

For the People:
An APPRAISAL Comparison of
Imagined Communities in Letters to
Two South African Newspapers

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ABSTRACT

This thesis reports on the bonds that unify imagined communities (Anderson 1983) that are created in 40 letters prominently displayed on the opinions pages of the *Daily Sun*, a popular tabloid, and *The Times*, a daily offshoot of the mainstream national *Sunday Times*. An APPRAISAL analysis of these letters reveals how the imagined communities attempt to align their audiences around distinctive couplings of interpersonal and ideational meaning. Such couplings represent the bonds around which community identities are co-constructed through affiliation and are evidence of the shared feelings that unite the communities of readership. Inferences drawn from this APPRAISAL information allow for a comparison of the natures of the two communities in terms of how they view their agency and group cohesion. Central to the analysis and interpretation of the data is the letters' evaluative prosody, traced in order to determine the polarity of readers' stances over four weeks. Asymmetrical prosodies are construed as pointing to the validity of 'linguistic ventriloquism', a term whose definition is refined and used as a diagnostic for whether the newspapers use their readers' letters to promote their own stances on controversial matters. Principal findings show that both communities affiliate around the value of education, and dissatisfaction with the country's political leaders, however *The Times*' readers are more individualistic than the *Daily Sun*'s community members, who are concerned with the wellbeing of the group. The analysis highlights limitations to the application of the APPRAISAL framework, the value of subjectivity in the analytical process, and adds a new dimension to South African media studies, as it provides *linguistic* insights into the construction of imagined communities of newspaper readership.

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Other than where I have indicated otherwise, the work contained in this thesis is my own.

Jade Smith

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Research

This research stems from curiosity about the *Daily Sun*, South Africa's most read tabloid newspaper, combined with a fascination with the ability of texts to construe to a reader meanings that are not instantly visible in lexicogrammar, that is, grammatical structures, and words. The text producer sets out to convince the reader of an opinion, and the ways in which this goal is carried out are complex. Not only does context affect the production and reception of the text, but also the co-text, which can play a crucial role in influencing what meaning is construed (and what other meanings the text has the potential to construe). In producing the text, writers not only have to present a stance to an imagined audience using intricate and multidimensional resources, but also negotiate the relationship between themselves and this audience to allow for maximum success in aligning these readers to their stance. People process texts every day, and thereby meet with information that has been interpreted and packaged by others. Reading the news is a daily ritual for many people, and, having been on both the production and interpretation ends of media texts, it seems only natural to me to pair interests in language and media into one research investigation, exploring the power of meaning-making in newspapers.

As a supporter of print media, which is believed by many to be on its way to obsolescence in an increasingly digital age, I delight in the annual rise of any newspaper's readership statistics. The *Daily Sun* is a South African phenomenon, first published in 2002, with readership figures that are by far and away the highest in the country. Despite this, it has been met with criticism that plagues tabloids worldwide – disrespect from mainstream media, journalism trainers, and audiences of mainstream media. This disdain for the *Daily Sun* arose from its sensational approach to news, explicit displays of crime victims, and sexual content (Wasserman 2008b¹). Commentators have also argued that the tabloid is not in the spirit of South Africa's new democratic society, which could be strengthened if the newspaper

¹ In this chapter, I rely greatly on the work of Wasserman and Steenveld & Strelitz, media studies scholars who have published the most prominent research on tabloids in South Africa. Steenveld & Strelitz's research has a focus on the *Daily Sun*, investigating the newspaper's popularity and its style. Wasserman has published widely about tabloids, including, but not limited to, the *Daily Sun*. He has personally interviewed the creator and former publisher of the *Daily Sun*, Deon du Plessis, and held focus groups with tabloid readers to ascertain their attitudes towards the newspapers (see 1.3.1.4.2).

provided more constructive coverage of political events to its audience (Wasserman 2008b). The mammoth readership figures, however, cannot be ignored – over five million people read this newspaper every day, and this has not escaped the notice of academics. They have adopted a more accommodating approach to the *Daily Sun*, choosing to investigate its popularity. Steenveld & Strelitz (2010: 531) investigated the value of tabloid journalism in South Africa, and the way in which these publications “help constitute an imagined national community” which is “contrary to ideas of tabloid readers as engrossed in the individuated consumption of culture”. This concept of an imagined community of readers piqued my interest – there is no way that each reader can know every other community member, yet they share a daily ritual of reading the newspaper. What do these readers have in common, I wanted to know. And, following that, what makes them so fundamentally different from the readers of mainstream² newspapers? Are mainstream media readers justified in snubbing tabloid readers on the basis that their choice of newspaper deems them inferior? A comparison of the *Daily Sun* and a mainstream newspaper would answer this question, but to ‘get into the head’ of the reader, the letters page is the best place to focus (see 1.3.3 for a full discussion of the letters page). The ability of a Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) approach to provide empirical linguistic evidence for the communities that are construed by meaning potential in texts renders it the most suitable method for identifying, exploring and comparing the beliefs and values of the imagined communities of readers of the *Daily Sun* and a daily mainstream newspaper, *The Times*. The nature of newspapers, however, means it is not as simple as analysing readers’ letters – the batch of letters published every day has been mediated; the letters chosen for the page are there as a result of editorial intervention. To attempt to ascertain the degree to which one position is advocated by the newspaper, this research traces the pattern (or ‘prosody’ – see 2.2.4) of evaluations of people or events.

In the sections of this chapter that follow, I present my research questions (1.2), an overview of the tabloid genre and its arrival in South Africa, to give the reader context about the nature of the reception of tabloids, and their impact on the South African public and media insiders. I provide a cross-section of the various attitudes that people display towards them, and an

² Following Morna (2007) and Wasserman (2008b), I refer to any non-tabloid press as ‘mainstream’ for two reasons, even though the *Daily Sun* is technically the most mainstream, given its high readership. Non-tabloid newspapers have been called the ‘quality’ press (Morna 2007), and I reject this term, given the value judgements that it implies. Secondly, non-tabloid press entered the South African market before their tabloid counterparts, and they are still the focus of discourse about professional journalism. The balance of power in journalistic discourse in the country, according to Wasserman (2008a), is in favour of non-tabloid press, although this may change over time.

introduction to *The Times*. The letters page as a sub-genre is explained in 1.3.3. I also introduce readers to the unique combination of methods used in this research, followed by an outline of the chapters of this thesis, and, to conclude this chapter, the conventions I have used in the thesis.

1.2. Research Questions

My research aimed to answer the following questions:

1. How do APPRAISAL choices in letters to the editor construe the bonds that unify the communities of readership of the *Daily Sun* and *The Times*?

The answers to this question rely on an analysis of the evaluations writers make – the choices they make from the Attitude subsystem of the APPRAISAL framework (cf. Martin & White 2005), consisting of Affect, which describes emotions; Judgement, which evaluates people's behaviour according to a set of norms; and Appreciation, which evaluates 'things' according to their social value. It is also important to note how these interpersonal choices are coupled with ideational meanings (the people, places, ideas, events, and other things that are evaluated) to create bonds (Knight 2010, Martin 2004a, 2008a) around which readers (members of the imagined community) can affiliate, which leads into the next question:

2. How do the authors attempt to align the reader with the proposed bonds?

Other than creating the bonds that help to construe the imagined community, reader alignment is determined by the writers' use of the remaining two systems of the APPRAISAL framework: Graduation and Engagement. Graduation comprises resources to 'upscale' or 'downscale' the intensity of an evaluation, and upscaling, according to Hood (2006), gives evaluative lexis greater impact in its radiation of meaning across the text as an evaluative prosody to engage with the reader. The choices writers make from the Engagement system show how much space they allow for disagreement from audience members who do not share their stance, and how far they attempt to convince the reader that their stance is the one that should be taken.

3. What is the nature of each of the imagined communities and how do the APPRAISAL strategies help to construct them?

This question seeks a comparison of the communities in terms of the bonds the writers have negotiated. How cohesive are the communities? Do the writers assume that all members of the audience already share their viewpoint, and do the writers indicate that they are also equal members of the community? The frequency and keyness of the pronouns *we*, *you*, and *our* are identified, as well as their usage, in order to ascertain how the writers locate themselves in the community. Are the writers positioning their fellow community members as people to be lectured, advised, argued with, or to be informed (or combinations of these)? The Attitudinal strategies used in the letters are examined to reveal which are preferred, and how these are used to assess and address issues identified by the writers.

4. What kind of evaluative prosody arises from the letters, and what implications does that prosody have for the notion of ‘linguistic ventriloquism’?

Evaluative prosody refers to the ways in which meaning is radiated through the text by evaluative lexis, and the implicit (invoked) meanings that are triggered in the co-text. In this way strands of evaluation are woven through the text, and these are traced diachronically³. The purpose of this is to determine whether the letters chosen for publication reflect a single viewpoint – if the couplings of interpersonal and ideational meaning are of a consistent polarity (positive or negative evaluations). A simplistic illustration: if a newspaper often publishes letters that evaluate the Sharks rugby team as the best in the country, with none arguing that another team is good, then it could be argued that the newspaper is trying to promote a positive evaluation of the Sharks. This has important implications when more controversial issues are in question. Political party affiliation can be hinted at through this principle, without the newspaper being accused of taking sides. This idea is captured by the term ‘linguistic ventriloquism’, which I have refined from Conboy’s (2006) usage of the term to suggest that newspapers adopt their readers’ variety of English in order to better fit in to the imagined community.

5. What analytical issues arise from using the APPRAISAL system, and what revisions or additions can usefully be suggested?

³ While ‘diachronically’ typically has associations of long spans of time, in this thesis I use the term to mean ‘across time’ in terms of the month during which the data set was compiled. This contrasts with ‘synchronically’, which relates to the analysis of logogenesis: the unfolding of meaning in a single text (in this case, one letter to the editor).

This question is a result of Martin & White's (2005) and Bednarek's (2008) admission that the options in the APPRAISAL framework are merely hypotheses based on the genres they have investigated. It is partially dealt with in the next chapter, where I argue for my interpretation of some of the APPRAISAL categories (based on my analysis of the newspaper data) and why this deviates from the standards set out in Martin & White (2005). I focus on the relationship between the Graduation and Engagement subsystems in my results, however, because this is where I experienced most uncertainty during the coding process, and this interface has not been given the attention that Attitudinal categories, for instance, have received in research literature. Based on the data, I suggest how the current understanding of Engagement can be altered according to the different rhetorical 'strengths' that each Engagement strategy exhibits in aligning the reader.

Answering these questions adds South African newspaper letters to the portfolio of APPRAISAL case studies in SFL (the only other APPRAISAL study of South African media is an investigation of bias in television news: Hubbard 2008), further strengthening the validity of the framework, as it can be successfully used to analyse data from a previously untested genre. The fundamental understanding of the APPRAISAL framework will also be impacted, as I propose a different perspective on some of the categories. This research also makes a significant contribution to scholarly appreciation of the imagined communities of readers that are constructed in newspaper discourse. While media studies analysts have discussed readers' views of the newspapers, they have so far been unable to provide empirical linguistic evidence for the way in which the communities are constructed. The APPRAISAL framework provides the means for this to be done, so that inferences about the communities can be made.

1.3 Context of the Research

This section provides more information about the *Daily Sun* and *The Times*, so that readers can contextualise the research that is presented in the next four chapters. While Chapter 2 summarises and critically evaluates APPRAISAL research, this section details the findings of media studies scholars, as well as statistics that help the reader get a better picture of the imagined communities of readership of the two newspapers. The arrival of tabloids on the South African media landscape made quite an impact on people in the industry, and their reactions are compared with the responses of tabloid readers and tabloid journalists.

1.3.1 The *Daily Sun*: Forward with the People!

1.3.1.1 The tabloid genre worldwide

According to Conboy (2006: 33), the type of news that is typical of tabloids is what can be called ‘other news’, “full of strange happenings, freak events, larger than life characters, endearing eccentricity or the grotesque”. They are associated with entertainment, scandal, and celebrity stories; not ‘serious’ news, and hence the spread of these news values to mainstream newspapers and broadcast media is often called ‘tabloidisation’, or, in more negative terms, “dumbing down” (Wasserman 2008a: 790). Conboy (2006: 10) quotes Rooney (2000), who argues that tabloid readers do not have an interest in the “establishment or establishment organisations”, nor do they wish to monitor them, because they believe they are powerless to change them. Conboy disputes this, however, suggesting that tabloids do not necessarily ignore serious issues⁴, but instead help readers to make sense of their complexity by using accessible language.

Tabloids have three recognisable textual characteristics, state Steenveld & Strelitz (2010): (i) range, which is the dedication of more page space to entertainment than information, to local than foreign news, and to soft news (celebrities, entertainment, sport) than hard news (politics and economics); (ii) form, which refers to the decreasing amount of space devoted to written text, in favour of visual representations; and (iii) style, which is the conversational style tabloids adopt to mimic the colloquial speech of their readers (what Conboy 2006 calls ‘linguistic ventriloquism’ – see page 64 for my refinement of this term). Using the language of their readers allows tabloids to decrease the social distance between them and their audience, so that they do not appear to be preaching to them (Steenveld & Strelitz 2007). Another feature of tabloids is their focus on individual identities within a community of readers. Even though they are aimed at a mass audience, tabloids establish a feeling of intimacy with the reader. As Conboy (2006: 10) puts it, they seem to say “We know who you are and what makes you tick”. Rhoufari (2000: 169) proposes that this personalisation is a reflection of working-class readers’ interest in details of other people’s lives, as well as their “attachment to the concrete, the emotionally bold and the understandable, the local and the particular”. Commenting on South African tabloids, Wasserman (2008b) notes that they

⁴ The term ‘serious issues’ is used here from the perspective of mainstream media to refer to hard news – political and economic issues. ‘Serious’, of course, has different realisations for different people; tabloid readers may argue that sports results or celebrity scandals *are* serious news. This merely means that tabloid readers couple the evaluation of ‘serious’ as [+Valuation] with a different ideational meaning (see 2.3, page 59, for more detail about coupling).

provide a medium for ordinary people's stories to be told, and allow readers to share the issues they face in everyday life in the public domain.

Popular journalism, found in tabloids, has a purpose different from that of mainstream journalism (which is more relevant to political discourse), argues Gripsrud (2008), and this is to serve as a ritual form of communication. Although the idea of communication to the public is important, I would disagree with Gripsrud's suggestion that tabloids do not contribute to active citizenship in the political arena. Perhaps that is true in other countries, but in South Africa, the sheer size of the readership means that the publication of everyday problems in the *Daily Sun* tabloid attracts attention. Politicians have started to realise that readers are voters too, and tabloids provide a good indication of their needs – Helen Zille, leader of the main opposition party in the country, and current premier of the Western Cape, had the *Daily Voice*⁵ delivered to her office during her term as the mayor of Cape Town (Wasserman 2008b).

1.3.1.2 The tabloid in South Africa

June 2002 marked the launch of the *Daily Sun*, which is, according to its former publisher, Deon du Plessis,

“an alternative to the boring, serious, expensive, elitist, formal, difficult-to-read newspapers in South Africa, one that would reach its target readership – township dwellers, workers with low English proficiency – in a way that is entertaining, informative and relevant” (Jones et al. 2008:167).

The tabloid increased its circulation by 228 percent within a year, according to Steenveld & Strelitz (2010), and it is still the most-read daily newspaper in the country. Du Plessis attributed the launch of the *Daily Sun* to the re-evaluated media needs of post-apartheid South Africa, arguing that the newspaper needed to reflect the “great things that were happening in [the readers'] lives” after the abolition of apartheid (du Plessis 2009, cited in Steenveld & Strelitz 2010: 533). ‘Sunlanders’, as the newspaper calls its readers, are mostly first-time newspaper readers who, according to du Plessis, come from a “long, rich history of story-

⁵ The *Daily Voice* is a tabloid that is published in the Western Cape, the south-westernmost province of South Africa.

telling” and are not “deeply analytical people” (du Plessis 2009, cited in Steenveld & Strelitz 2010: 533).



Figure 1.1: *Daily Sun*: a cover⁶

⁶ ‘Avo’ is the colloquial shortening of ‘avocado pear’.

In a decade of existence, the *Daily Sun*'s readership has reached a count of over five million people. Wasserman (2008a) suggests four reasons for the tabloids being welcomed by so many people in South Africa, at a time where print newspapers' deaths are predicted worldwide (Wasserman 2010). The first reason for the popularity of tabloids is that they filled the void left by the demise of alternative media, i.e. publications with an anti-apartheid agenda. Second, Wasserman (2008a) explains that the mainstream post-apartheid media covered issues such as HIV/AIDS, crime, and poverty in abstract terms, aimed at the white and black middle class and elite, ignoring the working class and unemployed majority in the country (see also Steenveld & Strelitz 2010). Tabloids' coverage of these issues, by contrast, was more personalised, which appealed to readers that face these issues in their everyday lives. Third, the tabloids provided a much-needed platform for people to air their frustrations about socio-economic problems in their communities, such as unemployment, drug abuse, poverty, and lack of service delivery by the government. Finally, tabloids provided information for upwardly mobile young black working-class South Africans to "navigate their social progress", and their aspirations of a middle-class lifestyle included news consumption. Tabloid publishers recognised this and, by engaging with this audience through pages about home ownership, finance, and "lifestyle", created a new advertising market (Wasserman 2010: 789).

The *Daily Sun*'s news pages are most often filled with stories featuring crime (often involving death), sex, and rape (a combination of sex and crime), observe Steenveld & Strelitz (2010). See Figure 1.1 on the previous page for an example of a typical *Daily Sun* cover. Repetition of these stories seems to indicate a bad-news focus, but these issues are common in the everyday lives of the readers, and by covering them, the tabloid proves to its readers that it recognises what they face daily. Although tabloids are criticised for not covering politics in the way mainstream newspapers do, it is false to say they do not address political issues at all. Their focus, state Steenveld & Strelitz (2007: 542), is on "micro, rather than... macro aspects" of political issues, what is often referred to in journalistic terms as a 'hyperlocal' approach. This is illustrated by Deon du Plessis' response to critics:

"We don't do traditional politics. We do real politics. Real politics is shit flowing past your front door because the municipality won't fix the sewerage. It's workmen leaving open holes for kids to fall into. It's police ignoring calls for help" (cited in Steenveld & Strelitz 2007: 24).

