: COMPLEXITY’ (*ornate, extravagant, simplistic...*):  
NEGATIVE: \$APCOCON
- ‘VALUATION: POSITIVE’ (*penetrating, deep, creative, effective...*):  
\$APVAP
- ‘VALUATION: NEGATIVE’ (*shallow, insignificant, useless...*): \$APVAN

In the case of appreciation, too, after the first two letters, a letter was added to signal whether the appreciation was the author’s, some quoted participant’s or some other participant’s (A, Q, O, respectively), while no letter was added for ‘factual’ evaluation.

The second main category of evaluative meanings is engagement, i.e. the resources whereby “speakers/writers acknowledge (...) prior speakers and the ways they engage with them (Martin and White 2005:92)”. This system is meant to account for the dialogism and heteroglossia of discourse, i.e., the fact that every utterance takes place in the context of all the previous utterances on the same topic (Bakhtin 1981:281, also quoted in Martin and White 2005:92), so that in every utterance an interplay of different voices occurs, which embody “specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualising the world in words, specific world-views” (Bakhtin 1981:291-2). Hence the analysis of heteroglossia can reveal different ways in which evaluations are expressed, and values construed, in texts. More specifically, the resources whereby a text interacts with other utterances can be divided into two main categories: dialogically contractive and dialogically expansive resources. The first set is made up of resources whereby speakers tend to close up space for further discussion and for different voices, while the second set is made up of resources whereby speakers allow for, and so open up space for, different voices and conflicting viewpoints. The system of resources for dialogic contraction is further sub-divided into the two categories “disclaim” and “proclaim”: speakers can close up space for conflicting voices by directly denying or countering what

these other voices say, or by openly and decidedly supporting their own point of view. On the other hand, dialogic expansion occurs when speakers express their own views more carefully, e.g. by means of modalisation, or when they adopt a more neutral stance when reporting potentially conflicting utterances (e.g., ‘X said that...’).

The different resources of the engagement system, the main ways they are realised and the tags which have been used for the analysis are illustrated in the following list:

- DIALOGICALLY CONTRACTIVE RESOURCES: DISCLAIM AND PROCLAIM
  - ‘DISCLAIM: DENY’ (negation, whereby speakers disalign with third parties or putative addressees): \$EDD
  - ‘DISCLAIM: COUNTER’ (concessive adjuncts, e.g. *although, however* etc., and counterexpectation adjuncts, e.g. *only, just, still*): \$EDC
  - ‘PROCLAIM: CONCUR’ (*naturally, obviously, admittedly, of course, not surprisingly...*): \$EPC
  - ‘PROCLAIM: PRONOUNCE’ (*I contend, It is absolutely clear to me that, the truth is, there can be no doubt that, really*, emphatic Finite operators): \$EPP
  - ‘PROCLAIM: ENDORSE’ (*X has shown that, X has demonstrated that...*): \$EPE
  
- DIALOGICALLY EXPANSIVE RESOURCES: ENTERTAIN AND ATTRIBUTE
  - ‘ENTERTAIN: POSSIBILITY’ (*It seems, the evidence suggests, apparently, I hear, perhaps, in my view, I believe that, probably, modalising will, may, must...*): \$EEP
  - ‘ENTERTAIN: PERMISSION’ / ‘ENTERTAIN: OBLIGATION’ (*you must/ should / have to...*): \$EEO<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Locutions concerned with permission and obligation are considered dialogically expansive by Martin and White (2005:110-111) because they ‘still construe the communicative setting as heteroglossic and open up the dialogic space to alternatives’, in contrast with the imperative, which is monoglossic “in that it neither references, nor allows for the possibility of, alternative actions.”



- ‘ATTRIBUTE: ACKNOWLEDGE’ (*X said that, X believes that, according to X...*, and quotations): \$EAA
- ‘ATTRIBUTE: DISTANCE’ (*X claims that*): \$EAD

When disclaiming or proclaiming locutions were uttered by quoted sources, the letter -Q was added to the appropriate tag. Expressions like “X admitted / acknowledged that ...” were included in the endorse category, because, besides conveying the semantic feature of reluctance on the part of the original speaker, they presuppose that what is being acknowledged is actually the case. Another case which was not explicitly included in Martin and White’s framework was that of inverted commas for single words or parts of clauses: these were considered to be instances of attribution, and the co-text was used to decide whether the attribution was in terms of more neutral ‘acknowledgement’ or of distancing. In both cases, the letters –IC were added to the appropriate tag.

As explained above (end of section 3.4.4), graduation was not considered as a separate parameter for the analysis, but simply as a modulator of evaluation, and it was signalled in the corpus only for intensified or particularly emphatic evaluations, adding the letter –H to the appropriate tag. In addition to this, intensifying expressions were tagged when they were used to *evoke* Evaluations, which brings us to the question of evoked appraisal. Although evoked evaluation is strictly connected to the reader’s subjectivity, Martin and White (2005:61-68) consider it an important aspect of how texts construe values: “avoiding evoked evaluation (...) amounts to a suggestion that ideational meaning is selected without regard to the attitudes it engenders – a position we find untenable.” The choice as to this point has been to tag evoked evaluation only in the presence of some linguistically recognisable features which Martin and White list as examples of how evaluation can be evoked:

(a) lexical metaphor, e.g. “they fenced us in like sheep” (Martin and White’s example) or “a pass-the-parcel approach” (example from my corpus),

(b) intensification/repetition, e.g., the expressions underlined in the following passage: “Asylum numbers have dropped by 67 per cent from their peak. The average time to decide a case is now two months, not the twenty months then. There are UK-run border controls in France and Belgium, making a real difference. In 1996 the number of removals was equivalent to only 20 per cent of unsuccessful claims. In the first six months of 2004 that proportion was almost 50 per cent” (*The Times*, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 21: comment: “I wouldn’t call Howard’s Tories racist. Merely absurd, laughable opportunists”, by Tony Blair)

(c) non-core vocabulary, i.e., vocabulary that inherently includes an evaluative meaning, e.g. ‘artificial’ in “artificial caps on numbers” , or ‘plenty’ in “times of material plenty.”

These three devices evoking attitude have been tagged “\$LMEV”, “\$FCEV” and “\$NCEV”, respectively, followed by the tag for the attitude they were interpreted as evoking. Martin and White’s (2005:63) definition of non-core vocabulary is in fact somewhat stricter than I have interpreted it for my analysis: in their own words, it is “vocabulary that has in some sense lexicalised a circumstance of manner by infusing it into the core meaning of a word”. For example, “gallop” means “run like a horse” and can evoke judgement of a person who is said to be galloping. Admittedly, these instances are similar to those expressions which I have considered to have an ‘inherent’ or ‘factual’ or ‘categorising’ meaning of judgement or appreciation. However, the latter were used in contexts where it appeared to me less obvious that some evaluation was being meant to be evoked. In the last three tags which have been mentioned, before the letters “EV”, the letter -A or -Q was added according to whether the evoking item was included in a quotation or report (Q) or, instead, in the text itself (A). Martin and White also add to the features evoking attitude expressions of counter-expectation, e.g., *however*, *only*, etc., but these were already tagged as examples of ‘DISCLAIM:COUNTER’

in the Engagement analysis, and Mood adjuncts of counter-expectation were also tagged in the modality analysis, so no tag has been specially devised for these categories.

### 3.5 Other analyses

Besides the analyses illustrated above, some other aspects have been included in the analysis which are more specifically connected with the lexicon. Already at a first reading, the popular newspapers appeared to include words or expressions which were more informal: this feature is connected to the tenor dimension and the relationships of power/solidarity and proximity/distance discussed in section 3.4.2 above. To check if the sub-corpora significantly differed as to formal/informal lexicon, formal words were tagged \$F and informal words were tagged \$I in the corpus. This tagging was carried out by checking whether the words which appeared to be formal or informal were actually classified as such by the Collins Cobuild English dictionary. Connected to the parameter of formality/informality was the use of particularly concrete metaphorical expressions<sup>59</sup> in the popular newspapers, e.g., “PM slams the door on low-skilled workers” (*The Sun*, February 8, 2005, page 2, by David Wooding, Whitehall Editor). Metaphorical expressions were checked in the dictionary: if the metaphorical use was explained in the dictionary entry, this was considered as a sign that the metaphorical use had become or was becoming institutionalised, and so the expression was not tagged. On the other hand, if the metaphorical use was not explained in the dictionary, the tag \$C was used for the expression. In addition, if the concrete expression was fused with some more abstract word, it was tagged \$AC, for example: ‘swamp of *xenophobia*’ or “the rising tide of public *paranoia*”<sup>60</sup> in *The Independent* (Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “Stop this continual abuse of immigrants” by Yasmin Alhibai Brown), or “low-skilled workers will be barred from route to *citizenship*” in *The Guardian*,

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<sup>59</sup> For explanation and analysis of the concept of metaphor see Leech (1969:147-161). The object of Leech’s and of my analysis is lexical metaphor, and not Halliday’s grammatical metaphor (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:586-658).

<sup>60</sup> These are instances of what Leech (1969:158) calls “concretive metaphor”, attributing “concreteness or physical existence to an abstraction”.

(February 8 2005, page 4, “Immigration debate”: “Seeking a system fairer to UK and migrants”, by Alan Travis). If an expression was both concrete (or abstract-concrete) and informal (or formal), the letters I or F were added to the \$C (or \$AC) tag. Connected to the latter analysis, the texts were analysed for lexical density and grammatical intricacy (Halliday 1989:61-91, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:654): more lexically dense texts make a higher use of grammatical metaphor, so their language tends to be more abstract – because many processes are nominalised - or in any case distant from spoken language, which tends to be more grammatically intricate. Lexical density can be calculated as the percentage of the total number of words which are lexical words (Ure 1971:445) or as the ratio of lexical words to non-embedded clauses (Halliday 1989:65-67) The lexical density analysis was performed using the Wordsmith program, by asking it to remove from the Wordlists which it gives as outputs all the tokens matching those from a stop list of grammatical words.<sup>61</sup> Differently

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<sup>61</sup> The stoplist adopted was elaborated and kindly provided by Dr. Erik Castello, researcher at the Department of Anglo-Germanic Languages in Padua (see also Castello 2004:131-151). The list reads as follows: A, ABOUT, ABOVE, ACROSS, AFTER, AGAINST, ALL, ALONG, ALONGSIDE, ALTHOUGH, AMID, AMIDST, AMONG, AMONGST, AN, AND, ANOTHER, ANY, ANYBODY, ANYONE, ANYTHING, ANYWHERE, APROPOS, AS, AT, ATOP, BECAUSE, BEFORE, BEHIND, BELOW, BENEATH, BESIDE, BESIDES, BETWEEN, BEYOND, BOTH, BUT, BY, CAN, CAN’T, COS, COULD, COULDN’T, DARE, DAREN’T, DESPITE, Did, DIDN’T, DOESN’T, DON’T, DURING, EACH, EI, EITHER, ELSE, EVERY, EVERYBODY, EVERYONE, EVERYTHING, EVERYWHERE, EXCEPT, FEW, FOR, FROM, HE, HE’D, HE’LL, HE’S, HER, HERE, HERS, HERSELF, HIM, HIMSELF, HIS, HOW, HOWEVER, IF, I’M, IN, INSIDE, INTO, IT, IT’D, IT’LL, IT’S, ITS, ITSELF, LESS, MANY, MAY, MAYN’T, ME, MHM, MIGHT, MINE, MINUS, MORE, MOST, MUCH, MUST, MUSTN’T, MY, MYSELF, NEEDN’T, NEITHER, NEVER, NEVERTHELESS, NO, NO-ONE, NOBODY, NONE, NONETHELESS, NOONE, NOR, NOT, NOTHING, NOTWITHSTANDING, OF, OFF, ON, ONE, OR, OTHER, OUGHT, OUGHTN’T, OUR, OURS, OURSELVES, OUT, OUTSIDE, OVER, PER, PLUS, QUITE, RATHER, SHALL, SHAN’T, SHE, SHE’D, SHE’LL, SHE’S, SHOULD, SHOULDEST, SHOULDN’T, SINCE, SO, SOME, SOMEBODY, SOMEONE, SOMEPLACE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE, THAN, THAT, THAT’D, THAT’LL, THAT’S, THE, THEE, THEIR, THEIRS, THEMSELVES, THEM, THEN, THERE, THERE’D, THERE’LL, THERE’S, THERE’VE, THEREFORE, THEREWITH, THESE, THEY, THEY’D, THEY’LL, THEY’RE, THEY’VE, THINE, THIS, THOSE, THOU, THOUGH, THROUGH, THROUGHOUT, THUS, THY, TILL, TO, TOO, TOWARD, TOWARDS, UHUH, UNDER, UNDERNEATH, UNTIL, UP, UPON, US, VERY, VIA, WE, WE’D, WE’LL, WE’RE, WE’VE, WHAT, WHAT’D, WHAT’LL, WHAT’S, WHAT’VE, WHATEVER, WHEN, WHENEVER, WHERE, WHEREVER, WHETHER, WHICH, WHICHEVER, WHILE, WHILST, WHO, WHOM, WHOSE, WHY, WILL, WITH, WITHIN, WITHOUT, WON’T, WOULD, WOULD’N’T, YE, YEAH, YES, YET, YOU, YOU’D, YOU’LL, YOU’RE, YOU’VE, YOUR, YOURS, YOURSELF, YOURSELVES, I, I’D, I’LL, I’VE, OK, BE, AM, ARE, IS, ISN’T, AREN’T, WAS, WASN’T, WERE, WEREN’T, BEING, HAVE, HAVEN’T, HAS, HASN’T, BEEN, HAD, HADN’T, HAVING, DO, DID, DONE, DOES, DON’T, DOESN’T, DIDN’T, DOING, FREQUENTLY, OFTEN, USUALLY, ALWAYS, NEVER, EVER, SELDOM, SOMETIMES, T, S, LL, RE, VE, M, D, ISN, WASN, WEREN, HADN, HASN, WOULDN, AREN, HAVEN, ALSO, SUCH, ONE’S, WHEREAS, COULDN, TOGETHER, ‘s.

from Castello (2004:134), it was also chosen to remove numbers, i.e., to consider them as grammatical rather than lexical items. In addition, for the sake of simplicity, it was chosen to ignore the fact that some prepositions, conjunctions and quantifiers are formed by sequences of words: for example, expressions like “in view of”, “given that” or “heaps of” were not counted as single lexical items as in the analyses referred to by Castello (2004:134-135), but as consisting of three (“in view of”) or two (“given that”, “heaps of”) words, one lexical and the other(s) grammatical. This is not supposed to influence the results of the analysis for lexical density calculated according to Halliday’s method, because the number of lexical items does not change, but will probably slightly influence lexical density calculated according to Ure’s method, lowering it by increasing the number of grammatical words and of total words.

Finally, the empirical study which Bernstein (1977:95-117) used as a basis to elaborate his definitions of the restricted and the elaborated code was taken as the starting point for two additional observations in the corpus. The aspects which Bernstein took into account were isolated features, not lexico-grammatical and semantic systems as in the present study, and were used to analyse spoken language. Some of them are not appropriate for the analysis of written language, for example the different distributions of “I think” and sympathetic circularity expressions such as “you know”: this distinction, however, can be interpreted in terms of evaluating individuality vs. evaluating community, and these two potential opposite poles have already been taken into account in the appraisal analysis. Bernstein then analysed the average length of propositions, counted as the ratio of a speaker’s total number of words over his or her total number of finite verbs. He found a significant difference between the working and middle class groups. In the present study an average sentence length was calculated, as opposed to an average clause length, which would be closer to what Bernstein (1977:100) did: he did not try to count average sentence length because he was dealing with spoken language and “no reliable method for distinguishing the

samples on this measure was available". He then counted the ratio of passive verbs over the total number of finite verbs, and found that his middle class subjects used passive verbs more often than his working-class subjects did. In the present work, instead, the percentage of the total number of clauses (including non-finite and embedded clauses) which are receptive was counted when analysing transitivity.

Other analyses carried out by Bernstein were not performed here, but the general principles underlying them were taken into account to decide what lexico-grammatical features to analyse. Firstly, Bernstein also counted the number of verbal stems containing more than three units and calculated what proportion they formed of the total number of finite verbs, again finding significant differences between the middle class and the working class groups: the former tended to use more complex verbal stems. Secondly, Bernstein calculated what proportion of the total number of words were uncommon adverbs; his classification of adverbs is, however, described by himself as "arbitrary": "adverbs of degree and place, 'just', 'not', 'yes', 'no', 'then', 'how', 'really', 'when', 'where', 'why' were excluded from the total number of adverbs and the remainder, excluding repetitions, was expressed as a proportion of the total number of analysed words used by each subject" (Bernstein 1977:100). By the same token, he analysed uncommon adjectives and uncommon conjunctions on the basis of an arbitrary classification: "numerical and demonstrative adjectives and 'other' and 'another' were excluded from the total number of adjectives and the remainder, excluding repetitions, was expressed as a proportion of the total number of analysed words used by each subject"; "all conjunctions other than 'and', 'so', 'or', 'because', 'also', 'then' and 'like' were classified uncommon and the result was expressed as a proportion of total conjunctions" (Bernstein 1977:102-103). Finally, Bernstein counted adjectives and expressed their number as a proportion of words; he found that the middle class group used adjectives more often. Given the arbitrariness of the classifications, and the fact that they are based on single categories which are not connected to semantic aspects through any theory, these latter

analyses have not been performed in this study. Bernstein used the aforementioned data to conclude that “the restriction on the use of adjectives, uncommon adjectives, uncommon adverbs, the relative simplicity of the verbal form and the low proportion of subordinations supports the thesis that the working-class subjects relative to the middle-class do not explicate intent verbally and inasmuch as this is so the speech is non-individuated”. In other words, Bernstein’s results point to the absence of a perceived need for working-class subjects to elaborate in detail the reasons and shadings of the topic which was discussed in his experiment (the abolition of the death penalty). This is connected to the tendency to evaluate community which Hasan (1989:266) herself recognised in her mother-child corpus, where LAP (lower-autonomy profession) mothers tended to presume to know their children’s state of knowledge, belief, feelings, and did “not place a great deal of premium upon uniqueness of personal intent, opinions, etc.”. These characteristics are supposed to emerge in the attitude and engagement analysis of the corpus at hand, where a higher proportion of higher-intensity attitude expressions would point to a presupposition that the reader shares the evaluations expressed, and a higher proportion of engagement locutions would point to “a regard for individuality, a belief in the uniqueness of persons, and a readiness to grant that states of affairs can be viewed from different angles”. This regard for subjectivity and difference of opinion is supposed to make argumentation more necessary to sustain one’s thesis, and is connected to the counting of cause and condition relationships which I have performed on the corpus data. The same underlying principles, in addition, can be used to explain the difference in the use of personal pronouns which Bernstein found in his data (1977:106), i.e., a more frequent use of “I” in the middle class group and a more frequent use of “you” and “they” in the working class groups. By the same token, Bernstein interpreted the more frequent occurrence of the preposition “of” in the middle class group (calculated as a percentage of the total number of occurrences of “of” plus “in” and “into”) as a preference for prepositions symbolising logical relationships over prepositions indicating spatial or temporal contiguity. I

would add to this that the preposition “of” tends to be more frequent in highly nominalised texts, where nominal groups are more complex and tend to be fully expanded by means of the deictic, epithet, classifier and qualifier more often (Halliday 1997:29): the qualifier is frequently introduced by “of”, e.g. “the driver’s overrapid downhill driving *of the bus* caused brake failure” (Halliday’s example). As a consequence, a higher proportion of “of” can be connected to a more metaphorical, hence more abstract, style. However, the preposition “in”, as well, can be used in grammatical metaphors (e.g. “a party in denial about the necessity for...”, From *The Guardian*, February 7, 2005, page 17: “Immigration. It has to be faced”). As a consequence, the degree to which the style is ‘metaphorical’ has been determined by determining the lexical density of the texts. Furthermore, preference for logical as opposed to spatio-temporal relationships has been checked in the corpus by calculating the proportion of circumstances, conjuncts and enhancing clauses which are of cause and consequence and comparing the figure obtained to the proportion of circumstances, conjuncts and enhancing clauses which are of space and time.

Finally, it will be noted that the tagging which has been performed is very delicate and also includes information which is not connected to any particular hypothesis: this is due to the choice to have the corpus ready for other possible future investigations, and to the possibility that a more delicate tagging afforded to explore some features, as the possibility was kept open that there might be significant differences in the sub-corpora which were not connected to the hypotheses set up here.

### **3.6 How the data have been processed**

The tagged texts were put through the Wordsmith program, which put out alphabetical and frequency wordlists which made it possible to count the frequencies of occurrence of the various tags. These frequencies were used to compile Excel sheets, where relative frequencies could be calculated more easily, and which could then be put through the



SPSS (Statistics for Social Sciences) program in order to perform statistical tests. It was chosen to apply the Mann-Whitney test, which is a non-parametric test. Non-parametric tests “were more appropriate as these tests do not require that the data be normally distributed and the variance be homogeneous”<sup>62</sup> (Bernstein 1977:97). However, before performing this test, the parametric T-test was applied manually for a first exploration of the results and selection of the most relevant features. Despite not allowing generalisations for non-normally distributed data, it was useful to describe differences in the sub-corpora. As for the Mann-Whitney test, it was used for the same reasons that Bernstein adopted it, i.e., “as it is considered the most powerful of the non parametric tests and a most useful alternative to the parametric *t* test when the researcher wishes to avoid the *t* test’s assumptions” (Bernstein 1977:97, quoting Siegel 1956).

A more detailed explanation of the method which has been adopted here is offered in the next chapter, where the results of the analysis are illustrated and discussed. It must be pointed out that the analysis yielded unexpected results for some lexico-grammatical categories, most of which could, however, still be connected to Bernstein’s codes and Hasan’s semantic styles, but in unexpected ways, while for other lexico-grammatical categories it sometimes did not yield any significant results where they could have been expected. The following chapter only includes the statistically significant results, along with a short paragraph dealing with the results which were not statistically significant in terms of the Mann-Whitney test, and hence did not statistically validate some hypotheses which were explicitly made in the present chapter. No discussion will be included of the other features for which no answer was provided, i.e., for which the average values were more or less the same and/or the Mann-Whitney error chance was too high. They probably need to be tested again on larger corpora.

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<sup>62</sup> Normally distributed data is data which can be represented by means of a symmetrical curve: most of the values tend to concentrate towards the average, while there are fewer examples of extreme values. Variance is “the distance of every data item from their mean” (Oakes 1998:4-7).



## CHAPTER 4 **Results of the analysis**

In this chapter I will simply present the results of my analysis without trying to interpret them. It is therefore a chapter which might become tedious reading, but I nonetheless believe that the results should be kept apart from their interpretation. This way, readers can draw their own conclusions themselves before learning about mine.

After tagging the corpus for the grammatical and semantic features explained in chapter 3 and obtaining their frequencies through the Wordsmith program, statistical tests have been applied to determine whether there were significant differences between the popular and quality newspaper sub-corpora. The following sections explain the statistical tests which have been applied and summarise the results which have been obtained.

### **4.1 T-Test**

The t-test<sup>63</sup> is a parametric tests, devised for data which is normally distributed and which displays homogeneous variance (Bernstein 1977:97, Oakes 1998:11-16, Hatch and Farhady 1982:98-128). In spite of this, it was applied to the data under study as a preliminary exploration. As Biber et al. (1998:275-276) put it,

A t-test is used to determine if a significant difference exists between two groups. The statistical procedure compares the distance between mean scores relative to the amount of variation that exists within each group. The t-value is a score measuring the likelihood that the observed difference could be due to chance. To evaluate the significance associated with a score for t, it is necessary to also consider the number of observations analysed in the study. A relatively small difference in mean scores can be significant if it is based on a large number of observations, while a relatively large difference might not be significant if it is based on few observations. In reporting the results for a t-test, the number of observations is reflected in the 'degrees of freedom', which is the number of observations in a group minus one.

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<sup>63</sup> All the statistical elaborations whose results are summarised here have been carried out under the guidance of a statistician, Alessandra Vecchi, who has offered explanations and advice as to which tests to apply and how.

If a t-score represents a significant difference, the result is reported in terms of the probability level (p) being less than some pre-determined cut-off: .05, .01 or 0.001. The value for p measures the likelihood of an error – i.e., the researcher incorrectly concludes there is a difference when in fact the two groups are the same. For example, a p of 0.01 means that there is only a one in an hundred chance that the observed difference was due to chance. The smaller the p-value, the less likely it is that the observed difference occurred due to chance.

The groups which have been compared by means of a t-test are quality newspaper articles and popular newspaper articles, quality and popular news articles, and quality and popular comment articles. The data to be analysed by means of the t-test was taken from the Excel sheets (see attached CD) where the Wordsmith outputs were reported. The t-test was not applied to *all* the data obtained, but to a selection of data which was considered to be more significant in view of the hypotheses to be tested (see chapter 3), or to the data where the average values for the various sub-corpora were distant enough to justify the presupposition of a difference. As for the data whose occurrence was too scanty to allow comparison, they were either excluded from the analysis, or a lower level of delicacy was chosen: for example, the sub-kinds of enhancing conjunctions (*spatio-temporal, manner, matter, cause, condition, concession*) were counted together. The data selected for analysis with a t-test were obtained from the appraisal, conjunction, interpersonal, identification, transitivity and clause complexing analyses (see attached CD, “Final\_Excel/Data\_text\_analysis”). The complete data obtained from the Wordsmith analysis are reported in the Excel files included in the “First\_Excel” folder. Starting from the Wordsmith data for each single text, the following data was obtained for the aforementioned groups:

- average values for the single groups (M)
- number of observations, i.e., of texts for each group (N)
- standard deviation for each group (Ds)

The formula which has been applied manually to calculate the t-value is:

$$(M1 - M2) / \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{[(N1-1)(Ds1^2) + (N2-1)(Ds2^2)]}{(Nq+Nt-2)} \right\} \left( \frac{1}{N1} + \frac{1}{N2} \right)}^{64}$$

The results thus obtained have been located on a table<sup>65</sup> which showed the corresponding p values on the basis of the number of observations. It was decided at the beginning to consider significant only those differences for which  $p=0.05$ , i.e., to accept a 5% error likelihood.

The only significant results obtained for these elaborations are the following:

- the popular and quality newspaper articles in the corpus are significantly<sup>66</sup> different as to their average sentence lengths, with the quality newspapers having longer sentences, as the following table shows:

*Table 4.1 Average sentence length in the sub-corpora*

Average sentence length			
Quality news	24.02	Popular news	21.06
Quality comment	21.73	Popular comment	18.19
Quality overall	22.28	Popular overall	19.46

Calculating the t-value for the quality and popular sub-corpora, excluding two popular newspaper articles which have no sentences but lists, the result is 3.06, while the result for a 0.01 p-value would be 2.70 for 60 degrees of freedom (here the degrees of freedom are 81, so the minimum t value is even smaller). Taking only the forty-three news articles into account, the t-value is 2.78, while the minimum t-value associated to a 0.01 p-value would be 2.70 with 40 degrees of freedom (here they are 41). Finally, taking only the twenty comment articles into account, the t-value is 1.93, while the minimum value associated to a 0.1 p-value would be 1.73, and the minimum t-value associated to a 0.05 p-value would be 2.21.

<sup>64</sup> See Woods, Fletcher and Hughes 1986:177

<sup>65</sup> See Glanz, S.A. 1988:77-78, and Woods, Fletcher and Hughes 1986:300.

<sup>66</sup> But remember that the test has been applied to non-normally distributed data.

- The popular and quality corpora are near significance as to the difference in their average length of reference chains, with a t-value of 1.954 for 81 articles, i.e., 79 degrees of freedom (excluding the two interview articles<sup>67</sup>), while the minimum t-value for 60 degrees of freedom would be between 1.658 with a 10% error chance and 1.980 for a 5% error chance. The average chain length in the quality corpus is 3.083, while in the popular corpus it is 2.707.
- the popular and quality sub-corpora, and the quality news and popular news sub-corpora, are significantly<sup>68</sup> different as to their lexical density if it is calculated with Ure's method, i.e., as a percentage of the total number of words which are lexical words. What is interesting is that, contrary to expectation, the popular newspaper articles have a higher lexical density, as table 4.2 shows.

*Table 4.2 Lexical density – percentages, Ure's method*

Lexical density (Ure's method)			
Quality	53.06%	Popular	55.32%

The t-value for the whole corpus is 2.118, with 79 degrees of freedom. This t-value corresponds to an error chance of less than 5%. On the contrary, if lexical density is calculated with Halliday's method, it is higher in the quality sub-corpora, but the differences (quality news: 5.86, popular news: 5.47, quality comment: 5.71, popular comment: 5.63, quality overall: 5.70 popular overall: 5.64) do not reach a satisfactory level of significance. However, the differences are not enough to allow us to say that one sub-corpus is nearer spoken language than the other one: in Stubbs's (1996:71-77) analysis, written texts usually have a lexical density between 40% and 65%, while spoken texts range from 34% to 56%. On the other hand, following Halliday's method,

<sup>67</sup> The interview articles have been excluded because they included short passages from several different speakers and so shorter (and more numerous) chains.

<sup>68</sup> See note 66.

spoken texts have a lexical density between 1.5 and 2, and written texts between 3 and 6 (see Castello 2004:133).

#### 4.2 Mann-Whitney test

While the t-test was applied as a preliminary exploration, it cannot be said to demonstrate anything, because the kind of data which has been analysed is not normally distributed and the variance is not homogeneous. As a consequence, non-parametric tests are more appropriate to the data at hand (Hughes, Fletcher and Woods 1986:188).

According to Bernstein (1977:97), the most powerful non-parametric test is the Mann-Whitney test, which allows us to demonstrate that two groups are significantly different as to the frequency of occurrence of some variable. The Mann-Whitney test was applied by means of the SPSS (“Statistica per le Scienze Sociali”, i.e., “Statistics or social Sciences”) program to the Excel sheets `Final_Excel\Data_text_analysis` and `Final_Excel\Corrected_values`. The test was used to compare popular and quality articles overall, popular and quality news articles, and popular and quality comment articles. The test does not compare average values, but ranks the various subjects (in this case, texts) belonging to two different groups on the basis of their frequencies of occurrence of the particular feature which is being investigated. If the two groups do not differ, the texts from one or the other group will rank more or less the same; otherwise, the texts from one group will tend to cluster in the first or last positions. For example, if we call TC our popular comment sub-corpus and QC our quality comment sub-corpus, and measure the average sentence lengths (A) for each text within them, we obtain a sequence of values like the following:

A(QC1) – A (QC2) – A (QC3) – A (QC4) – A (TC1) – A(TC2) – A(QC5) – A(QC6) – A(QC7) – A (TC3) – A(TC4) – A (QC8) – A(QC9) – A(QC10) – A(QC11) – A (TC5) – A (TC6) –A(TC7) – A(TC8) – A(TC9)

In this string, the quality articles, A(QCn), tend to rank higher, so the two groups do not appear to be equal. The test assigns a score to each subject from the smaller group on the basis of its position, and for each of these smaller group subjects it counts the number of subjects in

the other group which rank higher. The numbers thus obtained are then summed to get a statistical measure called U, which must be smaller than a statistically pre-determined value in order to claim that the two groups are different. Alternatively, the test sums the scores assigned to the positions occupied by the subjects of each sample, calculates their difference and then subtracts from this difference a value which would be expected if the two groups were equal. The value thus obtained is then further processed statistically to obtain a Z value, which must be smaller than a statistically pre-determined standard to say that the two groups are different. The test also yields the error chance which corresponds to the U and Z values which it calculates. It was chosen to accept error chance values equal to or lower than 5%, i.e., asymptotic significance values lower than 0.05, and to also take into account asymptotic significance values between 0.05 and 0.069, which it was chosen to consider nearly significant.

In the next sections, only the variables which yielded significant and nearly significant results will be illustrated, while the complete outputs can be viewed in the attached CD (MannWhitney\_Results folder). For each significant variable, a table reports the sub-corpora which were compared, the number of articles for each sub-corpus, the mean rank and the asymptotic significance level. The mean rank is obtained by dividing the sum of the positions occupied by the subjects of each group by the total number of subjects, and gives an idea of which of the two groups tends to have subjects which occupy higher positions. Another table reports the mean and median<sup>69</sup> values of the various features for each sub-corpus. It must be noted at this point that the level of significance which has been taken into account in the Mann-Whitney test is a two-tailed one: this means that the test can demonstrate the differences between the two samples without predicting the direction of the difference

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<sup>69</sup> “The median is the central score of the distribution, with half of the scores being above the median and half falling below. If there is an odd number of items in the sample the median will be the central score, and if there is an even number of items in the sample, the median is the average of the two central scores.” (Oakes 1998:2-3)



(Woods, Fletcher and Hughes 1986:122). As a consequence, the direction of the difference has been inferred from the mean ranks<sup>70</sup> and cannot be said to be *proved* by the test.

### 4.3 Mann-Whitney results

The following sub-sections briefly illustrate the results obtained from the Mann-Whitney test. For each feature analysed, the first table shows the Mann-Whitney test results, while the second shows the average values and the median values for each sub-corpus taken into account. The means and the median values are offered for the sake of completeness, but the Mann-Whitney test works on the basis of the scores of the single tests for each feature, comparing how many articles in one group rank higher than the articles in the other group, hence it does not take into account mean or median values.

#### *4.3.1 Mann-Whitney results showing significant differences between quality and popular newspaper articles*

The results which are reported below demonstrate some significant difference between the quality and popular newspaper articles overall, or between quality and popular news articles, or between quality and popular comment articles. The results for which the level of significance was satisfactory are printed in bold type.

##### *4.3.1.1 Average sentence length*

Average sentence length is significantly different for the whole popular and quality sub-corpora, as well as for the quality news and popular news sub-corpora. In the first case, the level of confidence is 0.001 (0.1 % error chance), while in the second case the level of confidence is 0.013 (1.3% error chance). In both cases, sentences are longer in the quality articles. As for the comment sub-corpus, sentences apparently tend to be longer in the quality articles, but this cannot be demonstrated statistically – the asymptotic significance value is above the established minimum of 0.05.

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<sup>70</sup> The mean rank tends to be higher for the sample which tends to rank higher. This may not be the case when the two samples display very few rank differences, but in that case the null hypothesis that the two samples do not differ could not be rejected, and therefore no interpretation problem arises.

Table 4.3 Mann-Whitney results: Average sentence length

Average sentence length	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	49.73	.001
	Popular articles	37	32.39	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	26.25	.013
	Popular news articles	19	16.63	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	12.36	.119
	Popular comment articles	9	8.22	

Table 4.4 Mean and Median Values: Average Sentence Length

<b>Average sentence length</b>	
Average for quality news articles	24.017658
Average for popular news articles	21.059235
Average for quality comment articles	21.732610
Average for popular comment articles	18.188688
Average for quality articles	22.281236
Average for popular articles	19.462056
Median for quality news articles	23.558242
Median for popular news articles	20.75
Median for quality comment articles	20.818182
Median for popular comment articles	16.444444
Median for quality articles	21.727273
Median for popular articles	18.833333

#### 4.3.1.2 Extending conjunctions of addition

If the quality and popular sub-corpora as wholes are compared, excluding five popular overview articles which are written as lists of main points<sup>71</sup>, the popular newspapers have a greater percentage of additive extending conjunctions in relation to the total number of sentences of each article minus one (the first sentence is not supposed to be introduced by a conjunction). The level of confidence is 0.007 (0.7% error chance). This difference cannot be

<sup>71</sup> *The Daily Express*, Monday February 7, 2005, page 5, "Immigration: too little too late?": "AT A GLANCE"; *The Daily Express*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 8, "Labour in a panic over immigration": "Adding up Britain's Immigration costs"; *The Daily Mail*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 6, "Clarke scorns a limit on migrants": "The Proposals"; *The Daily Mirror*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: "Immigration crackdown": "The Key changes"; *The Sun*, Tuesday, February 8, 2005, page 2, "Rattled Labour's Migrants plans": "Who's in, who's kept out".

demonstrated with a satisfactory level of confidence for the quality and popular news and quality and popular comment sub-corpora.

*Table 4.5 Mann-Whitney results: Extending Conjunctions of Addition*

<b>Extending conjunctions: addition</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>33.95</b>	<b>.007</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>47.48</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.62	.159
	Popular news articles	19	24.92	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	8.68	.120
	Popular comment articles	9	12.72	

*Table 4.6 Mean and Median Values: Extending conjunctions of addition*

<b>Extending conjunctions of addition / sentences - 1</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.040724
Average for popular news articles	0.070324
Average for quality comment articles	0.039561
Average for popular comment articles	0.090713
Average for quality articles	0.033009
Average for popular articles	0.081157
Median for quality news articles	0.015152
Median for popular news articles	0.052632
Median for quality comment articles	0.019231
Median for popular comment articles	0.090909
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0.069048

#### *4.3.1.3 Enhancing conjunctions*

The number of enhancing conjunctions over the total number of sentences minus one tends to be higher in the quality sub-corpus than in the popular sub-corpus – the five articles written as lists of main points have again been excluded from the analysis. Yet, the level of confidence is slightly above the established minimum significance (0.068, 6.8% error chance). The same holds when the popular and quality comment sub-corpora are compared

(asymptotic significance 0.061, error chance 6.1%), while the comparison of the news sub-corpora does not yield a satisfactory level of significance.

*Table 4.7 Mann-Whitney results: Enhancing conjunctions*

<b>Enhancing conjunctions</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>43.01</b>	<b>.068</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>34.45</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	23.40	.313
	Popular news articles	19	20.24	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12.73</b>	<b>.061</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7.78</b>	

*Table 4.8 Mean and Median values: Enhancing conjunctions*

<b>Enhancing conjunctions/sentences - 1</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.035498
Average for popular news articles	0.007331
Average for quality comment articles	0.102336
Average for popular comment articles	0.044141
Average for quality articles	0.046964
Average for popular articles	0.016768
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.075
Median for popular comment articles	0.055556
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### *4.3.1.4 Sentences with four kinds of dependency*

If we calculate the proportion of the total number of sentences per text which have four different kinds of taxis (paratactic and/or hypotactic expansion and /or projection and embedding),<sup>72</sup> we see that it tends to be higher in the quality articles, with an almost satisfactory level of significance (0.053, 5.3% error chance) for the whole quality and popular sub-corpora, excluding two popular newspaper articles which have no sentences (*The Sun*,

<sup>72</sup> In reality embedding is not taxis or clause-linking. In embedding a clause is rank-shifted down to function at group level within another clause.

Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 2, “Rattled Labour’s Migrants Plans ”: “Whos” in, who’s kept out”, and *The Daily Mirror*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 2, “Immigration crackdown”: “The key changes”). If we only compare the news sub-corpora, the level of significance is not satisfactory, while, in the comment sub-corpora, there seems to be no difference between quality and popular (mean rank: 10.61 for the popular newspapers, 10.41 for the quality newspapers).

*Table 4.9 Mann-Whitney Results: Sentences with four kinds of taxis*

<b>Sentences with 4 different kinds of taxis</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>45.08</b>	<b>.053</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>35.64</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.75	.096
	Popular news articles	19	18.53	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	10.41	.913
	Popular comment articles	9	10.61	

*Table 4.10 Mean and Median Values: Sentences with four kinds of taxis*

<b>Sentences with four kinds of taxis / number of sentences</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.052998
Average for popular news articles	0.027152
Average for quality comment articles	0.005848
Average for popular comment articles	0.004392
Average for quality articles	0.037586
Average for popular articles	0.016890
Median for quality news articles	0.040064
Median for popular news articles	0.024390
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0.021629
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.5 Fact clauses

In the comment sub-corpora, the number of fact clauses over the total number of clauses is higher in the popular newspaper articles, with a nearly satisfactory level of significance of 0.062 (error chance 6.2%). The same cannot be demonstrated with a satisfactory level of confidence for the popular and quality sub-corpora overall and for the news sub-corpora.

*Table 4.11 Mann-Whitney results: Fact clauses*

Fact clauses / clauses in general	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	40.28	.464
	Popular articles	37	44.14	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.90	.510
	Popular news articles	19	23.39	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8.27</b>	<b>.062</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.22</b>	

*Table 4.12 Mean and Median values: Fact clauses.*

<b>Fact clauses / total number of clauses</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.024756
Average for popular news articles	0.034315
Average for quality comment articles	0.025787
Average for popular comment articles	0.054875
Average for quality articles	0.025510
Average for popular articles	0.040733
Median for quality news articles	0.021295
Median for popular news articles	0.03125
Median for quality comment articles	0.029851
Median for popular comment articles	0.051282
Median for quality articles	0.025641
Median for popular articles	0.031250

#### 4.3.1.6 Circumstances per clause

The average number of circumstantial elements per clause tends to be higher in the quality articles. The difference can be demonstrated for the quality and popular sub-corpora

overall, with a 0.002 level of significance (0.2% error chance), and for the news sub-corpora (0.039 asymptotic significance, 3.9% error chance), while it cannot be demonstrated for the comment sub-corpora. Accordingly, the average number of processes per number of words tends to be higher in the popular articles, with an error chance of 3.4% for the popular as opposed to quality sub-corpora overall, and of 1.4% for the news sub-corpora. Again, no claim can be made with an adequate level of confidence for the comment sub-corpora.

*Table 4.13 Mann-Whitney results: Circumstances per clause*

<b>Circumstances / clause</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>49.35</b>	<b>.002</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>32.86</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>25.52</b>	<b>.039</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>17.55</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.86	.254
	Popular comment articles	9	8.83	

*Table 4.14 Mann-Whitney results: Processes in relation to number of words*

<b>Processes/ words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	36.98	.034
	Popular articles	37	48.24	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	17.83	.014
	Popular news articles	19	27.26	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9.09</b>	<b>.239</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12.22</b>	

*Table 4.15 Mean and Median values: Circumstances per clause*

<b>Circumstances / clause</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.439742
Average for popular news articles	0.368921
Average for quality comment articles	0.439894
Average for popular comment articles	0.372696
Average for quality articles	0.434895
Average for popular articles	0.350623
Median for quality news articles	0.431878
Median for popular news articles	0.359375
Median for quality comment articles	0.403509
Median for popular comment articles	0.395349
Median for quality articles	0.419872
Median for popular articles	0.359375

*Table 4.16 Mean and Median values: Processes in relation to number of words*

<b>Processes / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.128741
Average for popular news articles	0.142569
Average for quality comment articles	0.125170
Average for popular comment articles	0.133296
Average for quality articles	0.129920
Average for popular articles	0.137647
Median for quality news articles	0.131248
Median for popular news articles	0.136905
Median for quality comment articles	0.121289
Median for popular comment articles	0.131732
Median for quality articles	0.131248
Median for popular articles	0.136905

#### *4.3.1.7 Middle and Effective processes*

The ratio of middle processes to processes in general tends to be higher in the popular newspapers, but the difference can be demonstrated with a satisfactory level of confidence only for the comment sub-corpora, with an error chance of 2.5% (asymptotic significance: 0.025). Accordingly, in the comment sub-corpora the ratio of effective processes to processes in general is higher in the quality articles, with an error chance of 1.7%. The same cannot be claimed with an adequate level of confidence for the news sub-corpora and for the quality as opposed to popular sub-corpora overall.



Table 4.17 Mann-Whitney results: Middle processes

<b>Middle processes / total processes</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	40.41	.504
	Popular articles	37	43.97	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.44	.359
	Popular news articles	19	23.97	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7.82</b>	<b>.025</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.78</b>	

Table 4.18 Mann-Whitney results: Effective processes

<b>Effective processes/ total processes</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	43.92	.417
	Popular articles	37	39.61	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	23.10	.517
	Popular news articles	19	20.61	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13.36</b>	<b>.017</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7.00</b>	

Table 4.19 Mean and Median values: Middle processes

<b>Middle processes / total number of processes</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.659280
Average for popular news articles	0.682253
Average for quality comment articles	0.729879
Average for popular comment articles	0.787200
Average for quality articles	0.682339
Average for popular articles	0.689604
Median for quality news articles	0.651524
Median for popular news articles	0.682171
Median for quality comment articles	0.744828
Median for popular comment articles	0.8
Median for quality articles	0.684659
Median for popular articles	0.726316

Table 4.20 Mean and Median values: Effective processes

<b>Effective processes / total number of processes</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.340720
Average for popular news articles	0.317747
Average for quality comment articles	0.270122
Average for popular comment articles	0.212802
Average for quality articles	0.317661
Average for popular articles	0.310396
Median for quality news articles	0.348476
Median for popular news articles	0.317830
Median for quality comment articles	0.255172
Median for popular comment articles	0.2
Median for quality articles	0.315341
Median for popular articles	0.273684

#### 4.3.1.8 Relational processes over processes in general

In the news sub-corpora, relational processes can be said to be used more often in the popular newspaper articles, with an error chance of 5.3%. The same cannot be claimed for the comment sub-corpora or for quality as opposed to popular articles overall.

Table 4.21 Mann-Whitney results: Relational processes

<b>Relational processes/ total processes</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.89	.963
	Popular articles	37	42.14	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18.71</b>	<b>.053</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>26.16</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.55	.382
	Popular comment articles	9	9.22	

Table 4.22 Mean and Median values: Relational processes

<b>Relational processes / total number of processes</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.223142
Average for popular news articles	0.264376
Average for quality comment articles	0.325394
Average for popular comment articles	0.317829
Average for quality articles	0.260151
Average for popular articles	0.255231
Median for quality news articles	0.213511
Median for popular news articles	0.25
Median for quality comment articles	0.348485
Median for popular comment articles	0.318182
Median for quality articles	0.254930
Median for popular articles	0.268041

#### 4.3.1.9 Existential processes over processes in general

In the quality articles existential processes tend to be used more often than in the popular articles. This can be claimed with an error chance of 3.7%, while no claim can be made with an adequate level of confidence for the news sub-corpora or for the comment sub-corpora.

Table 4.23 Mann-Whitney results: Existential processes

<b>Existential processes/ total processes</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46.86</b>	<b>.037</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>35.96</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.79	.094
	Popular news articles	19	18.47	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.09	.621
	Popular comment articles	9	9.78	

Table 4.24 Mean and Median values: Existential processes

<b>Existential processes / total number of processes</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.020830
Average for popular news articles	0.011440
Average for quality comment articles	0.039199
Average for popular comment articles	0.035349
Average for quality articles	0.024465
Average for popular articles	0.016813
Median for quality news articles	0.016539
Median for popular news articles	0.006061
Median for quality comment articles	0.041861
Median for popular comment articles	0.025641
Median for quality articles	0.020948
Median for popular articles	0.008265

#### 4.3.1.10 Exophoric and homophoric reference

If the quality and popular sub-corpora overall are compared, the number of exophoric and homophoric reference items, excluding exophoric and homophoric reference of time and place, over the number of words for each text tends to be higher in the quality articles (asymptotic significance 0.025). As for the news sub-corpus, the level of significance is not satisfactory, while in the case of comment articles popular and quality seem to rank more or less the same.

Table 4.25 Mann-Whitney results: Exophoric and Homophoric reference, excluding time and place

<b>Exophoric and homophoric reference, excluding time and place / number of words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>47.32</b>	<b>.025</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>35.39</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	25.00	.078
	Popular news articles	19	18.21	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	10.27	.894
	Popular comment articles	9	10.78	

*Table 4.26 Mean and Median values: Exophoric and Homophoric reference, excluding time and place*

<b>Exophoric and homophoric reference, excluding time and place / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.022937
Average for popular news articles	0.018139
Average for quality comment articles	0.022688
Average for popular comment articles	0.025184
Average for quality articles	0.022575
Average for popular articles	0.017892
Median for quality news articles	0.024082
Median for popular news articles	0.015936
Median for quality comment articles	0.023679
Median for popular comment articles	0.022005
Median for quality articles	0.023702
Median for popular articles	0.017442

#### *4.3.1.11 Exophoric and homophoric reference, including time and place*

Exophoric and homophoric reference items, including exophoric and homophoric reference items of time and place, are still more frequent in the quality sub-corpus, although the error chance is higher than the value obtained when time and place reference is excluded.

*Table 4.27 Mann-Whitney results: Exophoric and Homophoric reference, including time and place*

<b>Exophoric / homophoric reference / number of words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46.75</b>	<b>.045</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36.09</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	25.54	.136
	Popular news articles	19	18.78	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.95	.648
	Popular comment articles	9	11.17	

*Table 4.28 Mean and Median values: Exophoric and Homophoric reference, including time and place*

<b>Exophoric and homophoric reference / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.024746
Average for popular news articles	0.020431
Average for quality comment articles	0.025101
Average for popular comment articles	0.029518
Average for quality articles	0.024716
Average for popular articles	0.020643
Median for quality news articles	0.025761
Median for popular news articles	0.017677
Median for quality comment articles	0.028363
Median for popular comment articles	0.029340
Median for quality articles	0.027071
Median for popular articles	0.020161

#### *4.3.1.12 Average chain length in relation to number of words*

The ratio average length of reference chains to words is higher in the popular newspaper articles, although the count excludes two popular newspaper articles where there are no chains. The difference remains significant if we only compare the comment sub-corpora, while it is not significant in the news sub-corpora. The level of significance for the overall corpus is 0.001, while it is 0.025 for the comment sub-corpus.

*Table 4.29 Mann-Whitney results: Average chain length over number of words*

<b>Average chain length / number of words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>33.34</b>	<b>.001</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>51.07</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.85	.208
	Popular news articles	19	24.71	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7.82</b>	<b>.025</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.78</b>	

Table 4.30 Mean and Median values: Average chain length over number of words

<b>Chain length / number of words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.007864
Average for popular news articles	0.010673
Average for quality comment articles	0.004538
Average for popular comment articles	0.010888
Average for quality articles	0.006236
Average for popular articles	0.011019
Median for quality news articles	0.005687
Median for popular news articles	0.008236
Median for quality comment articles	0.004126
Median for popular comment articles	0.009793
Median for quality articles	0.004728
Median for popular articles	0.008792

#### 4.3.1.13 Presenting items identified by means of a possessive

The frequency of items starting a new reference chain, but belonging to another one through a possessive (Saxon genitive or possessive adjective) can be said to be higher in the quality articles as opposed to the popular articles overall, with an error chance of 4.1%. The same can be claimed for the news sub-corpora, but with a higher error chance of 6.8%. As for the comment sub-corpora, the contrary would appear to be true, but in this case, as well, the level of confidence is not adequate.

Table 4.31 Mann-Whitney results: Presenting items identified by means of a possessive

<b>Presenting but belonging to another chain through possessive / number of words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46.17</b>	<b>.041</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36.81</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24.65</b>	<b>.068</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18.66</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.37	.480
	Popular comment articles	9	11.44	

Table 4.32 Mean and Median values: Presenting items identified by means of a possessive

<b>Presenting items identified by means of a possessive / number of words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001201
Average for popular news articles	0.000383
Average for quality comment articles	0.000998
Average for popular comment articles	0.002317
Average for quality articles	0.001063
Average for popular articles	0.000760
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.14 First mention of proper names with no apposition

Proper names of people, places and institutions mentioned for the first time and without an apposition explaining the identity of the person, the location of the place or the nature of the institution, are used more often in the popular news articles. The error chance is 2.3%. In the comment articles as well as in the overall corpus the level of significance is not satisfactory.

Table 4.33 Mann-Whitney results. First mention of proper names without apposition

<b>PNF / number of words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	38.91	.193
	Popular articles	37	45.84	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18.13</b>	<b>.023</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>26.89</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.45	.425
	Popular comment articles	9	9.33	



Table 4.34 Mean and Median values: First mention of proper names without apposition

<b>First mentions of proper names without apposition / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.004739
Average for popular news articles	0.009100
Average for quality comment articles	0.006502
Average for popular comment articles	0.005190
Average for quality articles	0.005274
Average for popular articles	0.007687
Median for quality news articles	0.004011
Median for popular news articles	0.006473
Median for quality comment articles	0.004640
Median for popular comment articles	0.004032
Median for quality articles	0.004282
Median for popular articles	0.005531

## 4.3.1.15 Non-quoted second person pronouns

As for the ratio of second person pronouns to words, excluding the quoted instances, the qualities rank higher, and the error chance is 4.9%. No claim can be made if we only take into account the news sub-corpora, or the comment sub-corpora.

Table 4.35 Mann-Whitney results: Non-quoted second person pronouns

<b>Non-quoted second person pronouns / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>44.39</b>	<b>.049</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>39.03</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.79	.203
	Popular news articles	19	21.00	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.82	.148
	Popular comment articles	9	8.89	

Table 4.36 Mean and Median values: Non-quoted second person pronouns

<b>Non-quoted 2nd person pronouns / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.000074
Average for popular news articles	0
Average for quality comment articles	0.000883
Average for popular comment articles	0
Average for quality articles	0.000358
Average for popular articles	0
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.16 Restrictive apposition<sup>73</sup>

The frequency, in relation to the total number of words, of expressions such as “home secretary Charles Clarke”, with a noun-phrase appositive preceding a proper name, without a comma, to describe the social role of a participant, is higher in the popular sub-corpora: the level of significance is 0.006 (0.6% error chance) in the comment sub-corpora, and 0.000 (0.0 error chance) both in the news sub-corpora and in the popular versus quality sub-corpora overall.

Table 4.37 Mann-Whitney results: Restrictive apposition

<b>Restrictive apposition number of words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>32.39</b>	<b>.000</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>53.95</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>14.83</b>	<b>.000</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>31.05</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8.00</b>	<b>.006</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.56</b>	

<sup>73</sup> For a more delicate account of the different possible kinds of apposition see Jucker 1992:77-80 and 207-213.

Table 4.38 Mean and Median values: Restrictive apposition

<b>Restrictive apposition / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.000230
Average for popular news articles	0.004146
Average for quality comment articles	0
Average for popular comment articles	0.002244
Average for quality articles	0.000169
Average for popular articles	0.002722
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0.003049
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0.000829
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0.001758

#### 4.3.1.17 Nonrestrictive apposition with the proper name following the role designation

The frequency of expressions such as “The home secretary, Charles Clarke”, with a proper name as an apposition to an expression indicating a role, tends to be higher in the popular newspaper sub-corpora. This can be demonstrated with a satisfactory level of significance for the popular versus quality sub-corpora as wholes (asymptotic significance 0.004, error chance 0.4%) and for the news sub-corpora (asymptotic significance 0.002, error chance 2%).

Table 4.39 Mann-Whitney results: Nonrestrictive apposition with proper name following role designation

<b>Apposition as proper name / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>35.78</b>	<b>.004</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>49.73</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17.08</b>	<b>.002</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>28.21</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	8.82	.124
	Popular comment articles	9	12.56	

*Table 4.40 Mean and Median values: Nonrestrictive apposition with proper name following role designation*

<b>Apposition as proper name / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001832
Average for popular news articles	0.004623
Average for quality comment articles	0.000543
Average for popular comment articles	0.002336
Average for quality articles	0.001184
Average for popular articles	0.002989
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0.003953
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0.001657
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0.002096

*4.3.1.18 Nonrestrictive apposition with the proper name preceding the role designation*

The frequency of expressions such as “Charles Clarke, the home secretary”, in relation to the total number of words, can be demonstrated to be higher in the popular versus quality sub-corpora overall and in the news sub-corpora, with a significance level of 0.000 (error chance 0.00) in both cases. As for the comment sub-corpora, the difference in the mean rank is slight (10.64 in the quality newspaper articles and 10.33 in the popular newspaper articles) and cannot be demonstrated with a satisfactory level of significance.

*Table 4.41 Mann-Whitney results: Nonrestrictive apposition with the proper name preceding the role designation*

<b>Apposition as role / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>51.13</b>	<b>.000</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>30.65</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>29.35</b>	<b>.000</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>12.71</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	10.64	.124
	Popular comment articles	9	10.33	

*Table 4.42 Mean and Median values: Nonrestrictive apposition with the proper name preceding the role designation*

<b>Apposition as role / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.003955
Average for popular news articles	0.000549
Average for quality comment articles	0.000411
Average for popular comment articles	0.000540
Average for quality articles	0.002374
Average for popular articles	0.000461
Median for quality news articles	0.003982
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0.001555
Median for popular articles	0

#### *4.3.1.19 Ratio of informal words to words in general*

Informal words are more frequent in the popular sub-corpora. This can be demonstrated with a satisfactory level of confidence for the popular versus quality sub-corpora overall (0.025, 2.5% error chance) and for the news sub-corpora (0.004, 0.4% error chance).

*Table 4.43 Mann-Whitney results: Informal words*

<b>Informal words/ number of words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>37.43</b>	<b>.025</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>47.68</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17.98</b>	<b>.004</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>27.08</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.27	.289
	Popular comment articles	9	12.00	

Table 4.44 Mean and Median values: Informal words

<b>Informal words / number of words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.000277
Average for popular news articles	0.002437
Average for quality comment articles	0.000894
Average for popular comment articles	0.002112
Average for quality articles	0.000744
Average for popular articles	0.002249
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0.000990
Median for quality comment articles	0.000822
Median for popular comment articles	0.003145
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.20 Ratio of formal words to words in general

A higher frequency of formal words can be demonstrated for the quality versus popular sub-corpora overall and for the news sub-corpora, with an error chance of 4.2% and 4.4% respectively. Interestingly, in the comment sub-corpora the popular newspapers tend to rank higher for this parameter, but the level of significance is far from satisfactory (45.4 % error chance)

Table 4.45 Mann-Whitney results: Formal words

<b>Formal words/ words in general</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>45.87</b>	<b>.042</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37.19</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24.79</b>	<b>.044</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18.47</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.82	.454
	Popular comment articles	9	11.33	

Table 4.46 Mean and Median values: Formal words

<b>Formal words / number of words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001038
Average for popular news articles	0.000253
Average for quality comment articles	0.000612
Average for popular comment articles	0.000782
Average for quality articles	0.001008
Average for popular articles	0.000355
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.21 Lexical metaphor fusing abstract and concrete expressions

Expressions such as “a swamp of xenophobia”, or “the rising tide of public paranoia” or “low skilled workers will be barred from route to citizenship” involve lexical metaphors with concrete nouns (“swamp”, “tide”, “barred from route”) and abstract nouns (“paranoia”, “xenophobia”, “citizenship”), as opposed to lexical metaphors only involving concrete expressions, e.g. “immigrants will be shown the door”. In the latter case no significant differences can be demonstrated between the sub-corpora, while in the case of metaphors fusing abstract and concrete expressions, a higher ratio of these to words can be demonstrated for the quality articles overall as opposed to the popular newspaper articles, excluding the two quality interviews. The level of significance is 0.031 (3.1% error chance).

Table 4.47 Mann-Whitney results: Lexical metaphor fusing abstract and concrete expressions

<b>Concrete metaphors/ words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44.50</b>	<b>.031</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36.84</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.67	.438
	Popular news articles	19	21.16	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	12.45	.074
	Popular comment articles	9	8.11	

Table 4.48 Mean and Median values: Lexical metaphor fusing abstract and concrete expressions

<b>Concrete metaphors / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.000268
Average for popular news articles	0.000112
Average for quality comment articles	0.001645
Average for popular comment articles	0.000597
Average for quality articles	0.000609
Average for popular articles	0.000203
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.001621
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.22 Exclamative, interrogative or emphatic clauses

The ratio of exclamative, interrogative or emphatic clauses to main and paratactic clauses can be demonstrated to be higher in the popular as opposed to the quality comment sub-corpora, with a level of significance of 0.046. The same cannot be demonstrated for the quality and popular sub-corpora overall, and for the news sub-corpora.

Table 4.49 Mann-Whitney results: Exclamative, Interrogative or Emphatic clauses

<b>Excl, Int, Emph / main clauses or paratactic clauses</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.14	.660
	Popular articles	37	43.07	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	21.33	.482
	Popular news articles	19	22.84	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	8.14	.046
	Popular comment articles	9	13.39	



*Table 4.50 Mean and Median values: Exclamative, Interrogative or Emphatic clauses*

<b>Exclamative, interrogative, emphatic clauses / main or paratactic clauses</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.002502
Average for popular news articles	0.003710
Average for quality comment articles	0.044427
Average for popular comment articles	0.109895
Average for quality articles	0.022110
Average for popular articles	0.034133
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.026316
Median for popular comment articles	0.090909
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.23 Mood adjuncts of probability over words

Mood adjuncts of probability appear to be more frequent in the quality news and comment sub-corpora. This can be claimed with a satisfactory confidence level for the comment sub-corpora (1.9% error chance).

*Table 4.51 Mann-Whitney results: Mood adjuncts of probability*

<b>Mood adjuncts of probability / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	44.96	.134
	Popular articles	37	38.32	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.71	.264
	Popular news articles	19	23.73	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	13.23	.019
	Popular comment articles	9	7.17	

*Table 4.52 Mean and Median values: Mood adjuncts of probability*

<b>Mood adjuncts of probability / number of words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.000252
Average for popular news articles	0.000645
Average for quality comment articles	0.003615
Average for popular comment articles	0.000956
Average for quality articles	0.001290
Average for popular articles	0.000694
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.002990
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### *4.3.1.24 Mood adjuncts of counter-expectancy over words*

The popular news articles tend to use mood adjuncts of counter-expectation more often: this can be claimed with an error chance of 0.9%. The same cannot be claimed with an adequate level of confidence for the comment sub-corpora or for the quality as opposed to popular sub-corpora overall.

*Table 4.53 Mann-Whitney results: Mood adjuncts of counter-expectancy*

<b>Mood adjuncts of counter-expectancy / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	40.13	.338
	Popular articles	37	44.32	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19.00</b>	<b>.009</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>25.79</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.73	.498
	Popular comment articles	9	11.44	

*Table 4.54 Mean and Median values: Mood adjuncts of counter-expectancy*

<b>Mood adjuncts of counterexpectancy / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.000239
Average for popular news articles	0.001278
Average for quality comment articles	0.001276
Average for popular comment articles	0.002621
Average for quality articles	0.000714
Average for popular articles	0.001330
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.000707
Median for popular comment articles	0.001694
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### *4.3.1.25 Propositional comment adjuncts*

The number of propositional comment adjuncts per main or paratactic clause can be demonstrated to be higher in the quality comment articles than in the popular comment articles, with a level of significance of 0.015 (1.5% error chance). The same cannot be demonstrated for the quality versus popular corpus overall. Interestingly, the contrary can be demonstrated with a confidence level near significance (0.064, 6.4% error chance) for the news sub-corpora: propositional comment adjuncts tend to be more frequent in the popular news articles than in the quality news articles.

*Table 4.55 Mann-Whitney results: Propositional comment adjuncts*

<b>Propositional comment adjuncts / main and paratactic clauses</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	42.34	.850
	Popular articles	37	41.58	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.85	.064
	Popular news articles	19	24.71	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	13.09	.015
	Popular comment articles	9	7.33	

Table 4.56 Mean and Median values: Propositional comment adjuncts

<b>Propositional comment adjuncts / main or paratactic clauses</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.003175
Average for popular news articles	0.010550
Average for quality comment articles	0.042578
Average for popular comment articles	0.002364
Average for quality articles	0.012906
Average for popular articles	0.007295
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.03125
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.26 Speech-functional comment adjuncts of validity

The number of validity speech-functional comment adjuncts per main or paratactic clause can be demonstrated to be higher in the quality sub-corpora for the popular versus quality articles overall and for popular versus quality comment articles, with a confidence level of 0.008 (0.8% error chance) and of 0.025 (2.5% error chance) respectively. The same cannot be demonstrated with a satisfactory level of significance for the news sub-corpora.

Table 4.57 Mann-Whitney results: Speech-functional comment adjuncts of validity

<b>'Speech functional comment adjuncts: qualified: validity' / main and paratactic clauses</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>45.22</b>	<b>.008</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>38.00</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.40	.374
	Popular news articles	19	21.50	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12.65</b>	<b>.025</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8.00</b>	

Table 4.58 Mean and Median values: Speech-functional comment adjuncts of validity

<b>Speech-functional comment adjuncts of validity / main and paratactic clauses</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001543
Average for popular news articles	0
Average for quality comment articles	0.013839
Average for popular comment articles	0
Average for quality articles	0.004630
Average for popular articles	0
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.27 Comment adjuncts

The overall frequency of comment adjuncts per main or paratactic clause can be demonstrated to be higher in the popular news articles with a level of significance of 0.055 (5.5% error chance). On the contrary, both for the comment sub-corpora and for the popular versus quality sub-corpora overall, the trend tends to be the opposite, but this can by no means be demonstrated with a satisfactory level of significance.