This hyperlocal approach to politics includes coverage of the issues from a personalised perspective, as opposed to the mainstream newspapers' treatment of the same issues as "social pathologies marked by race and class" (Wasserman 2008a: 790). For the readers, reading tabloids, and using them as a platform to voice their stories, is a more fruitful exercise than trying to get attention from a government that remains distant (Wasserman 2008b). The *Daily Sun* perceives this distance, and it addresses government officials who fail the readers as 'others', a 'them', which in turn implies that the readers are an 'us', the community represented by the newspaper (Steenveld & Strelitz 2010). By being a mouthpiece for the people, and reporting on what is important in their lives, tabloids have created an audience of the "poor and working-class black majority of the country that had hitherto been largely ignored by the post-apartheid mainstream press, which had been concentrating on middle-class and elite readerships" (Wasserman 2010: 1). It is for this reason that the tabloids have achieved unexpected success on such a grand scale, in a time where print media is in decline across the world. As Wasserman sums it up:

"For the first time since the end of apartheid, the poor majority of South Africans had a big print-media outlet that viewed news items from a perspective they recognised as familiar, that addressed them on their terms rather than from above, that articulated their opinions and views, and that dared to challenge dominant journalistic conventions in the process" (Wasserman 2010: 3).

The growth of the tabloids in the country has also created an increase in the rate of literacy, as people who would not buy mainstream newspapers now have one that appeals to them. This, argues Harber (2005, cited in Wasserman 2010: 170), will result in millions more people being able to participate in, and "affect the quality of our democracy".

1.3.1.3 The *Daily Sun*'s readership

When the *Daily Sun* was first launched, former publisher Deon du Plessis had one target market in mind: the "blue-collar, skilled working-class guy living in the townships⁷" for whom the "politics of the [anti-apartheid] struggle were over" and he was now working "for the betterment of himself and his family" (du Plessis, cited in Steenveld & Strelitz 2010: 542). "We started with him, the potential reader," said du Plessis, "and ended with a paper: a

⁷ A township is a city or suburb of predominantly black occupation, formerly officially designated for black occupation by apartheid legislation (South African Concise Oxford Dictionary 2006: 1242).

paper to suit the skilled working-class guy in 21st century South Africa” (cited in Steenveld & Strelitz 2010: 533). To remind *Daily Sun* staff of their target readership, Wasserman (2008a) observes, two mannequins dressed in blue overalls reside in the tabloid’s Johannesburg offices. According to the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF 2012) data in Table 1.1 below (taken from the All Media Products Survey – AMPS), readers can be classified into their living standard measure (LSM®) demographics⁸. Most of the *Daily Sun*’s readers fall into LSM 6. The fact that there are only five percentage points difference between the percentage of readers in LSM 7 and 8 may be proof that people who read the *Daily Sun* are upwardly mobile in South Africa’s new democracy, possibly starting to read the newspaper from its launch in 2002 while belonging to a lower LSM, and have now progressed into the higher LSMs, with the *Daily Sun* still being their newspaper of choice.

Table 1.1: Division of the *Daily Sun*’s readers into LSMs (SAARF AMPS 2012)

LSM rating	Percentage of total <i>Daily Sun</i> readers
3	3
4	11
5	23
6	30
7	14
8	9
9	7
10	3

Given their experience of exclusion from the mainstream newspapers, readers have a preference for stories where people that they can identify with have been lucky, where the underdog has triumphed against all odds (Wasserman 2008b). As a result of the newspaper reflecting issues from their daily lives, readers feel compelled to contribute information if they see newsworthy events happening in their areas. The *Daily Sun* has phone lines dedicated to reader tip-offs, which often means that journalists arrive on location while something is still in progress, or, in the event of a crime, arrive on the scene before the police (Jones et al. 2008). This reciprocal relationship shows the depth of the integration of the

⁸ After the abolition of apartheid, SAARF developed a new classification system that did not divide people in terms of race, as had previously been the case, but, instead, in terms of their living standards, introducing a number called the living standard measure (LSM). The scale ranges from 1-10, with 10 being the highest standard of living. The LSM is calculated based on “access to services and durables, and geographic indicators as determinants of standard of living” (SAARF 2010). In Table 1.1, LSM 1 and 2 were not included as there were not enough reader observations from those LSMs for the data to be reliable.

newspaper into its community of readers, who, based on this display of trust and loyalty to the *Daily Sun*, are satisfied with the kinds of stories that are covered – instead of detailed discussions of the workings of Parliament, the tabloid’s readers are more interested in why their drains are still blocked and the rubbish has not been collected, where they can find jobs, and whether hospitals are performing as they should be (Jones et al. 2008). As Harber (2004, cited in Jones et al. 2008) says: “The politicians are not taking much notice now, but at some point in the next few years they will notice that the staff and the readers of the *Daily Sun* have become more important to the next election than [readers of mainstream broadsheets] *Business Day* or the *Sunday Times*. And things will never be the same again”. According to figures from SAARF (2012), the *Daily Sun* is read by more than 5 669 000 people every day. The newspaper has its own Twitter account⁹, and its high readership figures may have been a factor in the launch of its own twice-weekly TV show on 17 October 2012¹⁰.

1.3.1.4 Attitudes towards tabloids

1.3.1.4.1 Negative responses

Despite tabloids’ commercial success in South Africa, they were not welcomed by the mainstream media and media commentators (Steenveld & Strelitz 2010, Wasserman 2010). The response to these new publications was harsh, with some suggesting that tabloid journalists be excluded from the South African National Editors’ Forum (SANEF), a professional body for editors in the country (Wasserman 2010). At the Mondi Shanduka Newspaper Awards¹¹ in 2005, Professor Guy Berger, convenor of the judges, was famously quoted by the *Sunday Times* as saying that tabloids “look like newspapers, they feel like newspapers, they even leave ink on your fingertips. But they’re not really newspapers” (Steenveld & Strelitz 2010: 540). He added that “the circulation success of [tabloids’] junk-journalism does not render it as valuable as the kind of work that is required to come tops in the Mondis”, and that “the Mondi Shanduka awards might do well to keep their distance from South Africa’s equivalents of the *Sun*, the *Mirror*, *Daily Star* and *News of the World*” (Berger

⁹ The *Daily Sun*’s Twitter username is @dailysunsa. See 2.4 for more information about Twitter.

¹⁰ *Daily Sun TV*, as the show is called, features recaps of the newspaper’s front page stories that week, as well as interviews with the people who appear in the stories. This is another way for the newspaper to connect with its imagined community, and to emphasise that the people who appear in the top stories are ordinary people, not politicians and celebrities. The show airs in the same slot as prime-time news (7pm), serving the same function as the *Daily Sun* newspaper – providing a news programme for an audience that is not catered for by TV news. The audience figures are unlikely to reach similar numbers to the readership, however, as the show is broadcast on a satellite TV channel, for which the TV owner must pay a fee.

¹¹ The ‘Mondis’, as they are sometimes called, are awards that recognise excellence in journalism. The awards are sponsored by Mondi Shanduka Newsprint, a company that produces newsprint and telephone directory paper.

2005: 2). However, as in academia, there has been an acknowledgement of the tabloids' function in society, and a category called 'Popular Journalism' has been added to the awards to recognise the unique genre, although there has not been extensive participation in it (Berger 2011, personal communication).

According to Wasserman (2008a), journalists rejected the entry of tabloids into the media arena as the tabloids were believed to be flouting conventional norms of journalism, such as neutrality, objectivity, and truth-telling. They have been accused of bringing the profession into disrepute with opinionated news stories, sensationalism, and implausible-seeming stories (Wasserman 2008a). As a result, the term 'tabloidisation' has acquired a negative meaning – it connotes “decay, a lowering of journalistic standards that ultimately undermines the ideal functions of mass media in liberal democracies” (Gripsrud 2008: 34). One of the foundations of journalism, for critics, is that it gives readers information about the world so that they can make informed political decisions; critics would argue that tabloids are worthless as they prefer to report on “melodramatic tales” of ordinary people's personal experiences than on the more removed political decisions that impact on readers' lives (Steenveld & Strelitz 2010: 531). Using this definition of proper journalism, critics may call tabloids 'trash' because of their apparent deviance from this ethical standard, especially in its stories about the tokoloshe¹² and the like, state Steenveld & Strelitz (2010). The most influential media, according to critics, is the elite media, especially the weekly newspapers *Mail & Guardian* and the *Sunday Times*, and tabloids are “dismissed as trivial entertainment” (Wasserman 2008b: 25).

1.3.1.4.2 Positive responses

Although tabloids have been seen as trivial because of their focus on 'soft' news – entertainment, scandal, sport – instead of 'serious' issues such as economics and politics, tabloid supporters have argued that these newspapers “contribute to a democratic public sphere by undermining the social hierarchy which allows the elite to dominate mediated debate” (Wasserman 2008b: 4). Cultural studies scholars add another argument: tabloids bring 'everyday' politics to their readers, and this is more useful to them, as they are often removed from formal politics (Wasserman 2008b). Far from being worthless, the tabloids

¹² The tokoloshe is an evil imp or goblin in Southern African folklore, active mainly at night (South African Concise Oxford English Dictionary 2006: 1233). The tokoloshe is believed to carry people away at night; fear of this causes people to put bricks under the legs of their beds, so that the tokoloshe will not be able to reach them.

have social power – Steenveld & Strelitz (2010: 540) quote a *Daily Sun* journalist (originally cited in Pampalone 2008), who confirms this: “People are afraid of the *Daily Sun*. Even the police, they jump when we walk in. The *Daily Sun* is a watchdog. We really are powerful”.

Deuze (2008), in his interviews with tabloid editors in the Netherlands, noted a few issues that recurred when editors spoke about their work. One of these is the ‘attitude’ to popular journalism: they actively negotiate what journalism is, as their approach to their work is what differentiates them from ‘other’ journalisms, and Deuze (2008: 231) observed that this reveals their “marginalised or deviant position within the profession”. One editor explained that the journalists visit educational institutions to explain their work, and how interesting popular journalism is, but many people still question the journalists’ views. Several felt that they have to fight against the perception that popular journalism is low on the professional hierarchy: “What we really have to get rid of is the misconception that it is not journalism that we do around here, or that it is not ethical” (Deuze 2008: 237). The interviews also revealed that for some tabloid journalists, working in popular journalism is a choice that they make for a lifetime, as the reputation of tabloids taints them and they find it difficult to find employment at a mainstream publication.

Although tabloid journalists may receive criticism from their mainstream counterparts, tabloid readers are appreciative of their efforts. In Wasserman’s (2008b: 13) focus groups with tabloid readers, “the overwhelming response from South African tabloid readers was that they trusted the tabloids to bring them reliable information”. Responses from readers of *Son*¹³ showed a level of trust in the tabloids that is usually reserved for the police and government, reports Wasserman (2008b), illustrated by the fact that readers would call tabloids before calling the police. A *Daily Sun* reader said that the newspaper is the mediator between the people and the government, with readers in the rural town of Makhado adding that their complaints receive no response from the government. “We don’t know where to go to speak to the government,” said the reader (cited in Wasserman 2008b: 18). By acting as a voice for their readers, and taking them seriously, tabloids have earned their readers’ trust, as well as “provided daily companionship and assisted in affirming a civic identity for a large section of the public who had felt left out or forgotten in the post-apartheid media sphere” (Wasserman 2010: 6).

¹³ According to its website, www.son.co.za, it is an Afrikaans daily tabloid aimed at the working-class coloured community in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape provinces of South Africa. *Son* is the Afrikaans translation of *sun*, hinting at a parallel with the *Daily Sun*, and the *Sun* tabloids in Britain.

1.3.2 *The Times*: The Paper for the People¹⁴

1.3.2.1 *The Times*' readership

The Times is an offshoot of South Africa's biggest weekly mainstream newspaper, the *Sunday Times*. *The Times* was initially delivered every weekday to *Sunday Times* subscribers, but is now also available commercially in limited quantities. Figure 1.2 (on the next page) shows a typical cover of *The Times*. It was promoted as South Africa's first interactive newspaper, publishing its stories with added multimedia content on *Times LIVE*, the online home of *The Times* and the *Sunday Times*. *The Times* does not provide as much detail about its target market as the *Daily Sun* does, but its Wikipedia¹⁵ page says the following:

“*Times LIVE* caters to a loyal South African audience hungry for breaking news, *quality journalism* and the opportunity to engage and to be more informed” (Wikipedia entry for *The Times* (South Africa) 2012, my italics).

The words *quality journalism* struck me as important when researching *The Times*, as the concept appears often in literature about tabloids (see 1.3.1.4.1 above), to imply (or state explicitly) that tabloids are the exact opposite of quality. This quote seems to set up an opposition between itself and poor quality journalism, which mainstream journalists believe is embodied by tabloids. Also, as Wasserman (2008b: 25) states, critics of tabloid journalism believe that the *Sunday Times*, an example of “elite media”, is one of South Africa's most influential newspapers, so, by extension, *The Times* is arguably more of the same. *The Times* does not go into as much detail about its target market as Deon du Plessis did with the *Daily Sun*; although if it is called elite media, it is aimed at middle to upper class South Africans (of any race). Data from the SAARF (2012) All Media Products Survey (AMPS) shows that the majority of *The Times*' readers do fall into the upper LSMs, especially LSM10, the highest category:

¹⁴ Other than readership statistics and my own knowledge of *The Times*, information about this newspaper is difficult to find. This could be attributed to the fact that it has not deviated from the norms of the journalistic profession (as tabloids have), nor does it have readership figures that have climbed as astronomically as the *Daily Sun*'s. *The Times* is not an anomaly to South African media, and therefore has not caused the stir amongst journalists, media commentators, and academics, that tabloids did.

¹⁵ I would usually be sceptical about quoting Wikipedia; in this case, however, I believe that this entry was written by someone promoting the newspaper, so presumably the author would have got this quote from an editorial or managerial source. Since there is no equivalent information to be found on the newspaper's official website, I treat Wikipedia as the next most appropriate source.



'I'm your boss from today. I've killed ET'

— Chris Mahlangu

How AWB leader met his grisly end



IN THE DOCK: Murder accused Chris Mahlangu hides his head while waiting ahead of his bail application in the Eugene Terre-Blanche case at the Westendorp Magistrate's Court yesterday. Picture: HALDEN PROG

SIPHO MASONDO

THE 28 wounds that Eugene Terre-Blanche suffered turned the stomachs of hardened police officers.

The Westendorp Magistrate's Court yesterday heard chilling details of the lacerated brain, liver and tongue, as well as the broken skull, facial bones and ribs which the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader suffered during his murder on April 3.

Captain Tsietso Momo, the detective in charge of the murder investigation, said the right-wing leader "never saw it coming".

Chris Mahlangu, 28, and a 15-year-old boy are accused of the murder.

During Mahlangu's last hearing yesterday, Momo said the two wanted to cut off Terre-Blanche's penis with a pangas after the killing but made a "last-minute" decision not to.

"I never got a straight answer from Mahlangu as to why [they pulled his penis down after the murder], but the 15-year-old told me that the intention was to cut off his manhood," Momo told the court. "He never saw it coming. Literally speaking, he was killed in his sleep."

Afterwards, Momo said, Mahlangu boasted to friends that he had killed Terre-Blanche, saying he



Eugene Terre-Blanche

was now their "boss". The suspects later allegedly called the police to confess to the crime.

Momo — who was arrested on Friday on charges of serious assault for allegedly being part of a group of seven Klerksdorp policemen who allegedly beat suspects to extract confessions — said the brutality of Terre-Blanche's killing was difficult to deal with.

"I was at the post mortem. It was a sorry sight," he said. He showed Magistrate Magasa Biso gruesome pictures of Terre-Blanche's body taken by forensic investigators shortly after the murder.

In them, Terre-Blanche is lying

on his bed face up, with blood splattered on his chest and stomach and on the bed and headboard. There is a pangas lying across his chest. He had also been assaulted with an iron bar.

Momo said: "His face was swollen and he was totally unrecognisable. This was a very serious crime and the brutality with which it was committed is a serious concern. Excessive violence was used."

Terre-Blanche's wife, Martie, and daughters, Bea, were not in court yesterday.

Momo testified that they "can't even pace outside this court, because of their emotional state".

Despite the fact that Mahlangu and the teenager handed themselves over to police, the state is strongly opposing Mahlangu's bid for bail.

"Farm attacks are serious crimes. That's where most defenceless people are attacked brutally. It's very rare for those attacked to survive," Momo testified.

Prosecutor George Buleyi told the court that the state opposed bail on the grounds that Mahlangu would endanger public safety, try to avoid his trial and intimidate and influence witnesses.

Mahlangu's lawyer, Puna Moroka, read two affidavits: one by Mahlangu and the other by his former girlfriend, Ntombafuthi

Makosena, the mother of his two children.

Mahlangu said he feared for his children's welfare and safety should he be kept in jail.

Momo said Terre-Blanche's murder had sent shock waves around the world and that he'd seen coverage of it on international news networks like CNN and BBC.

At home, he said, the murder came just short of creating pandemonium, averted by the response of President Jacob Zuma, police chief General Bhado Cde and the minister of police, Nathi Mthethwa.

Momo testified that Mahlangu bragged about the crime and showed police around the crime scene to explain exactly how Terre-Blanche had been killed.

"After committing the crime, Mahlangu and the 15-year-old went to see their friends on a neighbouring farm. He was bragging that: 'I'm your boss from today. I've killed Eugene Terre-Blanche'," he testified.

Momo said that the two alleged killers went to great lengths to hand themselves over.

"They told the police

that they had killed Eugene Terre-Blanche.

A police van, without a canopy, arrived to pick them up. They called for another van with a canopy, which took them to the scene of the crime where they found the deceased's lifeless body," Momo said.

Mahlangu's bail application was postponed to May 19.

@ HAVE YOUR SAY

Does Zuma deserve praise for defusing tensions? tellus@thetimes.co.za or SMS 33971

30 days to the World Cup

things that make Mzansi special

Figure 1.2: *The Times*: a cover

Table 1.2: Division of the *The Times*' readers into LSMs (SAARF AMPS 2012)¹⁶

LSM rating	Percentage of total <i>The Times</i> readers
7	14
8	14
9	21
10	34

Although *The Times* does not specify the race of its target market (possibly because the demographics of the upper LSMs are becoming increasingly varied), because the *Daily Sun* has declared the race of its target market to be black, I include the demographics of *The Times* readers below, also taken from SAARF's (2012) AMPS data:

Table 1.3: Division of *The Times*' readers into population groups (SAARF AMPS 2012)

Population group	Percentage of <i>The Times</i> readers
Black	61
Coloured	6
Indian	8
White	25

For comparison, the AMPS (SAARF 2012) data show the *Daily Sun*'s readership to be 94% black, supporting Du Plessis' aim of appealing to the black working class in South Africa.

1.3.3 The letters page

For Conboy (2006), it is on the letters page where the identity of a newspaper's reader can be located. The "language" (variety) of the letters page, he argues, is "the most explicit site for the celebration of the assumed community" (Conboy 2006: 20). Joe Latakomo, public editor of AVUSA, the media company to which *The Times* and the *Sunday Times* belong, states that the letters to the editor of a newspaper are a "useful barometer of the newspaper's relationship with its readers" (Latakomo 2012: 6). They have also been described as the community in conversation with itself, he notes. Reading the letters page of a local newspaper in a foreign country, he adds, will give you a good idea of the community the

¹⁶ Percentages of total readers below LSM 7 were omitted as there were too few reader observations within these categories for data to be reliable.

newspaper serves. The letters page of the *Daily Sun*, for example, does not only provoke its readers' responses to issues in their communities, but also gives the readers the sense that the newspaper is providing space for them to express themselves (Steenveld & Strelitz 2010). This sense of reciprocity between newspapers and their readers is greater in tabloids than mainstream newspapers, suggests Wasserman (2008a), if one is to go by the number of letters received. The *Daily Sun* held a campaign about service delivery, and the response was extraordinary. Du Plessis, the former publisher, explained in a personal communication with Wasserman:

“We invited people to write to us, daily, and tell us about the failings of local government in their area, ranging from no ambulance to no streetlight to shit in the streets to crime. We got – I never counted exactly – ten thousand letters a month. We ran ten a day for a year about these crises” (Wasserman 2008a: 792).

In 2009, du Plessis wrote a blog post about the importance of readers' letters to the *Daily Sun*, calling the letters “the pulse of our papers”¹⁷. Like the *Daily Sun*'s stories, the blog post is not long, and is worth reproducing almost in its entirety (ellipses and capitals as in the original):

“[...] We get thousands and thousands of letters a month... as much as possible, our [former] Editor in Chief, Themba Khumalo, handles them himself... we give out a cash prize six days a week for the best letter of the day”¹⁸...

This is SERIOUS business. That's because our letters are about the things that move SunReaders so deeply that they take the unusual step of committing pen to paper. [...] It's another sure sign of what kind of people our readers are and how they run their lives.

The subjects of SunLetters are even more important. In fact, I would make so bold as to say, if the previous President had immersed himself in the letters pages of the Suns every day, he

¹⁷ As well as the *Daily Sun*, du Plessis was the publisher of the *Sunday Sun*, the *Daily Sun*'s Sunday equivalent. When speaking about both of these papers, he would often refer to them as “the Suns”.

¹⁸ Numerous attempts to contact the editors to ascertain the criteria for awarding the cash prize, or, in *The Times*' case, the most prominent spot on the letters page (information vital to this research in understanding the newspapers' priorities) had received no reply at the time of submission of this thesis.

would not have caught delicate bits in the mangle in the way he eventually did at Polokwane¹⁹... SunLetters are the voice and the soul of the so-called average South Africans of the 21st Century.

Look at the page alongside for instance²⁰...

Hints for a better life, pride in the incoming president, pride in how SA coped with the elections, family values, self improvement... There's a soul and a stirring there which popular papers ignore at their peril. If Page One is wildly at odds with the sentiments displayed on the letters page deeper inside... then the sure result is an UNPOPULAR paper. And here at the Suns it's a matter of pride not to end up like that" (du Plessis 2009, n.p.).

Although the figures for *The Times* were unavailable, Latakomo (2012) was informed that the *Sunday Times* receives about one thousand letters per week. In response to criticism from a *Sunday Times* reader whose letter was not published, Latakomo (2012) reminded writers that it is not possible for every letter received by the newspaper to be published. In some cases, reveals Latakomo (2012: 6), the writers "even draw the conclusion that their letter was not published because the editor does not like the views they are expressing". Readers must be reminded, he states, that publication of a letter is a privilege, not a right. Only in the event that a writer has directly been involved in something that has been reported on in the news, will the letter be prioritised. This is proved by a letter in the data (TT6) from a teacher that was present at the University of Johannesburg, where a clamour for admissions resulted in the death of a parent. Latakomo also explains the existence of:

"a broad policy that most newspaper editors subscribe to: letters have to be credible, and accurately reflect an issue. Also, the letters page forum should not be used for personal attacks. If an attack has to be levelled at an individual, a politician, or even an

¹⁹ This refers to former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, who was ousted from his position as president of the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), at the National Conference of the ANC, held in Polokwane (capital of the Limpopo Province in South Africa). Jacob Zuma, Mbeki's deputy, won the party's presidential election and subsequently became the next president of South Africa. Zuma was more popular with the working class – unlike Mbeki, he has never been to university, and is well-known for leading his audiences at rallies in dancing to songs (most famously, his signature song, *Umshini Wami*, "Bring me my machine gun"), something Mbeki did not do.

²⁰ The blog post was illustrated with a picture of the *Daily Sun*'s letters page.

institution, it should be based on verifiable fact – and must not be libellous” (Latakgomo 2012: 6).

While the *Daily Sun* and *The Times* would not respond to my repeated requests for elaboration on the letters page production process, it is still clear from the comments made by people such as du Plessis and Latakgomo that the letters are an important part of the newspapers’ role in their communities, allowing readers to communicate with the newspaper, as well as publish their viewpoints to fellow community members.

1.4 Research Methods: An Overview

My approach to this research, as mentioned in 1.1, is a Systemic Functional Linguistic one. I rely greatly on Martin & White’s (2005) APPRAISAL framework, with some modifications from Marshall (2009) and White & Don (2012), to identify, codify, and interpret the meanings that the letter writers construe to their anticipated audience of fellow community members. While the APPRAISAL framework is detailed enough to ensure a suitably nuanced coding of meaning, another of its strengths is its malleability according to the context in which the research occurs. Consideration of both the context and co-text in meaning identification is vital, and, while it is never possible to be one hundred percent certain of the writers’ purposes, I have carefully read the co-text and appreciated the context in order to code as congruently with the writers’ intentions as possible. My APPRAISAL coding was not a once-off process, as it was revised after July 2012’s International Systemic Functional Congress (ISFC39) and pre-conference institute, where I gained more insight into APPRAISAL strategies and their ability to couple with ideational meanings. My arguments and understandings are based on the functions of the utterances, not the form that they take. I refer to this throughout the following chapters as the ‘function-orientated’ approach – that the context in which the utterance is produced, and its function, determine the meaning it construes.

I work from the Bakhtinian (1981) premise that all language is dialogic in that there is always something that it is produced in response to, and that there is always some degree of anticipation of what could be written in reply. The Engagement subsystem of the APPRAISAL framework comprises resources that allow the analyst to highlight all the ways writers of letters to the editor negotiate the relationship of solidarity between themselves and other readers. Since this relationship is one of my main foci, the capacity of the APPRAISAL system

to assist analysts in identifying alignment strategies makes it the most suitable analysis framework for this research. Analysis using Attitude and Graduation is just as useful in answering the other research questions: the resources that writers choose from these subsystems mark their evaluations of their everyday experience, and the interpersonal evaluations combine with the ideational entity that is being evaluated, to form a coupling of the two metafunctions. In the communities of readership, couplings (see 2.3) represent bonds, linguistic realisations of the values that members of the communities share, the things that unify them, that they affiliate around, that differentiate the ‘us’ from the ‘them’. I use my coding of the writers’ APPRAISAL choices to follow the thread of meaning through the texts, and this tracing of evaluative prosody over time allows for inferences about whether newspapers promote a consistent stance on ideational experience.

It is important to note that this research investigates the attempts by writers to construct and maintain an imagined community of readers, not the effects of their creation. As Conboy (2006: 46) states, “what the readers do with that textual construction and its wider social and cultural effects are, as usual, the business of the readers themselves”. To provide readers of this thesis with some idea of what the imagined community, and its construction on the letters page, gives to the newspaper reader, I have drawn on the work of media studies scholars in previous sections. My research constitutes a link between the individual and the collective, providing empirical linguistic evidence for the construction of the ‘us’, the imagined community, that happens in the mind of the reader, as described in 2.4.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

1.5.1 Chapter overview

This thesis consists of five chapters: the Introduction, Literature Review, Research Methods, Findings and Discussion, and the Conclusion. The Literature Review, Chapter 2, outlines the theory that forms the foundations of this research. It comprises three main sections. The first of these, 2.2, is the largest, detailing the role of APPRAISAL in SFL, defining and exemplifying each of the choices in the APPRAISAL framework (mostly based on the work of Martin & White 2005), the issue of inscribed and invoked meaning, the work that evaluative prosody does in a text, and, finally, how interpersonal and ideational meanings can be coupled to create bonds that members of the imagined community affiliate around (Martin 2000, Knight 2010), and why this is relevant to my research. The second main section, 2.3, takes the notion of affiliation further and later links it to the identity of the imagined community in 2.4,

explaining the origin of the term ‘imagined community’ from Anderson (1983) and expands it to the more recent usage of the term to describe the readership of tabloids (Steenveld & Strelitz 2010), and newspapers in general. One of the ways that newspapers help to assimilate the identity of their readership is to adopt their language, and this, what Conboy (2006) calls ‘linguistic ventriloquism’, is explored in the fourth main section, 2.5. Added to this is my refinement of Conboy’s term to refer to the letters page. The refined definition suggests that newspapers may choose letters to be published based on whose viewpoint they promote. This way the newspapers can use the words of their own readers to evaluate their own stance positively.

Chapter 3, the Research Methods, explains my reasons for selecting the newspapers and letters that I did, and whether this mediated data is still valid. The coding process itself is also detailed in this chapter, outlining all the classification conventions I used, and the justification of these, as well as the decisions I made where evaluations did not seem to ‘fit’ into a particular category in the APPRAISAL framework. I explain how and why I have used quantitative data to assist me in the recognition of the writers’ ideational priorities, which are then analysed qualitatively. The Evaluation Index that I have created to trace evaluative prosody through the letters is also clarified. I justify how evaluative prosody influenced my coding choices, and how I traced the spread of prosody to test the validity of the refined theory of linguistic ventriloquism. Finally, I emphasise that my coding approach ultimately centres on function, the effects on dialogic space, of the writers’ utterances, so my coding of Engagement (Entertainment, in particular) differs from that of Martin & White (2005) and White & Don (2012).

The Findings and Discussion, Chapter 4, presents the results of my analysis of the main letters to the editors of *The Times* and the *Daily Sun*, and my interpretation of these. Sections 4.2 (results from the *Daily Sun*) and 4.3 (results from *The Times*) provide a detailed explanation of the APPRAISAL strategies that writers choose, divided into subsections based on the ideational meaning that the writers are evaluating, allowing the reader of this thesis to focus on one ideational meaning at a time, and how the writers prefer to evaluate it. The imagined communities of the newspapers are compared in 4.4, using excerpts from the data to illustrate the communities’ sense of agency and cohesion, and how these reflect the newspapers’ approach to news. Section 4.5 graphs the evaluative prosody in the letters across time, and considers whether the results from the data prove the existence of linguistic

ventriloquism. My observations from coding the data according to the Engagement framework are set out in section 4.5, and, as a result of these, I argue for a different conceptualisation of the Engagement framework, suggesting that the strategies could be visualised as being located on a continuum instead of in a system.

Chapter 5, the Conclusion, knits together the threads that run through the research: the main findings are summarised to show the extent to which the research questions have been answered, and limitations of the research are reflected upon. Based on these limitations, as well as other strands that can be pursued, suggestions for further research are offered, so that the ideas presented in this thesis can be developed.

Appendices A and B contain the original letters from the *Daily Sun* and *The Times* respectively, with the lines numbered so that the reader can easily locate instantiations that are quoted in Chapters 3 and 4. Appendix C consists of the coding tables (as explained in Chapter 3) for strategies of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement in the *Daily Sun* letters, and *The Times*' coding of the same can be found in Appendix D. Appendix E comprises four lists generated by a concordancer: frequency lists for the *Daily Sun* (List E1) and *The Times* (List E2) letters; and lists of keywords from the *Daily Sun* (List E3) and *The Times* (List E4).

1.5.2 Conventions used in the thesis

When quoting from letters in the data set, as I do extensively in Chapter 4, I refer to them by the initials of the title of the newspaper from which they originate, followed by a number from 1-20. This is because there are 20 letters from each newspaper, and I have numbered them as such in the appendices. To locate the quote in the co-text, readers of the thesis can locate the letters by these references according to the appendices in which they appear. For example, a quote from TT12 comes from the twelfth letter I collected from *The Times*, and the original letter can be found in Appendix B using this reference. Some excerpts from the data contain uppercase words, such as “DESPITE”. This is a common design choice of newspapers, where the first word in an article is printed in uppercase. I have reproduced these initial words as they were printed; the uppercase words do not show emphasis. When using quotes to illustrate examples of the APPRAISAL subsystems, the word or clause that activates the category is shown in italics, for example, “...their grounding the language had been so *appalling*” (TT13: 16). In Chapter 4, the findings and discussion, where the writers' evaluations are discussed, categorisations are put in square brackets and highlighted in light

grey, so that they are evident to readers at a glance – this is a simple way of visualising the prosody that radiates through the letters evaluating a certain ideational meaning over time. Because the letters deal with South African issues (sometimes in intricate detail), I have continued to provide footnotes with further contextual information for the international reader, as I acknowledge that people unfamiliar with South African politics and personalities may find an in-depth analysis of the writers’ arguments difficult to follow if this information is not available. Also, added contextual information gives readers of the thesis further insight into the situations that are being discussed, so that they might better understand why I have made certain coding decisions based on the knowledge that I bring to the texts – knowledge of the newspapers, South African politics, culture, and society.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical background to my research, discussing work that has informed my understanding of the main concepts in this thesis. The APPRAISAL framework, an area that is still under construction and subject to much debate, is described and situated within the field of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The framework is critically examined in order to locate my own position as regards the subsystems and their functions, and my own data is drawn on to provide illustrations of this. The notion of ‘coupling’ of interpersonal and ideational meaning within APPRAISAL analysis is introduced, as its role in explaining the choices made by the writers is key to understanding the bonds that unite the communities of readership. Prosody is also an area of SFL that has proved difficult to pin down; again it is necessary to clarify my own understanding of the concept, and how it will be used in the thesis. To avoid confusion with other versions of prosody, which are not within my definition, I use the term ‘evaluative prosody’ to name the prosody that I trace throughout the data.

Because the ‘imagined community’ construed by letter writers is under scrutiny in the first four research questions, I explore both early and more recent research that investigates the idea of the imagined community, how it operates in the media and other spheres of society, and how the imagined communities are constructed by strategies of affiliation. The sharing of the same couplings of interpersonal and ideational meanings through affiliation defines the identity of the community and aspects of the identities of its members. To include themselves within the imagined community, newspapers use the readers’ variety of the language in which they publish – but the theory of linguistic ventriloquism (as I have refined it) may take this further, using the exact words of the letter writers to promote the newspapers’ standpoints on issues. Initial definitions of linguistic ventriloquism are examined, and my own refinement of the term described. The validity of this refinement is tested in later chapters.

2.2 APPRAISAL

2.2.1 Situating APPRAISAL in Systemic Functional Linguistics

According to Zappavigna (2011: 6), SFL is “a theory of language that is tailored to answering questions about how meanings function within the particular contexts in which they are made”. Language choices made by producers of texts (either spoken or written) realise three functions (known as metafunctions) simultaneously – the ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions. The first of these, the ideational metafunction, enacts experience; in the words of Martin & White (2005: 7), “what’s going on, including who’s doing what to whom, where, when, why and how and the logical relation of one going-on to another”. The interpersonal metafunction deals with the negotiation of relationships of exchange within a text and between the producer and the receiver of a text (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). Finally, the textual metafunction refers to the way ideational and interpersonal meanings are presented “as a flow of information in text unfolding in its context” (Matthiessen et al. 2010: 220). As the metafunctions operate simultaneously, changes in the realisations of one can effect changes in another (Hood 2010). APPRAISAL is concerned with interpersonal meaning, so the focus is on the interpersonal metafunction, but I will also be taking into account the concurrent changes in ideational meaning realised by the producers of my data. This approach, called coupling, is explained in more detail in 2.3.

SFL also recognises that language operates in more than one dimension, and accommodates for these by dividing language into strata. There is a hierarchical relationship between the strata in that the lower strata are realisations of the higher, more abstracted, ones. Each stratum involves systems – patterns of choices that are made in order to construe a certain meaning, conforming to a paradigmatic view of language where the specific choices that are made determine the meaning that is construed by the text producer. The strata (see Figure 2.1 on the next page) are those of phonology/graphology (sound or writing systems), lexicogrammar (word systems), and discourse semantics (meaning systems), with two higher levels of abstraction at the register and genre level. APPRAISAL, which involves systems of evaluative meaning, is located at the discourse semantic level – it is not located at the lexicogrammatical level as evaluative meaning does not depend entirely on the structure of the clause. Lexicogrammatical choices do not determine evaluative meaning in a clause to the extent to which discourse semantic choices do; for example, the same meanings of *anger* can be realised by a range of different lexicogrammatical options: *the angry people* (adjective

used as an epithet), *the people are angry* (adjective used as an attribute), *the anger of the people* (noun), *it angered the people* (verb as process).