Table 4.59 Mann-Whitney results: Comment adjuncts

<b>Comment adjuncts/ main and paratactic clauses</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	42.39	.848
	Popular articles	37	41.51	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19.58</b>	<b>.055</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>25.05</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	12.36	.112
	Popular comment articles	9	8.22	

Table 4.60 Mean and Median values: Comment adjuncts

<b>Comment adjuncts/ main and paratactic clauses</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.000138
Average for popular news articles	0.000453
Average for quality comment articles	0.001819
Average for popular comment articles	0.000886
Average for quality articles	0.000589
Average for popular articles	0.000483
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.001081
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.28 Central modal verbs

The ratio of central modal verbs to words can be demonstrated to be higher in the quality articles overall, as opposed to the popular articles, with an error chance of 4.8%. The same cannot be claimed with an adequate level of confidence for the news sub-corpora and the comment sub-corpora.

Table 4.61 Mann-Whitney results: Central modal verbs

<b>Central modals / number of words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46.70</b>	<b>.048</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36.16</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.56	.132
	Popular news articles	19	18.76	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.27	.518
	Popular comment articles	9	9.56	

Table 4.62 Mean and Median values: Central modal verbs

<b>Central modal verbs / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.006979
Average for popular news articles	0.005023
Average for quality comment articles	0.009336
Average for popular comment articles	0.007892
Average for quality articles	0.007522
Average for popular articles	0.005975
Median for quality news articles	0.006795
Median for popular news articles	0.004065
Median for quality comment articles	0.009772
Median for popular comment articles	0.006993
Median for quality articles	0.006891
Median for popular articles	0.004065

#### 4.3.1.29 Modal expressions of obligation of high and medium value

Modal expressions of obligation of high and medium value - including modal verbs, modal idioms, mood adjuncts and metaphors of modality – when put in relation to words, can be seen to be used more frequently in the popular news articles as opposed to the quality news articles. This can be said with an error chance of 3.6%. This cannot be said with an adequate level of confidence for the popular as opposed to the quality articles overall, while for the comment sub-corpora the contrary would appear to be the case, but can by no means be demonstrated with an adequate level of confidence.

Table 4.63 Man-Whitney results: High and medium value modal expressions of obligation

<b>Modal expressions of obligation: High and Medium words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	40.45	.508
	Popular articles	37	43.93	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18.46</b>	<b>.036</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>26.47</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.73	.295
	Popular comment articles	9	9.00	

*Table 4.64 Mean and Median values: High and medium value modal expressions of obligation*

<b>Obligation: High and Medium / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.003064
Average for popular news articles	0.006107
Average for quality comment articles	0.003629
Average for popular comment articles	0.003759
Average for quality articles	0.004109
Average for popular articles	0.005778
Median for quality news articles	0.002728
Median for popular news articles	0.005
Median for quality comment articles	0.004228
Median for popular comment articles	0.000847
Median for quality articles	0.003727
Median for popular articles	0.004065

#### *4.3.1.30 Medium value modalising expressions*

The ratio of modalising expressions of medium value to words can be demonstrated to be higher in the quality newspaper articles as opposed to the popular newspaper articles overall with an error chance of 5.3%, and in the quality comment articles as opposed to the popular comment articles, with an error chance of .0%. The same cannot be claimed with an adequate level of confidence for the news sub-corpora.

*Table 4.65 Mann-Whitney results: Medium-value modalising expressions*

<b>'Modalisation: medium' / word number</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46.12</b>	<b>.053</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36.88</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	23.52	.312
	Popular news articles	19	20.08	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14.59</b>	<b>.000</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5.50</b>	



Table 4.66 Mean and Median values: Medium-value modalising expressions

<b>'Modalisation: Medium' / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001614
Average for popular news articles	0.001045
Average for quality comment articles	0.002206
Average for popular comment articles	0
Average for quality articles	0.001523
Average for popular articles	0.001360
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.002122
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0.001011
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.31 Objective implicit modalisation

In the present analysis, expressions such as “(name) is likely to / is expected to / appears to / seems to (verb)” have been tagged as objective implicit modalisation. The ratio of these expressions to words appears to be higher in the quality comment articles as opposed to the popular comment articles, with an error chance of 0.5%. The same cannot be claimed with a satisfactory level of confidence for the news sub-corpora and for the popular as opposed to the quality articles overall.

Table 4.67 Mann-Whitney results: Objective implicit modalisation

<b>'Modalisation: objective implicit' / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	45.85	.079
	Popular articles	37	37.22	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.50	.740
	Popular news articles	19	21.37	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	13.77	.005
	Popular comment articles	9	6.50	

Table 4.68 Mean and Median values: Objective implicit modalisation

<b>'Modalisation: Objective Implicit'/ words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001221
Average for popular news articles	0.001489
Average for quality comment articles	0.004640
Average for popular comment articles	0.000929
Average for quality articles	0.002124
Average for popular articles	0.001584
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.004255
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0.001288
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.32 Objective explicit modalisation

The ratio of objective explicit expressions of modalisation to words appears to be higher in the quality articles as opposed to the popular articles overall, with an error chance of 4%. The same cannot be said with a satisfactory level of confidence for the comment sub-corpora. No claim can be made for the news sub-corpora, where the error chance is 100% and mean rank is the same for quality and popular (22.00).

Table 4.69 Mann-Whitney results: Objective explicit modalisation

<b>'Modalisation: objective explicit' / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>44.01</b>	<b>.040</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>39.50</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.00	1.000
	Popular news articles	19	22.00	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.73	.099
	Popular comment articles	9	9.00	

Table 4.70 Mean and Median values: Objective explicit modalisation

<b>'Objective explicit modalisations' / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0
Average for popular news articles	0
Average for quality comment articles	0.000606
Average for popular comment articles	0
Average for quality articles	0.000213
Average for popular articles	0
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.33 Objective modalisation

The ratio of expressions of objective modalisation, both implicit and explicit, to words is higher in the quality comment articles as opposed to the popular comment articles, with an error chance of 0.4%. The same can be claimed with a level of confidence not far from significance (6.2% error chance) for the quality articles as opposed to the popular articles overall. As for the news sub-corpora, it is not possible to claim the same with a satisfactory level of confidence.

Table 4.71 Mann-Whitney results: Objective modalisation

<b>Objective modalisations / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	46.09	.062
	Popular articles	37	36.92	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.50	.740
	Popular news articles	19	21.37	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13.86</b>	<b>.004</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6.39</b>	

Table 4.72 Mean and Median values: Objective modalisation

<b>Objective modalisations / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001221
Average for popular news articles	0.001489
Average for quality comment articles	0.005247
Average for popular comment articles	0.000929
Average for quality articles	0.002337
Average for popular articles	0.001584
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.004640
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0.001288
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.34 Implicit modalisation

The ratio of implicit modalising expressions, including subjective and objective implicit modalisations, to words, can be said to be higher in the quality comment articles than in the popular comment articles, with an error chance of 5.2%. The same cannot be claimed with a satisfactory level of confidence for the popular and quality sub-corpora overall and for the news sub-corpora.

Table 4.73 Mean and Median values: Implicit modalisation

<b>Implicit modalisations / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	44.85	.226
	Popular articles	37	38.46	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	23.29	.440
	Popular news articles	19	20.37	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	12.82	.052
	Popular comment articles	9	7.67	

Table 4.74 Mean and Median values: Implicit modalisation

<b>Implicit modalisations / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.003939
Average for popular news articles	0.003274
Average for quality comment articles	0.007991
Average for popular comment articles	0.004003
Average for quality articles	0.004856
Average for popular articles	0.004170
Median for quality news articles	0.003342
Median for popular news articles	0.002361
Median for quality comment articles	0.008104
Median for popular comment articles	0.003205
Median for quality articles	0.004026
Median for popular articles	0.003205

#### 4.3.1.35 Objective modality

Objective modality, including objective modalisation and modulation, implicit and explicit, can be claimed to be used more frequently in the quality comment articles with an error chance of 0.3%. The same cannot be claimed with a satisfactory level of confidence for the quality as opposed to the popular newspaper articles overall, while for the news sub-corpora the contrary would appear to be the case, but the error chance is too high (90.9%) to make any claim.

Table 4.75 Mann-Whitney results: Objective modality

<b>Instances of objective modality words</b>	<b>of</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>of</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	/	Quality articles	46		45.39	.144
		Popular articles	37		37.78	
Groups compared	/	Quality news articles	24		21.81	.909
		Popular news articles	19		22.24	
Groups compared	/	Quality comment articles	11		13.95	.003
		Popular comment articles	9		6.28	

Table 4.76 Mann-Whitney results: Objective modality

Instances of objective modality / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.002187
Average for popular news articles	0.003016
Average for quality comment articles	0.005804
Average for popular comment articles	0.001254
Average for quality articles	0.003470
Average for popular articles	0.003415
Median for quality news articles	0.002015
Median for popular news articles	0.001792
Median for quality comment articles	0.005674
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0.003107
Median for popular articles	0.001758

#### 4.3.1.36 Can, be able to, be possible for ... to

Expressions of ability, including subjective implicit, objective implicit and objective explicit, can be said to be more frequent in the quality articles as opposed to the popular articles overall, with an error chance of 0.3%. The same claim cannot be made with a satisfactory level of confidence for the news sub-corpora and for the comment sub-corpora.

Table 4.77 Mann-Whitney results: Modal expressions of ability

Expressions of ability / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>48.53</b>	<b>.003</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>33.88</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.79	.081
	Popular news articles	19	18.47	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.36	.465
	Popular comment articles	9	9.44	

Table 4.78 Mean and Median values: Modal expressions of ability

<b>Expressions of ability / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.002116
Average for popular news articles	0.001122
Average for quality comment articles	0.003379
Average for popular comment articles	0.002698
Average for quality articles	0.002419
Average for popular articles	0.001232
Median for quality news articles	0.001606
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.003511
Median for popular comment articles	0.001657
Median for quality articles	0.002139
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.37 Lexical density

If we calculate lexical density as the percentage of lexical words in relation to the total number of words, i.e., according to Ure's method (see chapter 3, page 81), we find that it tends to be higher in the popular newspaper articles, and this can be claimed with an error chance of 1.6% for the quality as opposed to the popular articles overall. On the other hand, the level of confidence is not satisfactory if we only compare popular and quality news articles or popular and quality comment articles. Interestingly enough, if lexical density is calculated according to Halliday's (1989:65-67) method, as a ratio of lexical words per clause, the qualities tend to rank slightly higher, but the Mann-Whitney levels of significance for this difference are by no means satisfactory.

Table 4.79 Mann-Whitney results: Lexical density – Ure's method

<b>Lexical density: Ure</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>36.26</b>	<b>.016</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>49.14</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.75	.187
	Popular news articles	19	24.84	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.09	.239
	Popular comment articles	9	12.22	

Table 4.80 Mann-Whitney results: Lexical density – Halliday’s method

Lexical density: Halliday	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	43.90	.423
	Popular articles	37	39.64	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.65	.120
	Popular news articles	19	18.66	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	10.64	.909
	Popular comment articles	9	10.33	

Table 4.81 Mean and Median values: Lexical density – Ure’s method

Lexical density (Ure)	
Average for quality news articles	54.088471
Average for popular news articles	55.464956
Average for quality comment articles	51.075781
Average for popular comment articles	52.323537
Average for quality articles	53.056465
Average for popular articles	55.315570
Median for quality news articles	53.683640
Median for popular news articles	54.896907
Median for quality comment articles	50.209205
Median for popular comment articles	52.491694
Median for quality articles	52.636934
Median for popular articles	55.244755

Table 4.82 Mean and Median values: Lexical density-Halliday’s method

Lexical density (Halliday)	
Average for quality news articles	5.866383
Average for popular news articles	5.468774
Average for quality comment articles	5.705705
Average for popular comment articles	5.649831
Average for quality articles	5.700715
Average for popular articles	5.645841
Median for quality news articles	6.082240
Median for popular news articles	5.311111
Median for quality comment articles	5.618182
Median for popular comment articles	6
Median for quality articles	5.661281
Median for popular articles	5.493548



## 4.3.1.38 'Contractive engagement: deny'

The frequency of negations, interpreted as expressions of contractive engagement, in relation to number of words, can be said to be higher in the popular comment sub-corpus as opposed to the quality comment sub corpus, with an error chance of 3.7%. As for the quality versus popular articles overall and the news sub-corpora, the contrary would appear to be the case, but the error chances are too high to make any valuable claim.

Table 4.83 Mann-Whitney results: 'Contractive engagement: deny'

<b>Instances of contractive engagement: deny / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	43.34	.564
	Popular articles	37	40.34	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.21	.164
	Popular news articles	19	19.21	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8.00</b>	<b>.037</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.56</b>	

Table 4.84 Mean and Median values: 'Contractive engagement: deny'

<b>Instances of contractive engagement: deny / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.002653
Average for popular news articles	0.001359
Average for quality comment articles	0.010618
Average for popular comment articles	0.016089
Average for quality articles	0.004804
Average for popular articles	0.005534
Median for quality news articles	0.001524
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.010929
Median for popular comment articles	0.016570
Median for quality articles	0.002699
Median for popular articles	0.001976

#### 4.3.1.39 'Contractive engagement: endorse'

Endorsing expressions of contractive engagement can be claimed to be more frequent in the popular comment articles as opposed to the quality comment articles, with an error chance of 1.2%. The same cannot be claimed with a satisfactory level of confidence for the news sub-corpora and for the quality as opposed to the popular articles overall.

Table 4.85 Mann-Whitney results: 'Contractive engagement: endorse'

Instances of contractive engagement: endorse / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	39.89	.343
	Popular articles	37	44.62	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	21.83	.918
	Popular news articles	19	22.21	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	7.55	.012
	Popular comment articles	9	14.11	

Table 4.86 Mean and Median values: 'Contractive engagement: endorse'

Instances of 'contractive engagement: endorse' / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.002084
Average for popular news articles	0.002676
Average for quality comment articles	0.000794
Average for popular comment articles	0.005423
Average for quality articles	0.001575
Average for popular articles	0.003232
Median for quality news articles	0.001418
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.000702
Median for popular comment articles	0.004032
Median for quality articles	0.000775
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.40 Contractive engagement

The ratio of expressions of contractive engagement to words, excluding quoted or reported expressions, can be claimed to be higher in the popular comment articles, with an

error chance of 0.2%. The same cannot be claimed for the quality as opposed to the popular articles overall. As for the news sub-corpora, the contrary would appear to be the case, but the error chance would be 64.2%, so that no claim can be made in this respect.

*Table 4.87 Mann-Whitney results: non-quoted and non-reported contractive engagement*

<b>Non quoted and non reported instances of contractive engagement / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.24	.748
	Popular articles	37	42.95	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.79	.642
	Popular news articles	19	21.00	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	6.73	.002
	Popular comment articles	9	15.11	

*Table 4.88 Mean and Median values: non-quoted and non-reported contractive engagement*

<b>Instances of non-quoted and non-reported contractive engagement / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.012480
Average for popular news articles	0.009770
Average for quality comment articles	0.027698
Average for popular comment articles	0.039624
Average for quality articles	0.016022
Average for popular articles	0.017433
Median for quality news articles	0.009656
Median for popular news articles	0.009009
Median for quality comment articles	0.030965
Median for popular comment articles	0.038961
Median for quality articles	0.012171
Median for popular articles	0.013889

#### *4.3.1.41 Expansive engagement: possibility*

Expressions of possibility, interpreted as expressions of expansive engagement in the appraisal analysis, can be claimed to be more frequent in the quality comment articles as opposed to the popular comment articles, with an error chance of 0.6%. The same cannot be

claimed with a satisfactory level of confidence for the quality as opposed to the popular articles overall and for the news sub-corpora.

*Table 4.89 Mann-Whitney results: 'Expansive engagement: possibility'*

<b>Instances of expansive engagement: possibility words /</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	45.91	.088
	Popular articles	37	37.14	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.17	.918
	Popular news articles	19	21.79	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13.68</b>	<b>.006</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6.61</b>	

*Table 4.90 Mean and Median values: 'Expansive engagement: possibility'*

<b>Instances of expansive engagement: possibility / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.002011
Average for popular news articles	0.00207
Average for quality comment articles	0.006795
Average for popular comment articles	0.002016
Average for quality articles	0.004239
Average for popular articles	0.003066
Median for quality news articles	0.001451
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.005089
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0.002434
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.42 Engagement

Expressions of engagement, both contractive and expansive, excluding quoted or reported expressions, are more frequent in the popular comment articles than in the quality comment articles. This can be claimed with an error chance of 5.3%. The same cannot be stated with a satisfactory level of confidence for the news sub-corpora and for the quality as opposed to the popular articles overall.

Table 4.91 Mann-Whitney results: Non-quoted and non-reported engagement

<b>Non-quoted and non-reported instances of engagement words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	39.70	.331
	Popular articles	37	44.86	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.96	.541
	Popular news articles	19	23.32	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8.18</b>	<b>.053</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.33</b>	

Table 4.92 Mean and Median values: non-quoted and non-reported engagement

<b>Non-quoted and non-reported instances of engagement/ words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.033755
Average for popular news articles	0.036707
Average for quality comment articles	0.042575
Average for popular comment articles	0.054635
Average for quality articles	0.036511
Average for popular articles	0.039397
Median for quality news articles	0.032960
Median for popular news articles	0.032609
Median for quality comment articles	0.039443
Median for popular comment articles	0.053691
Median for quality articles	0.033206
Median for popular articles	0.037681

#### 4.3.1.43 Authorial 'negative social esteem: capacity'

Authorial expressions of negative social esteem: capacity appear to be more frequent in the popular newspaper articles, with a confidence level of 0.004 (0.4% error chance) for the quality versus popular articles overall, of 0.016 (error chance 1.6%) for the quality versus popular news articles, and of 0.015 (1.5% error chance) for the quality versus popular comment articles.

Table 4.93 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial 'negative social esteem: capacity'

Instances of authorial 'negative social esteem: capacity' / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	35.60	.002
	Popular articles	37	49.96	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.17	.019
	Popular news articles	19	25.58	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	7.59	.015
	Popular comment articles	9	14.06	

Table 4.94 Mean and Median values: Authorial 'negative social esteem: capacity'

Instances of authorial 'negative social esteem: capacity' / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.000108
Average for popular news articles	0.001475
Average for quality comment articles	0.002486
Average for popular comment articles	0.007142
Average for quality articles	0.000804
Average for popular articles	0.003967
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.002119
Median for popular comment articles	0.008065
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.44 Authorial negative social esteem

Authorial expressions of negative social esteem appear to be more frequent in the popular newspaper articles, with a confidence level of 0.004 (0.4% error chance) for the quality versus popular articles overall, of 0.016 (error chance 1.6%) for the quality versus popular news articles, and of 0.018 (1.8% error chance) for the quality versus popular comment articles.

Table 4.95 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial negative social esteem

Instances of authorial negative social esteem / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	35.89	.004
	Popular articles	37	49.59	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.08	.016
	Popular news articles	19	25.68	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	7.68	.018
	Popular comment articles	9	13.94	

Table 4.96 Mean and Median values: Authorial negative social esteem

Instances of authorial negative social esteem / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.000108
Average for popular news articles	0.001527
Average for quality comment articles	0.002640
Average for popular comment articles	0.007259
Average for quality articles	0.000977
Average for popular articles	0.004141
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.002119
Median for popular comment articles	0.008065
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0.000988

#### 4.3.1.45 Authorial 'social esteem: capacity'

Authorial judgements as to social esteem: capacity tend to be used more often in the popular newspaper sub-corpora: we can claim this with a 0.3% error chance for the popular as opposed to quality sub-corpora overall, with a 1.9% error chance for the news sub-corpora, and with a 2.2% error chance for the comment sub-corpora.

Table 4.98 Mann-Whitney results: 'Authorial social esteem: capacity'

Instances of authorial social esteem: Capacity words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	35.71	.003
	Popular articles	37	49.82	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.17	.019
	Popular news articles	19	25.58	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	7.77	.022
	Popular comment articles	9	13.83	

Table 4.98 Mean and Median values: Authorial 'social esteem: capacity'

Instances of authorial 'social esteem: capacity' / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.000108
Average for popular news articles	0.001685
Average for quality comment articles	0.002742
Average for popular comment articles	0.007515
Average for quality articles	0.000865
Average for popular articles	0.004166
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.002963
Median for popular comment articles	0.008658
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.46 Authorial social esteem

Authorial expressions of social esteem appear to be more frequent in the popular newspaper articles: this can be demonstrated with a 0.020 level of confidence (2% error chance) for the quality versus popular comment articles, with a 0.007 level of confidence (0.7% error chance) for the quality versus popular news articles, and with a 0.002 level of confidence (0.2% error chance) for the quality versus popular articles overall.



Table 4.99 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial social esteem

Authorial social esteem / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	35.15	.002
	Popular articles	37	50.51	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	18.17	.007
	Popular news articles	19	26.84	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	7.73	.020
	Popular comment articles	9	13.89	

Table 4.100 Mean and Median values: Authorial social esteem

Instances of authorial social esteem / Words	
Average for quality news articles	0.000339
Average for popular news articles	0.002736
Average for quality comment articles	0.004530
Average for popular comment articles	0.010296
Average for quality articles	0.001628
Average for popular articles	0.005934
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0.000988
Median for quality comment articles	0.004237
Median for popular comment articles	0.010101
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0.003106

#### 4.3.1.47 Authorial negative judgement

Authorial expressions of negative judgement to words number appear to be more frequent in the popular newspaper articles: this can be demonstrated for the quality versus popular sub-corpora overall, with a confidence level of 0.026 (2.6% error chance), for the popular as opposed to quality news articles, with a confidence level of 0.014 (1.4% error chance), and for the popular as opposed to the quality comment articles, with a confidence level of 0.052 (5.2% error chance).

Table 4.101 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial negative judgement

Authorial negative judgement words /	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	37.09	.026
	Popular articles	37	48.11	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	18.58	.014
	Popular news articles	19	26.32	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	8.18	.052
	Popular comment articles	9	13.33	

Table 4.102 Mean and Median values: Authorial negative judgement

Instances of negative authorial judgement / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.000375
Average for popular news articles	0.002109
Average for quality comment articles	0.007065
Average for popular comment articles	0.011467
Average for quality articles	0.002535
Average for popular articles	0.006193
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.008475
Median for popular comment articles	0.012097
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0.00297

#### 4.3.1.48 Authorial judgement

Authorial expressions of judgement (which includes social esteem and social sanction, positive and negative) can be demonstrated to be more frequent in the popular newspaper articles, with a level of confidence of 0.010 (1% error chance) for the quality versus popular articles as wholes, of 0.005 (0.5% error chance) for the quality as opposed to the popular news articles, and of 0.037 (3.7% error chance) for the quality as opposed to popular comment articles.

Table 4.103 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial judgement

Authorial judgement/words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	36.16	.010
	Popular articles	37	49.26	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	17.73	.005
	Popular news articles	19	27.39	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	8.00	.037
	Popular comment articles	9	13.56	

Table 4.104 Mean and Median values: Authorial judgement

Authorial judgement / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.000781
Average for popular news articles	0.003503
Average for quality comment articles	0.009305
Average for popular comment articles	0.015527
Average for quality articles	0.003454
Average for popular articles	0,008330
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0.002132
Median for quality comment articles	0.010593
Median for popular comment articles	0.013514
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0.005051

#### 4.3.1.49 Quoted or reported positive affect

The ratio of quoted or reported expressions of positive affect to words appears to be higher in the quality articles, but only if we take into account the quality versus popular articles overall (confidence level 0.021, error chance 2.1%), and the quality versus popular news articles (confidence level 0.053, 5.3% error chance). On the other hand, quality and popular comment articles score the same on this test (mean rank 10.50 for both).

Table 4.105 Mann-Whitney results: Quoted or reported positive affect

Quoted or reported positive affect / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	46.24	.021
	Popular articles	37	36.73	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.75	.053
	Popular news articles	19	18.53	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	10.50	1.000
	Popular comment articles	9	10.50	

Table 4.106 Mean and Median values: Quoted or reported positive affect

Quoted or reported positive affect/ words	
Average for quality news articles	0.001117
Average for popular news articles	0.000492
Average for quality comment articles	0
Average for popular comment articles	0
Average for quality articles	0.000924
Average for popular articles	0.000382
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.50 Total quoted or reported affect

The ratio of quoted or reported expressions of affect, both positive and negative, to words can be demonstrated to be higher in the quality articles as opposed to the popular articles overall, with a confidence level of 0.054 (error chance 5.4%) and in the quality as opposed to popular news articles, with a confidence level of 0.012 (1.2% error chance). The same cannot be demonstrated with a satisfactory level of confidence for the comment sub-corpora, where the mean ranks are not very different (10.00 for the popular articles versus 10.91 for the quality articles).

Table 4.107 Mann-Whitney results: Quoted or reported affect

Q-R affect /wn	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	46.91	.012
	Popular articles	37	35.89	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.90	.054
	Popular news articles	19	18.34	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	10.91	.366
	Popular comment articles	9	10.00	

Table 4.108 Mean and Median values: Quoted or reported affect

Quoted or reported affect / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.001462
Average for popular news articles	0.000832
Average for quality comment articles	0.000074
Average for popular comment articles	0
Average for quality articles	0.001489
Average for popular articles	0.000605
Median for quality news articles	0.001480
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.51 Quoted or reported positive social esteem

The number of quoted or reported expressions of positive social esteem per word can be demonstrated to be higher in the popular comment articles, with an error chance of 1.7%. The same cannot be demonstrated for the news sub-corpora and for the quality versus popular articles overall. However, if we consider together instances of verbally quoted or reported judgement and other instances of judgement which are projected mentally (e.g., “We like to think of ourselves as essentially model citizens”, from *The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 22: “Comment and Analysis”, “We hate our politicians, but we never had it so good” by Martin Kettle) or where the source is not directly quoted or reported, but

still is an external source and not the author (e.g., “Ugandan Asians, now lauded as frightfully good...”, *The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “Stop this continual abuse of immigrants” by Yasmin Alhibai Brown), the error chance rises to 16% so that nothing can be claimed<sup>74</sup>.

*Table 4.109 Mann-Whitney results: Quoted or reported positive social esteem*

<b>Quoted or reported positive social esteem / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	40.72	.537
	Popular articles	37	43.59	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	21.71	.854
	Popular news articles	19	22.37	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8.50</b>	<b>.017</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12.94</b>	

*Table 4.110 Mean and Median values: Quoted or reported positive social esteem*

<b>Quoted or reported positive social esteem / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001721
Average for popular news articles	0.002358
Average for quality comment articles	0
Average for popular comment articles	0.001596
Average for quality articles	0.001219
Average for popular articles	0.001773
Median for quality news articles	0.000674
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

<sup>74</sup> The mean ranks for positive social esteem from an ‘external’ source in the comment articles are 12.17 (popular) and 9.14 (quality), with a .160 level of significance. In the news sub-corpora, the mean ranks are 21.71 (quality) and 22.37 (popular), with a .854 level of significance. This same level of significance (.854) applies to the overall corpus, where the mean ranks are 41.61 (quality) and 42.49 (popular).

#### 4.3.1.52 Quoted or reported positive judgement

The confidence level with which we could claim that the popular comment articles tend to have a higher frequency of quoted positive judgement is not far from the established 5% error chance - 0.065 asymptotic significance, 6.5% error chance. The same cannot be said for the news sub-corpora and for quality versus popular articles overall. However, if we consider together instances of verbally quoted or reported judgement and other instances of judgement which are projected mentally (or where the source is not directly quoted or reported, but still is an external source and not the author (see section 4.3.1.51 above), the error chance rises to 26.1% so that nothing can be claimed<sup>75</sup>.

Table 4.111 Mann-Whitney results: Quoted or reported positive judgement

Quoted or reported positive judgement words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.46	.804
	Popular articles	37	42.68	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	21.88	.940
	Popular news articles	19	22.16	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	8.82	.065
	Popular comment articles	9	12.56	

<sup>75</sup> The mean ranks for quoted or reported positive judgement plus positive judgement projected mentally or in any case from an 'external' source are: 46.67 and 41.16 for quality and popular newspaper articles overall, respectively, with a .762 significance level; 21.88 and 22.16 for quality and popular news articles, respectively, with a .940 significance level; 9.41 and 11.83 for quality and popular comment articles, respectively, with a .261 significance level.

*Table 4.112 Mean and Median values: Quoted or reported positive judgement*

<b>Quoted or reported positive judgement / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.002795
Average for popular news articles	0.003233
Average for quality comment articles	0.000221
Average for popular comment articles	0.001596
Average for quality articles	0.001864
Average for popular articles	0.002317
Median for quality news articles	0.001525
Median for popular news articles	0.002361
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### *4.3.1.53 Quoted or reported judgement*

The ratio of quoted or reported expressions of judgement, including social sanction and social esteem, positive and negative, to words, can be demonstrated to be higher in the popular comment articles than in the quality comment articles, with a confidence level of 0.023 (2.3% error chance). The same cannot be demonstrated for the news sub-corpora and for the quality versus popular articles overall. On the other hand, if we also include judgement from external sources (e.g., “The popular belief that they are all economic parasites”), the error chance rises to 8.5% and nothing can be claimed<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> The mean ranks for quoted or reported judgement plus judgement projected mentally or in any case from an ‘external’ source are: 41.48 and 42.65 for quality and popular newspaper articles overall, respectively, with a .824 significance level; 20.29 and 24.16 for quality and popular news articles, respectively, with a .313 significance level; 8.45 and 13.00 for quality and popular comment articles, respectively, with a .824 significance level.



Table 4.113 Mann-Whitney results: *Quoted or reported judgement*

<b>Quoted or reported judgement words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	40.20	.441
	Popular articles	37	44.24	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.08	.258
	Popular news articles	19	24.42	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7.82</b>	<b>.023</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.78</b>	

Table 4.114 Mean and Median values: *Quoted or reported judgement*

<b>Quoted or reported judgement / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.006195
Average for popular news articles	0.008711
Average for quality comment articles	0.001181
Average for popular comment articles	0.005396
Average for quality articles	0.005209
Average for popular articles	0.006371
Median for quality news articles	0.004716
Median for popular news articles	0.006637
Median for quality comment articles	0.000822
Median for popular comment articles	0.004193
Median for quality articles	0.003177
Median for popular articles	0.005076

#### 4.3.1.54 'Social esteem: capacity'

Expressions which have an inherent meaning of *positive social esteem: capacity* can be said to be used more often in the popular comment articles than in the quality comment articles, with an error chance of 4.8%. The same cannot be claimed for the popular and quality sub-corpora overall or for the news sub-corpora.

Table 4.115 Mann-Whitney results: 'Social esteem: capacity'

<b>'Social esteem: capacity' / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	38.46	.134
	Popular articles	37	46.41	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.25	.882
	Popular news articles	19	21.68	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8.14</b>	<b>.048</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.39</b>	

Table 4.116 Mean and Median values: 'Social esteem: capacity'

<b>'Social esteem: capacity' / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.007611
Average for popular news articles	0.007880
Average for quality comment articles	0.005613
Average for popular comment articles	0.011638
Average for quality articles	0.006788
Average for popular articles	0.010456
Median for quality news articles	0.008252
Median for popular news articles	0.006917
Median for quality comment articles	0.004934
Median for popular comment articles	0.012987
Median for quality articles	0.005929
Median for popular articles	0.009044

#### 4.3.1.55 Positive social sanction

Expressions similar to those just discussed, i.e., which have an inherent meaning of positive social sanction (e.g. "hospitality", "tolerance") and are used in more factual contexts, can be demonstrated to be more frequent in the quality articles as opposed to the popular articles, and in the quality comment articles as opposed to the popular comment articles (0.025 asymptotic significance, 2.5% error chance, in both cases). The same cannot be demonstrated for the news sub-corpora.