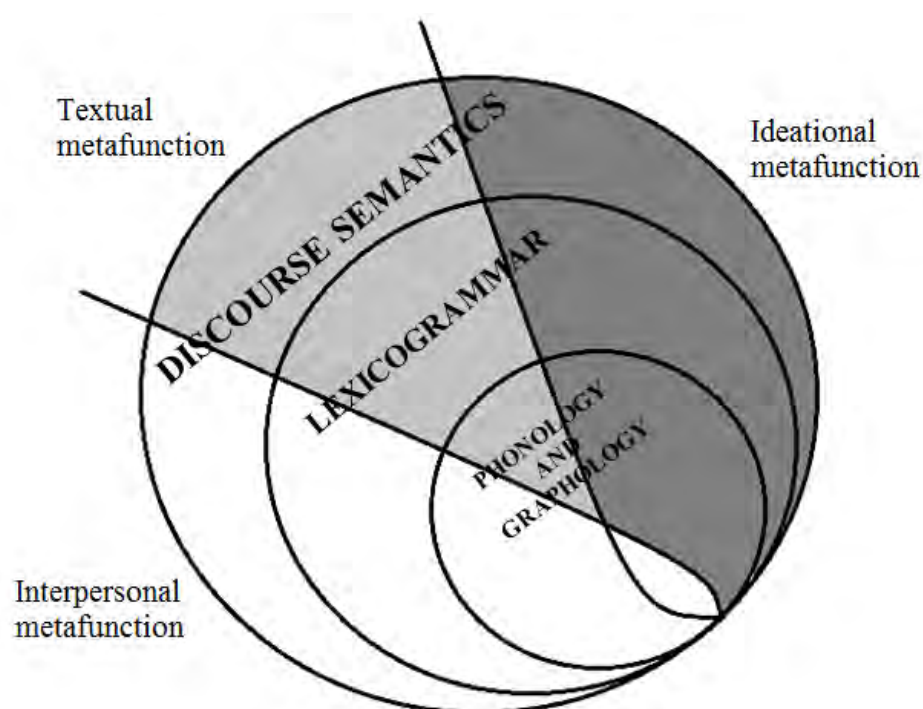


Figure 2.1: Intersection of metafunctions and strata of realisation (adapted from Martin & White 2005)

Meaning can lie in one word, or a clause complex – it is not the position of a word in clause structure, but instead its being juxtaposed with certain co-text, that influences its meaning. Evaluative meaning is not confined to grammatical boundaries; meaning can spread across clauses to colour seemingly neutral utterances. APPRAISAL is not only concerned with evaluation (Attitude), but also with how the producers of texts modify the evaluative choices they have made (Graduation and Engagement), how they present their evaluations to the text receiver (Engagement), and how much argument is allowed about the evaluation that is presented (Engagement). The framework that is used to codify these functions is discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 The APPRAISAL framework

“... APPRAISAL positions us to feel – and through shared feelings to belong. In this respect APPRAISAL is a resource for negotiating solidarity.” (Martin 2004a: 326)

The APPRAISAL system comprises resources to evaluate the kinds of emotions that are negotiated in a text, the intensity of the feelings involved and how readers are positioned in alignment with the attitudes put forward (Martin 2000). To fulfil these functions, APPRAISAL uses three subsystems: Attitude, Graduation and Engagement (the names of the subsystems are capitalised to prevent confusion with the non-technical use of the terms). Lee (2007: 167) observes that the APPRAISAL framework “has stabilised somewhat, but it is still subject to debate and constant reworking due to its fledgling state of development”. Indeed, Martin & White (2005) challenge interested parties to argue for or against the options they suggest, in order to develop the framework. Besides identifying evaluative lexis, subsystems of APPRAISAL serve as a way to trace the accumulation of evaluative meaning (Coffin & O’Halloran 2005). This build-up of meaning (called prosody) then constructs the evaluative stance of an appraiser. Hood (2006) refers to prosody as the “radiation” of interpersonal meaning, as it does not spread in a linear fashion, but instead diffuses throughout the text to imbue seemingly non-evaluative phrases with meaning. Prosody, and my use of it in this thesis, is returned to for further explanation in 2.2.4. Because the illustrations of the subsystems are drawn from my data, subsystems not realised by the data will not be exemplified. As mentioned in 1.5.2, I refer to the letters from the two newspapers by the initials of their newspaper’s name (DS for *Daily Sun*, TT for *The Times*) and the number of the letter in the data set, from 1 to 20. Explanations of each of the three main subsystems, Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement, follow.

2.2.2.1 Attitude

Attitude, according to Martin & Rose (2007), is the evaluation of feelings, people’s behaviour, and things (for example processes, texts, and natural phenomena). Attitude consists of three subsystems: Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, which Martin & White (2005:42) link to “emotion, ethics and aesthetics” (see Figure 2.2 on the next page for a diagrammatic representation), each subtype of which can be classified as positive [+] or negative [-]. Positivity refers to the presence of something that a category describes, while negativity refers to the absence of it (except in the case of Normality, which is explained under Social Esteem). For example, *He is unreliable*, a hypothetical example, is an evaluation

of [-Tenacity], as the person being evaluated does not show Tenacity. Likewise, *I feel safe* is an expression of [+Security], because the person in question has a feeling of security.

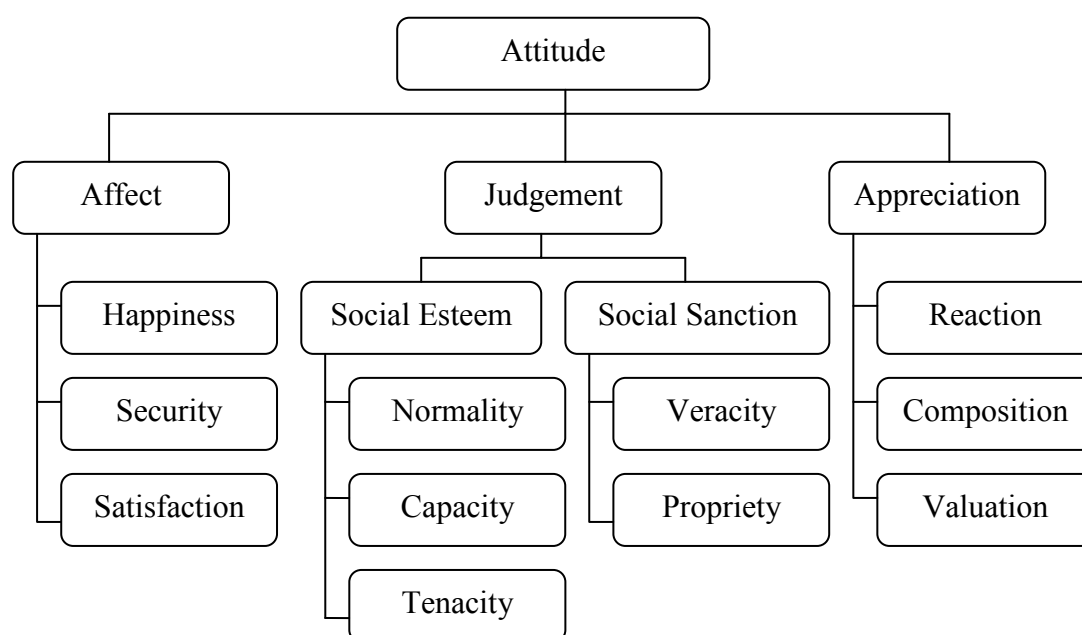


Figure 2.2: The APPRAISAL system: Attitude (adapted from Martin & White 2005)

Affect is a resource for the construal of emotion, states Martin (2000) – positive or negative feelings. Affect encompasses another three subsystems: Happiness, Security and Satisfaction. Emotions such as sadness, happiness, love and hate fall under Happiness; Security is concerned with feelings of physical and emotional safety; and Satisfaction deals with feelings about “the pursuit of goals... displeasure, curiosity, respect” (Martin & White 2005: 49). Examples from the data follow (these can be located in context in Appendix A, for the *Daily Sun*, and Appendix B, for *The Times* letters):

[+Happiness]:

A girl would think it’s out of *love*... (DS9: 14).

[-Security]:

She has to live with the constant *threat* that if she cannot produce a child, her husband will be forced to take another wife who will (TT10: 9-10).

[-Satisfaction]:

Some take out their... *frustration* by raping innocent women and minor girls... (DS12: 4).

According to Martin (2000: 149), Affect can be further analysed in terms of whether the writer's feelings are "surges" of emotion (such as *laughed*), or a continued state (such as *happy*). Affect can also be directed towards a stimulus that exists in the present (realis) or one that will exist in the future (irrealis). Examples of realis (present state) Affect include *chuckle, hug, surprised* and *yawn* (Martin 2000: 151), whereas *cower, long for, fearful* and *wary* construe irrealis (future state) Affect (Martin 2000: 150). The purpose of analysing for Affect in my research, however, was to indicate the general feelings of writers about anything that they felt compelled to write to the newspapers about, so only Happiness, Security and Satisfaction were included in the coding process.

Judgement provides resources for evaluating good or bad behaviour and character, compared with the ways the text producer thinks people should or should not behave. The system includes both personal-value-based norms (social esteem) and legal norms (social sanction). Social esteem involves admiration (positively evaluated social esteem) and criticism (negatively evaluated); while social sanction involves praise (positively evaluated social sanction) and condemnation (negatively evaluated), state Martin & White (2005:52). Social esteem consists of three subsystems: Normality is concerned with how special someone is (Martin & White 2005: 53). [+Normality] construes someone as special, or better than average, in a way that others would aspire to emulate, while [-Normality] is realised by qualities that people would find strange and would not wish to emulate (so nonetheless, not normal).

[+Normality]:

... he is *doing very well* as was proven by his luxury German car (DS14: 4).

Capacity is to do with capability; whether a person has the ability to do something.

[+Capacity]:

There's no limit to the success *you can achieve*... (DS5: 2).

Tenacity, the final social esteem subsystem, deals with 'reliability' and 'resolve' (Martin 2000); how a person acts on their abilities. For example, if a schoolboy fails his exams

because he spent his time drinking at a tavern (DS13), his behaviour would be regarded (where education is valued) as [-Tenacity]. This coding is because he has the mental ability ([+Capacity]) to pass, but did not use this ability, instead not following through on any resolve to study.

[-Tenacity]:

We yearn for social order... in our communities, yet we *can't take up the challenge* to act on that vision. Let's not be hopeless (DS4: 13-14).

Social sanction is composed of its own two subsystems: Propriety is a system of resources which evaluate a person's ethical stance, and Veracity is to do with honesty or truthfulness (Martin & White 2005). In the following example of [-Veracity], the words *truthful* and *honest* have been coded as negative because of the words *for once*, implying that the people being evaluated (parents) have not been honest and truthful this far.

[-Veracity]:

CAN WE be *truthful* and *honest* for once (DS13: 2)?

[+Propriety]:

Though it was not the only liberation movement, it has played a leading role in *helping to free the country* (TT1: 12-13).

Appreciation is the final subsystem of the Attitude framework. According to Martin & White (2005: 56), it deals with resources that convey how we value 'things': those we make and performances we give. Evaluations of natural phenomena also fall under Appreciation. Evaluations of things can be captured by one of three resources. The system of Reaction measures how much we like something (quality) or how emotionally captivating it is (impact), state Martin & White (2005).

[-Reaction] (quality):

... provide trauma counselling to members caught in *horrendous* situations (TT2: 19).

[+Reaction] (impact):

Its *interesting* findings include that entrepreneurial leaders are made... (TT5: 13).

Composition evaluates how coherent, logical and balanced something is (Martin & Rose 2007), or how complex something is. Complexity is seen as [-Composition], because

something that is complex is often difficult to understand, and the concepts involved in it may not ‘flow’ easily.

[-Composition] (balance):

I was shocked, knowing how *chaotic* this would be (TT6: 39).

[+Composition] (complexity):

There is a *simple* solution: motivation and incentives (TT15: 5).

Valuation, the third subsystem, determines how useful, worthy or significant something is considered to be (Martin 2000).

[+Valuation]:

All members of the tripartite alliance are running *serious* campaigns against corruption (DS19: 8-9).

Reaction and Valuation may be difficult to differentiate, as something that a person likes ([+Reaction]: quality) is likely to be seen as having value to them (+Valuation). However, Martin & White (2005) offer a metafunctional view of the two options: Reaction considers interpersonal (emotive) value to a person, whereas valuation considers a thing’s ideational worth. Despite this helpful perspective, from personal experience of coding data with a group of researchers, I believe it is unlikely that every researcher will code certain instantiations in the same way. For example, in the following example from the *Daily Sun*, I coded for both Reaction and Valuation, and some may debate this:

-Val	+Reac
It is <i>useless</i> to have an <i>impressive</i> constitution while the people it’s supposed to protect are dying like flies (DS17: 5-6).	

The coding of the *useless* situation as [-Valuation], would, I think, be obvious to most APPRAISAL analysts, as the writer sees the situation as having no value. The coding of [+Reaction] would be the debatable one – why not [+Valuation]? But while the writer may seem to be implying (to some) that the South African constitution is a special one, he actually uses the word *impressive*, which has emotive meaning (where something makes an impression on a person). The evaluation should therefore be classified interpersonally as

[+Reaction] (drawing on Martin & White's 2005 metafunctional view of Appreciation). If the writer had said "a landmark constitution", [+Valuation] would have been appropriate.

While the Attitude framework is fairly detailed, Martin & White by no means wish analysts to shoehorn every text into the system they have put forward. On the contrary, they admit "our maps of feeling... have to be treated at this stage as hypotheses about the organisation of the relevant meaning..." (Martin & White 2005: 46). In fact, the majority of the evaluations in the data could be coded as realising one of the options provided by these authors, but there still remains a fleck of meaning that remains uncaptured. In these cases, the instantiations need to be double-coded, i.e. 'allocated' to two subsystems. Lee (2007: 173) supports this, stating that double-coding occurs when sections of text contain an evaluation that "activates more than one of the sub-types of Attitude", and I take this position in my coding. One of the reasons that double-coding is necessary, according to Lee (2007) is the 'institutionalisation' of Affect (Martin & White 2005), where Affect is seen as the basic system of Attitude, and the other two (Judgement and Appreciation) are merely re-contextualised feelings (Affect) about behaviour in terms of community norms (Judgement) and feelings about the value of things in a community (Appreciation). This leads to incongruencies in how the subsystems are realised. For example, in TT4, the word *sad* in the following example was double-coded as [+Reaction] and [+Valuation]:

The incident is, nevertheless, a *sad* state of affairs (TT4: 5).

The problem with this example is that the word *sad* is usually used to evaluate a person's feelings (negative Affect), but here it is used to describe a thing – the state of affairs – so this should be negative Appreciation. Because the writer can be said not to like the state of affairs, I coded *sad* as [-Reaction], which corresponds with the metafunctional view of Appreciation where Reaction is seen as corresponding with the interpersonal metafunction. However, there is no arguing that the word *sad* was used for a reason (a slightly less Affectual substitute could be *unpleasant*). This is because the writer is feeling an emotion about the state of affairs (a prospective student's mother being killed in a stampede for university admission), and, while overtly evaluating the *situation* (Appreciation) he is also showing his personal emotion (Affect) – his [-Happiness] has arisen from his evaluation of the situation at the university (I coded both the Affect and Appreciation here as inscribed, following Bednarek 2007. See 2.2.3 for further explanation of this example). Martin & White (2005: 57-58)

acknowledge the similarity of Reaction and Affect, and argue that they “think it important to distinguish between construing the emotions someone feels (affect) and ascribing the power to trigger such feelings to things (appreciation)”.

2.2.2.2 Graduation

Graduation, the second system of the APPRAISAL framework, is the modification of meaning in terms of amount, intensity, or prototypicality. Two resources achieve this (see Figure 2.3 on the next page) – the first is Force, which grades evaluations according to their intensity (using the subsystem of Intensification) and their amount (using the subsystem of Quantification). Focus is the second, and this subsystem grades meaning in terms of prototypicality, as it applies to meanings which are not seen, experientially, as scalable (Martin & White 2005). Focus can be Sharpened (made more precise, or closer to the prototype) or Softened (made less precise, or further from the prototype). In the following example, the writer Sharpens the prototype of a man to imply that a man who does not act as a father to his community (an act that the writer sees as [+Propriety]) is not a ‘true’ man.

Sharpened:

A *true* man is a father to his community... (DS12: 14).

Softened:

We today live in an *almost* borderless economy... (TT11: 14-15).

Force, the second subsystem of Graduation, consists of resources that upscale or downscale evaluations in terms of their quantity or intensity (Martin & White 2005). Force as quantity (Quantification) can be realised by activating one of four options: Number, Mass, Presence, and Extent in terms of Proximity and Distribution in time and space. Number can modify quantities by using actual numbers, as is evident in the data below, where the number of years in existence is upscaled by using a high number:

A HUNDRED years of existence as a political organisation is worth celebrating (TT1: 2).

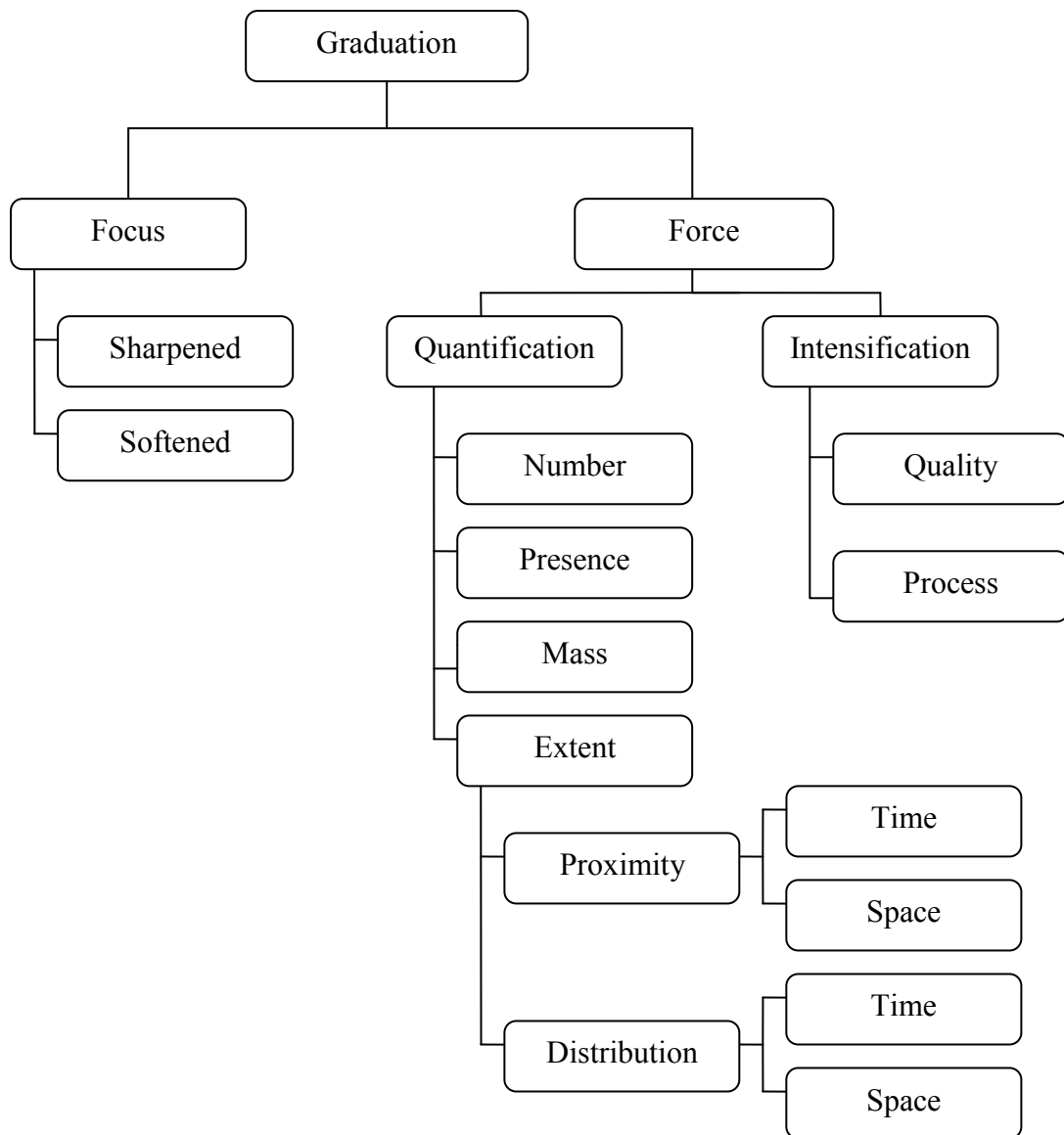


Figure 2.3: The APPRAISAL system: Graduation (adapted from Martin & White 2005)

Number can also modify with “imprecise reckonings” (Martin & White 2005: 150), as in the following example, where the number of challenges is not specified, but nonetheless upscaled:

Despite its *many* challenges... (TT1: 11).