Table 4.117 Mann-Whitney results: Positive social sanction

Positive social sanction / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46.43</b>	<b>.025</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36.49</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	23.23	.414
	Popular news articles	19	20.45	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12.55</b>	<b>.025</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8.00</b>	

Table 4.118 Mean and Median values: Positive social sanction

Judgement: Social sanction: Positive / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.001512
Average for popular news articles	0.001532
Average for quality comment articles	0.001415
Average for popular comment articles	0
Average for quality articles	0.000016
Average for popular articles	0.000892
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.1.56 Negative social sanction

The number of expressions having an inherent meaning of negative social sanction (e.g. “crime”) per number of words can be said to be higher in the popular news articles as opposed to the quality news articles, with a level of confidence near significance (0.059, 5.9% error chance). The same cannot be said for the quality versus popular articles overall. For the comment sub-corpora, the tendency appears to be the opposite (mean rank: 11.77 for the quality newspapers, 8.94 for the popular newspapers), but this cannot be claimed with an adequate confidence level.

Table 4.119 Mann-Whitney results: Negative social sanction

Negative social sanction / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.65	.883
	Popular articles	37	42.43	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18.79</b>	<b>.059</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>26.05</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.77	.286
	Popular comment articles	9	8.94	

Table 4.120 Mean and Median values: Negative social sanction

Negative social sanction / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.00394
Average for popular news articles	0.007286
Average for quality comment articles	0.005048
Average for popular comment articles	0.002322
Average for quality articles	0.005378
Average for popular articles	0.005676
Median for quality news articles	0.002674
Median for popular news articles	0.005929
Median for quality comment articles	0.002963
Median for popular comment articles	0.003205
Median for quality articles	0.002890
Median for popular articles	0.003984

#### 4.3.1.57 Negative judgement

The ratio of expressions of negative judgement - including social esteem and social sanction, both positive and negative, whether authorial, quoted, reported or simply inherent – to words can be said to be higher for the popular news articles than for the quality news articles, with a confidence level of 0.008 (0.8% error chance). The same can be said for the popular as opposed to quality articles overall with a confidence level of 0.034 (3.4 % error chance). On the other hand, the level of confidence is not satisfactory for the comment sub-corpora.

Table 4.121 Mann-Whitney results: Negative judgement

Total instances of negative judgement / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	36.98	.034
	Popular articles	37	48.24	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	17.50	.008
	Popular news articles	19	27.68	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	8.82	.160
	Popular comment articles	9	12.56	

Table 4.123 Mean and Median values: Negative judgement

Negative judgement / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.009634
Average for popular news articles	0.015995
Average for quality comment articles	0.014791
Average for popular comment articles	0.018906
Average for quality articles	0.013308
Average for popular articles	0.017692
Median for quality news articles	0.008918
Median for popular news articles	0.017442
Median for quality comment articles	0.014419
Median for popular comment articles	0.018868
Median for quality articles	0.011188
Median for popular articles	0.017399

#### 4.3.1.58 Authorial evaluation

Authorial expressions of evaluation, be it affect, judgement or appreciation, positive or negative, in relation to the number of words, are more frequent in the popular news articles than in the quality news articles (error chance 3.0%). As regards the comment sub-corpora and the quality versus popular articles overall, the same cannot be said with a satisfactory level of confidence.

Table 4.123 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial evaluation

<b>Authorial evaluation words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	37.80	.072
	Popular articles	37	47.22	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18.46</b>	<b>.030</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>26.47</b>	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	8.82	.160
	Popular comment articles	9	12.56	

Table 4.124 Mean and Median values: Authorial evaluation

<b>Authorial evaluation / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.001877
Average for popular news articles	0.004208
Average for quality comment articles	0.013817
Average for popular comment articles	0.018773
Average for quality articles	0.005369
Average for popular articles	0.010075
Median for quality news articles	0.002090
Median for popular news articles	0.003106
Median for quality comment articles	0.014815
Median for popular comment articles	0.017316
Median for quality articles	0.002090
Median for popular articles	0.005952

#### 4.3.1.59 Positive evaluation

The ratio of positive expressions of evaluation - be it affect, judgement or appreciation, whether authorial, quoted or reported or simply “inherent” – to words can be said to be higher in the quality news articles, with a confidence level of 0.048. The same cannot be said for the quality versus popular articles overall and for the comment sub-corpora.

Table 4.125 Mann-Whitney results: Positive evaluation

Positive evaluation words /	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	45.65	.124
	Popular articles	37	37.46	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	25.38	.048
	Popular news articles	19	17.74	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	10.55	.970
	Popular comment articles	9	10.44	

Table 4.126 Mean and Median values: Positive evaluation

Positive evaluation / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.014759
Average for popular news articles	0.010026
Average for quality comment articles	0.010624
Average for popular comment articles	0.010994
Average for quality articles	0.013391
Average for popular articles	0.010508
Median for quality news articles	0.014971
Median for popular news articles	0.009709
Median for quality comment articles	0.008511
Median for popular comment articles	0.008658
Median for quality articles	0.013967
Median for popular articles	0.009709

#### 4.3.1.60 Negative evaluation

The ratio of negative expressions of evaluation to words - including affect, judgement or appreciation, authorial, quoted or reported or simply “inherent” - can be said to be higher in the quality comment articles, with a confidence level of 0.017. The same cannot be said for the quality versus popular articles overall. As for the news sub-corpora, the tendency tends to be the opposite, but this cannot be said with a satisfactory level of confidence.

Table 4.127 Mann-Whitney results: Negative evaluation

Negative evaluation words /	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	44.25	.343
	Popular articles	37	39.20	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.08	.261
	Popular news articles	19	24.42	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13.36</b>	<b>.017</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7.00</b>	

Table 4.128 Mean and Median values: Negative evaluation

Negative evaluation / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.015755
Average for popular news articles	0.020337
Average for quality comment articles	0.019019
Average for popular comment articles	0.011460
Average for quality articles	0.017306
Average for popular articles	0.016586
Median for quality news articles	0.015761
Median for popular news articles	0.018812
Median for quality comment articles	0.016296
Median for popular comment articles	0.008658
Median for quality articles	0.016148
Median for popular articles	0.014493

#### 4.3.1.61 Authorial force evoking evaluation

When we compare the popular articles and the quality articles overall, we find that, in relation to the number of words, the latter have a higher frequency of authorial expressions involving some kind of intensity or intensification, including repeated use of numbers (e.g., “Asylum numbers down by 67% from their peak; average time to decide an asylum application now two months compared to 22 months under Mr Howard’s reign at the Home Office”, from *The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 23, Comment and Analysis: “Labour and immigration. Tough on rhetoric”). The error chance for this statement is 0.1%. The same can be said for the comment sub-corpora, with an error chance of 0.4%. For the



news articles, on the other hand, it is not possible to claim that there is any such difference with a satisfactory level of confidence.

*Table 4.129 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial force evoking evaluation*

<b>'Force evoking evaluation: author' / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>34.28</b>	<b>.001</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>51.59</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.04	.081
	Popular news articles	19	25.74	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7.09</b>	<b>.004</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14.67</b>	

*Table 4.130 Mean and Median values: Authorial force evoking evaluation*

<b>Authorial force evoking evaluation / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.005974
Average for popular news articles	0.009229
Average for quality comment articles	0.006420
Average for popular comment articles	0.015648
Average for quality articles	0.005640
Average for popular articles	0.011941
Median for quality news articles	0.001972
Median for popular news articles	0.007905
Median for quality comment articles	0.006961
Median for popular comment articles	0.016779
Median for quality articles	0.003424
Median for popular articles	0.009146

#### *4.3.1.62 Authorial force evoking negative evaluation*

If we only take into account authorial intensity expressions evoking negative evaluation, they can still be claimed to be more frequent in the popular articles overall as opposed to the quality articles, with an error chance of 2.6%. The same can be said for the comment sub-corpora, with an error chance of 0.1%. As for the news articles, the level of confidence with which the same could be argued is not satisfactory.

Table 4.131 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial force evoking negative evaluation

<b>'Force evoking negative evaluation: author' / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>36.83</b>	<b>.026</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>48.43</b>	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.29	.303
	Popular news articles	19	24.16	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6.64</b>	<b>.001</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>15.22</b>	

Table 4.132 Mean and Median values: Authorial force evoking negative evaluation

<b>Authorial force evoking negative evaluation / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.004913
Average for popular news articles	0.006343
Average for quality comment articles	0.003562
Average for popular comment articles	0.014241
Average for quality articles	0.003944
Average for popular articles	0.008579
Median for quality news articles	0.001451
Median for popular news articles	0.003236
Median for quality comment articles	0.003290
Median for popular comment articles	0.015723
Median for quality articles	0.001627
Median for popular articles	0.006397

#### 4.3.1.63 Lexical metaphor evoking evaluation

The frequency in relation to number of words of lexical metaphors evoking evaluation can be said to be higher in the popular comment articles with a level of confidence not far from significance (6.2 % error chance). The same cannot be claimed for the news sub-corpora and for the quality versus popular articles overall.

Table 4.133 Mann-Whitney results: Lexical metaphor evoking evaluation

Lexical metaphor evoking evaluation words /	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	43.20	.123
	Popular articles	37	40.51	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.88	.190
	Popular news articles	19	23.42	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8.41</b>	<b>.062</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>13.06</b>	

Table 4.134 Mean and Median values: Lexical metaphor evoking evaluation

Lexical metaphor evoking evaluation / words	
Average for quality news articles	0.000074
Average for popular news articles	0.000287
Average for quality comment articles	0.000584
Average for popular comment articles	0.003302
Average for quality articles	0.000495
Average for popular articles	0.001323
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0.000829
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.2 Mann-Whitney results which do not demonstrate significant differences between the corpora

Not all the data which was obtained from the analysis were elaborated statistically, but only the data which was supposed to show some significant differences between the sub-corpora, and the data whose mean values pointed to such differences. Besides, the results which did not demonstrate significant differences between the corpora are not reported here, apart from a group of results for which hypotheses were explicitly made in chapter 3. These are reported in the following sections: in general, it turns out that the Mean and Median values

would confirm the initial hypotheses, but the Mann-Whitney test does not: in other words, the hypotheses are neither confirmed nor refuted, and further investigation is required.

#### 4.3.2.1 Internal Conjunctions

Looking at the average and median values, we see that the hypothesis that the quality newspapers include more internal conjunctions would appear to be confirmed. However, this result cannot be validated in terms of the Mann Whitney test. As a consequence, this feature requires further investigation on larger corpora.

*Table 4.135 Mann-Whitney results: Internal conjunctions*

<b>Internal conjunctions / sentences -1</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.07	.399
	Popular articles	32	37.25	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.67	.516
	Popular news articles	19	21.16	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.36	.470
	Popular comment articles	9	9.44	

*Table 4.136 Mean and Median values: Internal conjunctions*

<b>Internal conjunctions/sentences -1</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.014849
Average for popular news articles	0.005364
Average for quality comment articles	0.118692
Average for popular comment articles	0.104239
Average for quality articles	0.040247
Average for popular articles	0.033660
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.121212
Median for popular comment articles	0.058824
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.2.2 Paratactic and Hypotactic Projection

Comparing the quality and popular corpora for the amount of paratactic and hypotactic projections per sentence and for the amount of embedded projections over the total number of clauses, the tendency appears to be for the popular newspapers to include more projection. This can be seen both in the mean ranks and in the average and median values, with the exception of the comparisons between popular and quality newspapers articles overall for Hypotactic and Paratactic projection, where the values are higher for the quality articles, probably because the two interview articles in the quality corpus were not excluded from the counting. However, these differences cannot be validated statistically; hence further research is necessary before drawing conclusions with respect to projection.

*Table 4.137 Mann-Whitney results: Paratactic and hypotactic projection*

<b>Paratactic and hypotactic projections / sentence</b>	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.84	.714
	Popular articles	35	39.90	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.21	.293
	Popular news articles	19	24.26	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.82	.569
	Popular comment articles	9	11.33	

Table 4.138 Mean and Median values: Paratactic and hypotactic projection

<b>Paratactic and hypotactic projections /sentence</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.438255
Average for popular news articles	0.560997
Average for quality comment articles	0.150901
Average for popular comment articles	0.154605
Average for quality articles	0.344863
Average for popular articles	0.358642
Median for quality news articles	0.440972
Median for popular news articles	0.5
Median for quality comment articles	0.148148
Median for popular comment articles	0.175
Median for quality articles	0.324578
Median for popular articles	0.28

Table 4.139 Mann-Whitney results: Embedded projection

Embedded projections / clauses	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	39.52	.294
	Popular articles	37	45.08	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.63	.161
	Popular news articles	19	25.00	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	10.23	.819
	Popular comment articles	9	10.83	

Table 4.140 Mean and Median values: Embedded projection

<b>Embedded projections / clauses</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.037434
Average for popular news articles	0.049761
Average for quality comment articles	0.033137
Average for popular comment articles	0.035355
Average for quality articles	0.036463
Average for popular articles	0.046159
Median for quality news articles	0.037749
Median for popular news articles	0.054054
Median for quality comment articles	0.029851
Median for popular comment articles	0.031447
Median for quality articles	0.034493
Median for popular articles	0.04

#### 4.3.2.3 Expressions of cause and condition

If we take into account the average values, the quality newspaper articles appear to encode cause through circumstantial elements or intra- and inter-sentence linkages more often. The median values confirm the trend for the comment sub-corpora and the corpora overall, but not for the news sub-corpora. However, this result cannot be validated in terms of the Mann-Whitney test and requires further investigation. If we look at the ratio of relations of cause and condition over relations of time and place, the trend appears to be confirmed in the comment sub-corpora and in the two quality and popular sub-corpora overall, but not in the news. This could be explained in terms of the quality news articles' tendency to include more detailed information as to time and place as well, rather than in terms of the popular news articles including relationships of cause and condition more often. In any case, the various groups are not significantly different in terms of the Mann-Whitney test, so that further investigation is required.

Table 4.141 Mann-Whitney results: Expressions of cause

Expressions of cause / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.63	.319
	Popular articles	32	36.44	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	21.96	.980
	Popular news articles	19	22.05	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.91	.239
	Popular comment articles	9	8.78	

Table 4.142 Mean and Median values: Expressions of cause

<b>Expressions of cause / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.013844
Average for popular news articles	0.012681
Average for quality comment articles	0.015006
Average for popular comment articles	0.013571
Average for quality articles	0.014453
Average for popular articles	0.012769
Median for quality news articles	0.012187
Median for popular news articles	0.012793
Median for quality comment articles	0.016949
Median for popular comment articles	0.012097
Median for quality articles	0.013997
Median for popular articles	0.012210

Table 4.143 Mann-Whitney results: Ratio of expressions of cause and condition over expressions of time and place

<b>Expressions of cause and condition / expressions of time and place</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	42.32	.894
	Popular articles	37	41.61	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	21.48	.760
	Popular news articles	19	22.66	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.41	.447
	Popular comment articles	9	9.39	

Table 4.144 Mean and Median values: Ratio of expressions of cause and condition over expressions of time and place

<b>Cause and condition / time and place</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.515458
Average for popular news articles	0.532758
Average for quality comment articles	0.666248
Average for popular comment articles	0.609211
Average for quality articles	0.572738
Average for popular articles	0.562685
Median for quality news articles	0.428105
Median for popular news articles	0.444444
Median for quality comment articles	0.625
Median for popular comment articles	0.571429
Median for quality articles	0.506757
Median for popular articles	0.5



#### 4.3.2.4 Receptive clauses

Contrary to expectation, the mean and median values show that receptive clauses appear to be used more often in the popular newspaper articles than in the quality newspaper articles. At the same time, a look at the average and median values for by-agent passive clauses shows that the latter are more frequent in the quality newspapers, apart from the news sections where the popular newspapers have a slightly higher average value. In other words, the mean and median values seem to suggest that when the popular newspapers use the passive, they omit the agent, while the quality newspapers tend to include it. However, these differences are not statistically significant in terms of the Mann-Whitney test, so that these features require further investigation on larger corpora.

Table 4.145 Mann Whitney results: Receptive clauses

Receptive clauses / clauses in general	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	37.88	.083
	Popular articles	37	47.12	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.29	.316
	Popular news articles	19	24.16	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.55	.425
	Popular comment articles	9	11.67	

Table 4.146 Mean and Median values: Receptive clauses

Receptive clauses/ clauses in general	
Average for quality news articles	0.095302
Average for popular news articles	0.119202
Average for quality comment articles	0.070698
Average for popular comment articles	0.071941
Average for quality articles	0.091194
Average for popular articles	0.114831
Median for quality news articles	0.097328
Median for popular news articles	0.115385
Median for quality comment articles	0.051163
Median for popular comment articles	0.072727
Median for quality articles	0.082904
Median for popular articles	0.112782

Table 4.147 Mann-Whitney results: By-agent passive

By-agent passive processes /	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	45.13	.179
	Popular articles	37	38.11	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	22.50	.766
	Popular news articles	19	21.37	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.91	.224
	Popular comment articles	9	8.78	

Table 4.148 Mean and Median values: By-agent passive

By-agent passive / processes	
Average for quality news articles	0.021706
Average for popular news articles	0.021868
Average for quality comment articles	0.022243
Average for popular comment articles	0.011524
Average for quality articles	0.022494
Average for popular articles	0.019412
Median for quality news articles	0.019345
Median for popular news articles	0.017391
Median for quality comment articles	0.020979
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0.020906
Median for popular articles	0.008265

#### 4.3.2.5 Non quoted 1st person pronoun

In the news articles, first person pronouns appear to be used more often in the popular newspapers. Although this feature can be confirmed by the Mann-Whitney test, it is necessary to be cautious, because non-quoted first person pronouns are used only in two popular news articles, referring to “our borders”, “our laws and customs” and “our economy”. These usages do give the impression of creating a sense of community and shared values, but this feature requires further investigation on larger corpora.

Table 4.149 Mann-Whitney results: non-quoted first person reference

Non-quoted first person pronoun / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	40.91	.590
	Popular articles	32	43.35	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	19.35	.016
	Popular news articles	19	25.34	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.37	.303
	Popular comment articles	9	9.00	

Table 4.150 Mean and Median values: non-quoted first person reference

Non-quoted 1 <sup>st</sup> person reference / words	
Average for quality news articles	0
Average for popular news articles	0.000490
Average for quality comment articles	0.012810
Average for popular comment articles	0.007751
Average for quality articles	0.004195
Average for popular articles	0.003239
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0.0125
Median for popular comment articles	0.008658
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.3.2.6 Grammatical Intricacy

As for grammatical intricacy, there were no statistically significant differences between the popular as opposed to quality sub-corpora. The average and median values appear to show a tendency for the quality newspaper articles to be more grammatically intricate, but the finding requires further investigation on a larger corpus to check if validation by statistical methods is possible.

Table 4.151 Mann-Whitney results: Grammatical intricacy including headlines

<b>Grammatical Intricacy including headlines</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	45.66	.123
	Popular articles	37	37.45	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	23.58	.353
	Popular news articles	19	20.00	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	12.36	.119
	Popular comment articles	9	8.22	

Table 4.152 Mann-Whitney results: Grammatical intricacy excluding headlines

<b>Grammatical Intricacy excluding headlines</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	45.71	.118
	Popular articles	37	37.39	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	24.04	.231
	Popular news articles	19	19.42	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	12.36	.119
	Popular comment articles	9	8.22	

*Table 4.153 Mean and Median values: Grammatical intricacy*

	<b>Grammatical intricacy including headlines</b>	<b>Grammatical intricacy excluding headlines</b>
Average for quality news articles	2.153228	2.213452
Average for popular news articles	2.077214	2.113406
Average for quality comment articles	1.907719	1.968054
Average for popular comment articles	1.611397	1.652630
Average for quality articles	2.040571	2.093626
Average for popular articles	1.876026	1.915279
Median for quality news articles	2.169935	2.225329
Median for popular news articles	2.045455	2.071429
Median for quality comment articles	1.827586	1.839286
Median for popular comment articles	1.583333	1.625
Median for quality articles	2.020833	2.072856
Median for popular articles	1.833333	1.857143

#### 4.3.2.7 *Affect and judgement*

Contrary to the expectations raised by Samiolo (2004:394), in the case of the corpus at hand the popular newspapers do not tend to encode negative affect more often than they do negative judgement. On the contrary, for negative judgement the popular newspapers tend to rank higher than the quality newspapers, and the difference can be validated statistically for the news sub-corpora and for the quality versus popular sub-corpora overall. As for negative affect, no significant difference can be demonstrated between the quality and popular sub-corpora, and the average and median values show only slight differences, with the popular news articles encoding negative affect more often than the quality news articles, and with the quality comment articles and the quality articles overall encoding negative affect more often than the popular comment articles and the popular articles overall. In addition, authorial affect is never encoded in news articles, and there are only slight differences in the comment articles and in the corpus overall, with the quality newspapers displaying higher average and median values than the popular newspapers. In the corpus at hand, negative judgement targets politicians, while authorial negative affect includes expressions of compassion towards immigrants. I would suggest that evaluation is a very topic-sensitive area, and inconsistencies between different studies might be due precisely to the fact that different things are evaluated

differently. This does not mean that different studies cannot be compared, because some common trends can be detected: for example, the present study confirms Bednarek's finding (2006: 194) that the popular newspapers' evaluative style is characterised by intensity (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1, below).

*Table 4.154 Mann-Whitney results: Negative affect*

<b>Total negative affect / words</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>	<b>Mean rank</b>	<b>Asymptotic significance</b>
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality articles</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>44.84</b>	<b>.231</b>
	<b>Popular articles</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>38.47</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality news articles</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>20.79</b>	<b>.478</b>
	<b>Popular news articles</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23.53</b>	
<b>Groups compared</b>	<b>Quality comment articles</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12.45</b>	<b>.102</b>
	<b>Popular comment articles</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8.11</b>	

*Table 4.155 Mean and Median values: Negative affect*

<b>Total negative affect / words</b>	
Average for quality news articles	0.009015
Average for popular news articles	0.011202
Average for quality comment articles	0.011255
Average for popular comment articles	0.007754
Average for quality articles	0.009258
Average for popular articles	0.008322
Median for quality news articles	0.008897
Median for popular news articles	0.009009
Median for quality comment articles	0.010370
Median for popular comment articles	0.004329
Median for quality articles	0.008487
Median for popular articles	0.005952

Table 4.156 Mann-Whitney results: Authorial affect

Instances of authorial affect / words	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	42.91	.543
	Popular articles	37	40.86	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	21.44	.455
	Popular news articles	19	22.71	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	11.91	.261
	Popular comment articles	9	8.78	

Table 4.157 Mean and Median values: Authorial affect

Authorial affect / words	
Average for quality news articles	0
Average for popular news articles	0
Average for quality comment articles	0.000941
Average for popular comment articles	0.000373
Average for quality articles	0.000225
Average for popular articles	0.000126
Median for quality news articles	0
Median for popular news articles	0
Median for quality comment articles	0
Median for popular comment articles	0
Median for quality articles	0
Median for popular articles	0

#### 4.4. Validity of the results

Before discussing and interpreting the results just listed, it is necessary to be aware of the extent to which they can be claimed to be valid and generalisable. In other words, before asking ourselves what they mean it is necessary to be aware of the extent to which they can be said to apply. As a consequence, it is necessary to be aware of some possible shortcomings of the present research.

A first aspect which should be kept in mind has to do with the degree of interpretation which is necessary even in the analysis: would the same analyst have obtained the same data? Probably not: as Halliday (1976:344) points out, "...there is always more than one way of

looking at things; and a sentence, in this respect, is just another thing”. Ascribing language categories is not a straightforward matter. This especially holds for the analysis of appraisal, where a high degree of interpretation was necessary. This means that the present research cannot be qualified as purely quantitative, in spite of all the counting which was necessary. Rather, it could be said to be “quali-quantitative”. The fact is that “in text analysis contexts and meanings, which are qualitative by their nature, co-exist with ranks, frequencies and probability distributions, which are quantitative” (Tuzzi 2003:28, my translation). Precisely because the analysis is not purely quantitative, it might perhaps be superfluous to worry about internal and external validity (Hatch and Farhady 1982:7-10). Internal validity is “the extent to which the outcome is a function of the factor you have selected rather than other factors you haven’t controlled”. In the present study, for example, are the differences between the sub-corpora due to the fact that they are quality or popular newspapers, or could there be some other factor determining the variation in the corpus? My opinion is ultimately that care has been taken in the interpretation to consider all the factors that might influence the results. For example, the fact that sentences are longer and more complex in the quality newspaper sub-corpus is due to two factors: the difference between quality and popular newspapers and the fact that the articles are on politics. We cannot conclude that the same difference would surface in a hard-news corpus – rather, this aspect should be a matter for further investigation. Another example of additional factors influencing the results is the amount of authorial judgement which was found in the news sub-corpora: the popular newspapers inscribe judgement in news articles much more often than the quality newspapers do (see section 4.3.1.48 above), but this result may have been influenced by the fact that seven news articles out of nineteen in the popular newspapers in the corpus are written by political editors, while in the quality articles in the corpus there are only two articles out of twenty-four written by political editors. All the same, it may be significant that there are more news articles written by editors in the popular newspaper sub-corpus than in the quality newspaper sub-corpus: it



may mean that the quality newspapers purport to offer more objective accounts, while the popular newspapers feel that their readerships can accept the mediation of an “expert” journalist when reading news on politics. In this respect, again, the results obtained in the present study point the way to further investigation. Next, are the results externally valid? “External validity refers to the extent that the outcome of any research study would apply to other similar situations in the real world” (Hatch and Farhady 1982:8). This amounts to asking oneself whether the corpus is representative, and to what extent. A sample can be said to be representative of a population “only if it is a random sample, i.e., a sample chosen in such a way that every possible sample has an equal chance of being selected” (Oakes 1998:10). In this respect, one must ask oneself what population the corpus should represent. Admittedly, in the case of this study, the corpus can only be said to represent itself: it does not represent all the popular and quality newspaper articles, and it does not represent all the popular and quality newspaper articles on politics either. For the corpus to be representative, for example, of all the articles on politics issued in a certain period, it would have been necessary to choose articles on various political topics (perhaps trying to reflect the amount of space devoted to the different topics in that period, i.e., carrying out a stratified random sampling), and to choose them randomly – for example, on Monday on a week, Tuesday the next week, etc. (see Bell 1991:23). Even in that case the corpus would represent the newspapers of one period of time. In other words, generalisations would still be possible just up to a point. Needless to say, however, this possible shortcoming points the way to further research and appears to influence the *scope* of the validity of the results rather than the *validity* itself. A final objection to the present research could be that the corpora, especially the sub-corpora, are too small. Although the statistical methods applied should be enough to overcome this problem, further research would be welcome to see if the same results can be obtained from larger corpora. All in all, the kind of study offered here might be considered as a preliminary study, which should be replicated on larger corpora, with random sampling of

articles across a longer span of time, and comparing single text types categorised at the highest possible level of delicacy. Provided that one is aware of this, the results which have been obtained cannot be ignored: they do apply to those two days in which the corpus articles were chosen, so it does not seem unreasonable to expect that they could be confirmed by further research. Now, if they were confirmed, what would they tell us? The next chapter discusses and interprets the data which have been obtained.

## CHAPTER 5 Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

The statistically significant results of the Mann-Whitney test listed in chapter 4 will be looked at together and discussed in the following sections. It has been chosen to discuss the results of the attitude analysis separately for two main reasons. Firstly, the appraisal analysis has involved a lot of interpretation, so it might be less objective than the other analyses. Secondly, evaluation, or appraisal, is most likely to be influenced by the topic of the articles. As a consequence, if we find that the popular newspapers inscribe negative judgement more often than the quality newspapers, this could be due to the fact that most of them are against immigration and judge immigrants negatively, or to the fact that all of them are against politicians and judge them negatively. On the other hand, for the other analyses the fact that the articles are broadly on the same topic is considered to be a positive aspect: the differences between popular and quality as to transitivity or mood or clause complexing are not likely to be due to the particular stance endorsed.

In the following discussion, the attempt is made to interpret the results of the analyses in the light of a polarisation between two coding orientations which I think surfaces in the different styles of the newspapers. It must be emphasised that it is not being claimed here that some newspapers use a restricted code and others an elaborated code: here the distinction is one of degree, whereby some newspapers use language which can be interpreted as reflecting a *tendency* to favour a *more* elaborated orientation to meaning, while others seem to display a *tendency* to a *more* restricted orientation to meaning. This concept of degrees and tendencies must be kept in mind throughout the chapter.

### 5.1 Interpretation of the Mann-Whitney results, excluding Attitude

The following table shows a synopsis of the results obtained from the Mann-Whitney test distinguished according to the sub-corpora they are referred to, and excluding the results of the Attitude analysis. The results are discussed in the following sections.

*Table 5.1 Synopsis of the statistically significant differences between the corpora, excluding attitude*

Quality vs. popular (overall)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Longer sentences</li> <li>2. Fewer extending conjunctions of addition</li> <li>3. More enhancing conjunctions</li> <li>4. More sentences with four kinds of taxis</li> <li>5. More circumstantial elements per clause, and less processes per word number</li> <li>6. More existential processes</li> <li>7. More exophoric and homophoric reference items per number of words</li> <li>8. Shorter chains</li> <li>9. More non-quoted second person pronouns</li> <li>10. Fewer noun phrases of the type “home secretary Charles Clarke”</li> <li>11. Fewer noun phrases of the type “the home secretary, Charles Clarke”</li> <li>12. More noun phrases of the type “Charles Clarke, the home secretary”</li> <li>13. More presenting items belonging themselves to another chain through possessive</li> <li>14. Fewer informal words</li> <li>15. More formal words</li> <li>16. More lexical metaphors fusing abstract and concrete expressions</li> <li>17. More speech functional comment adjuncts of validity per main or paratactic clause</li> <li>18. More objective implicit modalisation</li> <li>19. More instances of “can”, “be able to”, “it is possible for ... to” Higher frequency if core modal verbs on the total number of words</li> <li>20. More medium value modalising expressions</li> <li>21. Lower lexical density, calculated according to Ure’s method</li> </ol>
Quality news vs. popular news articles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Longer sentences</li> <li>2. More circumstantial elements per clause</li> <li>3. Fewer processes per word number</li> <li>4. Fewer relational processes</li> <li>5. More exophoric and homophoric reference items</li> <li>6. Fewer proper names mentioned for the first time and not explained</li> <li>7. Fewer noun phrases such as “home secretary Charles Clarke” per word number</li> <li>8. Fewer noun phrases such as “the home secretary, Charles Clarke”</li> <li>9. More noun phrases such as “Charles Clarke, the home secretary” per number of words</li> <li>10. Fewer informal words</li> <li>11. More formal words</li> <li>12. Fewer propositional comment adjuncts</li> </ol>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Fewer comment adjuncts</li> <li>14. Fewer high and medium value expressions of obligation</li> <li>15. Fewer mood adjuncts of counter-expectation</li> </ul>
Quality comment vs. popular comment articles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Longer average sentences</li> <li>2. More enhancing conjunctions</li> <li>3. Fewer fact clauses</li> <li>4. Fewer middle processes</li> <li>5. More effective processes</li> <li>6. Shorter chains</li> <li>7. Fewer noun phrases such as “home secretary Charles Clarke”</li> <li>8. Fewer exclamative, interrogative and emphatic clauses</li> <li>9. More mood adjuncts of probability</li> <li>10. More propositional comment adjuncts</li> <li>11. More speech functional comment adjuncts of validity</li> <li>12. More medium value modalising expressions</li> <li>13. More objective modalisation</li> <li>14. More implicit modalisation</li> <li>15. More objective modality</li> <li>16. Fewer instances of ‘contractive engagement: deny’</li> <li>17. Fewer instances of ‘contractive engagement: endorse’</li> <li>18. Lower frequency of expressions of contractive engagement (in general) per word number</li> <li>19. More ‘expansive engagement: probability’</li> <li>20. Less engagement (in general)</li> </ul>

### 5.1.1 Interpretation of the results for the whole corpus

Firstly, the discussion will focus on the results which have been obtained by comparing all the quality and popular articles, independently of genre distinctions. Some of these results seem to be connected to the parameters of elaboration of discussion and complexity. The fact that in the quality articles sentences are longer, and clauses have more circumstantial elements, can be interpreted in relation to the space devoted to politics: the popular newspapers generally privilege hard news, human interest stories or articles on celebrities or the royal family (see Chapter 1, section 1.3, above) and are not supposed to discuss politics in as much detail as the quality papers do. Perhaps for the same reason the quality newspapers have a higher frequency of presenting items which belong themselves to another reference chain by means of a possessive: although this result is not accompanied by

any analogous result as to the frequency of other elements starting a new chain but belonging to another one, it can signal that chains are more intertwined in the qualities, hence more complex relationships are established between participants. Precisely the parameter of complexity can be related to the higher frequency of clause complexes with four kinds of taxis and of enhancing conjunctions in the quality newspapers. The popular newspapers, on the other hand, tend to use the simple additive conjunction ‘And’ more often: it seems clear to me that a logical relationship of addition is less elaborated and more generic than the enhancing relationships of time, place, manner, cause, concession. I would connect these aspects to Bernstein’s findings on elaboration of “personal intent” (Bernstein 1977:109), where he states that “the community of like interests underlying a restricted code removes the need for subjective intent to be verbally elaborated and made explicit” and that “the effect of this on the speech is to simplify the structural alternatives used to organise meaning and restrict the range of lexicon choice.”<sup>77</sup> I would even connect these findings to Hasan and Cloran’s findings on mother-child talk (Hasan and Cloran 1990:93), where they found the higher autonomy profession mothers whose talk they analysed were likely to relate their questions to other messages, thus elaborating on their thesis, and that their children were likely to elaborate their answers, so that the answers provided much more information than was necessary and sufficient in view of the questions. In my opinion, sentence length, chain interaction, and enhancing conjunctions are connected to the degree of elaboration of the message, which can be expected to be higher in the quality articles discussing politics. I would argue that the popular newspapers do not elaborate their political articles to the same extent, because they expect their readerships to either share their views, or in any case to be used to language which elaborates less, or to welcome less elaborated views of politics. In this respect, the fact that the ratio of average chain length to words is higher in the popular newspapers could be seen as a contradictory finding, but it must be remembered that the result

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<sup>77</sup> This second aspect, a more restricted range of lexicon choice, does not appear to hold for the newspaper articles in the corpus at hand (see the discussion on lexical density and type/token ratio below).

is dependent upon article length: the longer the article, the more likely it is that the ratio ‘chain length over words’ will be lower. In addition, the result can be interpreted as indicating that the popular newspapers dwell more on the participants they introduce (relative to article length): hence, the quality newspapers, which have more interaction between chains, establish more relationships between participants, while the popular newspapers, which have longer chains, refer more times (with respect to word number) to the participants they introduce. I cannot find any other explanation for this result.