Martin & White (2005: 151) depict a system network of Graduation showing the option of using Mass to grade an evaluation as “mass (presence)”. Following Marshall (2009), however, I have chosen to use Mass and Presence as discrete categories, as they modify

different things. Mass, as I have used it, describes the physical or abstract size of things, as exemplified by the following example from DS7, where the size of the expense is upscaled:

Getting educated after matric [Grade 12] can be a *huge* expense... (DS7: 6).

Marshall (2009) argues that Presence must be separated from Mass, because not all things that have a large or small Mass, have a corresponding Presence. Presence is described in terms of the importance or significance of a thing, or the status of a person.

In Marshall's (2009) work on researcher ratings, the differentiation became necessary to distinguish large research outputs (Mass) from findings that were significant in their field (Presence), as the two do not always imply each other. An example of upscaled Presence appears in TT16, where the test is not only seen as the biggest, but given the added dimension of 'most important':

This is probably the *greatest* test of whether the ANC is an ally of the oppressed people of Swaziland (TT16: 22-23).

Presence also appears in the *Daily Sun* data:

FORMER President Mandela once said: "Education is the *greatest* engine of personal development..." (DS11: 2-3).

Although this category of Graduation is not used frequently, I think it is important to make the distinction between Mass and Presence, as they are similar, but not exactly the same. Research that involves status in some way (studies of academic writing or governmental or legal discourse, for example) can benefit from using Presence discretely, as Presence has more of an Attitudinal undertone (one of Valuation). Putting both Mass and Presence into a single 'mass' category would mean that evaluations of sheer size (such as "the cake was *huge*") would be coded with the same tag as ("the implications were *huge*").

Extent, the final subsystem of Quantification, is further divided into two types: Proximity and Distribution, both in either time or space. Upscaling Proximity shows that something is nearer (in time, this means more recent; spatially, it is closer), whereas downscaling shows

that something is far away (spatially; in time, if something happened centuries ago, for example, it is downscaled Proximity). Examples (all upscaled) from the data follow:

Proximity (time):

The *recent* series of family violence and killings... are really disturbing... (DS3: 8).

Proximity (space):

Young girls' potential is being wrecked *under our noses* as they fall pregnant (DS4: 11).

Distribution (time):

... celebrate with the *oldest* liberation movement on the continent (TT1: 6).

Distribution (space):

... celebrate with the oldest liberation movement *on the continent* (TT1: 6).

Force as intensity (Intensification) has two types of resources for grading evaluations: intensification of Process, which refers to the vigour with which a process is carried out, and intensification of Quality, which refers to the degree to which a quality is achieved (Martin & White 2005). Examples of these appear regularly in the data:

Intensification of Process (upscaled):

... it could not have reached the 100-year milestone, had it not *purged* from within its ranks people like Tennyson Makiwane... (TT12: 6-7).

Intensification of Process (downscaled):

THE school year has again *stuttered* into motion with the usual problems with registration, infrastructure and teachers on strike (TT15: 2-3).

Intensification of Quality (upscaled):

Why are our lives *so* cheap in their eyes?

According to Martin & White (2005), intensification can be achieved by repetition, either where the same lexical item is repeated, or by listing semantically similar words. While I coded repetition as Intensification (for example, *their cronies get richer and richer* is an

upscaled Intensification of Quality in DS6: 7), where lists of terms occur, I judged these to be upscaled Quantifications of Number. For example, in DS6, the following list appears:

I could name government officials who have been caught in a mire of *bribery*, *extortion*, *nepotism*, *embezzlement*... (DS6: 4-5).

While *mire* also upscales the evaluations of [-Propriety] represented by the words *bribery*, *extortion*, *nepotism* and *embezzlement*, the juxtaposition of these four words does not merely intensify the negative evaluation. The list shows the different types of corruption that the government officials are involved in. Put simply, not only are the officials being very bad, they are being very bad at many things, so the coding of upscaled Number seems more fitting in cases of semantic listing such as the one above. Martin & White (2005) add that upscaling an evaluation has a rhetorical effect of maximally committing writers to their evaluations, thus aligning the writers with the communities that share these views. Downscaling often performs the opposite function, showing that writers are not fully committed to their evaluations, and thus are not fully committed to or affiliated with the communities that hold the same views.

2.2.2.3 Engagement

2.2.2.3.1 Dialogism

According to Martin & White (2005) and White (2003), Engagement consists of linguistic resources with which authors present a stance while positioning themselves regarding alternative evaluations and other voices in a text, and attempt to position readers as aligning (or disaligning) with their stance. This theory draws on the work of Bakhtin, as mentioned in 1.4, who sees all written and spoken communication as ‘dialogic’, in that it is always a response or reference to something that has been written or said before. Holquist (1990) explains Bakhtin’s perspective as follows:

“... an utterance is never *in itself* originary: an utterance is always an answer. It is always an answer to another utterance that precedes it, and is therefore always conditioned by, and in turn qualifies, the prior utterance to a greater or lesser degree” (Holquist 1990: 60), italics in original.

Not only is an utterance a response to a previously stated utterance, it is also anticipatory – it takes into account what could be argued as a result, and attempts to account for this:

“... every word is directed towards an answer and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word it anticipates”
(Bakhtin 1981: 280).

Following this approach, it is evident that utterances are multifunctional. Their first function is to describe the text producer’s (in this case, the writer’s) stance on a matter, which, as Bakhtin implies, needs to be communicated to a recipient as a response to what the producer has seen or heard. The writers can choose whether or not to recognise explicitly the voices that are external to the text, to which they are replying, and, if they are recognised, the extent of the external voices’ involvement. If the external voices are referenced, writers then present themselves as aligning, as neutral, as undecided, or as disaligning with the values of the external voice (Martin & White 2005). Finally, in keeping with the anticipatory aspect of Bakhtinian theory, writers’ utterances also indicate how the writer positions the audience as regards the views being offered by the writer – does the audience align or disalign with the writer; should the writer’s comments be seen by the audience as commonsensical (taken for granted), or does the writer expect the views to be questioned? These dialogic functions of utterances are important gauges of community cohesion, and how writers negotiate the relationship between them and their fellow community members.

White (2003) argues that utterances can be divided into two types, drawing on Bakhtin’s notions of dialogised utterances. Monoglossia refers to ‘undialogised’ utterances; those that are bare assertions, and are presented as ‘factual’. These, state White (2003) and White & Don (2012), are those that do not acknowledge, nor do they respond to, external voices with alternate stances. The following example, from the data, illustrates this:

Madonsela has outshone her predecessors and set a high standard for successors
(DS1: 6).

The writer of this letter leaves no room for argument against this evaluation of Thuli Madonsela, the South African Public Protector, who investigates allegations of corruption in the government, abuse of state resources, and fraud. We could say that the ‘dialogic space’ is completely closed, according to White’s (2003) definition of monoglossia. Martin & White

(2005) suggest that monoglossic bare assertions are indicative of two audience types, which can be identified by the analyst by examining the co-text, the text surrounding the utterance in question. Monoglossia can construe an audience that is completely aligned with the writer; there is no reason for the writer to argue for a position if it is already commonsensical in the minds of the readers. The readers will thus not question the bare assertions made if they are part of a community which shares the writer's value positions. However, monoglossia can also indicate that writers' views are merely their side of a highly contested debate, and the writers think highly enough of themselves to be able to put their views to an audience without acknowledging other sides of the discussion. White (2003) notes that, because of the commonly held association of monoglossia with complete alignment with a community of shared values, the monoglossia used for argumentation will threaten the solidarity between the writer and the disaligned reader. This is because disaligned readers will assume that they are not included in the writer's community, as they do not share the writer's value position.

'Dialogised' utterances (as opposed to undialogised, monoglossic, bare assertions) are called heteroglossic (White 2003, Martin & White 2005, White & Don 2012). Heteroglossic utterances construe dialogic space – space for alternate stances that are suppressed by monoglossia. According to White (2003: 265), dialogised/heteroglossic utterances are those "in which some engagement with alternative positions and/or voice is signalled" (see Zappavigna 2011 for an online perspective of heteroglossia, facilitated by social networking site Twitter). This engagement that is carried out with alternative viewpoints in dialogic space can be Expanded to allow more room for alternate stances, or Contracted, to allow less room for argument. Before discussing the ways in which heteroglossia negotiates dialogic space, however, I would like to clarify my stance on monoglossia. We are operating on the premise that all utterances are inherently dialogic in that they are responsive to previous utterances and anticipative of possible arguments against them (as well as set against "a background made up of contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgements", from Bakhtin 1981: 281). Yet we have a distinction where it is said that bare assertions are seen as undialogised because they allow no room for argument. I agree that they do not allow room for argument, so we could keep the term 'monoglossia', but I do not think that these utterances are completely undialogised (where undialogised is taken to mean that they are not dialogic – not anticipating or responding to previous utterances). If, following Bakhtin (1981), we assume that *all* utterances are dialogic, then there must be *some* dialogic space construed, albeit a small space. White's (2003) argument that bare assertions present a stance

to an aligned community shows that there is some communication happening between the writer and the audience. The idea of argumentative monoglossia is more difficult to deal with, but it is still not undialogised – in suppressing alternate viewpoints it is still *communicating* something to disaligned readers (although threatening the solidarity between the two parties) and this communication leads me to believe that dialogism, however slender a shard, does exist there. This might happen in the same way that a child might stick its fingers in its ears and shout its own opinions, refusing to engage with other views – it knows opposing views exist but does not acknowledge them in an argument. Putting forward views monoglossically is still responding to an argument, in Bakhtin’s view of dialogism that everything operates against a backdrop of what has been said before. While the distinction between monoglossia and heteroglossia is a useful one to make, I am less certain of the interchangeability of the terms ‘monoglossic’²¹ and ‘undialogised’. The difference, to me, between monoglossia and heteroglossia is the amount of dialogic space that is construed by the resources (see Figure 4.7 in 4.6.4 for my location of monoglossia and heteroglossic Engagement resources on a dialogic continuum). Heteroglossic resources are also explicitly flagged with certain words that ‘signal’ their dialogic nature. Monoglossic bare assertions do not signal dialogism, because, although they are (a little) dialogic, they certainly do not invite alternate viewpoints.

Bednarek (2007) also suggests that utterances traditionally seen as monoglossic, such as *She likes linguistics*, have the potential to be seen as heteroglossia. This is because they recognise an evaluation external to the text producer (non-authorial Affect) – the evaluation is being made by someone other than the speaker. This type of utterance should be included under the heteroglossic strategy of Attribution: Acknowledgement, argues Bednarek (2007). I see this utterance as still being an observation of the author, so I am not convinced that there is an external voice being reported on, as the example is not explicitly attributed to an external voice, using a formulation such as *She said* or *They said*. What is important is the way Bednarek also sees that even ‘monoglossic’ utterances (bare assertions) contain dialogism, so perhaps the ‘fuzziness’ of the correlation between dialogised utterances, monoglossia, and undialogised utterances is something that needs to be further problematised and investigated.

²¹ White & Don (2012) divide the category of monoglossia into Assert, in which the proposition argued for is seen as new information; and Presume, where the evaluation is presented as given information, so it is embedded in the sentence, and more likely to be seen as commonsensical. While these new categories will be useful to research trying to uncover hidden meaning in writing about controversial issues (for example, Smith & Adendorff, in press, on editorials written after the murder of South African white supremacist, Eugene Terre’Blanche), I find that differentiating between the two types of monoglossia will not provide significant conclusions from my data, so I have coded for the heteroglossic Engagement options, and monoglossia as it stands in Martin & White (2005).

2.2.2.3.2 Expansion

The Engagement subsystem in the APPRAISAL framework includes the heteroglossic resources that can expand or contract dialogic space (see Figure 2.4 on the next page for full representation). The first category under the subsystem of Expansion is Entertainment. Writers use Entertainment to show that their viewpoint is entirely subjective, merely one of many possible views, and thus opens dialogic space in order to accommodate these. Entertainment strategies therefore construe an audience that could be disaligned; a heterogeneous audience. Two kinds of Entertainment are evident in this example from the data:

Active teachers in South African schools are mostly between the ages of 40 and 55, *suggesting* that much of the content taught... *could* be obsolete... (TT11: 7-8).

The word *suggesting* indicates that the writer anticipates disalignment, as this is merely a suggestion; the writer is not saying that this is definitely the case; it is one person's opinion amongst many. The other instantiation, *could*, is a modal. White (2003) argues that earlier literature has treated modals as an indication that writers lack commitment to the truth of their stance, but should instead be seen as opening up dialogic space to allow for alternate positions. In the above example, the modal does exactly that. The writer recognises that there will be other opinions about whether the age of teachers determines whether the content they teach is obsolete. Assumedly the writer would know that the group of teachers aged between 40 and 55 would not be happy with this view, so the writer also allows for anyone to argue that teachers of that age *do* keep up-to-date with new content. Expanding the dialogic space for alternate viewpoints helps to ensure that the writer does not get accused of making a sweeping generalisation.

Another resource for expanding the dialogic space is Attribution, which itself consists of two strategies: Acknowledge and Distance. Attribution occurs when writers bring in external voices so that the writers can dissociate themselves from the stance that is being advanced. Martin & White (2005) note that this is often done through reported speech. Acknowledgement is typically seen as being more 'neutral', that is, the writer does not explicitly align or disalign with the external voice's proposition. Achugar (2004) found that newspapers in her research incorporated the voices of authorities into their analyses of the September 11 2001 plane crashes in the USA, to authorise their interpretation of the events.

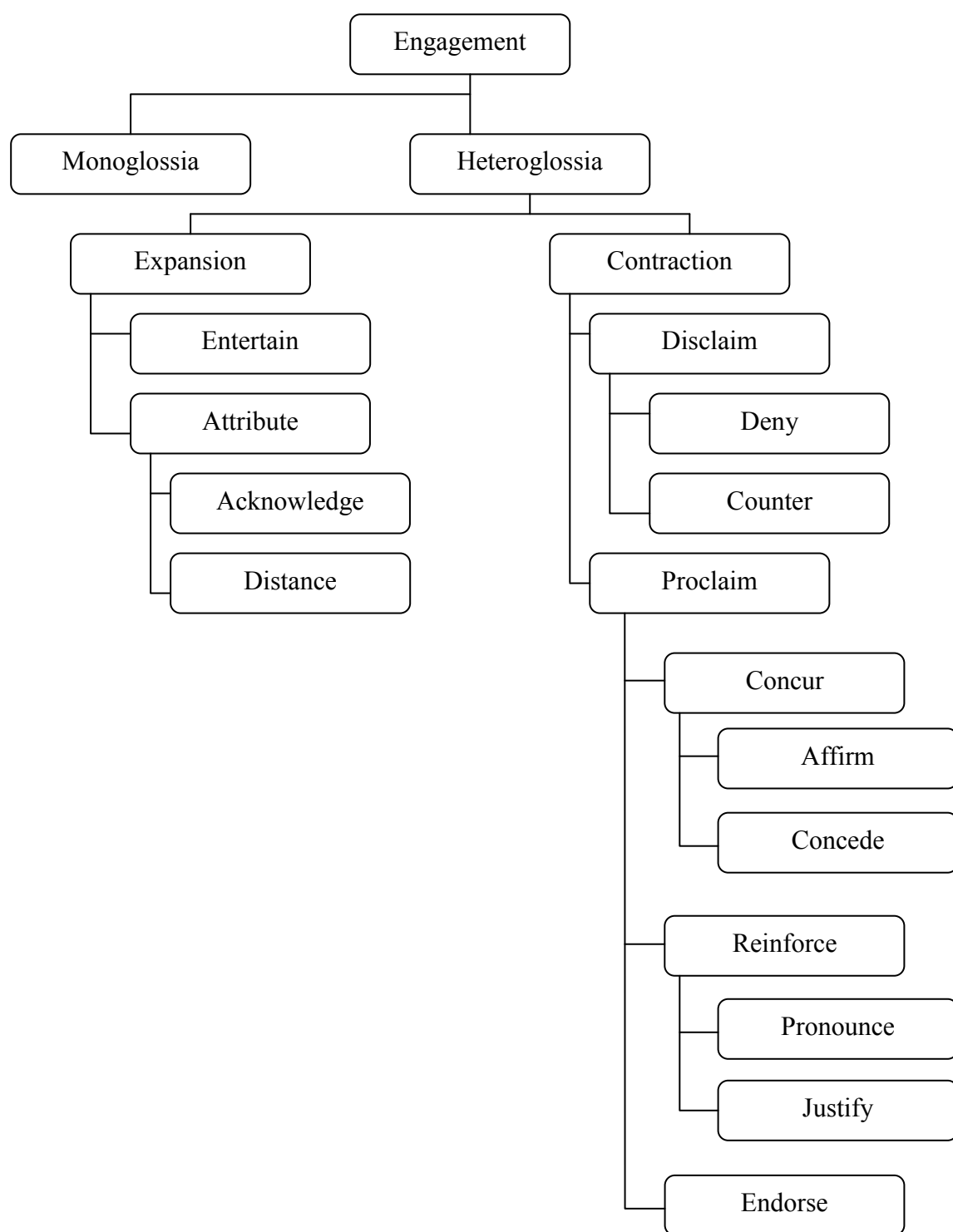


Figure 2.4: The APPRAISAL framework: Engagement (adapted from Martin & White 2005, White & Don 2012)

Lemke (1988, cited in Hood 2006: 44) supports this, arguing that “explicitly naming an intertextually valued sayer increases the value attributed to the projected proposition”. A writer to the *Daily Sun* uses Acknowledgement strategies in this way, by quoting Nelson Mandela, an international icon, to reinforce the argument that education is important (see 4.6.3 for my discussion of Acknowledgement as contractive):

FORMER President Nelson Mandela once *said*: “Education is the greatest engine of personal development...” (DS11: 2-3).

In the above example, the writer construes dialogic space by bringing in an external voice (that of Nelson Mandela), and engages with this voice. Dialogic space is opened as the writer is not stating an explicit position of alignment or disalignment with Mandela’s statement by attributing the words to him. This can be contrasted with the Attributive strategy of Distancing, where writers dissociate themselves from the external voice’s evaluation. Distancing opens up dialogic space because the writer is already indicating the presence of two different opinions in the text (the external voice’s opinion, and the writer’s, as the writer chooses to remain separate from the external voice, and wants the reader to know this by marking it with Distancing resources).

This can be achieved in a few ways – one of them is using reporting verbs such as *claim*, which indicates disbelief on the writer’s part (I was warned against using it in journalistic writing because of its judgemental connotations), as in the example below:

... he *claims* the administration is in a good space... (TT8: 9-10).

Scare quotes can also be used effectively to distance the writer from the external voice’s viewpoint. In the following example from TT10, the writer is responding to a police officer’s comment on why women kidnap babies from hospitals. The writer does not agree with the use of the term *love relationships*, which is further indicated by *as he calls them*:

These women are not merely protecting “*love relationships*”, as he calls them (TT10: 4).

2.2.2.3.3 Contraction

The subsystem of Contraction consists of two subsystems: Disclaim and Proclaim. Disclamation has a focus on the closing down of dialogic space by discrediting other viewpoints, whereas Proclamation refers rather to the foregrounding of the writer's stances. Two strategies of Disclamation are Denial and Countering. The first of these, Denial, uses negating lexis to explicitly reject a stance, closing down the dialogic space where disaligned readers would be allowed to argue for it. An example of this appears in DS2, but other examples include *no* and *never*:

... that does *not* mean one is always right... (DS2: 7).

The authorial voice has intruded in the above example to ensure that the reader has no intention of arguing that boundaries should be set, thereby closing down the space for argument for the external position.

Counters do exactly what their name implies – they go against, or replace, a proposition that would have been expected (Martin & White 2005). They close down dialogic space for the expected, alternate, stance and replace it with the more correct or justifiable one (from the writer's point of view). In the following example, the writer Denies the expected approach (*not*), and Counters it with the 'correct' one (*but*):

... the essence of our approach is *not* to mourn this behaviour, *but* to find solutions to a complex reality... (TT2: 14-15).

The second subsystem of dialogic Contraction, Proclamation, has three options: Concurrence, Reinforcement (White & Don 2012), and Endorsement. Concurrence construes an audience with the same knowledge and stance as the author, and is therefore already aligned (Martin & White 2005). As the audience is construed as already aligned, there is no need to Disclaim any alternate stances. Concurrence further comprises Affirmation and Concession. Affirmation involves writers' assumptions that their viewpoint is already taken for granted by the audience, and is realised in the data as rhetorical questions and instantiations such as the example from TT20 on the next page:

Especially in a developing country such as ours, with its unique challenges, corporate South Africa and the ANC *naturally* have to share with each other their views on the economy (TT20: 18-20).

Rhetorical questions are dialogic in that they force the reader to think about an answer to the question, and this is a powerful strategy, as the reader is probably more likely to see the answer as commonsensical, as they have come up with it themselves. This naturalises the writer's view in the reader's mind, aligning the two parties automatically. Having made the same 'connection' as the writer in their minds, readers may find the writer's next arguments more believable. These questions appear in both the *Daily Sun* and *The Times* data – the example below is from DS14, where the writer's argument preceding the question had been against the use of political contacts to win contracts. The question prompts the reader to answer 'no', and this meaning is not open to challenge as it has not been directly asserted:

Do we really need provincial governments... (DS14: 9)?

Concessive strategies are acknowledgements of propositions that are usually paired with Counters of the propositions, i.e. a stance is presented and then replaced with a stance that the writer deems more valid. In the words of Martin & White (2005: 124), Concessions are strategies "by which argumentative ground is given up initially... only for that ground to be retaken in the subsequent counter move". This tells the reader something like, 'yes, that exists, but this is a better way of thinking'. The writer, therefore, assumes the reader holds an alternative stance, so the writer attempts to 'correct' the reader's views. This is demonstrated in the example below from TT13, where the writer admits that Zimbabwe has problems as a country (this is the view that the reader must hold), but states that education is nonetheless of good quality:

<i>Concession</i>	<i>Counter</i>
Children educated in Zimbabwe, [<i>troubled though the country is</i>], [<i>still</i>] have an outstanding education and can work anywhere in the world (TT13: 24-25).	

Reinforcement, the second subsystem of Proclamation (White & Don 2012), contains two options for writers to make an intensified argument for their opinion: Pronouncement, in which the writer explicitly intervenes to assert the validity of the stance (Martin & White 2005); and Justification, in which writers provide extra information to explain their

evaluations (White 2003). Since writers need to add information to their evaluation to substantiate it, Justification construes the audience as disbelieving, as writers must believe that they cannot merely state their views without providing further argumentation against the anticipated reader response. In the following example of Justification, the writer gives a reason for the argument that a stampede (and its resulting death at the University of Johannesburg) would not have happened at Unisa²²:

... a situation like this wouldn't have happened there *because* they have the proper controls in place (TT6: 41-42).

Pronouncement, as mentioned above, refers to the foregrounding of the authors' intervention in a text, either as explicit mentioning of themselves (with pronouns such as *I* or *we*) or emphasis on something, where writers choose to obscure their subjectivity, such as in the following example from TT4. Martin & White (2005) state that Pronouncement, like Justification, construes the audience as holding a divergent viewpoint to the writer's, as the writer has to insist that the position that is advanced is true. The writer quoted below surely only feels the need to assert his stance as he thinks that there might be alternate stances held by some readers:

... *it is clear* that inequality is worsening (TT4: 10-11).

Although White (2005: 264) and Martin & White (2005: 133) make the point that expressions of high probability are dialogically expansive, and should be categorised as Entertainment, I did not code them as such in my data. Martin & White (2005) argue that a proposition such as *he must be lying* is expansive, as it construes space for alternatives in the event of the arrival of evidence that proves the claim incorrect. I agree that the use of *must* in this context is indeed Entertainment. However, in following my function-orientated approach to coding, I would argue that *must* (and, likewise, *should*) cannot be seen as Entertainment in all contexts, as it does not always expand dialogic space. The co-text must be accounted for, and the function of the utterance must be considered. Take, for example, the use of *must* in DS7 (on the next page):

²² Unisa is the University of South Africa, the country's largest university, a distance learning institution.

Students *must* check that colleges are properly registered with the Higher Education Department and do a rigorous background check (DS7: 10-11), my italics.

Here, the writer is insisting that something be done, and insisting it to a construed readership that holds divergent positions only in that they have not yet done what the writer is suggesting they do (a background check on colleges). This supports Myers' (1989, cited in Martin & White 2005: 108) suggestion that modals show that the information presented was previously "unacknowledged by the discourse community". The writer is not expanding dialogic space for alternate opinions; in fact, he is contracting it, not allowing anyone to argue that this vital process of doing a background check can go neglected. The function of the utterance here is to contract dialogic space. In this example, *must* does not indicate that there are other positions available to take on the matter – it actually strengthens the urgency and force of the argument.

Finally, in Endorsement the authorial voice is again foregrounded, but it is used to construe that the propositions of *external sources* are valid and worth supporting (White 2003; Martin & White 2005). Endorsements are doubly dialogic in that they engage with the external source's stance by referencing it and aligning with it (Bakhtin's notion of 'responding' to what has been said or written before), but also by promoting it to readers, the writer is "taking over responsibility for the proposition" (Martin & White 2005: 127), thus transferring the responsibility for 'anticipating' reader responses about the external source's claims to the writer. These resources contract the dialogic space because, by promoting the external source's stance, the writer leaves little space for divergent stances. The audience construed, however, is one that may contain disaligned readers, as the writer has believed it necessary to evaluate the source as being a trustworthy one, in case the audience did not believe this already. For example, in the extract from the data below, the writer implies that the studies in question are maximally credible by using the word *confirmed*. This shows that the writer anticipates alternate stances, but uses the Endorsement to close down the dialogic space for argument as far as possible:

Studies have *confirmed* that South Africa imports more than it can export (TT18: 29).

2.2.3 Inscribed and invoked meaning

When reading a text, readers can often note that they get a certain ‘feeling’ from it (for example, that a politician is disapproved of by the writer), but cannot point out which words convey this meaning explicitly, i.e. there is no evaluative lexis. This is because, in the words of Martin & White (2005: 62), “the selection of ideational meanings is enough to invoke evaluation, even in the absence of attitudinal lexis that tells us directly how to feel”. For example, in DS4, the writer questions what he has seen in his local community – older men letting boys drink in taverns without reprimanding them. He finds this unacceptable, and evaluates the men’s behaviour as [-Tenacity] (as they are not taking the responsibility to act on what they know is wrong). We cannot pinpoint which one word construes this Judgement, as it is the entire ideational description that invokes this meaning:

We pass young boys walking into taverns... and dismiss it as naughtiness (DS4: 6-7).

As this invoked evaluation relies on the reader’s ability to infer evaluative meaning from it, it is not always ‘picked up on’ by readers. This has (at least) two implications: firstly, that invoked meaning can be used to speak to only those groups of readers that will be able to infer the invoked evaluation from ideational meaning (see Coffin & O’Halloran 2006 and Smith & Adendorff in press, for further discussion of ‘dog-whistle journalism’). The second implication is that analysing texts becomes highly subjective, as different analysts (bringing in different background knowledge) will not be able to get exactly the same results from the coding process, and this could make APPRAISAL analysis unreliable. Martin (2003) and Martin & White (2005) note, however, that it would be unacceptable, and certainly detrimental to one’s analysis, to ignore invoked meaning. Even though a “coding nightmare” can be created when an analyst takes invoked meaning into account, “sticking to overt categories means that a great deal of the attitude implied by texts is missed” (Martin 2003: 173). Also, Martin & White (2005) add that not acknowledging invoked meaning would imply that paradigmatic ideational meanings are chosen by the writer without a thought about the interpersonal, attitudinal, meaning that they suggest – something that both the authors and I find unacceptable.

Invoked meaning is often also found in incongruent cases of Attitude, where two subsystems are activated, and it becomes necessary to double-code in order to capture both dimensions of meaning construed by the evaluation. In 2.2.2.1, however, I double-coded *sad* in a *sad state*

of affairs (TT4: 5) as inscribed [+Reaction] and inscribed [-Happiness]. The reason that I called both evaluations inscribed is that the [-Happiness] is not invoked if the analyst refers to Martin & White's types of invoked meaning, described later in this section. This example illustrates Bednarek's (2007: 125) concept of polyphony, especially 'APPRAISAL blends'. She describes polyphony as the ability of lexical items to express two APPRAISAL evaluations simultaneously. Invoked APPRAISAL is one kind of polyphony, but the *sad* example shows an Attitude blend, where two subsystems (Affect and Appreciation) are activated equally, neither more important than the other. The double-coding takes into account the emotion felt by the writer, as well as the entity that triggers that emotion. This is especially important considering the emphasis on coupling in this thesis – the bonds consist of an interpersonal and ideational component, and the double-coding in the *sad* example follows this.

It is difficult to tell exactly what the writer intends to invoke – are analysts finding invoked meaning because they are looking for it, or is it really what the writer means to construe? If considering the extremes, is it better to over-code (find meaning where it is perhaps unintended) or under-code? While many people (perhaps those who argue that APPRAISAL is not 'scientific' enough) may argue that over-coding is wrong, I would say that it is the lesser of two evils, so to speak – texts can be interpreted in a variety of different ways by people in the audience, depending on their reading of the text, so analysts who are sensitive to invoked meaning are more likely to tease out all the meanings that could be picked up on by the audience members. It is far worse, I would contend, to neglect invoked meaning, than to find more than was intended by the writer, because there is a great chance that the writer does not know all the ways that his or her text can be interpreted. Also, identifying invoked meaning shows that the analyst is not only following one perspective, i.e. not only favouring the views naturalised in the text. When coding, I took the reading position that Martin & White (2005: 62) describe as a tactical one: "a typically partial and interested reading, which aims to deploy a text for social purposes other than those it has naturalised" (see 2.2.4, page 58, for more on reading positions and subjectivity). Coding for invoked meaning shows that the analyst can see deeper than the surface meaning of a text – it means the analyst is uncovering the flecks of meaning that the writer can construe to some audience members, intended or not. It is a skilled analyst that can code for invoked meaning, since invoked meaning relies on a reading of the co-text (which could be attitudinal) to trigger further meanings. Martin (2003) urges analysts to consider the co-text when coding for evaluation, because if we ignore the co-text:

“we will never understand the function of evaluation in a culture if our studies are based, however quantitatively, on the analysis of ‘deco-textualized’ examples. It is texts that mean, through their sentences and the complex of logogenetic contingencies among them – they do not mean as a selection from, or a sum of, or worse, an average of, the meanings within the clause” (Martin 2003: 177).

It is a careful reading of the co-text that informs my coding decisions, and the function-orientated approach to coding. If an analyst were to code according to categories developed in an environment far removed from the one in question in the data, the conclusions drawn about the meaning made may be far from the truth – and an accurate analysis would be far more likely when considering the co-text, and asking ‘what is the writer achieving by saying this?’. To date, there have been no studies published which investigate the relationship between the meanings that writers intend to construe, and the meanings that APPRAISAL analysts infer from their coding, so this could be considered for future research.

Martin & White (2005) suggest three types of invoked meaning: provoked, flagged, and afforded. While the differentiation will not play a role in my analysis, as I am not looking at how the writers choose to ‘hide’ meaning, the categories helped me to identify the ways in which invoked meaning appears in a text, so they are worth explaining briefly here. Attitude can be provoked by lexical metaphors, as in the following example, where [+Valuation] of the ANC is invoked:

South Africa needs the ANC *like the body needs oxygen* (TT3: 36-37).

Graduation is used to invoke Attitudinal meaning by flagging, illustrated by the extract below:

Young girls’ potential is being *wrecked*... (DS4: 11).

Finally, Attitude can be afforded by being implied in ideational meanings. In the example from DS12 on the next page, the writer invokes [-Propriety] of some men in his community by saying that they rape women and girls:

Some take out their anger and frustration by raping innocent women and minor girls... (DS12: 4).

Ideational meaning can often seem neutral at first, and the invocation of Attitudinal meaning then relies on the co-text (as argued above), as inscribed evaluations transfer their meanings to ideational constructions. In other words, from an alignment point of view, inscribed meaning can prime readers to interpret neutral lexis as evaluative. This transfer of meaning throughout a text is called prosody, and is discussed in the next section.

2.2.4 Evaluative prosody

The term ‘prosody’ was introduced into linguistics by Firth (Hood 2010, Stewart 2010), and was originally used in phonology to account for the ability of sounds to cross segmental boundaries – the realisation of a phoneme is dependent on its surrounding sounds. This term was later extended to corpus-based studies of collocation, and was called ‘semantic prosody’. The refinement of the term refers to the way in which a word or phrase can gradually acquire positive or negative connotations as a result of being used in certain contexts of the same polarity (Stewart 2010). For example, the word *committed* has become tainted as a result of commonly preceding words that carry negative meanings, such as *crime* and *sin*. While the term ‘prosody’ as I use it in this thesis draws on similar processes, it is not identical to semantic prosody, in ways that I explain below. The interpretation of prosody that I follow is defined as the way that interpersonal meanings spread across clauses or phases of discourse, resisting “the categorical confinement or bounded-ness associated with experiential meaning” (Hood 2010: 141). To differentiate this approach from ‘semantic prosody’ and the prosody associated with phonology, I will use the term ‘evaluative prosody’.

Hunston & Thompson (1999) describe semantic prosody as occurring when a word appears together with other words that are part of a semantic set. Here, semantic prosody is the transfer of meaning from collocates to one particular word or phrase, and this can be traced by looking up every instance of that word or phrase in a corpus, and finding whether the words that occur alongside it are positive or negative. The connotations that this word acquires from continuous co-occurrence with words of a certain polarity, will stay with it, priming the reader to interpret the seemingly neutral lexis as evaluatively charged. For example, Louw (1993) notes that the expression *symptomatic of* typically occurs adjacent to something unpleasant, and the connotations that this phrase has acquired prepare the reader

for something undesirable to follow it, before the reader has even seen the proceeding word. This process of priming an audience can be summarised as follows:

“As a word is acquired through encounters with it in speech or writing, it becomes cumulatively loaded with the contexts and co-texts in which it is encountered, and our knowledge of it includes the fact that it co-occurs with certain other words in certain kinds of context” (Hoey 2005: 8).

While I agree with the idea of meaning being transferred to one or two instances of initially neutral-seeming lexis by its co-text over time, I am choosing instead to focus on the accumulation and/or change of evaluations of ideational experience over time (as represented by evaluative prosody). Macken-Horarik quotes Halliday in explaining that evaluative prosody is important as it accommodates the “‘fuzzy boundedness’ of stretches of evaluation in text”:

“The speaker’s attitudes and assessments, his judgements of validity and probability; his choice of speech function, the mode of exchange in dialogue – such things are not discrete elements that belong at some particular juncture but semantic features that inform continuous stretches of discourse. It is natural that they should be realised not segmentally but prosodically, by structures (if that term is still appropriate), that are not particulate but field-like” (Halliday 1981, cited in Macken-Horarik 2003: 313).

Evaluative prosodies are often described in terms of the spread of meaning across a text – the metaphor that seems most valid to me is Hood’s (2006: 38) reference to the “radiation” of interpersonal meaning, as evaluative meaning does not move in only one direction (backwards or forwards, up or down), as the term ‘spread’ implies, but in any one or more directions (even horizontally) simultaneously. ‘Smear’ has also been used to describe the way meaning moves across a text, but I hesitate to use this term, as (through semantic prosody) it has acquired a negative connotation, and, as this thesis is sensitive to meaning construal, I would not wish to add unintentional evaluation to the discussion of prosody.

Invoked meanings are often a result of the radiation of meaning that initiates an evaluative prosody, as discussed in 2.2.3 (see also Hood 2010: 143 for an example of how one coupling of interpersonal and ideational meaning creates a positive prosody throughout an entire paragraph). Coffin & O'Halloran (2005: 151) argue that when invoked meaning is identified, "clauses which on their own may appear evaluatively neutral or possibly ambiguous are less so from a globally dynamic point of view". But, as observed before, relying on invoked meaning creates problems for the validity of analysis, because there is the danger of the prosody not being identified, or not seeming as strong, if invoked meaning is not noticed by the analyst. Identifying invoked meaning requires a fair understanding of the context in which the text has been produced, as well as a reading of the co-text. Again I would argue that it is better to over-code for invoked meaning than to go to the other extreme of not noticing it at all, as this would be neglecting vital shades of meaning that the writer construes to the reader, whether intentionally or not. Coffin & O'Halloran (2005: 144) emphasise the role of the co-text in the coding process, and the radiation of meaning that has already occurred before the instantiation that the analyst is coding: "It is important... to consider the cumulative build-up of evaluative meaning since an earlier section of a text may affect how subsequent sections are interpreted".