As for the higher frequency in the quality newspaper articles of exophoric and homophoric reference items, this could appear to be connected with Bernstein’s finding that in a restricted code the immediate references to the extra-textual context are more frequent (Bernstein 1973:1553-1555), and might lead us to conclude that the quality newspapers tend more towards a restricted code than the popular newspapers in this respect. However, we must take into account the fact that, whereas Bernstein’s research was on oral interaction, we are dealing with written language here, and exophoric references do not depend on the addressee’s sharing any *material* extra-textual context, but on the presupposition that the reader knows the relevant socio-political context, or other articles on the same topic in the same newspaper issue or in previous issues: in other words, the difference here is probably due to the fact that the quality newspaper articles presuppose more background knowledge of politics on the part of their readers than the popular newspapers do.

There is then a set of results which are connected to the interpersonal metafunction: the higher frequency in the quality articles of formal words, and the lower proportion of informal words in relation to the total number of words, the higher frequency of speech functional comment adjuncts of validity (broadly, generally etc.), of medium value modalising expressions such as “X is likely to / seems to”, or “I think”, and of “can”, “be able to”, “be possible for ... to.” The first two results lead us to conclude that the quality articles tend to use more formal language. As for the other variables, I would connect them to

degree of assertiveness: limiting the validity of a proposition by means of a mood adjunct and using medium value modalising expressions rather than the more extreme high or low values are ways of being less assertive, of downplaying what is being said. The same holds for medium-value objective implicit modalisation by means of expressions such as “X is likely to / X seems to”, which constitute another way of being less assertive, because they are instances of modalisation, i.e., degrees between “yes” and “no”, and because they are objective in orientation, i.e., the modalisation is not explicitly encoded as the speaker’s point of view.<sup>78</sup> We can hence conclude that the quality newspapers are less assertive than the popular newspapers. As for expressions like “can”, “be able to”, “be possible for ... to”, their higher frequency in the quality sub-corpus is difficult to interpret because of a flaw in the analysis, i.e., all of these expressions have been tagged the same even if they are used with different meanings: in fact, sometimes they express judgements on someone’s ability (e.g., “The Tories say they would handle applications abroad, but cannot tell us where or how”, from *The Sun*, Tuesday, February 8, 2005, page 8: “The Sun says”), while other times they appear to express a meaning of possibility connected to external constraints, and which is also connected to permission/obligation (e.g., “Only skilled workers in tiers one and two will be able to apply to stay in Britain”, from *The Guardian*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 4, “Immigration debate”: “Seeking a system fairer to UK and migrants” by Alan Travis, Home affairs editor). For these reasons, I would not venture a definitive explanation of this result. Similarly, I cannot explain why central modal auxiliaries are more frequent in the quality sub-corpus. This might simply be due to the fact that in four “overview” articles there are no central modal auxiliaries, because these articles are very short summaries of the different parties’ proposals, two of which written as lists, and another one mainly consisting of clauses without the finite element. This feature, as a consequence, requires further investigation.

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<sup>78</sup> As for the other parameter, i.e., explicitness versus implicitness, I cannot explain why the implicit kind of objective modalisation (X is likely to ...) is much more frequent than the explicit kind (e.g., “It is likely that...”) in the corpus.



Another interesting finding is the higher frequency of the non-quoted second person pronoun “you” in the quality articles. Given that the occurrences are very few, the actual instances can be examined to search for an explanation.

*Table 5.2 Concordances of non-quoted “you” / “your” in the quality newspaper sub-corpus*

1	Like to go much \$RCL7 further. Some of \$RDDA6 these are genuine concerns. But \$RPS <b>you</b> do not have to agree with all of \$RPTA6 them to acknowledge that what \$
2	Then ask Filipino nurses, Indian IT workers and settled non-white Britons, and \$RPS <b>you</b> will get \$RCLBA13 more circumspection, \$RCLBA13 less clear enthusiasm.
3	Its offices and post offices, Arab small shopkeepers, \$RDHA25 they will all tell \$RPS <b>you</b> how low-grade ethnic abuse is part of \$RPTA25 their interaction with \$R
4	Mand for unskilled work. When did someone born in \$RDDX this country last serve \$RPS <b>you</b> a cup of coffee? \$RPF I suspect that \$RDHH the Treasury has been lookin
5	& I“m not afraid to talk about \$RPTA5& it“. \$RDHBA6 The intention being to goad \$RPSG <b>your</b> opponents into accusing \$RPSG you of racism, so that \$RPSG you can th
6	A5& it“. \$RDHBA6 The intention being to goad \$RPSG <b>your</b> opponents into accusing \$RPSG you of racism, so that \$RPSG you can then protest: “How can \$RDIS& it be r
7	N being to goad \$RPSG <b>your</b> opponents into accusing \$RPSG you of racism, so that \$RPSG you can then protest: “How can \$RDIS& it be racist to discuss an issue of
8	n \$RDIS& it be racist to discuss an issue of importance?” In \$RDDBA6 that way \$RPSG <b>you</b> make \$RPSG your opponents seem politically correct and \$RPSG you get p
9	Racist to discuss an issue of importance?” In \$RDDBA6 that way \$RPSG you make \$RPSG <b>your</b> opponents seem politically correct and \$RPSG you get points for “bein
10	DDBA6 that way \$RPSG you make \$RPSG your opponents seem politically correct and \$RPSG <b>you</b> get points for “being honest”, without anyone paying too close attenti
11	Points for “being honest”, without anyone paying too close attention to whether \$RPSG <b>your</b> solutions have \$RDHS the remotest prospect of working. \$PT7 In fact
12	’s increases, but \$RDHBA15 the issue matters only to 6 per cent of voters. If \$RPS <b>you</b> wonder why \$RDHH the Government has not done \$RCNBH more about \$PG16 tr
13	% the immigration debate \$RPSG <b>YOU</b> MIGHT Call \$RPTBA75 it \$P1 an invasion. Given \$RDHH the climate of pub
14	Oard \$RPTA10 it was reported, though \$RDIS it beggars the imagination how \$EWC: \$RPS <b>you</b> would hesitate to row \$RPS your family across a municipal pond in \$RDDA
15	Hough \$RDIS it beggars the imagination how \$EWC: \$RPS you would hesitate to row \$RPS <b>your</b> family across a municipal pond in \$RDDA11 this vessel. \$PT17 \$RDHBA1
16	RDHH The Travellers”Rest and \$RDHH the King’s Arms await \$RDHBA31 the homesick. \$RPSG <b>You</b> might be just about anywhere in \$PN33 Europe, with \$RDHS the minor dif
17	e dark \$SGN one with \$RPTA28 its freight of troubles, is barely 100 Km away. If \$RPSG <b>you</b> were to set off from \$RDHS the coast of Western Sahara in a small boat
18	Oast of Western Sahara in a small boat and sail all night, in \$RDHH the morning \$RPSG <b>you</b> would see \$PE34 the lighthouse of Fuerteventura. \$RDIA34 It’s an Atlan
19	Gling black kid from Gambia, and for now \$RPTA38 he’s alone in \$RDHH the world. \$RPS <b>You</b> can see \$RPTA38 him on \$RDHX the benches by \$RDHX the fancy fountain ou
20	S the new arrivals in the Canaries. After 40 days, if \$RPTA23 they can’t deport \$RPSG <b>you</b> (because \$RPSG you haven’t told \$RPTA23 them \$PT39 where \$RPSG you com
21	In the Canaries. After 40 days, if \$RPTA23 they can’t deport \$RPSG you

	(because \$RPSG <b>you</b> haven't told \$RPTA23 them \$PT39 where \$RPSG you come from, or because
22	Can't deport \$RPSG you (because \$RPSG you haven't told \$RPTA23 them \$PT39 where \$RPSG <b>you</b> come from, or because Spain has no extradition arrangements with \$RDDT
23	N has no extradition arrangements with \$RDDTA39 that country), \$RPTA23 they let \$RPSG <b>you</b> go. Sometimes \$RPTA23 they take \$RPSG you to Madrid or Valencia and let
24	DTA39 that country), \$RPTA23 they let \$RPSG you go. Sometimes \$RPTA23 they take \$RPSG <b>you</b> to Madrid or Valencia and let \$RPSG you go. \$RDIS It's hard to find cl
25	PSG you go. Sometimes \$RPTA23 they take \$RPSG you to Madrid or Valencia and let \$RPSG <b>you</b> go. \$RDIS It's hard to find clear rhyme or reason in what \$RPTA23 they
26	To a \$PR35 clear limit, and \$RDHS the measures required to enforce \$RPTA35 it, \$RPS <b>you</b> can be sure that \$RDHBA36 the rest is pre-electoral spin.

Firstly, it must be noted that, out of twenty-six occurrences, twenty come from two peculiar articles: one is the *Independent* article from Fuerteventura (numbers 13-25), which extends across three pages, including the front page, and which describes the situation of immigrants and all the difficulties they have to face before arriving to Britain. The second one (numbers 5-11) is an Open editorial from *The Times* written by Tony Blair, trying to defend his government's policy. In this case, the instances of "you" are used to fictitiously make the reader share the Tories' point of view, in order to explain their strategy. Numbers 20 to 25 from the Fuerteventura article aim at making the reader share the immigrants' point of view, while the other instances appear to have the function of involving readers (13-19) in what is being written, making them share images ("If you were to set off..., you would see the lighthouse", "You can see him..."). Number four is a rhetorical question with an obvious answer. Numbers 26, 1, 2 and 3 are all connected to a persuasive function: "You can be sure that", "You do not have to agree with all of them to acknowledge that...", "Ask...and you will get more circumspection", "they will all tell you how..." Overall, I would say that these instances of "you" all have the function of involving the readers in the discussion in order to persuade them. In Bernstein's analysis, sympathetic circularity expressions such as "you know" or "you see" are typical of a restricted code. Here, however, "you" has the opposite function – this is perhaps clearer in comparing "you know" or "you see" with "you can be

sure that”, or “you will have to agree that...” in the following sentences (the first is made-up, the second one is a corpus example):

- You know, the rest is pre-electoral spin.
- You can be sure that the rest is pre-electoral spin.

If my interpretation is correct, the first example could be paraphrased as “I think you will agree that the rest is pre-electoral spin”: “You know” elicits agreement by pre-supposing it. The second example, on the other hand, might perhaps be paraphrased as “I am certain that the rest is pre-electoral spin, and I would like you to think the same”: it does elicit agreement but I do not think it *pre-supposes* agreement. ‘You’ in the corpus at hand is not used to gain a sympathetic response from the addressees, but to persuade them. In other words, I would argue that the deployment of this strategy to persuade readers involves the presupposition that they might not share the writer’s viewpoints and values, and is used to discuss and argue points. Although these findings would need to be corroborated by analysing a parallel corpus, I think they can be said to point to the tendency for the quality press to value, in Hasan’s (1989:266) terms, individuality more than community: you have to be more tentative in your assertions and to use persuasive strategies if you pre-suppose that your readers could not share what you are saying, or would feel imposed on if you showed you presupposed they did.

A further difference between popular and quality newspaper articles is that the former privilege expressions such as “Home secretary Charles Clarke” or “The home secretary, Charles Clarke”, while the latter privilege expressions such as “Charles Clarke, the home secretary”. Note that this finding is the one where the error chance is the lowest (see chapter 4, sections 4.1.3.16, 4.3.1.17, 4.1.3.18 above), and confirms the results obtained by Jucker (1992:207-250) in his analysis of noun phrase modification in British newspapers. Jucker (1992:216-222) reviews other studies on related phenomena, namely by Ryden (1975), and by Bell (1988, 1991). Ryden investigates “the pattern with preposed descriptive appositive and zero article” (i.e., “home secretary Charles Clarke”) in four quality and two popular

newspapers issued in 1971, and concludes that the latter use this pattern with greater frequency. Similarly, Bell “investigates this construction in terms of a variable rule that deletes the determiner in preposed descriptive appositives according to linguistic and extralinguistic constraints”, but does not compare the British quality and popular newspapers: instead, he compares British and American media, and finds that determiner deletion in preposed descriptive appositives is much more frequent in the latter. He then carries out a diachronic analysis of the use of this construction in Britain and New Zealand, to find out that the pattern is on the increase. Jucker (1992:219) points out that, while Ryden “noticed that it is not only the amount of determiner deletion in noun phrase name appositions that distinguishes the different types of newspapers”, but also “their respective preference for preposing and postposing the descriptive appositive”, Bell “misses the point that the crucial decision facing newspaper journalists, or their editors, is not whether to use *the Labour Leader*, *Neil Kinnock* or *Labour Leader Neil Kinnock* but whether to use *Labour Leader Neil Kinnock* or *Neil Kinnock*, *(the) Labour Leader*”. Similarly, in my corpus the opposition is not between “home secretary Charles Clarke”, i.e., a single pre-modified nominal group, and the other two expressions involving apposition, but between ways of introducing participants and their roles where the role comes first, which are more frequent in the popular newspapers, and ways of introducing participants where the individual’s proper name is in first position, which are more frequent in the quality newspapers. Jucker explains this difference in terms of the extent to which the popular newspapers positively evaluate importance, or éliteness, which is also emphasised by Bednarek for evaluation (2006:193). In Jucker’s words, the preposed descriptive appositive with a zero article “gives the descriptive appositive a title-like flavour and thus enhances the perceived importance of the people for whom it is used” (1992:249). He also connects this finding to the lower frequency of titles and honorifics in the popular newspapers, which use titles and honorifics much less frequently because they use the preposed descriptive appositive with a zero article, which already has a title-like quality.

Without contradicting the validity of this explanation, it would not seem too far-fetched to me to connect the different distributions of preposed and postposed descriptive appositives across the different newspapers to Bernstein's (1973:1558) definition of positional and person-centred families: in the former, "the differentiation of members and the authority structure is based upon clear-cut, unambiguous definitions of the status of the member of the family", while in the latter "the differentiation between members is based more upon differences between persons". To put it in another way, these differences could be reconnected to a polarity between, in Hasan's terms again, valuing community and valuing subjectivity: positional families tend to develop a form of solidarity where the identity of the members "can be stated adequately in answer to the question "what is x?"", while in personal families "the question must take the form "who is x"?" (Hasan [1973]2005:165). In the corpus at hand, if one's position in a community is considered to be more central for readers, it will come first, and their personal identity as individuals will come after as an apposition. On the other hand, if individuality is pre-supposed to be more important for the readers, a person's proper name will come first, while their role will come afterwards, as an Apposition. Moreover, when role and name are fused in a single nominal group, a person and their role appear to be encoded as one single entity: the role defines and classifies the person, which I would still consider a way of giving importance to community relationships rather than to people as individuals. This explanation could be argued to conflict with Jucker's finding that the frequency of titles and honorifics<sup>79</sup> (e.g., *Lord, Dame, Sir, Mr, Mrs, Miss, Dr, Professor, Nurse, Bishop, President, Queen*) is lower in the popular newspapers. However, titles and honorifics cannot generally be used as postpositions, hence we cannot say "Home secretary Charles Clarke, Mr", but we can say "Mr Clarke, the home secretary" or "the home secretary, Mr Clarke": in other words, the use of an appositive as if it were a title rules out the possibility for a title or honorific to be used at the same time, and this might reduce the

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<sup>79</sup> See Jucker (1992: 213-216) for the language features which distinguish appositives, titles and honorifics.

chances of using titles and honorifics - \*Mr Home secretary Charles Clarke or \*Home Secretary Mr Charles Clarke are probably both ungrammatical. In addition, while honorifics either do not have much to do with one's social role (*Mr, Ms, Miss, Mrs*), or are connected to aristocratic distinctions (*Sir, Lord, Lady*)<sup>80</sup>, and titles can be used for quite a restricted range of roles (*Professor, Nurse, President, Bishop, Queen*), with appositives any designation of role can acquire a title-like flavour (e.g., *expert, pilot, architect*, Jucker 1992:215), so that anybody can be identified by their role, and in terms which can be much less generic than the simple 'Miss, Mr, Ms, Mr'. A further possible explanation could be inferred from Hartley's (1982:117) suggestion that in news discourse functions are associated with "them" and individuals with "us": this might be said to hold for the quality newspapers, where politicians are called firstly by their names perhaps in order to minimise the distance between them and the readers, and the suggestion is worth further investigation. However, at a first glance, I would reject this interpretation for the popular newspapers, where even individuals who are not politicians or élite people and who could be considered as "one of us" by the public are introduced by expressions of the kind "mother of four Jaimie Bentlenew", or "husband Caryl Patterson" (Jucker 1992:234). Another objection to my interpretation could be that in the sports sections Jucker's results (1992:239-250) are different from mine, in that preposed appositives, especially of the restrictive kind, are used much more often than postposed appositives in the quality newspapers as well. However, in my opinion, this can be explained in terms of the fact that in sports, independently of the kind of newspaper, the roles performed by players are most relevant in any case. Finally, another interesting finding by Jucker (1992:236) is that *The Guardian* uses non-restrictive preposed appositives (e.g., "The Chancellor, Mr Nigel Lawson") much more often than the other quality newspapers: it "has got just over 50 per cent of its noun phrases in this format". This feature of *The Guardian* is confirmed by my data, where the preposed appositive occurs ten times and the postposed

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<sup>80</sup> Except for "Dr" (Jucker 1992: 215).

appositive three times. Of the ten preposed appositives, just three are restrictive: hence, the effect of giving the appositive a title-like flavour cannot be an explanation for the use of the preposed appositive here. By the same token, while restrictive appositives of the kind “home secretary Charles Clarke” are innovative and apparently avoided by those who are more linguistically conservative (Jucker 1992:221-222), the opposition conservatism-innovation cannot explain the higher frequency of non-restrictive preposed appositives in *The Guardian*. I cannot offer any explanation for this aspect of my – and Jucker’s – data.

Another statistically significant difference between the quality and popular articles in the corpus at hand is the ratio of existential processes to processes in general, which is higher in the quality articles. This finding is not easy to explain. The percentage of processes which are existential is 2.37 in the quality sub-corpus and 1.68 in the popular sub-corpus. In discourse in general, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:257), existential clauses are about 3 or 4 per cent of all clauses, but they make “an important, specialised contribution to various kinds of text”, e.g., in narrative, “they serve to introduce central participants (...) at the beginning of a story”. Textually, “the theme is just the feature of existence”, so that the thing which is introduced as existent can be presented as new information. Moreover, the existent is unshared information, as is demonstrated by the fact that it is almost always an indefinite noun phrase (see Taylor Torsello 1987:24).<sup>81</sup> The fact that existential *there* is a

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<sup>81</sup> Participants which occur as Existent are “illegal immigrants”, “problems with the system”, “a difference”, “a rise in the awareness of racism”, “a rise in racism”, “these views”, “no significant competition with the domestic labour”, “a returns agreement with their country”, “tougher restrictions”, “more detentions of asylum-seekers”, “no annual cap”, “a need for annual limits on economic migrants”, “no doubt”, “some tightening of the regulations on settlement”, “no guarantee that”, “a debate about why...”, “a debate about the consequences”, “an urgent need to demonstrate action”, “uncertainty on...”, “tough rhetoric”, “a big omission in yesterday’s document”, “an outflow of people”, “nothing surprising about Tony Blair’s announcement”, “no upper limit on the number of economic migrants”, “a chasm between the two main parties”, “natural concerns about...”, “tough choices”, “more point-scoring between the parties”, “a culture shift throughout society”, “no intercourse and no sympathy”, “a divide between two mutually uncomprehending nations”, “more ministers and MPs of colour in our Parliament”, “two opposing traditions”, “no replacements”, “enough detention space”, “nowhere to hold them”, “a fair amount of criticism”, “differences between most immigrants and”, “a big demand for labour”, “an alternative positive message”, “grounds for such a strategy”, “times between elections when...”, “UK-run border-controls in France and Belgium”, “nothing in the convention which stops...”, “very real practical problems”, “any such country”, “some highly skilled people”, “abuse”, “a simple reason why...”, “abuses of the immigration and asylum system”, “significant political risks to the government’s approach”, “a fine line between...”, “a risk”, “such a need for this kind of labour”, “fresh pressure on ministers”, “concerns

marker of unsharedness can, in my view, lead us to interpret the higher frequency of existential processes in the quality newspapers in terms of how much knowledge is presupposed on the reader's part: again, presenting information as unshared means presupposing that the reader does not share the writer's viewpoint, and could be seen as another way of valuing individuality more than community.

Another result which needs to be interpreted is the higher frequency of lexical metaphors attributing concrete existence to abstract entities in the quality newspaper articles. In my opinion, this feature of the quality newspaper articles could be a sign that the language is more abstract, more complex, and less 'down-to-earth'. To check this hypothesis, however, it would be necessary to count the purely abstract expressions, and see whether they are more frequent in the quality newspapers or not. As for the purely concrete metaphorical expressions, they cannot be demonstrated to be more frequent in the popular newspaper sub-corpus than in the quality newspaper sub-corpus, even though in the former there are some striking instances like "doctors might make it but waiters *will be shown the door*" (*The Daily Mirror*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: "Immigration crackdown": "Kevin Maguire on why Labour will be the losers with proposals which are a pale blue imitation of Tory policies").

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over...", "a job for them", "a bidding war taking place...", "powers to impose restraints...", "a pledge to increase...", "concern", "concern", "four tiers", "job shortages", "considerable scope to speed up...", "no real electoral pressures", "no limit to the number of work permits...", "a temporary quota in operation...", "as many as 600,000 illegal immigrant workers", "no overall quotas on immigrants and asylum seekers", "abuses of the immigration and asylum systems", "measures to speed up...", "an ability to speak and read...", "no right to settle permanently", "labour shortages in particular sectors", "considerable scope to speed up the process", "many Palestinians, Africans, Sudanese and Romanians", "5,372 staff", "no need for yet another long-term plan", "no reason to suppose that...", "widespread concern that...", "one point Labour still won't grasp", "differences between their policies", "fines for bosses who...", "a decision to be made between now and...", "plenty of talk", "a massive rise in both", "an immigration crisis", "an election", "too many immigrants in Britain", "the hints, nudges, winks and leaks that...", "the thousands of sham marriages and tens of thousands of ...", "an election", "6,200", "one" (government policy), "no obvious upper limit to legal migration", "a points system for the allocation of..." "an upper limit to economic migration", "some steps forward", "a problem", "a problem", "renewed attempts to step up...", "increased use of tagging of failed asylum seekers", "four tiers of immigrants", "too many migrants", "abuses of the immigration and asylum system", "no absolute figure for economic migrants", "abuses of the immigration and asylum system", "a problem with illegal immigration", "a drive to boot out more..."



The final result to be discussed here is one which contradicts expectation: lexical density, if calculated using Ure's method (1971:443-452), i.e., as a percentage of content words in relation to the total number of words, is significantly higher in the popular newspaper articles than in the quality newspaper articles. If lexical density is calculated using Halliday's method (1989:65-67), as the number of content words per clause, excluding embedded clauses, it is not possible to statistically demonstrate any significant difference between the two kinds of articles. Halliday (1989:65) also points out that two aspects should be taken into account when counting lexical density, because they reduce it, i.e., repetition and the usage of more frequent lexical items. While the latter feature was not checked, the former, i.e., the amount of repetition, was checked by calculating the type/token ratio of lexical items for each article, and then the average values of it for each sub-corpus. The following table shows average type-token ratio, average lexical density according to Ure's method and average lexical density according to Halliday's method in the three main sub-corpora in the corpus:

*Table 5.3 Type/token ratio and lexical density in the sub-corpora*

	Type/token ratio	Lexical density – Ure 1971	Lexical density – Halliday 1989
Quality news articles	0.75	54.09	5.87
Popular news articles	0.76	55.47	5.47
Quality comment articles	0.77	51.08	5.71
Popular comment articles	0.84	52.32	5.65
Quality 'overview' articles	0.72	57.59	6.20
Popular 'overview' articles	0.80	59.27	4.79

Table 5.3 shows that, firstly, even taking into account repetition, the results would not change: indeed, the type/token ratio tends to be slightly higher, and hence the degree of repetition slightly lower, in the popular sub-corpora<sup>82</sup>. Secondly, the table shows that the

<sup>82</sup> One might put forward the hypothesis that the quality newspaper articles are longer, hence repetition could be supposed to be more likely. However, and most importantly, the type/token ratio here is also much higher than the threshold value 0.20, which means that the corpora are not big enough to draw statistical conclusions on their vocabulary (See Tuzzi 2003:76).

differences in the average lexical density values calculated according to Ure's method tend to be very small – 1.38%, 1.24% and 1.68% in the news, comment and “overview” sub-corpora, respectively. Finally, and most interestingly, the table shows that the average lexical density values calculated according to Halliday's method tend to be higher in the quality sub-corpora. Halliday (1989:65-66) states that counting lexical density as the number of content words per (non-embedded) clause is “more revealing” than counting it as a percentage of content words in relation to the total number of words, because “words are not packed inside other words; they are packaged in larger grammatical units – sentences, and their component parts”, i.e., clauses. If this second method is more reliable, lexical density appears to be slightly higher in the quality sub-corpora, but this difference cannot be demonstrated statistically, and hence we should conclude that quality and popular newspapers do not differ significantly in this respect. This is probably due to the fact that the texts under analysis are all written texts: the medium is the same, and so is the genre at the higher level of delicacy (newspaper article) and this probably overrides any other factor.

#### *5.1.2 Interpretation of the results for news articles*

Some of the results obtained for the news sub-corpora are the same as those obtained for the whole corpus, and consequently they will not be discussed again: they are the average sentence length, the average number of circumstantial elements per clause and the ratio of processes to words, the frequency of noun phrases of the type “Home secretary Charles Clarke” and “the home secretary, Charles Clarke” as opposed to “Charles Clarke, the home secretary”, and the ratio of formal and of informal words to words in general, for which see section 5.1.1 above.

As for the results which were only found to be significant for the news sub-corpora, two of them appear contradictory and require investigation, namely, the frequency of exophoric and homophoric reference items, which is higher in the quality newspapers, and the frequency of proper names of people, places, corporations or institutions which are mentioned

for the first time without an explanation, which is higher in the popular newspapers. Both kinds of reference pre-suppose knowledge on the part of the reader, so, on the basis of the first finding, we might conclude that the quality newspaper articles pre-suppose more, while on the basis of the second, we might conclude the opposite. Hence, it is necessary to check what these items are. Table 5.4 shows the proper names which are mentioned without an explanation and their frequencies in the quality news sub-corpora.

*Table 5.4 Proper names mentioned for the first time and without an explanation in the news sub-corpora*

Quality news articles		Popular news articles	
Names	Instances	Names	Instances
Blair	9	Blair	18
Clarke	7	Clarke	7
The BBC / BBC1	6	BBC	4
The CBI	3	Radio 4	3
YouGov	3	CBI	2
M. Howard	2	You Gov	2
R. Kilroy-Silk	2	Downing Street	2
Jamaica	2	D. Blunkett	1
The Canary Islands	2	E. Leigh	1
J.Howard	1	E. Morris	1
The Daily Mail	1	M. Howard	1
The Mail on Sunday	1	K. Young	1
Mori	1	Channel 5	1
Radio 4	1	FBI	1
The Times	1	Populus	1
The UN	1	The Wright Stuff	1
Number 10	1	The Sunday Telegraph	1
Downing Street	1	Number 10	1
Brussels	1	Aussie	1
Eritrea	1	Westminster	1
Commonwealth	1	Whitehall	1
Ethiopia	1	Cambridge	1
Geneva	1	Dover	1
Iraq	1	Heathrow	1
Kenya	1	Iraq	1
Kurdish	1	Jamaica	1
Malaysian	1	Kent	1
Morecambe	1	Madrid	1
Moroccan	1	TOTAL	60
Peterborough	1		
Sri Lanka	1		
Tanzania	1		

Tenerife	1		
The Strait of Gibraltar	1		
Uganda	1		
TOTAL	62		

The first aspect to observe is that the overall number of instances is 62 in 24 quality articles, and 60 in 19 popular articles. Popular newspaper articles use ‘unqualified’ proper names more often: the ratios are 2.58 and 3.16 respectively. However, one first evident difference is the frequency with which Tony Blair is mentioned (without an explanation of who he is): he is mentioned twice as much in the popular newspaper articles as in the quality newspaper articles. If we exclude him, the frequencies of proper names mentioned without an explanation in the quality and in the popular news articles are exactly the same: 2.21 instances per article. I would argue that knowing who Tony Blair is does not pre-suppose deep knowledge on the part of the reader. Furthermore, in the quality newspapers the ‘types’ of unqualified proper names are 35, as opposed to 29 in the popular news articles: hence, I would suggest that more knowledge is in fact presupposed by the quality news articles. In addition, it is interesting to notice how the only places outside Europe which are mentioned without an explanation in the popular newspaper articles are Australia, Iraq and Jamaica, while in the quality newspaper articles there are many more (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Morocco, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uganda). On the contrary, the popular news articles mention places in Britain more often (Dover, Kent, Cambridge, Heathrow). On these bases, I would conclude that the higher frequency of unqualified proper names in the popular news articles is not proof of these texts’ presupposing deeper knowledge of the context on the readers’ part: on the contrary, the pre-supposed context seems wider in the quality news articles, as the higher differentiation in the names which are mentioned without an explanation shows. In the popular newspaper articles, reference is made more often to a more restricted range of proper names.

The other results, to be discussed here, are the higher frequency in the popular news sub-corpus of comment adjuncts, of propositional comment adjuncts, of high and medium value expressions of obligation in relation to the total number of words, and of mood adjuncts of counter-expectation in relation to the total number of words, and the lower frequency in the quality news articles of relational processes in relation to the total number of processes.

As for the higher ratio of comment adjuncts, and in particular of propositional comment adjuncts, in the popular newspapers, out of fourteen instances, seven are included in quoted or reported speech, so we are left with seven instances, two in two quality news articles (“broadly” and “of course”), and five in three popular news articles (“worryingly”, “reportedly”, “effectively”, and two instances of ‘supposedly’). The Mann-Whitney test has been applied to all the instances, without excluding the quoted ones. If the choice is made to take into account only non-quoted instances, a statistically significant difference between the sub-corpora is not certain. However, it is interesting to analyse the non-quoted and non-reported instances and compare their frequencies in the two sub-corpora. At first glance, these instances appear to be a signal of a less assertive attitude in the popular newspapers, because, apart from *worryingly* and *effectively*, they limit the validity of what is said. On the other hand, however, they are comment adjuncts, they comment on what is being said, and are found in news articles: this is consistent with Martin and White’s (2005:207) finding that news articles in the popular press include in fact more comment than news articles in the quality press do. As for mood adjuncts of counter-expectation, out of sixteen instances (three in two quality articles and thirteen in seven popular articles), ten are quoted, while, out of six non-quoted instances, all of them of “only”, one is in a quality newspaper article and five are in popular newspaper articles, (e.g., “... will only be allowed entry if their home country...”, from *The Daily Express*, February 2, 2005, page 1: “Blair chickens out with half measures”, by J. Slack and P. O’Flynn). Of these instances, two are of “only to” and two of “only if” (e.g. “Low skilled workers will be admitted only to fill specific vacancies for fixed periods, with

guarantees that they will then leave”, from *The Daily Mirror*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: “Immigration crackdown”: “We will take in those we need ... and take out those we don’t. Blair’s hard line to beat abuses”, by Oonagh Blackman, Political Editor). The higher frequency of mood adjuncts of counter-expectancy can, in my view, be interpreted in terms of the appraisal theory, as a dialogically contractive resource (see Chapter 3, section 3.4.3), so that it would signal that the popular newspapers use this device to close up space for conflicting voices.

The ratio of high and medium value expressions of obligation to words also includes quoted and reported instances. The total number of instances is 80. I would attempt a very general explanation in this respect. Firstly, it must be remarked here that these expressions include both descriptive obligation (saying what people have to do, or are not allowed to do) and expressions where the modal impulse comes from the speaker, saying what people should or shouldn’t do. I would conclude that the popular news articles emphasise obligation more than the quality articles do. I would tentatively suggest that this is another signal pointing to a higher value placed on community, since community implies rules (must/have to/be allowed to) and common values on the basis of which people feel free to say how things should or shouldn’t work.

Finally, as for the lower ratio of Relational processes to processes in general in the quality news articles (674 instances in the news sub-corpora overall), this finding in my view contradicts the expectation that the quality articles tend to describe states of affairs more in detail than the popular articles do, at least in the present corpus, and probably in articles about politics in general. What is the higher ratio of relational processes in the popular news articles due to? At first glance, one might argue that, while with existential processes, the attribute ascribed to an entity is existence, i.e., apparently a very objective one, with Relational processes, the Attributes which can be ascribed to entities range from objective states of affairs, such as “Accountants, pastry chefs and motor mechanics are among the professions

currently in demand” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3: “Australia’s refashioned rules still leave a place for skilled migrants”, by Leora Moldofsky) to subjective judgements such as “This is the latest headline-grabbing initiative from a panic-stricken government in the run-up to a general election” (*Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 3, “Hot issue that could sway voters”, by Jean Eaglesham). This would also hold for Circumstantial processes, which can express subjective judgements in clauses like, for example, “it would leave asylum seekers living in limbo” (*The Independent*, February 8, 2005, page 8: “Blair accused of “bidding war” with Tories after announcing tougher immigration laws”, by A. Grice and N. Morris). Even a possessive relational process such as “David Davies (...) said the asylum system was out of control” can be read as a subjective judgement on the state of the system (*The Times*, Monday February 7 2005, No. 68304, page 1, “New controls to stem flow of migrants”, by Greg Hurst and Richard Ford). However, even existential processes can involve a degree of judgement on the speaker’s part, e.g. ‘There is a risk’, or ‘There is a problem’. It may also be useful to compare the average values per each process kind in the quality news and popular news sub-corpora, which are shown in figures 5.1 and 5.2 below. It must be recalled here that the only difference between the two news sub-corpora which can be demonstrated by means of a statistical procedure is the one concerning relational processes, including Intensive, Circumstantial and Possessive Relational processes. The figures show that in both sub-corpora the most frequent kinds of processes are Material processes, followed by Relational, followed by Verbal, followed by Mental, followed by Existential and Behavioural. However, the two figures also show that the quality news articles have on average more Material and Existential processes than the popular news articles, while the popular news articles have more Relational, Mental and Verbal processes. Table 5.5 shows the average percentages of process kinds in the two sub-corpora, and the differences between them.

*Table 5.5 Percentages of process types in the news sub-corpora*

Process Kinds	Quality news articles	Popular news articles	DIFFERENCE (popular vs. quality)
MA	49.7613	44.3336	-5.428
BE	00.8838	01.056	+0.1722
ME	5.8694	6.451	+0.5816
VE	19.0449	20.5778	+1.5329 <sup>83</sup>
EX	2.083	1.144	-0.939
RE	22.3142	26.4376	+4.1234

It would seem that relational processes in the popular newspapers are privileged at the expense of material and existential processes. As a consequence, the only explanation I would offer is that in the corpus at hand the popular news articles are more concerned with attribution and identification than with existence, happenings and events, compared to the quality news articles. I cannot see how these findings could be connected to Bernstein's semantic styles or to a higher or lower degree of objectivity or subjectivity, depth of analysis or detailed information.

<sup>83</sup> Since Verbal processes are connected to projection, it is important to note here that the popular and quality sub-corpora do not differ significantly as to the amount of hypotactic and paratactic projections per sentence. The following table shows the Mann-Whitney test results. The counting excludes the two articles written as lists in the popular corpus, but it does not exclude the two interview articles in the quality corpus. However, it can be argued that the two interview articles do not change the results, because there are no statistically significant differences in the news sub-corpora and in the comment sub-corpora, but the tendency appears to be for the popular newspapers to include more projection. This aspect requires further investigation on larger corpora.

PP E HP / Sentences	Category	Number of texts	Mean rank	Asymptotic significance
Groups compared	Quality articles	46	41.84	.714
	Popular articles	37	39.90	
Groups compared	Quality news articles	24	20.21	.293
	Popular news articles	19	24.26	
Groups compared	Quality comment articles	11	9.82	.569
	Popular comment articles	9	11.33	



Figure 5.1 Process kinds in the news articles, specifying the different kinds of relational processes

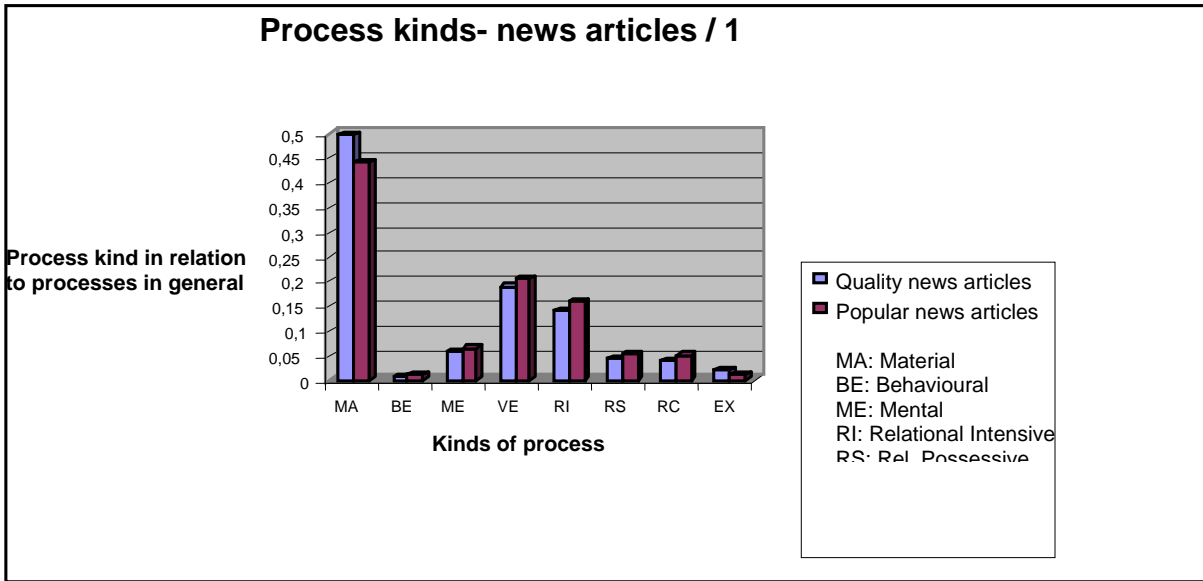
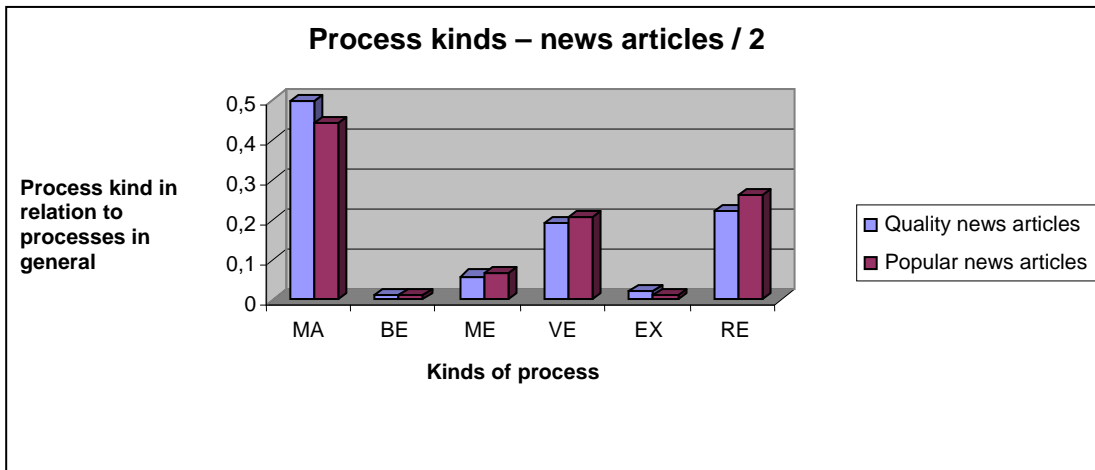


Figure 5.2 Average process kind ratios in the quality and popular news corpora



5.1.3 Interpretation of the results for comment articles

In the comment articles, four of the results obtained for the popular newspaper sub-corpora coincide with those obtained for the corpus overall, namely, the tendency for the popular articles to have a higher ratio of chain length to number of words, and the tendency for the quality articles to have longer sentences, more enhancing conjunctions and fewer noun phrases of the type as “Home secretary Charles Clarke”. For these aspects, see section 5.1.1 above. The other results will be discussed in what follows.

Firstly, the popular comment articles have a higher ratio of exclamations, questions and emphatic clauses to non hypotactic and non-embedded clauses. There are thirty-three instances of these in the comment articles: twenty-one are distributed in seven quality newspaper articles, and twelve in eight popular newspaper articles. There is only one quoted instance, in one quality article. The sheer numbers are higher in the quality articles, so that what makes a difference is the ratio of these kinds of clauses to the total number of clauses. In other words, rather than saying that the qualities have fewer exclamations, questions or emphatic clauses, we should say that the balance between plain assertive clauses and exclamations, questions or emphatic clauses is different in the two sub-corpora. What does this amount to? In the first place, it must be said that all the interrogative clauses are rhetorical questions: obviously, the reader is not being asked anything. In some cases, the answer is obvious, e.g. “But how can the Prime Minister and the Chancellor square their concern for the oppressed of Africa with the calumnies that the Home Secretary, by implication, will today heap on the heads of those among them who attempt to come to Britain?” (*The Independent*, Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion: “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe”), or “When did someone born into this country last serve you a cup of coffee?” (*The Independent*, Tuesday 8 February 2005, No 5,713, page 29: Editorial and opinion: “Why is a Labour government dancing to Mr Howard’s tunes on immigration?”, by Steve Richards). In other cases, the answer is provided by the writer, e.g. “What is going on? Quite simply, the British people have found their voice” (*The Daily Mail*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 14: “Why should we believe them now? For years the Government denied there was an immigration crisis. Now, as an election looms, they’ve vowed to get tough”, by Sir Andrew Green). I would consider emphatic, interrogative and exclamation clauses as ways of involving readers in what is being said, provoking answers or inviting reactions, or at least, as is the case in the single instance of an emphatic clause, strongly asserting a viewpoint (“...Mr Clarke is no headline grabber. But he did come

up with a few sensible ideas”, from *The Daily Star*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 6: “Daily Star says”: “Britain has had its fill”). This explanation is similar to that offered for the use of the second person pronoun “you” (section 5.1.1 above), and it is interesting to notice that in one case the two strategies come together (“When did someone born in this country last serve *you* a cup of coffee?”). However, whereas in the case of *you* the quality newspapers presented more instances, here it is the popular newspapers which rank higher. Either these two results contradict each other, or there is some difference between the two strategies. I would tentatively argue for this second possibility: in my opinion, questions and emphatic clauses are stronger ways of expressing a viewpoint than simply using the pronoun *you*. The pronoun *you* as it is used in the corpus at hand has been interpreted as a way of persuading the reader, sometimes eliciting agreement, but hardly ever pre-supposing it (see section 5.1.1 above). On the other hand, rhetorical questions seem to presuppose more agreement: compare for example the following two clauses, the first from a quality newspaper article, the second from a popular newspaper article, and both with the same meaning:

“You can be sure that the rest is pre-electoral spin”

“Why should we believe them now?”

In any case, questions are also even more interactive than the pronoun *you*: *you* simply addresses the reader, but questions also demand for answers. In other words, I would still say that this feature points to a higher degree of assertiveness in the popular newspaper articles. This explanation is consistent with another feature of the popular comment articles, i.e., the lower frequency of Mood adjuncts of probability and usuality per word number: out of thirty-six instances, thirty-four are distributed across ten quality newspaper articles, while the other two are found in two popular newspaper articles. Since probability and usuality are categories between ‘yes’ and ‘no’, we can argue that the popular comment articles in the corpus at hand tend to be more assertive, or that the quality comment articles tend to be more tentative. This finding also squares with the fact that medium value modalising expressions are more

frequent in the quality comment articles: the Medium-value is precisely half way between ‘yes’ and ‘no’, i.e., it is the clearest signal of non-assertiveness. Another finding which can be explained in these terms is the higher frequency of Validity comment adjuncts in the quality comment articles (e.g., “mostly”, “in some respects”, “with very few exceptions”, “to some extent”), which comment on the validity of what is being said, restricting the validity of a proposition: there are six instances in the corpus, all of them in the quality sub-corpus<sup>84</sup>. The higher frequency in the quality comment articles of expressions of ‘expansive engagement: probability’ can be explained along the same lines and seems to confirm this interpretation. This explanation is corroborated by the higher frequency of contractive engagement expressions per words in the popular comment articles. Incidentally, besides contractive engagement expressions overall, the two kinds of contractive engagement for which the popular newspapers rank higher are ‘denying contractive engagement’ and ‘endorsing contractive engagement’. Given that the popular comment articles rank higher for contractive engagement overall, while for expansive engagement the two sub-corpora do not display any significant difference, it can be argued that it is precisely because of contractive engagement that the popular comment articles have more expressions of engagement overall than the quality comment articles. In other words, while this last result might be interpreted as pointing to a higher degree of heteroglossia in the popular comment articles, it must be taken into account that this is due to contractive engagement, closing up space for alternative viewpoints, rather than to expansive engagement, where, in the case of one sub-kind, i.e., probability, the quality comment articles rank higher.

Another group of results is connected to the kind of modalisation and modality: the quality comment articles have a higher frequency of objective modalisation (including explicit and implicit) and of implicit modalisation (including objective and subjective) per word. For

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<sup>84</sup> Remember that in the news sub-corpora it was the popular newspapers which included comment adjuncts of validity more often. The popular newspapers seem to include more comment in the news articles, while the quality newspapers apparently try to be more objective in the news sections and insert argument and evaluation in the comment articles.

the precise category of objective implicit modalisation, nothing can be concluded on the basis of the Mann-Whitney test. As for subjective and explicit modalisation, as well, the two sub-corpora do not display any significant difference. We can conclude that the quality comment articles prefer objectivity and implicitness when they modalise. Since the categories of explicit and subjective modality do not show statistically significant differences, the most obvious explanation is that there is simply more modalisation in the quality comment articles: although this cannot be demonstrated statistically either, because the error chance is 17%, the average values are 0.52% in relation to the number of words in the quality comment articles and 0.32% in the popular comment articles, and the qualities also rank higher in the Mann-Whitney test. The higher frequency of objective modalising expressions also seems to explain the higher frequency of objective modality in the quality comment articles, because no significant differences between the sub-corpora can be found for modulation.

There is then an interesting result for propositional comment adjuncts: their higher frequency in the quality comment articles. Out of 22 instances in the comment sub-corpora, twenty are in the quality comment sub-corpus. Propositional comment adjuncts can comment on the proposition as a whole, in which case they are either asseverative (“obviously”, “not unnaturally”, “no doubt”, “of course”, “quite simply”), or qualificative (“evidently”, “blissfully”, “safely”, “presumably”), or they can comment on the subject (“incautiously”, “conveniently”, “malignantly”, “rightly”)<sup>85</sup>. What all of these expressions have in common is that they express the speaker’s comment on some state of affairs: their higher frequency in the quality comment sub-corpus may mean that the writer as an individual is more clearly present. In other words, I would reconnect this finding to a higher value placed on the writer’s subjectivity in the quality comment sub-corpora. Admittedly, the contrary interpretation could be offered by saying that, if the writer ventures to express direct comments, it means that they expect their readers to agree, that is, they expect the readers to share the same values.

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<sup>85</sup> See also Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:130.

However, with comment adjuncts, the speaker's 'intrusion' in the discourse is quite explicit, and therefore the reader can freely decide whether to agree or not. It is not by chance, in my opinion, that this difference between popular and quality emerges in the comment sub-corpora and not in the news sub-corpora: in the quality comment articles we have five open editorials, which express the opinions of individuals, while in the popular newspapers we have just two, and, out of twenty-two occurrences of comment adjuncts, fifteen are in the open editorial sub-corpora, consisting of seven articles (two<sup>86</sup> popular newspaper articles and five quality newspaper articles), while the other seven are in the comment articles, consisting of thirteen articles (seven popular articles and six quality articles). Hence, I would conclude that the higher frequency of propositional comment adjuncts in the quality comment sub-corpus is connected to a tendency to give more space to individual journalists' political opinions and may be another signal of valuing subjectivity more than community.

Another aspect of quality comment articles is that they rank significantly higher than the popular comment articles as to their percentage of effective processes, and, conversely, they rank lower as to middle processes. In the quality comment sub-corpus, the average percentages are: effective processes 27.01%, middle processes 72.99%; in the popular comment sub-corpus they are: effective processes 21.28%, middle processes: 78.72%. It might be useful to check how the total number of Effective clauses is distributed across process types. The figures, obtained from the concordances for Effective processes, are shown in table 5.6 and in figures 5.3 and 5.4.

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<sup>86</sup> These do not include a further article which appears to be an open editorial, but was excluded from the analysis because it was inserted in the news page, namely, "Kevin McGuire on why Labour will be the losers with proposals which are a pale blue imitation of Tory policies", from *The Daily Mirror*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 2: "Immigration crackdown". In this article there are no comment adjuncts.

*Table 5.6 Kinds of effective processes in the comment sub-corpora*

	Popular comment		Quality Comment	
Material	92	81.42%	256	82.85%
Mental	6	5.31%	11	3.56%
Relational	5	4.42%	23	7.44%
Verbal	10	8.85%	19	6.15%
Total	113	100%	309	100%

*Figure 5.3 – Kinds of effective processes in the popular comment sub-corpus*

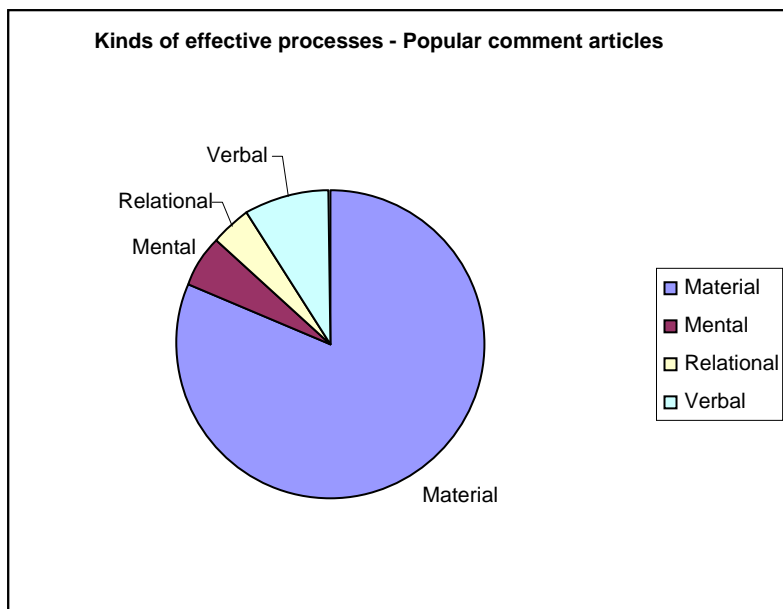
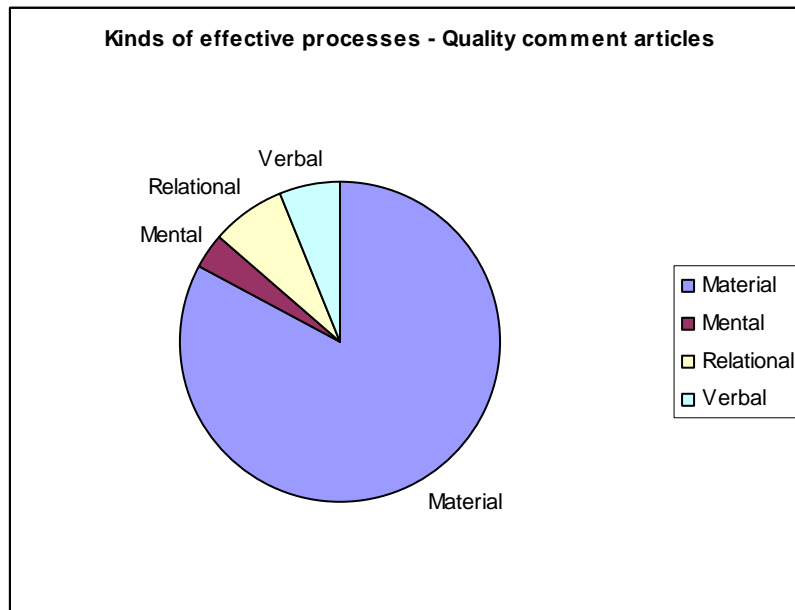


Figure 5.4 Kinds of effective processes in the quality comment sub-corpus



Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show that Effective processes in the two sub-corpora are mainly material, followed by relational in the quality comment sub-corpus, and verbal in the popular comment sub-corpus. However, there does not seem to be any difference great enough to allow us to explain the fact that the quality comment articles have more effective processes. Perhaps the interpretation for this could be based on Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004:288) observation that effective processes emphasise "the cause-and-effect aspect of processes", while middle processes have a pattern of "deed-&-extension". This would mean that, in the comment corpora under analysis, the quality papers represent reality in a more dynamic way, with entities causing things to happen, while the popular newspapers tend to efface external causation: this might point to a more detailed view of political events, with perhaps more elaborated analysis.

A final difference between the popular and quality sub-corpora is the lower frequency of fact clauses in relation to the total number of clauses in the quality comment articles as opposed to the popular comment articles. Although an exhaustive explanation would require examination of the single instances, an interpretation for this result could be in terms of arguability: if a proposition is packaged as fact, besides being non-arguable as all embedded



clauses are, it is also not represented as an individual's view or utterance, as embedded projections depending on a nominalised verbal or mental process are, but as something belonging to the domain of reality, precisely as fact. This might point both to a more "frozen", less dynamic view of reality, which might be connected to the higher percentage of Middle processes in the popular comment articles, and to a higher degree of assertiveness, whereby states of affairs are objectified as fact and not as opinion.

## 5.2 Interpretation of the Mann-Whitney results for attitude

Table 5.7 shows a synopsis of the results obtained from the Mann-Whitney test for Attitude, distinguished according to the sub-corpus they are referred to. The results for the single pairs of sub-corpora are discussed in the following sections.

*Table 5.7 Statistically significant differences between the sub-corpora for attitude*

Quality articles (overall)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fewer authorial expressions of "negative social esteem: capacity"</li> <li>2. Fewer authorial expressions of social esteem: capacity</li> <li>3. Fewer authorial expressions of negative social esteem</li> <li>4. Fewer authorial expressions of social esteem</li> <li>5. Fewer authorial expressions of negative judgement</li> <li>6. Fewer expressions of authorial judgement</li> <li>7. More quoted or reported expressions of positive affect</li> <li>8. More quoted or reported expressions of affect</li> <li>9. More expressions carrying an inherent meaning of positive social sanction</li> <li>10. Fewer expressions of negative judgement</li> <li>11. Fewer authorial expressions of intensity evoking evaluation</li> <li>12. Fewer authorial expressions of intensity evoking negative evaluation</li> </ol>
Quality news articles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fewer authorial expressions of "negative social esteem: capacity"</li> <li>2. Fewer authorial expressions of "social esteem: capacity"</li> <li>3. Fewer authorial expressions of negative social esteem</li> <li>4. Fewer authorial expressions of social esteem</li> <li>5. Fewer authorial expressions of negative judgement</li> <li>6. Fewer expressions of authorial judgement</li> <li>7. More quoted or reported expressions of positive affect</li> <li>8. More quoted or reported expressions of affect</li> <li>9. Fewer expressions carrying an inherent meaning of negative social sanction</li> <li>10. Fewer expressions of negative judgement</li> <li>11. Fewer authorial expressions of evaluation</li> <li>12. More total expressions of positive evaluation</li> </ol>

Quality comment articles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fewer authorial expressions of negative social esteem:capacity</li> <li>2. Fewer authorial expressions of social esteem: capacity</li> <li>3. Fewer authorial expressions of negative social esteem</li> <li>4. Fewer authorial expressions of social esteem</li> <li>5. Fewer authorial expressions of negative judgement</li> <li>6. Fewer expressions of authorial judgement</li> <li>7. Fewer quoted or reported expressions of positive social esteem</li> <li>8. Fewer quoted or reported expressions of social esteem</li> <li>9. Fewer expressions with an inherent meaning of social esteem</li> <li>10. More expressions carrying an inherent meaning of positive social sanction</li> <li>11. More expressions of negative evaluation</li> <li>12. Fewer authorial expressions of intensity evoking evaluation</li> <li>13. Fewer authorial expressions of intensity evoking negative evaluation</li> <li>14. Fewer lexical metaphors evoking evaluation per word number</li> </ol>
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### 5.2.1. Interpretation of the results for attitude in the whole corpus

One first difference between the popular and quality newspaper articles in the corpus at hand is that the former have a significantly higher percentage of authorial expressions of negative social esteem in relation to the number of words. It is necessary to have a look at the collocations, displayed in the following table, to offer a possible explanation.

*Table 5.8 Exprsions of ‘authorial negative social esteem: capacity’ in the quality sub-corpus*

N	Concordance	TARGET
1	ation into Europe either by laws, by police action or by radars and laser, they \$JUASECAN are in dreamland. Every boatload of \$AFOREMID misery that spills on	The Spanish or British, or the Europeans at large
2	auses of Charles Clarke. \$EEO We must take a \$JUSETEP robust approach to people \$JUASECAN who offer five-year plans that contain \$EDD no fives, \$EDD no years an	Politicians
3	Carry out a \$FCAEVJUSECAP major overhaul of the \$JUASECAN over-centralised and \$JUASECAN ineffi cient National Asylum Support Service. - Make sure asylum seek	National Asylum Support Service

4	te and act upon complaints. - Carry out a \$FCAEVJUSECAP major overhaul of the \$JUASECAN over-centralised and \$JUASECAN inefficient National Asylum Support Ser	National Asylum Support Service
5	E who claims asylum \$EE00 must have their case processed, something that can be \$JUASECAN time-consuming and \$JUASENON expensive. - Enter a \$AFORDPS reservati	The 1951 UN convention on refugees
6	e. The last time that Labour set a target for removals - 30,000 a year - it was \$JUASECANH hopelessly optimistic and had to be abandoned shortly after the 2001	Labour
8	N Britain. Today Michael Howard will shift the focus of what some politicians \$JUASECAN carelessly call the \$EADIC "asylum and crime" agenda to Labour's \$EADI	Some politicians
7	uota - the size of which they \$EDD can't say, \$EDC even approximately - is \$EDD \$JUASECAN not sensible. \$EEP It may be too high or low and Parliament \$EDD can't	The "conservatives" arbitrary quota
9	fully, \$JUASSPRP properly and \$NCAEVAFRPL to our advantage. The Conservative's \$JUASECAN arbitrary quota - the size of which they \$EDD can't say, \$EDC even app	The "Conservatives" quota
10	pulist it may be, shutting it down would be clearly \$JUASSPRN irresponsible and \$JUASECANH very quickly deeply damaging to our economy. \$EDC Yet as with any s	Shutting down controlled migration
11	tradition in doing so. The Conservative proposal is \$JUASECAN so absurd it is \$JUASECANH almost laughable to anyone who knows the issue. They \$JUASSVEN preten	The conservative proposal
12	is \$AFARPLD proud of its tradition in doing so. The Conservative proposal is	The conservative proposal

	\$JUASECAN so absurd it is \$JUASECANH almost laughable to anyone who knows the is	
13	\$EEDD I wouldn't call Howard's Tories \$JUASSPRN racist. \$EDC Merely absurd, \$JUASECANH laughable \$JUASSPRNH opportunists \$AFOIRDD \$EPP WHAT	Howard's Tories
14	strategy. Since coming to power in 1997, ministers have sought to reassure the \$JUASECAN partly irrational \$AFOIRFD fears of the voters. For nearly eight years	Voters
15	as where there is a \$AFOIRDD big demand for labour. For now, Mr Clarke places a \$JUASECAN <b>distorting</b> focus on the \$APOVAP importance of \$JUSECAP skilled migrant	Clarke
16	UASECAN absurd proposal from the Conservatives to establish an annual quota, an \$JUASECAN inflexible policy that would take inadequate account of changing exter	The Conservative's annual quota
17	Mr Clarke's arguments they would note a marked distinction. Labour rejects the \$JUASECAN absurd proposal from the Conservatives to establish an annual quota, a	The Conservatives' proposal
18	ewer. \$JUASECAP The more intelligent right-wing newspapers also highlighted the \$JUASECAN misleading conflation of asylum policies and those relating to immigra	The conflation of asylum policies and those relating to immigration (in the Tory plans)
19	ur's campaign so far makes those that were conducted in 1997 and 2001 \$EEDD seem \$JUASECAN like models of daring radicalism. After nearly two terms of government	Labour's campaign so far
20	xiety will be undermined by too many dark-	Immigration service

	skinned immigrants. If the perennial <b>\$JUASECAN</b> lack of efficiency in the immigration service is an indicator, the \$AF	
21	power. \$EEP It is clear to me that both Mr Clarke's and Mr Howard's plans are <b>\$JUASECAN</b> unfeasible. The Tory leader spoke of cutting the numbers of frontline	Mr Clarke and Mr Howard's plans
22	igration and asylum, they are \$AFORCOD safe in the knowledge that the public is <b>\$JUASECAN</b> blissfully ignorant of the logistical \$APACON nightmare that is the re	The public
23	S ago that Tory proposals are \$JUQSECAN unworkable, his own party's plans share <b>\$JUASECAN</b> the same fundamental flaws. \$EDC Although both of these political le	Labour's proposals
24	I know why our border controls are <b>\$JUASECAN</b> so ineffective. Charles Clarke's latest immigratio	Britain's border controls
25	tishness. \$EDC Yet \$EPE \$EPP the statistical evidence alone should destroy any <b>\$JUASECAN</b> such complacency. Most people in this country are \$AFOIRFDH very worri	The British and their self-image
26	igrants – is \$FCAEVJUSECAN almost wholly of his own creation. Two years ago, he <b>\$JUASECAN</b> incautiously told an interviewer \$EAA that his Government would halve	Mr Blair
27	funded benefits is one of the \$JUASSPRNH most pernicious of our age. It is also <b>\$JUASECANH</b> plain wrong. People flee tyrannies because they are in \$AFOIRFD fear	The idea that immigrants are parasites
28	tload of people washed up in Tenerife this	The idea that immigrants

	weekend is enough to demonstrate how <b>\$JUASECAN</b> misguided this is. The idea that the vast majority of <b>\$AFORMID</b> poor l	are parasites
29	ut Europe would do well to study. <b>\$EEP</b> This incident could be said to symbolise <b>\$JUASECAN</b> our collective failure to grasp what people will <b>\$NCAEVJUSETEP</b> endure	Europeans
30	ith <b>\$JUSSPRN</b> bogus asylum seekers. These levels of <b>\$AFOIRFD</b> anxiety <b>\$EEP</b> may be <b>\$JUASECAN</b> exaggerated, imperfectly informed and in some respects <b>\$JUASSPRN</b> dange	The public's anxiety on immigration
31	hat the tempo is so obviously being set by a Conservative party that <b>\$EEP</b> seems <b>\$JUASECAN</b> unable to get electoral traction any other way <b>\$EDC</b> only strengthens t	The Conservatives
32	here will be some tightening of the regulations on settlement and entry that is <b>\$JUASECAN</b> questionable. Raising from four to five years the qualification period	Labour's plans

Table 5.8 shows that in the quality sub-corpus eight out of thirty-two instances have as target the population in general, either of Britain, or of Europe, because of their attitudes against immigrants (numbers 1, 14, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30); nineteen target politicians, either Labour or Tory, and their proposals (numbers 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 26, 31, 32), while four target the inefficiency of the British immigration system (3, 4, 20, 24).