Although Stewart's (2010) work involves semantic prosody, some of his insights about the analytical process apply to the tracing of evaluative prosody. He argues that it too often happens that analysts define (semantic) prosody as something that occurs diachronically, but then analyse it with synchronic data. When tracing evaluative prosody, it is likewise important to clarify what approach the analyst will take. A synchronic approach to evaluative prosody would involve taking into account the way in which both inscribed and invoked meanings are used to define a 'groove' of evaluative meaning (Coffin & O'Halloran 2006) that is used to position the reader to take the same perspective. In other words, the radiation of meaning would be monitored throughout one text. The diachronic method of analysis would attempt to trace the polarity (positive or negative) and the consistency of the evaluation of ideation, over a certain amount of time, and across a range of texts. Both approaches are valid in the case of this thesis. While coding, I took into account radiation of meaning from the co-text to inform my decisions (following the point made by Coffin & O'Halloran 2005: 144 in the paragraph above). A diachronic perspective is reflected by my graphing in 4.5 of the evaluation of ideational meaning over time, showing whether the

writers' evaluations of things that are important to their imagined communities change over the four weeks that the data set was collected.

Stewart (2010) also raises the issue of the role of intuition in the coding process, and this is something to consider, if APPRAISAL analysis is already unavoidably subjective. Coffin & O'Halloran (2005, 2006) attempt to reduce the effects of their own intuition and values by pairing their APPRAISAL analysis with one from a concordancer. The idea that personal reactions can be 'checked' with a corpus is "suspect", counters Stewart (2010: 147). He explains that it is possible that a word can have certain associations on a cognitive level, yet this may not be shown in the corpus. This is very likely to be true in the case of invoked meaning, as it is by definition not explicit. Furthermore, he argues that it could be said that intuition is prominent in corpus studies themselves, because

"no search is innocent... the moment we make a corpus search we almost unavoidably make an intuitive statement about language, or more specifically about our *expectations* of language, i.e., about what we expect to find. Intuition... [is] so vital in this respect that [it] may remote-control our investigations, and thus dictate our findings, from beginning to end" (Stewart 2010: 140), italics in original.

Analyst intuition is therefore difficult to exclude from an analysis, even with the incorporation of an 'empirical' dimension with a concordancer, as corpus searches are largely driven by intuition themselves. Despite the bad reputation that intuition has in many fields, I believe that it has an important role to play in the APPRAISAL coding process, as invoked meaning is not something that can always be fully rationalised – it is the invoked meaning (and its accumulation into an evaluative prosody) that gives the reader a 'feel' of the text, and the 'feel' is the intuitive reading of the subtle layering of meanings in a text. It is worth reinforcing, however, that any analyst's coding is merely one reading of a text, and there is a variety of possible interpretations (Martin 1995), depending on the background knowledge the reader brings to the interpretation of the text. This will determine whether the reader makes the same couplings of interpersonal and ideational meanings that the writer intends to construe to members of the relevant community. Martin & White (2005: 62) note the difference between individual and social subjectivity, where the former refers to "readers as idiosyncratic respondents", while the latter refers to "communities of readers positioned by with specific configurations of gender, generation, class, ethnicity and in/capacity". Provided

analysts declare their reading positions according to the above configurations, as well as whether they are compliant, resistant²³, or tactical readers, a person that reads the analysis should subsequently be able to understand the analyst's coding choices, and social subjectivity becomes less of a problem for APPRAISAL analysts²⁴. A tactical reading, as mentioned on page 52, serves a purpose other than the one for which the text was intended (for example, my tactical reading of this text is for linguistic purposes; I am not reading the text to align with, or receive advice from, the writers). When dealing with invoked meanings, the text must be "carefully scanned for clues about how [the writer] wants us to interpret [the text]", and these clues would be those that guide the compliant reader to align with the positions that the writer advances (Martin 1995: 32). Analyst intuition, as mentioned by Stewart (2010), seems to be more of an individual subjectivity. I would argue that the analyst's intuitive ability to identify invoked meaning is informed by social subjectivity (demographic and reading position). Analysts' personal understanding of the options in the APPRAISAL framework can differ amongst analysts from similar social backgrounds, and this could lead to different findings (for example, I have seen some analysts struggle with deciding between codings of Reaction and Valuation, or Happiness and Satisfaction, as their interpretation of these categories varies). For studies where the specific category is important (the monitoring of evaluations of [+Composition], for example), attempts should be made to have coding guidelines for the analyst (previous research, or widely-read texts such as Martin & White 2005), or have a team of analysts coding the same data. In my research, however, it is the polarity of the evaluations that is most important for tracing evaluative prosody, so if another analyst had to code my [+Valuations] as [+Reactions], for example, it would only be the description of the couplings that would be slightly affected. The overall results of the research would stay as [+Appreciation] of an entity. Complaints about the subjectivity of APPRAISAL analysis should specify which subjectivity (social or individual) is seen as problematic, but if the steps discussed above are followed, the difficulty in 'controlling' the variety of meanings in texts can be lessened.

²³ Briefly, a compliant reading of a text requires the analyst to subscribe to the stances that the writer takes (Martin & White 2005). Resistant readers oppose the meaning that is naturalised in a text.

²⁴ I have analysed the data as a young, white, middle-class South African woman. My background in journalism (specifically writing and editing) and media studies may also have sensitised me to meaning in newspaper-based texts. This is helpful when identifying meanings, seeing as I am not a member of either newspaper's dominant readership.

2.3 Affiliation through Bonds: The Coupling of the Interpersonal and Ideational

According to Knight (2010), affiliation refers to the co-construction of the identities of members of social networks, and the bonds that the community shares, and these are found by the identification of ‘couplings’ (Martin 2000). Couplings are combinations of meaning that are derived from choices from two or more system networks, and they show how members of networks negotiate the bonds they share and how they interact as members of a community within a larger culture. Martin (2004a, 2008a) argues that people bond around shared feelings towards their experiences in text, i.e. shared interpersonal meanings about ideational experiences. As discourse about a certain ideational experience unfolds, the readers are aligned around a value position by the sharing of interpersonal meaning – shared emotions (Affect), shared feelings about behaviour and the character of people involved (Judgement) and shared preferences (Appreciation) (Martin 2004a).

In this thesis, I focus on the identification of the coupling of interpersonal meaning and ideational experience, as I am attempting to uncover the process by which the communities of readership are constructed in letters pages. Although the members of these communities may not have met each other (see 2.4 for an explanation of the imagined community), they are nonetheless part of a social network, as they affiliate around bonds – they share their accounts of their emotions towards their experiences. By bringing together (coupling) their feelings about their experiences, states Knight (2010), they can negotiate their positions as members of communities with shared values, as they can give their fellow community members information (ideational meaning) while building a relationship with them (interpersonal meaning).

Text producers (letter writers, in the case of this thesis), construct their value positions by choosing from resources within the APPRAISAL system. They give their evaluation using resources of Attitude, can modify these with Graduation, and attempt to position their audience with Engagement. Ideational meaning is realised, simply speaking, by ‘what they choose to talk about’; the people, processes, things and ideas that form part of their everyday lives. For example, the writer of DS9 couples ideational meaning and interpersonal meaning – ‘institutions + [-Valuation]’:

interpersonal meaning *ideational meaning*
 ([-Propriety]) (institutions)

There are many fly-by-night institutions recruiting students... (DS7: 4).

This is further augmented by a second coupling of interpersonal meaning – Attitude + Graduation, where the evaluation of [-Propriety] given to the institutions is upscaled, so a ‘triplet’ coupling is formed:

upscaled
Number [-Propriety]

There are many fly-by-night institutions recruiting students... (DS7: 4).

Bonds are negotiated around these targets by the ways in which the writers make their coupling choices. Communities of shared bonds can be constructed on the basis of these choices. For example, a social network of linguists is created by the affiliation of the members around the bond coupling of ‘linguistics (ideational) + interesting (interpersonal)’. Further networks would, of course, exist within this network of linguists, and the differences in the couplings that bind them would differentiate them from other sub-networks (linguists who prefer the coupling ‘Hallidayan approaches + valid’ to ‘Chomskyan approaches + valid’, for instance, would form their own community, as would those that prefer the latter coupling). Thus, like-minded people co-create communities by sharing evaluations of ideation.

Each community has distinctive ways in which they combine meaning (Martin 2008b), and these couplings are the bonds that they rally around. If an ideational meaning is constantly referred to, it is clear that it is important to the community; it is something that unites them. The ties that bind a community can therefore be revealed by identifying and examining the bonds that they share – and this is done by identifying the couplings of ideational and interpersonal meanings that are selected by each writer, each member of the community, to address his or her fellow members.

2.4 Identity, Affiliation, and the Imagined Community

The term ‘imagined community’ was used by Anderson (1983: 15) to define a nation as an “imagined political community”. The term has been used elsewhere (see Steenveld & Strelitz 2010) to describe media audiences, and this is the interpretation that I adopt in this thesis. However, Anderson’s reasons for giving the imagined community its name also apply to newspapers, and they are best expressed in his own words:

“It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion... all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined... it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson 1983: 15-16), italics in original.

Anderson illustrates the idea of the imagined community by stating that although the United States of America is a nation, each citizen will never meet even a small portion of the entire population of their nation. Likewise, each citizen “has no idea of what [the other citizens] are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity” (Anderson 1983: 31). Newspapers also create imagined communities of their readerships. People around the country (or the world, now that news is accessible online) read newspapers simultaneously, in an “extraordinary mass ceremony” (Anderson 1983: 39). Very few of these readers have met, or know each other’s names, as the process of newspaper reading is a ritual “performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull,” according to Anderson (1983: 39). This ritual perspective, states Gripsrud (2008: 42), sees the media as “modern society’s communication with itself about itself”, and this encourages a feeling of community in its members – a feeling of shared values, understandings, and identity. In a series of interviews with tabloid editors in South Africa, Wasserman (2008b) observed that the editor of the *Daily Voice* sees the paper as ‘embedded in the community’.

In tabloids like the *Daily Sun*, ‘sensationalism’ is not something to be criticised, argue Steenveld & Strelitz (2010), as it is a device which allows for ordering of disorder in the lives of the readers. By reflecting the hyperlocal, that is, the everyday experience of the reader, tabloids attract a working-class readership, which the tabloid addresses as ‘us’. The

combination of these strategies helps to build an imagined community of readers who share experiences (Steenveld & Strelitz 2010) – and it is these everyday ideational experiences, and the evaluations thereof, that the community affiliates around. The imagined community co-creates its identity by a discursive construction of bonds, that is, the shared couplings of interpersonal and ideational meanings (Knight 2010). Members of the imagined community of readers can identify themselves as such by the bonds that they share with other readers. By doing this, an in-group is created, that differentiates the imagined community from an ‘other’: people who share different bonds. Jones et al. (2008: 178) support this idea of identity construction, stating that “identity marks the ways in which we are the same as others who share that position, and the ways in which we are different from those who do not”. This notion of in- and out-group identity was the focus of Achugar’s (2004: 291) study – the representation of events and their participants showed a “demonization of the Other” where the participants were put at the extremes of good and evil, which were set against each other in commentaries on the September 11 aeroplane crashes. Imagined communities have also been investigated in gangsta rap music (Caldwell 2007, 2008) and in social media (Zappavigna 2011). Caldwell (2008: 24) found that consumers of rap music affiliated through the shared feeling that the “‘dominant forces’ (who have traditionally oppressed African-Americans) should... be condemned... for their actions”. The imagined community created by gangsta rap includes people from all races (even though it is aimed at an African-American ‘political’ community) because the coupling of having the ability ([+Capacity]) to overcome dominant forces (of any kind) is a bond that can be shared by anyone who feels oppressed. Zappavigna’s (2011) research into online affiliation on the social network Twitter shows how searching on the internet is becoming a tool for community building. Instead of searching only for content, people are starting to search for what others are saying online – i.e. their evaluations of issues (Zappavigna 2011). Communities of shared value are formed online, and because of the nature of the medium, it is likely that the community members have never physically met, and may not even interact a second time, says Zappavigna (2011). Users of Twitter tag their contributions (called ‘tweets’) with a topic name. Other users can then search for these tags, and then tag their own contributions to the discussion, so their tweets can add to future search results on the same topic. For example, Zappavigna investigated a corpus of tweets that commented on Barack Obama’s US election win, and people tweeting about this event tagged their comments with ‘#obama’²⁵. Using this tag, explains Zappavigna (2011:

²⁵ The hash symbol (#) indicates that the words directly proceeding it must be interpreted as the tag for a tweet.

14), is “analogous to saying ‘If you are interested in values about Obama, search for me’”. As Twitter updates almost instantaneously, members can search for others who are interested in the things that matter to them at the time, such as current news events.

It is the ability of tabloids to establish a reader’s identity that may contribute to the decline in interest in mainstream newspapers, suggest Steenveld & Strelitz (2007). Identity is carried through the consistency in appearance and voice in tabloids; the voice in which the readers are addressed in the editorials, and in various places throughout the newspaper, is a “collective construct based on a notion of the reader, an attempt to capture *their* voice, and through that, to convey meaningful experience and engineer some sense of solidarity and community” (Tulloch 2007: 43). Conboy (2006) calls this assimilation to the readers’ vernacular ‘linguistic ventriloquism’. Language is an important part of identity construction, and adopting the language of readers immediately situates the newspaper within the imagined community.

2.5 Linguistic Ventriloquism

“... the distinctiveness of popular culture lies in its ability to combine commercial success with its rhetorical power to claim to speak in the people’s name and with their voice”
(Conboy 2002, cited in Tulloch 2007: 43).

Conboy (2006) states that tabloids are a distinctive form of Halliday’s ‘social semiotic’, in that they enable readers to “use the newspaper as a textual bridge between their own experience and the culture in which they live” by using “a range of distinctive and identifiable dialects” Conboy (2006: 11). The tabloids, therefore, assimilate to the language of their readers, allowing the newspapers to further embed themselves in the community of readers. This editorial strategy, according to Conboy (2006: 14), enables a specific readership to be targeted, and he quotes Bell (1981), who calls the language of newspapers “an exercise in audience design”. Conboy (2006) explains ‘linguistic ventriloquism’ as the tendency for tabloids to adopt the ideal reader’s variety of their language, leading to the reader feeling that they can identify with the tabloid, strengthening the ‘cohesion’ in the community. This ventriloquism is purely at a textual level, however, and I feel that this definition can be refined to be more specific to the letters page, while incorporating a more discourse semantic approach. Tabloids can use language explicitly and implicitly to promote their position, states Conboy (2006). He also suggests that the letters in the newspapers are specially selected according to a theme by the editorial staff, in order to simulate a dialogue between the

newspapers and the readers, where the newspaper's stance is promoted under the guise of readers' letters (Conboy 2006). By doing this, the newspaper can print controversial positions without being accused of bias or defamation, as the opinions appear to come from the writers, in their own 'voices'. The refined definition, aligned with this point of view, sticks closely to the imagery of ventriloquism: picture the newspaper as a ventriloquist, with the reader as a dummy on the newspaper's lap. The mouth of the reader appears to be moving, but it is the voice of the newspaper that comes out, and the topic of conversation is not determined by the dummy, but rather by the ventriloquist. In this refined version of linguistic ventriloquism, if it exists, the newspaper selects readers' words to convey the newspapers' own stance – so disaligning views will not be selected as letters of the day, as they do not reflect the identity that the newspaper wants to portray, and hence the identity that it wants the reader to have. The newspaper therefore speaks through the readers (as ventriloquists speak through their dummies) by selecting aligning viewpoints. Readers see the viewpoints as coming from fellow (imagined) community members, which gives the illusion of false cohesion (as if all members agree), as the chosen opinions are not balanced out by alternative ones. This form of linguistic ventriloquism is in itself a strategy of engagement with the reader.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has described and, where relevant, illustrated, the theory and research that informs my understanding of the concepts that underpin this thesis. Insights from the fields of linguistics (APPRAISAL, evaluative prosody, coupling, affiliation) and media studies (the imagined community, linguistic ventriloquism) have been intertwined to create a sturdy knowledge base that informs the initial analysis as well as the interpretation of the data necessary to answer the research questions. In 2.2.1, I show briefly how APPRAISAL fits into Systemic Functional Linguistic theory as a whole, and continue to outline, discuss, and exemplify the resources that the APPRAISAL framework makes available for qualitative analysis. Diagrams of the APPRAISAL subsystems of Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement are provided (Figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 respectively) so that these resources can be visualised as a system network. Although I rely heavily on the work of Martin & White (2005) to explain the APPRAISAL framework, where I diverge from their framework (or the understanding thereof), I justify my reasons for doing so, and how this approach is more appropriate to my research. Specifically, I flag the need for further research to be done on our fundamental understanding of monoglossia, heteroglossia, and dialogism, before these categories are further divided. Following on from the detailed discussion of the APPRAISAL

framework, in 2.2.3 I examine the difference between, and the role of, inscribed and invoked meaning in APPRAISAL analysis, including ways to identify it, and the problems it presents for the validity of APPRAISAL-based research. Although APPRAISAL analysis is undeniably subjective, this does not have to be seen as a bad thing. An analyst is more likely to identify all flecks of invoked meaning by over-coding data than under-coding it, where meaning that is potentially vital to explaining the true evaluations that the writer is trying to construe, is missed. Simply put, it is a good thing to be sensitive to the meaning potential that words have, as meaning could be transferred to seemingly neutral lexis by the evaluative prosody that radiates through the co-text, and ignoring this would be detrimental to a nuanced analysis that ultimately strives to reflect the writers' intentions. An overview of the 'types' of prosody is given in 2.2.4, in order to differentiate the perspective I take on prosody (evaluative prosody) in this thesis. The value of prosody is examined, including the ways in which prosody is used to align the reader, and how an evaluative prosody can radiate across a text. Next, in 2.2.5, the idea of the coupling of interpersonal meaning and ideational experience is introduced. These couplings are linguistic evidence of bonds, shared values that people affiliate around to form communities. Bonds allow members of communities to identify their fellow community members, and they are used to co-construct the dynamic identities of these communities. Section 2.2.6 relates the linguistic concepts of affiliation and community to the media studies theory that describes newspaper readers as an 'imagined community', involved in a daily ritual of media consumption, when they know that they are carrying out this process at the same time as other community members (whose names and identities are unknown to each other). Other recent linguistic studies of community in the media are used to illustrate how affiliation with certain couplings can create an imagined community of an audience. Conboy's (2006) statement that newspapers rely on the imitation of the readers' vernacular to assimilate themselves into the imagined community of their readers is highlighted – Conboy calls this 'linguistic ventriloquism'. However, I feel that this term can be refined to account for the theory that newspapers use the voices (the actual words) of their readers in letters to the editor to promote the newspapers' own stances (which could be controversial if they were to come straight from the newspaper, in an editorial, for example). This refined definition of linguistic ventriloquism is tested for its validity by the research questions that were set out in the previous chapter. Chapter 3 explains the trajectory of the research process, from the selection of the data, to the data analysis, and finally, the interpretation.