Table 5.9 illustrates the instances of authorial negative social esteem: capacity in the popular sub-corpus:

Table 5.9 Expressions of authorial 'negative social esteem: capacity' in the popular newspaper sub-corpus

N	Concordance	Target
1	his latest plan could have been introduced \$FCAEVAFRDP at least five years ago. \$JUASECAN Had Labour paid heed to those who put it in office and acted decisivel	Labour
2	paid heed to those who put it in office and acted decisively over immigration, \$JUASECAN it \$EEP would \$EDD not now be wading blindly in a quagmire of its own	Labour
3	t \$EPP the reality is that his new policies \$EDD won't make good eight years of \$JUASECAN neglect. New Labour - unlike the Tories - will \$EDD not withdraw from	Labour
4	ompared with 50,000 in the previous five years. And Ministers still have \$EDD \$JUASECAN no effective strategy for dealing with \$JUSEPRN illegal immigrants - o	(New Labour) ministers
5	pically New Labour - \$JUASSPRN opportunistic, \$JUASSVENH strong on rhetoric and \$JUASECANH totally lacking in substance or \$JUASSVENH sincerity.	New Labour
6	A policy \$JUASECAN with little substance IT was as if New Labour had taken office \$EDC only yeste	New Labour policy
7	Ew Labour had taken office \$EDC only yesterday. Home Secretary Charles Clarke \$JUASECAN blithely announces a five-year plan of tougher curbs on immigration as	Charles Clarke
8	\$EDC but \$LMAEVJUSECAN \$EDD haven't walked the walk. And when they realised how \$JUASECAN ineffectual their efforts were, they \$JUASSVEN fiddled the figures and	New Labour ministers
9	time \$FCAEVJUSECAN continuing to let in countless thousands from eastern Europe \$JUASECAN without proper checks and \$LMAEVJUSECAN turning a blind	New Labour ministers

	eye to those e	
10	A year. That is \$FCAEVJUSECAN hardly surprising when the Home Office has been \$JUASECANH so inept. \$EPE An inquiry by a senior all-party committee of MPs re	The Home Office
11	\$EPE showed all \$EPE too clearly. And, after eight years, \$EPP there is \$EDD \$JUASECAN no reason to suppose that Mr Blair's fourth attempt to do something wi	Mr Blair's immigration policies
12	orkers needed by British industries. \$EDC By contrast, the Tory proposals are \$JUASECAN unworkable as well as \$JUASSPRN bigoted and \$JUASECAN senseless. Thi	The Tory proposals
13	t, the Tory proposals are \$JUASECAN unworkable as well as \$JUASSPRN bigoted and \$JUASECAN senseless. This country has always \$LMAEVJUSSPRPH \$AFORPLSH thrown o	The Tory proposals
14	lmost eight years in office, \$EPP that can \$EDC only be seen as an admission of \$JUASECAN failure. Sun readers have already \$AFORPD backed Tory immigration p	Labour
15	nts sneaked in and the success rate of deporting failed asylum seekers has been \$JUASECAN miserable. \$EDD Two of the policies announced yesterday weren't \$EDC	Labour
16	cations abroad, \$EDC \$EDD but cannot tell us where or how. \$EDD And they have \$JUASECAN not convincingly answered Labour's assertion that they would make seve	The Tories
17	write about the downsides of \$FCAEVAFRDP excessive immigration without any but \$JUASECAN the most dimwitted of Left-wingers calling us \$JUQSSPRN racists. \$ED	Some Left-wingers
18	mmigration. Unlike Mr Blair, he was \$AFOIRDD willing to openly espouse Labour's \$JUASECAN	Labour



	false diagnosis of the prime cause of public concern. \$EAA Labour be	
19	Down immigration as a general election issue by sounding as tough as the Tories \$JUASECAN has already failed. \$EDD Mr Clarke \$EDC simply could not bring himse	Labour
20	AEVJUSECAN sheer length of the list of measures proposed by the Government is a \$JUASECAN damning indictment of its own \$FCAEVJUSECAN record on immigration. A	The Labour Government
21	0 legal immigration." \$EDD Yesterday's announcement did nothing to reverse this \$JUASECAN absurd statement. Work permits have been increased by \$FCAEVJUSECAN	The former home secretary David Blunkett
22	with the asylum system will not do. Six asylum and immigration acts in 11 years \$JUASECAN have failed to fix the problems stemming from a Refugee Convention dra	Immigration policies over the last eleven years
23	tection of our borders is a prime responsibility of government, and it has been \$JUASECAN ducked for years. The acid test is whether any party will undertake	The government
24	sign of \$AFOIRFDH increasing panic within Labour's high command, Downing Street \$JUASECAN hastily arranged a radio interview for the Prime Minister to head off	Downing Street
25	THE true scale of Labour's asylum \$JUASECAN shambles which is costing taxpayers \$FCANEVJUSECAN hundreds of million	Labour
26	powerful group of MPs \$EPE discovered unchecked \$JUSSVEN fraudulent claims and \$JUASECAN bad decisions have led to public money being \$NCAEVJUSECAN squandered.	The asylum system
27	Be refugees. The report, out today, \$EPE highlights the \$FCAEVJUSECAN massive \$JUASECAN	The asylum system

	backlog of asylum claims which \$NCAEVJUSECAN built up as the number of	
28	report says. And \$FCAEVJUSECAN £200million of that figure \$EEP is blamed on a \$JUASECANH disastrous decision in 2001 to switch newly-recruited asylum case wor	One decision by Labour politicians
29	asylum decisions made - and the number of refusals which are overturned during \$JUASECAN costly and \$JUASECAN time-consuming appeals. Three quarters of those w	The asylum system
30	e - and the number of refusals which are overturned during \$JUASECAN costly and \$JUASECAN time-consuming appeals. Three quarters of those whose cases are turned	The asylum system
31	Blair \$AFORDPS \$EAA was accused last night of \$AFOIRFDH panicking over Labour's \$JUASECAN failure to tackle Britain's immigration \$JUASECAN shambles. In an \$J	Labour
32	IRFDH panicking over Labour's \$JUASECAN failure to tackle Britain's immigration \$JUASECAN shambles. In an \$JUSENON unusual move, the Prime Minister took to th	Labour
33	AA he said. The Prime Minister's \$AFORMID grim assessment of his Government's \$JUASECAN failures came as \$EPE polls confirmed Labour \$AFOIRFD fears that it is	Blair
34	for a \$JUASECANH devastating report by the Commons spending watchdog due out tomorrow	The asylum system
35	USECAN a peak of 120,000. \$EDC But \$EPE the committee has found the number of \$JUASECAN wrong decisions being made by officials is \$FCAEVJUSECAN on the rise -	Officials in the asylum system
36	S yesterday by barring unskilled foreigners from entry. After eight years of \$JUASECAN failing to confront a \$FCAEVAFRDI mounting mess, \$EAA he	Tony Blair

	said \$EDCQ on	
37	5,372 staff \$FCAEVJUSECAN £150million Cost to the public purse of a single \$JUASECAN blunder, made in 2001, to switch claims from processing new bids for r	The asylum system
38	AAIC "gaps" in economy. Will it Work? In terms of limiting immigration, \$EDD \$JUASECAN no. Tory: Parliament will set a quota each year for the number of w	Labour's plans
39	Ekers can stay and be supported while their case is considered. Will it work? \$JUASECAN \$APVAP Core \$NCAEVAFRDPD problem will remain - that \$EAAIC \$JUSSVEN "b	Labour's plans
40	ork? Depends entirely on points \$EAAIC "pass mark". Without quotas, system \$EEP \$JUASECAN could do little to reduce immigration, Tory: Will adopt similar Aus	Labour's plans
41	eans having a job, and English test is easy, policy \$EEP could have almost \$EDD \$JUASECAN no effect. Tory: Quota will be set each year for how many work perm	Labour's plans
42	AP ambitious computer project - and the Government's record over these is \$EDD \$JUASECAN not good. Identifying who has overstayed a visa is much easier than fi	The Government
43	r... \$EAAIC "IMMIGRATION SHAMBLES", DAILY EXPRESS, Feb 24 \$EAAIC "IMMIGRATION \$JUASECAN FIASCO COULD TOPPLE BLAIR", DAILY EXPRESS, April 2 The Daily Express	The Labour Government
44	Over immigration. \$FCAEVJUSECAP In story after story we have highlighted the \$JUASECAN inadequacies of Britain's \$APACON chaotic system and how economic migr	The immigration system
45	PRN cheats \$JUASSPRN take advantage of it. We have \$EPE revealed how Tony Blair \$JUASECAN has	Tony Blair

	handed control of Britain's borders to Europe. And we have reported	
46	Ng \$LMAEVAFORDDP kicked out \$NCAEVJUSECAN has fallen. \$EAAIC "IMMIGRATION: NEW \$JUASECAN SCANDAL", DAILY EXPRESS: June 17 \$EAAAI C "IMMIGRATION \$JUASSVEN LIES	The immigration system
47	tion. \$EE0 Labour should change the nature of the debate instead of proposing \$JUASECAN a pale blue imitation of Tory policies.	Labour

One first difference between the quality and the popular sub-corpora is that in the latter there are no instances where people in general, or the British people, are criticised. On the other hand, in the popular sub-corpora politicians are the targets of negative judgement more often than in the qualities (thirty-nine instances, as opposed to nineteen in the qualities). It can also be noticed that when politicians are targeted, it is mainly Labour politicians, with just three instances targeting the Tories – as opposed to ten in the quality articles. All in all, it might be argued that the higher ratio of ‘negative social esteem: capacity’ in the popular sub-corpus might be due to two main factors:

- a strongly negative attitude against politicians in general, and “the system”
- a negative attitude towards immigration, which leads to criticism of those politicians which have more balanced proposals

In other words, in my opinion, most of the popular newspapers, excluding the *Daily Mirror* (concordances n. 12 and 13 above), express strong criticism either of the Labour government or of the system in general because they want to show they understand and share people's fears about immigration or people's lack of confidence in politicians – especially those in power. The other five findings, i.e, the lower frequency in the quality newspaper articles of authorial expressions of ‘social esteem: capacity’ (positive or negative), of authorial expressions of negative social esteem, of authorial expressions of social esteem, of authorial

expressions of negative judgement and of authorial expressions of judgement, may all be connected to the higher frequency of authorial expressions of negative judgement in the popular newspapers, because expressions of authorial negative social esteem: capacity are included in all of the categories just listed. For this reason, the following table might help us understand the relative weight of authorial negative social esteem for capacity in relation to the other parameters:

*Table 5.10: 'Authorial negative social esteem: capacity' (1), 'authorial social esteem: capacity' (2), 'authorial negative social esteem' (3), 'authorial social esteem' (4), 'authorial negative judgement' (5) and 'authorial judgement' (6): number of occurrences and frequencies per word number.*

	1.JUASECAN		2.JUASECA		3.JUASEN		4.JUASE		5.JUAN		6.JUA	
	Number of occurrences	Average frequencies in relation to number of words	O	AF	O	AF	O	AF	O	AF	O	AF
Quality	32	0.080%	5	0.087	3	0.098	6	0.163	10	0.253	11	0.345
			2	%	8	%	6	%	5	%	1	%
Popular	47	0.397%	5	0.417	5	0.414	7	0.593	83	0.619	14	0.826
			9	%	0	%	5	%		%	1	%

Table 5.10 shows that authorial negative social esteem for capacity actually determines the figures for authorial negative social esteem, i.e., that the other two parameters, 'normality:negative' and 'tenacity:negative' contribute very little to the total amount of authorial negative social esteem (JUASEN): out of 38 occurrences of authorial negative social esteem in the quality articles, 32 are due to negative capacity (JUASECAN), and out of 50 occurrences in the popular newspaper articles, 47 are due to negative capacity. As for the results for capacity, positive and negative, we have 52 occurrences in the quality articles and 59 in the popular articles: since the total number of authorial judgements for capacity (JUASECA) is the sum of authorial negative judgement for capacity (JUASECAN) and authorial positive judgement for capacity (not included in the table), this means that there are

20 occurrences of authorial positive expressions of judgement for capacity in the quality newspapers, as opposed to 12 in the popular newspapers: the quality authorial voices in the corpus judge positively for capacity more often, but not enough to change the overall results for authorial social esteem for capacity (positive and negative). As for the total expressions of social esteem, including capacity, tenacity and normality, positive and negative, the contribution of negative capacity is 32 out of 66 occurrences, i.e., 48.5% in the quality articles, and 47 out of 76 in the popular newspapers articles, i.e., 61.8%: one could still explain the Mann-Whitney results for the frequencies of authorial social esteem in terms of the contribution of negative capacity, and hence provide the same explanation given above, i.e., that the popular newspapers rank higher because of the topic, i.e., immigration policies, and because of the populist attitudes they endorse. However, the relative weight of negative capacity diminishes when the total instances of authorial negative judgement (JUAN) and of authorial judgement (JUA) are taken into account, and might point to a more general tendency in the popular newspaper articles to express direct authorial judgement more often. Since Martin and White (2005:207) emphasise that the popular newspapers tend to express authorial judgements in the news articles as well, while the qualities tend to express authorial judgements in the comment articles only, it might be useful to see how authorial expressions of judgement and of negative judgement are distributed across the different sub-corpora in the corpus.

*Table 5.11 Occurrences of negative authorial judgement (JUAN) and of authorial judgement (JUA) in the sub-corpora.*

	JUAN	JUA
Quality news	6	11
Popular news	21	33
Quality comment	73	96
Popular comment	47 (+10)	57 (+11)

Quality from Fuerteventura	11	16
Popular form Calais	0	0
Quality overview	1	3
Popular overview	6	10
Quality sketches	13	16
Quality interviews	1	1

Table 5.11 shows how the sub-corpora where the popular articles have more instances of authorial judgement and of authorial negative judgement than the quality articles are the news sub-corpora, and the “overview” sub-corpora, which can still be considered news (they are included in the news pages): hence, it is probably the articles in these sub-corpora which mainly determine the results for the Mann-Whitney test showing that the popular newspapers rank higher both for authorial negative judgement and for authorial judgement. This appears to confirm Martin and White’s suggestion that the popular newspapers tend to include more authorial judgements in their news sections, while the quality papers express more judgements in the comment articles, which are qualified as articles expressing the newspaper’s or some journalist’s opinion. The quality newspapers strive to be objective in their news articles, while the popular newspapers appear not to do so. This aspect is also related to the hypothesis that the popular newspapers tend to be more assertive. On the other hand, the higher frequency in the popular newspapers of expressions of *negative* judgement, be it authorial, quoted or more ‘factual’, may be connected to the topics – immigration and politics - and to the fact that there is a generalised negative attitude against both in the popular newspapers.

Another characteristic of the quality articles as opposed to the popular articles in the corpus is that the latter have more authorial expressions of intensity evoking evaluation and

evoking negative evaluation. This seems to be in line with Bednarek's (2006:194) conclusions that the popular newspapers' evaluative style is characterised by intensity.

By contrast, one parameter where the quality newspapers rank higher than the popular newspapers is the frequency, in relation to number of words, of quoted or reported expressions of affect in general and of positive affect. In Bednarek's findings (2006:194), it is the popular newspapers which are characterised by emotivity. However, she only analysed authorial judgement, her corpus was made up of hard news articles, and not political articles, and she apparently did not apply any statistical procedure. If we look at the average frequencies of authorial affect in the two sub-corpora, indeed the frequency of authorial expressions of affect is higher in the quality papers, the main difference being that there are expressions of authorial affect in five quality comment articles and just in one popular comment article, but this result cannot be validated by the Mann Whitney test. What is validated by the Mann-Whitney test is that the quality papers rank higher as to quoted or reported positive affect and quoted or reported affect. The actual figures are shown in table 5.12.

*Table 5.12 Frequencies of quoted and reported positive, negative and total expressions of affect in the quality and popular newspaper corpora*

	Quality		Popular	
	Occurrences	Frequency per word number	Occurrences	Frequency
Quoted/reported positive affect	23	0.092%	7	0.038%
Quoted/reported negative affect	18	0.057%	3	0.022%
Quoted/reported affect	41	0.149%	10	0.060%

It is not easy to interpret these findings. One might think that, while the popular newspapers judge more openly, through the authorial voice, the quality papers more often project their evaluations (in this case affect) through the voice of another source. However, for quoted affect even more than for the other parameters, analysis of a larger corpus would be necessary to confirm this result and to explain it.



Finally, the quality articles in the corpus also display higher frequencies of expressions carrying an inherent meaning of positive social sanction and of positive appreciation. These include both expressions used by the authorial voice and expressions used by quoted sources. These expressions do not seem to me to convey direct evaluations, but they seem to have an inherent evaluative meaning. They are either used to distinguish categories, e.g., “*genuine* refugees” (vs. “bogus asylum-seekers”), or they are used in the realm of hypotheses, e.g., “Immigration (...) should be a matter for *open and frank discussion*” (*The Financial Times*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 18: “Ill-timed debate on migration controls. But Labour’s proposals appear preferable to the Tory plans”, Editorial Comment). Some words in this category recur more than once, and can be explained in terms of the newspapers’ stance, i.e.: *genuine/genuinely*, referring to refugees, and *lawful/lawfully/legitimately*, still referring to immigrants, together account for eighteen occurrences in the quality newspapers and six in the popular newspapers, perhaps pointing to a more frequent insistence in the former on the fact that there are genuine, honest immigrants; *fair/fairly/fairness*, referring to how immigrants should be treated, account for six occurrences in the quality newspapers and one in the popular newspapers, hence pointing to a higher importance placed on being fair towards immigrants; words like *hospitality* and *tolerance* account together for nine occurrences in the quality newspapers and three in the popular newspapers, where they are used in the context of discussing whether or not Britain’s tolerance or hospitality are being abused. However, given that this category includes quoted or authorial instances, factual or hypothetical, it is not easy to offer an explanation, and this admittedly represents a flaw in the analysis.

### 5.2.2 Interpretation of the results for attitude in the news articles

Some of the results obtained for the news sub-corpora coincide with those obtained for the whole corpus. They are the frequency of authorial negative social esteem for capacity, of authorial social esteem for capacity, of authorial negative social esteem, of social esteem, of authorial negative judgement, of authorial judgement, of quoted or reported expressions of

affect and of positive affect, and of expressions of negative judgement. These results have already been discussed in section 5.2.1 above.

Other results are difficult to interpret because of the flaw in the analysis mentioned in the preceding section (5.2.1), i.e., the results for those expressions which have been tagged as carrying an inherent meaning of negative social sanction. As mentioned above, the flaw in the analysis is that there is no distinction between the usage of such expressions by the authorial voice or by quoted sources, and that they include categorising expressions, expressions used in hypothetical contexts, and expressions which might perhaps have been interpreted as either expressions of authorial or quoted / reported judgement or as expressions evoking judgement. With this in mind, it is interesting to note that expressions of negative social sanction are more frequent in the popular newspaper articles. Out of a total of one hundred expressions of negative social sanction, twenty are instances of the word “abuse”, thirty are instances of “illegal” (or illegally), sixteen are instances of “bogus” or “false” / “falsely” (referring to bogus asylum seekers, false claims etc.), and twenty are expressions connected to crime (terrorists, prostitution, etc.). Of these, thirty-eight are found in the quality news articles, while forty-eight are found in the popular news articles, and the popular articles are shorter and fewer. Thus one may conclude that in the popular news articles there is a stronger emphasis on crime, breaking the law and cheating when referring to immigration.

Finally, two other results in the news sub-corpora are the higher frequency of authorial expressions of evaluation in the popular news articles, including affect, judgement and appreciation, and the higher frequency of expressions of positive evaluation in the quality news articles. The former characteristic can be connected to Martin and White’s (2005:207) statement that in the popular media “explicit authorial judgement occurs regularly in news reports”, already mentioned in section 5.2.1 above. On the other hand, as for the higher frequency of expressions of positive evaluation overall in the quality news articles, even though this result refers to the sum of many different sub-categories, it could perhaps be

interpreted as a signal of a generally more positive attitude, either towards immigrants or towards politicians. It can, in any case, be useful to have a look at the number of occurrences for each parameter making up this category, as shown in table 5.13.

*Table 5.13 Positive evaluation: occurrences and frequencies in relation to number of words in the quality and popular news sub-corpora*

	Affect: other: positive		Affect: quoted / reported : positive		Judgement: author: positive		Judgement: quoted / reported: positive		Judgement: positive		Appreciation: author: positive		Appreciation: quoted / reported: positive		Appreciation: positive	
	O	F	O	F	O	F	O	F	O	F	O	F	O	F	O	F
Quality news articles	6	0.5	1	0.1	5	0.04	3	0.28	7	0.56	9	0.06	30	0.24	12	0.09
	2	1%	3	1%		%	7	%	1	%		%		%		%
Popular news articles	2	0.4	4	0.0	1	0.13	3	0.32	2	0.32	5	0.06	16	0.19	2	0.02
	9	1%		5%	2	%%	0	%	6	%		%		%		%

Table 5.13 shows that the higher frequency of positive evaluation overall in the qualities is mainly due to expressions reporting some participants' positive affect ('affect: other: positive'), 'factual' expressions of positive judgement, quoted or reported expressions of positive appreciation, and 'factual' expressions of positive appreciation. Again, as for the more 'factual' instances and the quoted instances, it is not possible to offer an explanation, although it seems possible to generalise the effect of this state of affairs, i.e., a more general positive attitude. On the other hand, as for the expressions of participants' positive affect, they seem to point to a higher interest in participants' feelings and wishes. Finally, it can be seen that the higher frequency of positive evaluation in the quality news articles is not due to authorial positive judgement: in the news sub-corpora, the popular articles have expressions of authorial positive judgement three times as often as the quality newspapers, confirming that the popular newspapers tend to express authorial judgement more often in the news sections.

### *5.2.3 Interpretation of the results for attitude in the comment articles*

In the case of the comment articles, as well, some results are the same as those obtained for the whole corpus, and will not be discussed again, namely the frequency of

authorial expressions of negative social esteem for capacity, of authorial expressions of social esteem for capacity, of authorial expressions of negative social esteem, of authorial expressions of social esteem, of authorial expressions of negative judgement, of authorial expressions of judgement, of authorial expressions of intensity evoking evaluation and negative evaluation and of expressions with an inherent meaning of positive social sanction.

Other results are contrary to expectation and require further investigation, in particular, the higher frequency in the quality comment sub-corpus of expressions of negative evaluation: it is the opposite of what happened in the news sub-corpora, where it was expressions of *positive* evaluation overall which were more frequent in the qualities. Hence, it is necessary to check the contributions of the different components of this parameter. This is illustrated in figure 5.5, which shows the average values for each parameter in the two comment sub-corpora.

Figure 5.5 Components of negative evaluation in the popular sub-corpora

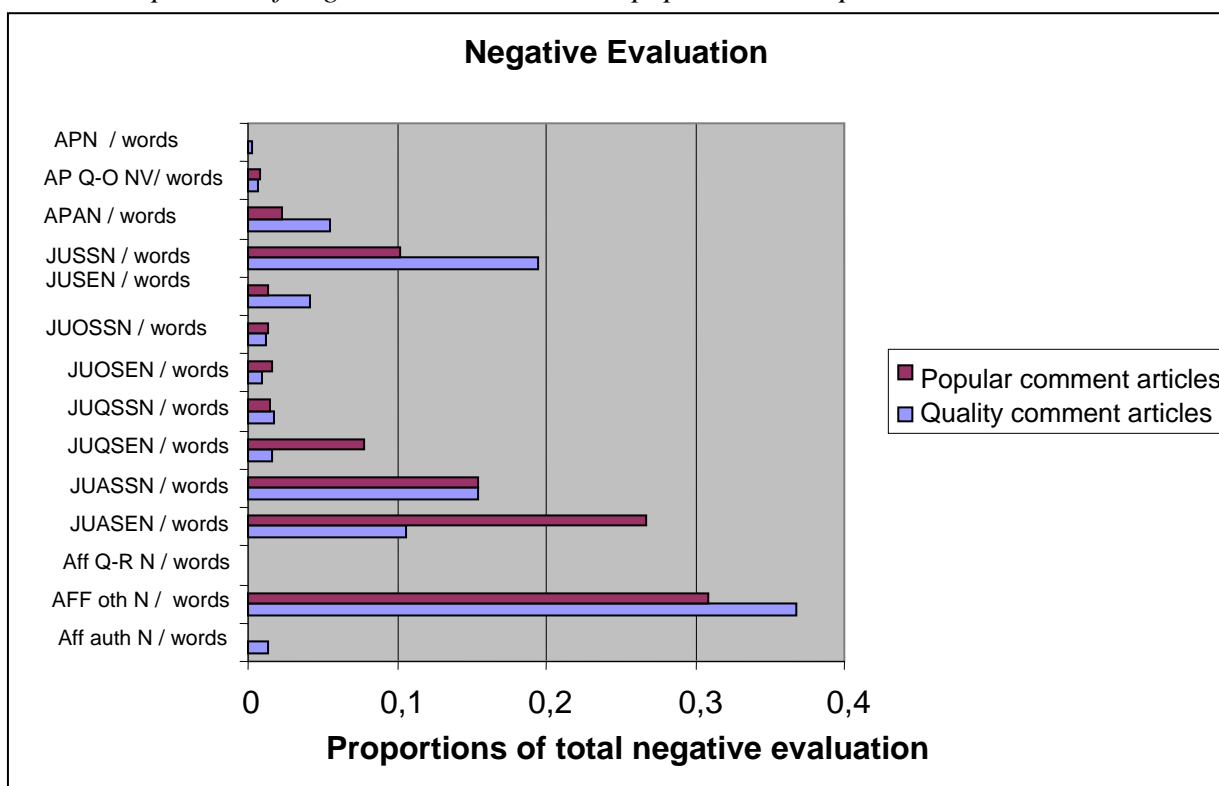


Figure 5.5 shows that the categories of negative evaluation where the quality comment articles rank significantly higher than the popular comment articles are the expressions with a

‘factual’ meaning of negative social sanction (‘JUSSN’) and those which express negative affect felt by participants (‘AFF oth N’). As for the first category, as mentioned above, it is difficult to draw conclusions because it comprises different kinds of evaluation (see sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above). However, it might be interesting to notice that the quality instances include words like “racism”, “prejudice”, “ethnic abuse”, and words connected with political misbehaviour, like “politically correct” (used in a negative sense, implying hypocrisy). As for the second category, the sub-categories found in the comment articles are ‘fear’, ‘misery’, ‘disquiet’ and ‘displeasure’. Of these, misery is only found in the quality articles, with six out of eight instances referring to the situation of immigrants. The instances of fear, displeasure and disquiet, instead, are mainly those felt by people either towards immigrants and immigration or towards politicians in general, and the category of displeasure also includes references to a “war” between the two main parties on immigration. I would interpret these results as being connected to a deeper analysis of the feelings of the participants involved in the socio-political situation and affected by political decisions in the quality comment articles, as opposed to a tendency in the popular newspaper articles to have straightforward negative judgement – this can emerge very clearly by comparing two extreme cases such as the article from *The Independent* “It is time that we dismantled the dangerous myth of Fortress Europe” (Monday 7 February 2005, No 5,712, page 30: Editorial and Opinion) and the article from *The Daily Express* “Scandal of immigration plan five years too late” (Monday February 7, 2005, page 12: comment).

Another result which needs to be interpreted is the lower frequency in the quality comment articles of lexical metaphors evoking evaluation. However, it is necessary to note in this respect that there are just seven instances in the quality sub-corpus and twelve in the popular sub-corpus. These metaphors are “a pass-the-parcel approach”, “smooth the path of the legitimate traveller”, “the competitors are turning up the heat”, “in the same breath”, “the concerns of our politicians extend only to headlines and ballot-boxes”, “it was the turn of the

home secretary (...) to dance to Mr Howard's tunes", "Mr Clarke feels compelled to get his stick out", "a running sore on the body politic", "wake up to what it is that the public wants", "the conservatives" immigration policy has pressed all the right buttons", "Howard has struck a chord with voters", "Each time ministers have talked the talk but haven't walked the walk", "turning a blind eye to those entering the country illegally", "this country has always thrown its doors open to people who face death or torture", "Britain has had its fill", "It's only taken the Government five years to dream it up", "The Incapacity Benefit Racket", "it finally wandered out of the long grass". Although the instances are too few to draw definitive conclusions, it is interesting to compare the kinds of metaphors which the different newspapers privilege: the quality newspapers seem to privilege metaphors which fuse abstract and concrete words (see section 5.1.1 above), while the popular comment articles seem to privilege metaphors which evoke evaluation.<sup>87</sup>

Finally, I will not venture an explanation of the frequency of quoted or reported expressions of positive social esteem in relation to number of words, given that there are too few instances – just four, in the popular comment sub-corpus. On the other hand, as regards quoted or reported expressions of judgement, there are thirteen instances across seven articles in the quality comment sub-corpus as opposed to fifteen across seven articles in the popular comment sub-corpus. In other words, the difference in the frequency of quoted or reported judgement is not mainly due to the number of instances or of articles in which they occur, but to their frequency in relation to number of words – the quality articles are longer, but the number of occurrences is more or less the same. In any case, if we count together instances of quoted or reported judgement and instances which are mentally projected or whose source is external even if not specified, there are no significant differences between the sub-corpora.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Note that the two categories may overlap.

<sup>88</sup> See, in this respect, notes 74, 75 and 76 in chapter 4.

### 5.3 Summary

By way of a very general conclusion, the characteristics of the popular and quality newspaper articles just discussed seem to revolve around a few basic principles, i.e.:

- the quality articles are characterised by more formality, more elaborated analysis and a higher degree of tentativeness, as well as a more frequent recourse to discussion and argument
- the popular newspaper articles appear to be characterised by less elaborated analysis, more straightforward, direct judgement even in the news sections, hence more assertiveness, and a populist attitude.

The main features which allow us to draw these conclusions are:

- The higher frequency of formal words (whole corpus and news), and lower frequency of informal words (news) in the quality newspaper articles. These features allow us to conclude that the quality newspaper articles in the corpus are more formal than the popular newspaper articles.
- Longer sentences, more circumstantial elements per clause, more sentences with four different kinds of taxis, more enhancing and less additive conjunctions, more presenting items belonging themselves to another chain (by means of a possessive), more homophoric reference items referring to the actual socio-political situation, more lexical metaphors fusing abstract and concrete expressions, and even the more frequent usage of the personal pronoun 'you' in persuasive contexts, in the quality newspaper articles. These features allow us to conclude that the quality articles in the corpus include more detailed and elaborated analysis and more discussion.
- A more frequent recourse to 'expansive engagement:probability' and a less frequent recourse to contractive engagement (comment), a higher frequency of medium value modalising expressions (whole corpus, comment), of speech

functional comment adjuncts of validity (whole corpus and comment), of mood adjuncts of probability (comment), of objective modalisation and of implicit modalisation (comment); a lower frequency of interrogative, emphatic and exclamation clauses (comment), a lower frequency of authorial judgement and of high and medium value expressions of modulation (news), in the quality newspaper articles. These features allow us to conclude that the quality newspaper articles in the corpus are more tentative – and the popular newspapers more assertive. To these features we might perhaps add the higher frequency of existential processes in the quality articles, and the lower frequency of fact clauses in the quality comment articles, suggesting that the quality newspapers presuppose that their readers share the information or opinions they are encoding less often than the popular newspapers do.

- The higher frequency of expressions of negative social esteem mainly targeting politicians, especially those in power, in the popular newspaper articles, which hence show a more populist attitude.

To these features, we must add the tendency in the popular newspapers to emphasise the participants' social roles (see expressions like “the home secretary, Charles Clarke” or “home secretary Charles Clarke” as opposed to Charles Clarke, the home secretary). This result, which is the one where the error chance is the lowest (reaching 0.00% in some cases), provides us with a key for the interpretation of the other results in terms of Bernstein's codes or Hasan's semantic styles, in that it can be taken as a sign that the popular newspaper articles place a higher value on community and the quality articles on subjectivity. That would explain why the qualities are more tentative and the popular newspapers more assertive, and even why the qualities analyse more and the popular newspapers judge more: adopting Bernstein's language (1977:109), I would say that the quality newspapers reflect the fact that their readership is used to, and willing to elaborate personal intent, by analysing and



discussing issues. On the other hand, the popular newspapers seem to reflect a presupposition that their readers are used to greater assertiveness and prefer less elaborated discussions. In Bernstein's (1977:108-109) words:

A restricted code is generated by a form of social relationship based upon a range of closely shared identifications self-consciously held by the members. An elaborated code is generated by a form of social relationship which does not necessarily presuppose such shared, self-consciously held identifications with the consequence that much less is taken for granted. (...)

The community of like interests underlying a restricted code removes the need for subjective intent to be verbally elaborated and made explicit. The effect of this on the speech is to simplify the structural alternatives used to organise meaning and restrict the range of lexicon choice.

If the analysis and the interpretation offered above are correct, then, a polarisation between two different orientations to meaning surfaces even in written language, and even when parameters of analysis different from those used by Bernstein are adopted, even thirty years after Bernstein's study, and in texts written by people supposedly belonging to the same class, i.e., journalists, the only difference being the social class to which the addressees of the message, and not the senders, belong. Indeed, according to a study by Bell (1991:117-122), something similar seems to happen as regards the way target audience influences radio broadcasters as to the extent they apply the rule "which simplifies word-final consonant clusters by deleting the stop which is the last member of the cluster": broadcasters simplify word-final consonant clusters only when targeting an audience which is supposed to do the same. It would seem that the quality newspapers analysed adapt their language to readers who want to know about politics, who are supposed to have their own opinions and to want opinion to be distinguished from fact, who place value on subjectivity and personal opinion. If my interpretation is correct, the quality newspaper articles downplay their assertions more often than the popular newspapers do, and this can be connected to what Bernstein calls

“elaboration of personal intent”, typical of an elaborated code. It is also interesting to note how this feature is also typical of Anglo<sup>89</sup> culture as Wierzbicka (2006:204-298) analyses it. Wierzbicka shows how the wealth and frequency of usage of epistemic phrases (*I think, I suppose, I guess, I gather, I presume, I believe, I find, I expect, I take it, I understand, I imagine, I bet, I suspect, I assume.*) and adverbs (*probably, clearly, evidently, obviously, possibly, conceivably, apparently, supposedly, reportedly, allegedly*) has no parallel in other European languages such as Italian, German and French. She also shows how these classes of epistemic expressions have developed in modern English as a consequence of the British Enlightenment and the influence of Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. They reflect, in other words, a world-view where it is important to make it clear that one is not imposing one’s opinions on other people or claiming one possesses knowledge or truth. Wierzbicka also shows how *true* has been replaced by *reasonable*, *good* by *right* and *just* by *fair* in modern English. She re-connects these aspects of the English language to the influence of Locke, and to the Protestant Reformation and the rise of Capitalism. Being non-assertive and offering more elaborated analyses is then functional to an ideology where we cannot claim to possess knowledge, but only try to pursue it by means of reason and starting from experience, as science does (Wierzbicka 2006:33). Such a world-view pre-supposes that reason should be the guiding principle for individuals in their everyday lives and mutual relationships. This description of the Anglo world-view as it is reflected in language is consistent with Bernstein’s description of the elaborated code: for example, Bernstein (1977:110) notices how in this code the expression “I think” is used more often. Wierzbicka’s description of the Anglo world-view is also consistent with Hasan’s (1992:298-299) analysis of the language of “higher autonomy profession” mothers in her study of middle and lower-class mother-child talk, where mothers belonging to higher social classes tended to encode reasoning more often and be less imposing than mothers belonging to lower classes. The

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<sup>89</sup> I.e., the English spoken in the USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Wierzbicka 2006:5).

coherence between the elaborated code described by Bernstein, the semantic style of mothers belonging to higher social classes described by Hasan and Anglo-culture as Wierzbicka describes it raises some questions: to what extent is Anglo-culture a unitary phenomenon? Would Wierzbicka have reached the same conclusions if she had used for her analysis corpora which contained more spoken and informal interaction between ‘working class’ people? In the light of the analysis carried out here, and especially of Bernstein’s and Hasan’s studies, what Wierzbicka calls “Anglo” culture should probably be called Anglo *middle-class* culture. Hasan re-connects the different semantic styles of higher-class mothers and of lower-class mothers to the need for the former to offer a rational justification for their hegemony, and to the need for the latter to be able to recognise authority and comply with it. In other words, “for the dominating classes the discourse of control makes principles of power and authority invisible, while information is made explicit, its attributes made as visible, detailed and precise as possible”, while for the dominated classes “the discourse of control makes the principles of power and authority highly visible, while information is left implicit, its attributes invisible, lacking precision and detail” (Hasan [2002] 2005:253).

To conclude, the systemic functional tenet that language is influenced by context and function implies much more than a simple relationship between text and its immediate context and immediate purpose: more abstract concepts such as context of culture and ideology have to be taken into account. The next and final chapter will offer a brief discussion of the way the concepts of code and ideology fit into a model of language and society.



## CHAPTER 6 Conclusions

While Bernstein's (1973, 1975, 1977, 1990) and Hasan's (1984, 1989, 2005) studies demonstrate that social agents have, as Thibault (1992:237) puts it, "different access to meanings", which correlate with different world-views and different social characteristics such as level of education and kind of profession, and ultimately with the division of labour and the modes of production of our society, the present work shows how even the language produced by people belonging to the same social class (journalists) to appeal to different audiences is influenced by an implicit awareness of the audiences' semantic orientations. Needless to say, the differences which have been discussed in chapter five do not demonstrate that the quality newspapers display an elaborated code and the popular newspapers a restricted code: the written language of newspapers cannot possibly display *the* restricted code, which by definition is so tied to the material context to be hardly intelligible to those not present in it. I would speak of tendencies in the direction of different orientations to meaning and not of two totally distinct codes. These tendencies can be explained in terms of social class of target audience. I would argue, at this point, that both tendencies end up being functional to the reproduction of class differences and the maintenance of the social order. The different target audiences tend to be exposed to language which resonates with what has been demonstrated to be their typical coding orientations. In order for the newspapers to get revenues, the different newspapers' languages perpetuate social differences.

On the one hand, if it is true, as I have tried to argue in Chapter 5, that the popular newspapers tend to take for granted that their reading public shares their viewpoints, and hence to be more categorical in their assertions, the result is that a sort of ideology is reproduced which does not emphasise the complexity of phenomena, and this goes hand in hand with an attitude to express frustration and discontent, in the corpus at hand, directed against politicians, or against immigrants. While it is not certain, and probably questionable,

that the reading public will share or be influenced by these viewpoints, the usage of expressions such as “spongers” (*Daily Star*, Monday February 7 2005, page 2: “Spongers face boot. Blair gets tough on migrants”, by Stephen Rigley), or “to boot out more bogus refugees” (*Daily Express*, Tuesday February 8, 2005, page 1, “Asylum: still no limit on entries. Blair chickens out with half measures”, by James Slack and Patrick O’Flynn), renews and perpetuates, in my view, the habit of a sort of language which makes “the principles of power and authority highly visible” (Hasan 2005:253). On the other hand, however, language which attempts to be objective and less categorical and to offer elaborated analyses can be used to justify the “status quo” and conceal power relationships and the inequalities which these relationships presuppose. Those who have more power (higher classes) can feel that they are rational and respectful, and the quality newspapers’ language seems to work on and to perpetuate these feelings, while those who are less satisfied (lower classes) can blame their frustration on politicians, or on “spongers”. Meanwhile, the real problems continue not to be addressed: out of ten newspapers, only *The Independent* tried to connect the problem of immigrants with wider world politics, to pose the question of why wealth is so badly distributed that so many people from other countries flee to Europe. My idea in this respect is that we live in the richest part of the world and exploit most of the world’s resources, and we do not want to share them with anybody. And the economic interests represented by lobbies, not to speak of the whole organisation of our economy and society, seem to be left unchallenged in the dominating discourses to which most people are exposed, and which they will tend to reproduce in their daily interactions. Even when a newspaper writes “We must go on accepting them for the sake of our economy. And the taxes they pay ...” (*Daily Mirror*, Tuesday February 8 2005, page 6: “It will work for Britain”), the presupposition is that the economy is the first principle and the ultimate goal which should govern peoples’ lives. The power of money is never challenged. What I am trying to say is, firstly, that the two different tendencies in the coding orientations can be seen to be functional to the reproduction of

attitudes which maintain a given social order, and, secondly, that neither of the two can be said to be better than the other in the pursuit of truth, which would in my view involve the analysis of the deeper causes of phenomena; neither of the two is inherently less ideological than the other: both reproduce different class attitudes, and both can be used to convey experiential content which can be claimed to be misleading. The sort of more elaborated analysis which we might attribute to the quality newspapers may involve encoding relationships of cause and consequence, without contextualising what is being said within a wider view of the world's economy and policy: as Hasan ([1973] 2005:168) puts it, an elaborated code indicates an attitude which is basically analytic, but "the details of the reasoning behind the analysis may be totally or partially wrong when considered from a technical point of view". While the language of newspapers is written, hence decontextualised, and tends to produce "universalistic meanings", it is certainly not universalistic enough, in the sense that it does not mainly aim at trying to understand our world, but at creating news for mass consumption. Between the two poles of a restricted code which for example may accompany some forms of social activity, and the elaborated code of scientific research, lies a continuum where I have tried to place the language of the different kinds of newspapers. The present work shows that it is possible to claim that the values and attitudes which are connected to the different semantic orientations are implicitly recognised by journalists. This implicit awareness in my view confirms that code theory is a key for understanding the very deep structure and nature of our society and the strong connections between daily practices, social relationships and meaning styles. In Hasan's ([1986] 2005:268) words, "the social structure comes into being and is continuously enacted through what human beings are doing, have done and will do", and, as Hasan emphasises, "doing" here includes "saying", and, I would add, "writing". At this point, it seems to me necessary to briefly re-discuss the place of the concepts of coding orientations and ideology within systemic functional theory.

### 6.1 Ideology in a systemic functional model of language

Systemic functional theory claims that language “orders, forms, articulates” context, and context activates language (Hasan 1994:213). Language reflects and construes ways of seeing reality and acting on reality which can be conscious or unconscious. Coding orientations are one aspect of this relationship, whereby different social groups favour different kinds of meaning. Moreover, these differences correlate with different values, for example the individual versus the community, or covert versus overt power relationships (see Bernstein 1973, 1975, 1977, 1990, Hasan 1992, and chapter 5 above). Hence the concept of coding orientations is closely connected with the concept of ideology. Apart from the view of ideology as “false consciousness”, which is highly problematic, because it raises the question of Truth (see Thibault 1991:179 ff., Thompson 1984:5), ideology can be seen, as Lemke (1995:11) remarks, either as commonsense assumptions which help maintain established power relations (“narrower view”), or it can be seen as a necessary feature of every discourse (“broad view”). The latter view can be traced back to Bakhtin/Volosinov:

A sign does not simply exist as a part of a reality: it reflects and refracts another reality. Therefore, it may distort that reality or be true to it, or it may perceive it from a special point of view. Every sign is subject to the criteria of ideological evaluation. The domain of ideology coincides with the domain of signs (Volosinov 1981:146).

Bakhtin’s definition has been chosen because it can shed light on the connection between ideology and coding orientations: the latter can be considered as “special points of view” from which reality is perceived or in and through which reality is organised. Bernstein has demonstrated how these special points of view are connected to the social division of labour, which determines the ways social subjects are positioned by power relations through



different principles of classification and framing<sup>90</sup> (Bernstein 1990:24). As Thibault (1992:189 ff.) puts it,

The concept of social-semiotic coding orientations is a way of analytically reconstructing the differential access of social agents to the material (prediscursive) and social semiotic (discursive) resources of a given social formation. (...) social-semiotic codes position social agents as discursive subjects in unequal and discontinuous ways in relation to these resources.

The analysis of newspaper articles which has been offered in the previous chapters should demonstrate how ideology is not only or mainly connected to the opinions which are expressed or taken for granted, but also to the interactants' social positions and to their perceptions of these positions. In other words, ideology seems to underlie all aspects of linguistic interaction. When we communicate, we construe discourse and language. Every utterance is contextualised in relation to previous discourse and to social practices and it reflects and construes social and discursive reality. Following Lemke (1995:166 ff.), the idea that language reflects and construes context has been re-formulated both by Halliday (2003:425-426) and by Martin (1999:34) in terms of "metaredundancy", or "redundancy of redundancies", or, as Martin explains it, "patterns of patterns". In Lemke's (1995:168-169) words,

Redundancy is a formal way of describing what goes with what else. (...) Since events, including spoken or written words, do not have intrinsic meanings, but only the meanings we make for them in various contexts, regular or predictable ways of combining events and contexts are necessary. If all possible combinations occurred with equal likelihood in all situations, we couldn't make our communicative meanings at all.

(...)

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<sup>90</sup> See Hasan ([1999]2005:48-67) for a discussion of the conditions for different theories on different phenomena to be compatible and complementary, and of the compatibility and complementarities of Bernstein's social theory and Halliday's language theory. Hasan (2005:130-156) also shows how Vygotsky's psychological theories are connected to Bernstein's and Halliday's theories.

Meta-redundancy is just a way of describing how the redundancy, the predictable relation of connection of two things, can itself be redundant (i.e., have a predictable connection) with something else.

Re-formulating the relationships between phonology, lexico-grammar, semantics and context on the basis of the notion of meta-redundancy, and paraphrasing Halliday (2003:425), sounds redound with lexico-grammatical patterns and sounds and lexico-grammatical patterns together redound with meanings: meaning is realised as the realisation of lexico-grammatical patterns by sounds, and sounds realise the realisation of meanings in lexico-grammatical patterns. Furthermore,

Since the system is metastable (...), such that it persists by constantly changing in interaction with its own environment, the relationship of language to its sociocultural context is also one of redundancy: the entire stratal complex S/LG/Ph [Semantics, Lexicogrammar, Phonology] realises a higher-level semiotic construct (this is what makes possible the semantic variation shown by Hasan to be the mechanism for Bernstein's codes) (Halliday 2003:426).

In this view, ideology is a matter of what goes with what: what meanings meta-redound with what practices in a culture, and what meanings and practices do not meta-redound, e.g., “through the absence of certain contextualizations” (Lemke 1995:176). Lemke offers as an example of absence of contextualisation the fact that many people are democratic with respect to politics but monarchical with respect to religion: this is made possible by the disjunction in the meaning system between the discourses and practices of the two domains. Adopting this view, we can consider coding orientations as meta-redundancies between some social groups' typical practices, connected with their place in the social hierarchy and division of labour, and the meanings they typically make. For example, in the present study it is argued that the typical practices of higher classes meta-redound with meanings which show respect for individuality and difference of opinion, which meta-redound with lexico-grammatical features such as the frequency of modalising expressions or of evaluations (see

chapter 5). If ideology is a matter of what goes with what, or of meta-redundancy and contextualisation, then it works at the interface between every level of language as a semiotic system apart from phonetics<sup>91</sup>, where the relationship is considered to be arbitrary:<sup>92</sup> it works in the way phonology and lexico-grammar redound with meaning, and in the way phonology, lexico-grammar and semantics redound with context. Does this amount to recognising that ideology should be considered as the highest, most abstract plane in a stratified model of context? The next section offers a brief overview of context in systemic functional theory and discusses the place of ideology therein.

## **6.2 Ideology in a systemic functional model of context**

Halliday and Matthiessen's model of language and context (2004:24-31) does not stratify context. The various aspects of context, i.e., context of situation and context of culture, are not different strata: they are placed along a cline of instantiation where the instance is constituted by a single text and its context of situation, the system by language and context of culture, and the intermediate level by registers and situation types. On the other hand, Martin's (1992:501-502) model stratifies context into the levels of register, genre and ideology. Thus, register is no longer a variety of language, nor is it only "the linguistic meanings (entailing their expressions) at risk in a given situation type": Martin "extends the notion to cover in addition part of context's content plane; register is used in other words to refer to the semiotic system constituted by the contextual variables field, tenor and mode". As for genre, it is defined by Martin as "a staged, goal oriented social process realised through register" (Martin 1992:505), or "a pattern of register patterns". As Taylor Torsello (2001:53) remarks, the meaning of the term genre is problematic in systemic functional theory. Martin (1992:566 ff.) gives "narrative" or "exposition" as examples of genre, while these are called "rhetorical modes" by Halliday (1989:12) and Hasan (1994:253-4), and "classes of verbal

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<sup>91</sup> See Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004:24-26) stratification of the expression plane of language plane into phonology, i.e., "the organisation of speech sound into formal structures and systems", and phonetics, "the interfacing with the body's resources for speech and for hearing".

<sup>92</sup> But see Kress and Hodge 1989:4, and Hasan 1999:224 and 316, footnote 10.

action” by Hasan (1999:274 ff.). On the other hand, as Taylor Torsello (2001:54) points out, Hasan seems to define the different genres on the basis of their “generic structure potential”, determined by the function that a group of texts serves in specific, culturally defined contexts. Taylor Torsello (2001:58) appreciates the fact that Martin distinguishes between register and genre, and re-connects genre to context of culture and register to context of situation: genre is a cultural abstraction, a label for a type of texts which the members of a culture recognise in terms of some language features, of their structure, and of their function in context. In Martin’s model, genre is directly determined by ideology. At the same time, ideology impinges on register: texts belonging to the same genre may display variation because of different coding orientations (Bernstein 1973, 1975, 1977, Hasan 1989; see also Chapter 5 above), which can be re-connected to the tenor dimension of register<sup>93</sup>. Hence, in line with Taylor Torsello (2001:52-53), register in Martin’s view cannot be considered as synonymous with genre, even if texts with exactly the same register supposedly belong to the same genre. Genre is thus more abstract and broader than register. The fact that ideology does not determine register and language solely through genre is theorised by Martin (1986:226), who claims that language, register *and* genre are the “expression form” of ideology. So, in Martin’s model, ideology is the highest stratum in a stratified context and it is the content plane for genre, register and language.

Another contribution offered by Martin (1992:507) to the theorisation of ideology in systemic linguistics is his distinction between a synoptic and a dynamic view of ideology. Ideology can be seen synoptically, as system, and dynamically, as the processes concerned with change and redistribution of power. Ideology as system is connected to the coding orientations, which “are realised through contextually-specific semantic styles associated with

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<sup>93</sup> This difference in tenor affects aspects of all the three metafunctions in the language of the different texts: in the present study, besides differences in mood, modality, formality and evaluation (interpersonal metafunction), we have also seen differences in the degree of complexity of sentences (logical metafunction), in the ways participants are identified, introduced in the texts and referred to (experiential and textual metafunctions), and in the structure of clauses (experiential metafunction).

groups of speakers of differing generation, gender, ethnicity and class” and make options in genre, register and language “selectively available” to the interactants. On the other hand, ideology as process becomes visible when “tension among voices explodes”, i.e., when “an issue brings the uneven distribution of power into focus and participants in a community try to act consciously on this distribution with a view to re-allocation” (Martin 1992:582). Martin elaborates a scheme for the analysis of “issues” in terms of power distribution: when analysing issues, it is necessary to specify who has interest in creating issues (antagonists) and who has interest in resolving them (protagonists), and who has power to gain (left) and power to lose (right).

Finally, a more comprehensive view of ideology is offered by Martin in his article “Modelling context”, where he re-contextualises his theory of ideology in terms of the perspective on semiotic change which is developed in Halliday and Matthiessen (1999:17-18). Martin (1999:50) hence connects ideology to “semogenesis” and change and formulates the relationship of genesis to the strata of language, register and genre as one of “projection”: “genesis projects language, register and genre by framing valeur with respect to the unfolding of a text, with respect to the interlocutors’ subjectivities and with respect to the meanings at risk in the relevant discourse formations.”<sup>94</sup> As far as I can understand, Martin’s model equates semogenesis and ideology, thus sharing Bakhtin’s perspective that ideology is inherent in signification, i.e., that making meaning means at least in part creating different realities. The model connects ideology to “ontogenesis” or “development of social subjectivity” through the concept of coding orientations, to “logogenesis” or “naturalisation of reading position” through the concept of “the instantiation of system in text” and to phylogenesis or “evolution of discourse formation” through Lemke’s concept of

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<sup>94</sup> In Lemke’s (1992:102-105) definition, “discourse formations” are the “social semiotic formations in which the deployment of linguistic resources is essential to the social meaning of the result”; they are connected to register, because “The linguistic (semantic and grammatical) resources specific to a particular discourse formation form a register of the language (a specific distribution of the probabilities of deploying any meaning alternative the language provides...)”.

intertextuality. While the concept of coding orientations has already been discussed in the present work, the other two concepts require a short explanation. As for “naturalisation of reading position”, Martin (1992:52) does not seem to explain this aspect in detail, but he says it is concerned with “arrays of choices” being “negotiated through unfolding text”. As far as I can understand, then, ideology as logogenesis works in the ways world-views are negotiated and construed in texts, including the negotiation of issues and the ways addressees accept, share, or resist the world-views which are in-built or conveyed through texts. Intertextuality, on the other hand, is concerned with the relationships that we establish, or that we do not establish, between texts and discourses: in Lemke’s (1995:98) words, for example, some discourses are “not connected, some possible relationships remain unvoiced, and so some courses of action (...) are kept un contemplated and never performed.” Martin’s model could be expanded by including in the concept of phylogenesis the evolution of language systems as special ways of construing reality (see the discussion of in chapter 1 above). Ideology as phylogenesis, ontogenesis, and logogenesis coincides with the constant re-articulation of the relationships between reality and the way it is made sense of through meaning. Reality is reflected in and determines discourse, and discourse enacts and construes reality. The constant re-articulation of these relationships is the premise for system maintenance and system change: “Human social communities (...) are complex material ecosystems in which meanings – cultural and social attitudes, beliefs and values – play a role in the material activities that take place within the system to maintain and change it” (Lemke 1995:105). Ideology hence works at the interface between the material context and context as a semiotic construct: we make sense of, and give sense to reality differently, on the basis of different social positions, of different reader positions, and within the boundaries established by (evolving) discourse formations and genres. Ideology is the way we construe context as a semiotic construct for language, and the way we make sense of context in and through language. Code theory shows how material life conditions and specific kinds of social

practices shape people's consciousnesses and their ideologies (see Hasan 2005:68-156). We have seen how different coding orientations influence the contextual configuration and the language used in texts which belong to the same genre, such as those analysed by Hasan or those analysed here. Ideology also determines the ways meaningful social action is carried out in different cultures through language, i.e., genre. It reflects and construes intertextual linkages within and between discourses – see for example Lemke's (1990:435-460) analysis of how technical discourse has colonised political discourse. It is ultimately reflected and construed in language systems. While it is difficult for me to accept Martin's stratification of context into register and genre, because, in line with Hasan (1994:207-214), I see register and genre as varieties of language and not as strata outside or above language, it seems to me that Martin's model rightly emphasises how ideology works at all levels in the sense that it determines and is determined by genre, register and language, and in the sense that it is inherent in semogenesis in its various aspects (phylo-, onto- and logogenesis).

The theory of ideology just outlined has implications for text analysis. The present work has been an attempt to show how ideology as coding orientations influences language. A complete analysis of ideology in language would also entail showing the implicit assumptions and viewpoints construed in the texts, relating them to different possible reading positions, and placing them in the context of the discourse formations they could be a part of. A further question which can be raised has to do with the relationship between ideology as coding orientations and ideology as opinion: investigating the mappings between the implicit assumptions which construe different world-views in the texts and the semantic styles through which these are encoded could offer a deeper insight into the dynamics of reality construction and opinion-making, even more so if the intertextual perspective of discursive formations is taken into account. What I am advocating is a kind of global analysis, an analysis which would have to be as exhaustive as possible, which would place text in context in many complementary ways. The present work has just or perhaps mainly been concerned with one

aspect of such an analysis, i.e., how an implicit awareness of the coding orientations of different readerships influences the semantic styles of different newspapers. To also include remarks on the other aspects of ideology, corpus analysis should also take into account evaluation in terms of the events, objects, persons which are recurrently evaluated, and how, and it would be necessary to analyse what Lemke (1994:88-91) calls “thematic formations”, i.e., recurrent patterns of semantic relations used in talking about specific topics from text to text. Furthermore, the analysis should re-connect the language used in texts to Martin’s (1992:582) system of left and right protagonists and antagonists. While this is beyond the scope of the present research, it may point the way for future studies.

There is one final point I wish to make. If ideology is inherent in signification in the sense explained above, and if it works in phylo-, logo- and onto-genesis, determining the metaredundancies between contexts and meanings, the necessary conclusion with respect to text analysis is that any systemic functional analysis which sees how text functions in context is an analysis of ideology in Lemke’s (1995:11) “broad” sense. When we study register, genre, and intertextual formations, and take into account how they are functional in a given social context, and when we analyse the language system in terms of its cryptotypes, we are looking at how ideology is at work, at how we are construing possible realities and world-views to make sense of the world and to maintain or change social order. If we are sensitive to power relationships and can re-connect language features to them, our systemic analysis becomes also an analysis of ideology in the “narrower” sense (Lemke 1995:11). My final point is thus that, if all the implications of systemic functional theory are kept in mind, any systemic functional analysis is an analysis of ideology in language. This is, I think, what Halliday (2002:383) means by “thinking grammatically”. Furthermore, thinking grammatically in its turn entails “acting grammatically”, “whether in developing forms of praxis for educational and other professional tasks, or in combating sexism, racism and other prevailing inequalities”. Systemic theory is, in the last resort, “a way of thinking about



language and of working on language – and through language, on other things” (Halliday 2003:197).

### **6.3. Some final remarks on ideology and reality**

As a sort of postscript to my whole work, I need to emphasise how sharing Halliday’s (1978:2) perspective on context as a semiotic construct, and Bakhtin’s/Volosinov’s (1981:146) idea that all sign systems are ideological, does not necessarily amount to denying the existence of context and of meaning. We construe our world-views through meaning and language, but meaning and language are themselves part of a material world which we perceive and which forms the basis of our meaning-making practices. The relationship of mutual influence between world and language can be appreciated in Halliday’s ([1998]2002:369-382) article “Grammar and Daily Life”. Halliday reflects on how the 16<sup>th</sup> century witnessed some changes in language which could be explained in terms of how textual meanings became important at the expense of experiential meanings when printing brought about the creation of a written world of discourse<sup>95</sup>. In other words, a new medium, printing, changed the meanings which were made and offered new perspectives on reality. If the invention of printing was a major step in the evolution of language, the next major evolutionary step is the technological revolution. In my opinion, in the contemporary world of technology, we are witnessing how language has become an instrument for creating new realities. The distinction between reality and virtual reality is becoming fuzzier and fuzzier, and newspapers are full of stories demonstrating how our teenagers can no longer distinguish between life and video-games. Meanwhile, we seem to be witnessing, as Steiner (2001:27-56) claims, a loss of faith in language as the instrument to represent and gain knowledge of the world. Along with this loss of confidence, in Steiner’s view language is put at the service of falsehood and chaos in our newspapers, laws, and politics. In this climate, the studies which lie at the basis of the present work, and the present work itself, might lead one into forming a

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<sup>95</sup> Halliday discusses for example how “the bond between Subject and Actor was deconstructed and replaced by a different bond, that of Subject with Theme” (Halliday [1998]2002:375)

persuasion of the impossibility of knowing ‘Reality’, let alone of knowing it through language, and even of the non-existence of a reality. I do not share the latter view, and my position corresponds to the one expressed by Fairclough (1992:60) when discussing Foucault:

While I accept that both ‘objects’ and social subjects are shaped by discursive practices, I would wish to insist that these practices are constrained by the fact that they inevitably take place within a constituted, material reality, with preconstituted ‘objects’ and preconstituted social subjects. The constitutive processes of discourse ought therefore to be seen in terms of a dialectic, in which the impact of discursive practice depends upon how it interacts with the preconstituted reality.

I believe that we interact in order to make sense of something; hence we believe that there is something of which we can try to make sense. Of course it is possible to believe that we have to construe meanings out of the chaos, in a totally creative act. Lemke (1995:168) himself argues that “events (...) do not have intrinsic meanings”. Personally, I do believe that objects and events in the ‘real’ world also have their own intrinsic meanings, that there must be a truth which we cannot know but we can try to approach, and that the ‘real’ world is nearer truth than any virtual world. If we did not believe in some sort of reality, there would be no point in doing research. Certainly, trying to approach truth through research presupposes a stance which privileges and values forms of language and of consciousness such as “abstraction, generalisation, deductive reasoning, disembodied thinking”, which may be seen as “decontextualised” (Hasan 2005:121-127), divorced from practical everyday experience. Personally, I think that it is possible not to divorce academic research from daily experiences, which can form the very basis for reflections and theorisations. Hasan also raises the question whether the “higher” mental functions are valued because they are associated with the dominating codes, or because they “are the ultimate point in the programs of the development of the human mind, necessary for subjugating the environment”. It is true that the answers to these questions are “immensely disquieting”. However, we cannot go back: our

consciousness has evolved and will continue to do so, in unpredictable ways. Hence, in the world of technology and of “technocratic ideology” (Lemke 1990:425-460), and of mass consumption of news and information, where discourse creates our world views, our social beings, and our consciousnesses, it is necessary to reveal the inequalities which underlie the ways we construe reality. Meanwhile, pointing out how language is shaped by culture and ideology is necessary and important in order to challenge the idea that our culturally-specific commonsense assumptions are absolute truths, but it does not necessarily entail that we can abolish the distinction between truth and falsehood. On the contrary, I think it should lead us to a more rigorous and humble struggle against falsehood. How this could take place, when the language of most of the discourses surrounding us and ‘producing us’ seems to be governed by power, inequality, money, is very difficult to envisage. But I share Eagleton’s (1994:17) view that “it is plainly false to imagine that, in order to spot a falsehood, distortion or deception, you must have some access to absolute truth”. Moreover, I believe that research can, and should, be a privileged site for the uninterested and possibly unbiased pursuit of truth.



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