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CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the combination of methods used in this research: the collection of the data set, the conventions used to classify evaluations in the letters from the *Daily Sun* and *The Times*, and how the letters were analysed in order to obtain the findings that are presented in Chapter 4. The Evaluation Index, which is used in Chapter 4 to show the polarity and strength of the interpersonal component of the bonds negotiated by the newspapers' communities of readership, is also explained. The resulting Evaluation Index scores were used to compile graphical representations of the evaluations, tracing their evaluative prosody over the month of data collection. The evaluative prosody, in turn, was used as an indicator of the absence or presence of linguistic ventriloquism, the definition of which was refined in Chapter 2.

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Selection of the newspapers

The *Daily Sun* was an obvious candidate for research into the construction of imagined communities in newspapers. Not only does it have over five million readers (thus, as indicated in Chapter 1, the country's biggest newspaper readership community), but it represents the tabloid genre in South Africa, which has not been investigated by Systemic Functional linguists, who have the resources to provide empirical evidence for the work done by media studies scholars. The added benefit of collecting data from the *Daily Sun* is that, while I am not a member of its target audience, I have worked with the newspaper in media studies classes, so the newspaper's style is not new to me. This familiarity with the tabloid gets me as close as possible to being a member of the community, without thinking of the writers' views as commonsensical. This means that I could code with sensitivity to the writers' utterances, but still be removed from what is naturalised in the text, which is important, otherwise possible invoked meanings may have gone unnoticed. Of course, I cannot claim to have identified every meaning that the texts inscribe and invoke, as there will be several, depending on who reads it.

Because the *Daily Sun* was condemned by mainstream journalists, whose publications are aimed at a more middle-class audience, I decided to compare the community of readership of

a mainstream newspaper to that of the *Daily Sun*. Having read the *Daily Sun* on numerous occasions before, I knew that the winning letters often reflect hyperlocal issues that affect the community, or general advice to the readership. I could not help but wonder whether the criticism of the *Daily Sun* is justified. The sensationalist style of the tabloid newspaper is very different from that of mainstream newspapers, but are the newspapers' readers as different? Surely readers of mainstream newspapers also care about the state of their children's schools, and the way their government operates. For comparison with the *Daily Sun*, the mainstream newspaper that I collected letters from had to be one that is published daily, nationally. The newspaper that fitted this profile, as well as being the offshoot of a popular weekly newspaper, the *Sunday Times*, was *The Times*. The *Sowetan* is another national daily, but it is seen as the *Daily Sun*'s competition, also aimed at an English-literate black audience. I thought it of more value to collect data from a newspaper that is not already too similar to the *Daily Sun*, because it is likely that the imagined communities will already have much in common. South Africa's other national daily, *Business Day*, has a business focus, so was not chosen for the data set as the letters would have had a bias towards economic issues.

3.2.2 Selection of the letters

The *Daily Sun* publishes a page filled with readers' letters every day. From those published, one is selected as 'letter of the day'. The writer wins R100, and the letter is displayed prominently in the middle of the page with a thick border (see Figure 3.1 on the next page for an example). The editor also gives a short response to the letter of the day, often saying, "Wise words," or something similar, about the writer's views. *The Times*, in contrast, does not explicitly condone (or condemn) the views in any of the letters on its opinion page. To identify a 'letter of the day' for comparative purposes, I chose the letter that is most prominently displayed on *The Times*' Opinion and Letters page. This is usually the letter that is accompanied by a photo, or the only letter that appears between the briefs (shortened letters) and the editorial cartoon (see Figure 3.2 on page 69 for an example taken from the data). The criterion of prominence on the page was thus kept constant for both newspapers. The data set consists of 40 letters to the editors of the *Daily Sun* and *The Times*. As these newspapers do not appear on weekends, the 20 letters from each newspaper were collected every weekday for one month, over the period 9 January to 3 February 2012. The number of letters collected was an effort to balance the need to have a corpus that was small enough to do an intensive APPRAISAL analysis (which is very time-consuming), and the need to have a corpus big enough that any prosody identified over time would be discernible and reliable.

Forty letters may not provide watertight evidence for or against linguistic ventriloquism, but I believe it enough to show a convincing representative trend. This data would, at least, give an indication of whether the idea of linguistic ventriloquism is worth following up with future research.

SELF-BELIEF WILL SPELL SUCCESS!

THERE'S no limit to the success you can achieve throughout your life. Don't set boundaries for yourself because those boundaries will defer your progress.

No mountain is too high if your success is at the top or on the other side of it.

The most important tool to realise your dreams is believing in yourself. Believe in what you want to do and believe you can achieve things even other people never thought you were able to.

Inspire yourself by looking back at your background and look where you want to go.

This Letter of the Day WINS R100 WELL DONE!

Imagine yourself up there. Dream and plan how to get to those dreams.

Believe your dreams are achievable and put in the hard work to ensure you live them. Let the failures and successes of others motivate you. Your positive mindset can open up things for you.

Work hard for success. Be a go-getter.

■ *Godfrey Malibe*
Acornhoek

■ Inspiring words, Mr Malibe! This letter wins R100. Call Nthabiseng at our offices to collect. – Editor

Figure 3.1 Most prominently displayed letter in the *Daily Sun*, 13 January 2012

The letters were not collected from the first week of January, to avoid bias in terms of the content of the letters, for example, New Year's resolutions, or comments about matric²⁶ results. Letters were re-typed from print versions of the newspapers, and the lines numbered for ease of reference. Most of the formatting from the original letters has been retained for authenticity, including typographical errors. The letters appear in this format in Appendices A and B.

²⁶ Matric (more formally, Grade 12) is the final year of high school in South Africa.

Happy centenary, ANC, but there's still lots to do

A HUNDRED years of existence as a political organisation is worth celebrating.

The ANC turned 100 on January 8.

The centenary celebration was held where the liberation movement was formed — in Mangaung, Free State. Many people, including heads of state and former presidents, descended on Mangaung to celebrate with the oldest liberation movement on the continent.

In an unprecedented move, the ruling party broke away from its traditional practice and allowed only President Jacob Zuma to speak. There is a school of thought that this was done to avoid the president being embarrassed by the party's youth league, though the ruling party has denied this.

Despite its many challenges, the ANC has many reasons to celebrate its centenary. It has played a pivotal role in the struggle against the evil of apartheid. Though it was not the only liberation movement, it has played a leading role in helping to free the country.

The ruling party has also produced great leaders such as Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, to name but three. And it is expected to produce more extraordinary leaders.



SONG AND DANCE MAN: President Jacob Zuma visited Botsabelo, Bloemfontein, ahead of the ANC centenary celebration in Mangaung and sang his trademark song 'Umshini wam' Picture: SIMPHIWE NKWALI

Challenges faced by the movement are different to those of yesterday. Chief among the myriad challenges confronting the ruling party today is corruption, which is eating away at the soul of the nation, and the liberation movement has admitted as

much.

The pertinent question is: has Zuma's party delivered on its promises? The answer is a resounding "no". A lot still needs to be done to liberate the masses from the shackles of poverty. That said, the masses still have confidence in

the ANC that it will take them to the promised land.

The ruling party has seen it all and survived the storms. It is a giant movement and an "international inspiration", as Nicolas Sarkozy described it. Happy 100 years, ANC!

— Thabile Mange

Figure 3.2 Most prominently displayed letter in *The Times*, 9 January 2012

3.2.3 The validity of the data

While the letters page is the most obvious place to find the 'voices' of the readers, it must be noted that the letters page, like all sections of newspapers, is mediated, as I indicated in 1.1. Newspapers reserve the right to edit any letters that they receive, whether for length, spelling or grammar. Sub-editors also write headlines for the letters based on what they think is the main point raised in the letter. The influence of editors on letters must be acknowledged, as this means that the letters are not 'pure'; they are not necessarily the originals that the newspaper received from their readers. Many of *The Times*' readers, and the vast majority of the *Daily Sun*'s readers, have English as their L2, so their original letters may have contained L2-influenced English structures that editors would 'correct' for the prescriptive style of the newspapers. I suspect that the *Daily Sun*'s letters would have been edited more in this respect, as many South African public schools (where the readers would presumably have

been educated) have English teachers who are not L1 English speakers themselves, according to Nel & Müller (2010). While *The Times* allows its most prominent letter to be longer than the *Daily Sun*'s, both newspapers' letters' content could have been edited to reflect a summary of the writers' views. In my (limited) experience of sub-editing letters for local newspapers in two different towns, I was instructed to 'clean up' the grammar and spelling, and seldom cut content from the letters unless it was tautological. The two newspapers in this research, however, have limited space for their most prominent letter, so I surmise that the data set has been mediated to a certain extent. The reason this data remains valid as readers' views is that I am interested in extracting the *meaning* from the data, and, as explained in Chapter 2, APPRAISAL operates at the discourse semantic level, which does not focus on lexicogrammatical choices per se. Even though changes in structure are alterations of the original letters, this will not greatly affect my analysis of the evaluations in the data. Shortening letters is more problematic, but data collected from any form of media is, by nature, mediated, and this forms part of how the newspaper represents its readership. I believe that the letters still reflect the main views of the writers, and this can be captured by APPRAISAL analysis, despite the editing that has occurred.

3.3 Coding the Data

After identifying the instantiations of APPRAISAL in the data, using the framework suggested by Martin & White (2005), as defined and explained in Chapter 2, I recorded them in tables according to the subsystems of Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement. The format is presented in the subsections below, as is a note on analyst intuition (3.3.4), and the role it plays in APPRAISAL analysis in general, and how I made decisions where coding with the APPRAISAL framework was problematic. The full coding tables can be found in Appendices C and D.

3.3.1 The Attitude table

The table contains nine columns (see Figure 3.3 for a sample), based on the format derived by Marshall (2009) from Droga & Humphrey and Martin & White. The sample in Figure 3.3 also shows my conventions for double-coded evaluations: the two codings are recorded on separate lines, with the second one being marked (*double-coding*) in the 'Instantiation' column.

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	Filthy	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Joburg CBD
	shame	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Joburg CBD
	(double-coding)		Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings about Joburg CBD

Figure 3.3 A sample of the Attitude coding table

The first column is to record line numbers, so that the reader can match the coding of the instantiation to its original position in the data. Column two shows the instantiations exactly as they appear in the letters, so that the reader does not have to refer to the original data constantly, unless wanting to examine the co-text. The person or entity that provides the evaluation is recorded in the next column. The names in this column will change in the event that the writer refers to an evaluation made by an external voice (an Acknowledgement or Distancing). Each of the Attitude subsystems has its own column under which the instantiations are classified, followed by a column for the polarity of the evaluation. Having separate columns for the subsystems and their polarity allows analysts to visualise whether there is a dominant pattern (of Judgement, for example), or, depending on the focus of the research, whether there is a dominant positive or negative slant. The next column records whether the evaluation is inscribed or invoked (inscribed and invoked meanings had different scores in the Evaluation Index, so isolating this column made it easy to count the occurrences of these), and the final column shows what is being appraised. The ‘Appraised’ column is particularly useful, as it is necessary to differentiate between the ways the subsystems are used (for example, in TT3, [-Composition] was used to evaluate the ANC and Zuma’s speech in different parts of the letter. Saying “[Composition] occurred twice in this letter” would be ignoring the nuances of meaning that APPRAISAL allows Systemic Functional linguists to identify and explore). The ‘Appraised’ column also allows for the recording of the different entities being evaluated when an instantiation has been double-coded, as in Figure 3.3, where the evaluation refers to the Johannesburg CBD, as well as the emotion felt by the appraiser because of the appearance of the CBD. This reinforces the point made by Martin & White (2005) that the emotion and the entity that triggers this emotion should be recognised. I have only double-coded, never triple- or quadruple-coded. The first reason for this is that I never found it necessary, as I did not feel that any evaluations evaluated more than two things (as in the emotion-entity double-coding mentioned above). The other reason is that, where there were two or more evaluations in the same clause complex, I separated them onto different lines in the tables so that there was never an instance of trying to triple-code a clause where it

is possible to code the lexical items separately. The following example from TT6, lines 4-5, illustrates this (instantiations in *italics*), with my coded version in Figure 3.4:

A combination of *greed, negligence, incompetence, disorganisation* and *flaws* in UJ's admission process is to blame.

4	greed	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	UJ
	negligence	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	UJ
	incompetence	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	UJ
	disorganisation	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	UJ
	flaws	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	UJ's admission process

Figure 3.4 Coding of multiple instantiations of Attitude in one noun phrase

Other analysts may have chosen to do the same, but call it ‘quintuple-coding’ within the same phrase. Saying that something can be coded so many times, however, misses the point of having a framework with which to classify utterances. Where are the boundaries? The usefulness of the framework breaks down when an analyst attempts to apply all the categories to one evaluation. It is good to be sensitive to multiple, nuanced, meanings in an evaluation (and it is likely that, for example, there is a degree of [+Happiness] when a person feels [+Security] or [+Satisfaction]) but I believe it impractical and counter-productive to code for more than two APPRAISAL categories.

3.3.2 The Graduation table

The table that records Graduation coding has a similar layout to the Attitude one. Aside from the area that shows the Graduation strategies, this table has space to include the Attitudinal meaning that it modifies (see Figure 3.5). This allows the analyst to see the relationship between the two systems: which Attitudinal evaluations are being modified to make the writer's argument stronger, and carry the evaluative prosody through the text. It also avoids the inconvenience of having to flip back to the Attitude table to see where the two systems intersect and work together. Like the Attitude table, the Graduation table has columns for the line number and the instantiation, so that the reader can locate the Graduation in the original text, if desired. The Graduation subsystems each have a column, to classify the instantiation as either Force: Quantification/Intensification, and the type of each; or Focus: Sharpened/Softened. As with the Attitude table, this makes the patterns of strategies more visible, so the analyst and reader can tell which strategies are dominant. The

‘Upscaled/Downscaled’ column applies to Force, as Focus refers to meanings that can only be Sharpened (made more precise) or Softened (made less precise).

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	terribly		Quality		Upscaled	-	Satisfaction	Feelings about world
3	monsters		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Men

Figure 3.5 A sample of the Graduation coding table

There were no instances of double-coding in terms of Graduation, because the borders of the Graduation categories are much more defined than those of Attitude. Graduation is quite easily identifiable (I was guided by the work of Martin & White 2005, as explained in 2.2.2.2), but instantiations such as the following, from TT1, lines 5-6 (Graduation strategies italicised), may lead to different approaches from other analysts, who prefer coding entire clause complexes as single instantiations:

Many people, including *heads of state and former presidents*, descended on Mangaung to celebrate with the *oldest* liberation movement *on the continent*.

If an analyst put this clause complex on one line of the coding table, the four Graduation strategies that are used by the writer may be seen as ‘quadruple-coding’. However, keeping one line for each strategy seems more logical to me, because the correlations between the instantiations and the coding thereof are easier to see. My coding for this clause complex is shown in Figure 3.6, and this approach is the reason I would argue that there is no double-coding in Graduation.

5	Many	Number			Upscaled			
	<i>heads of state and former presidents</i>	Presence			Upscaled			
6	<i>oldest</i>	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Valuation	ANC
	<i>on the continent</i>	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	+	Valuation	ANC

Figure 3.6 Coding of multiple instantiations of Graduation in one clause complex

An area of Graduation that was slightly difficult was the coding of capitalisation and punctuation. For example, compare the following:

Education IS key to success (DS11: 16);

and

A HUNDRED years of existence as a political organisation is worth celebrating (TT1: 2).

In both utterances, capital letters are used. In the DS11 example, the *IS* shows that the writer is emphasising, or insisting, that education brings success. I made the decision to code it as an upscaled Quality of [+Valuation] (with *education* being the ideational meaning evaluated). The capitals in the TT1 example, however, are stylistic. As noted in Chapter 1, newspapers often capitalise the first word (or two) of a text. Thus, while *hundred* was coded as upscaled Number, the capitalisation was not regarded as an APPRAISAL strategy. Exclamation marks could also be seen as Graduation strategies, but I decided to also disregard them, as they only appeared in the *Daily Sun*'s letters. It seems fairly obvious that they are also stylistic, and may not have been in the original letters. A glance at the front page of any tabloid (see Figure 1.1) would support this argument, as almost every headline (space permitting) is followed by an exclamation mark. Other troublesome codings of Graduation strategies are presented in the next chapter, in Section 4.6.2, as the decisions that I made led to thoughts on the relationship between the Graduation and Engagement systems. These decisions helped to answer Research Question 5, so it seemed more appropriate to discuss these in the Findings chapter, and avoid repetition.

3.3.3 The Engagement table

As with the Graduation table, the Engagement table includes not only an area for recording the coding of its own system resources, but also an area for identifying the Attitudinal meaning which is affected by the Engagement strategies (see Figure 3.7). This additional Attitudinal section, as with the Graduation table, reflects that the meanings coded in the tables do not occur in isolation – the three subsystems are at work simultaneously, carrying the prosody of evaluation through the text. It could be argued that it would be most beneficial for Graduation strategies to be added to the Engagement table alongside Attitude (especially

in light of their relationship that is identified in 4.6.2), but Attitude is the system that forms the foundation of the meaning carried in the text, as well as the focus of this thesis, because it forms the interpersonal component of the bonds negotiated by the community of readership. It is for these reasons that it is chosen over Graduation to be included in the Engagement table.

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim Pronounce	Entertain	Attribute	+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	must	Writer						+	Reaction	Thuli Madonsela
2-3	bringing back credibility to the office of the Public Protector	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	Thuli Madonsela

Figure 3.7 A sample of the Engagement coding table

Like the other two tables, the Engagement table provides columns for the line number in question, and the instantiation that the analyst has identified. Because the person that is negotiating the dialogic space is important, a ‘Voice’ column has been included. This is in accordance with the term ‘dialogic voice’ that is used in Engagement theory, and it also allows the analyst to show when the voice has been changed in the text (for example, when using an Acknowledging or Distancing strategy, it is necessary to see whose words are being used to support an argument, or whose words are rejected by the author). The next three main columns show options for monoglossia, heteroglossic contraction, and heteroglossic expansion of dialogic space. Contraction is further subdivided into Disclaim and Proclaim, and Expansion is divided into Entertain and Attribute. As with the Attitude and Graduation tables, the division of these systems allows the analyst to observe the distribution of the strategies that the writers employ.

I did not double-code any Engagement strategies, as it was usually clear which categories they belonged to. As with the other systems, if analysts code an entire clause complex as one instantiation, they are likely to think that double-coding does occur, because it is common for more than one Engagement strategy to appear in a clause complex (especially Concede-Counter pairs, as shown in the example below, from DS2, lines 6-8:

It goes without saying that, being older, one is bound to know a bit more, but that does not mean one is always right...

However, I believe that strategies should be separated onto different lines in the coding table, so that their codings are clearly linked to them. The term ‘double-coding’ would be unambiguous if it was taken to mean that one instantiation has more than one coding, and the instantiation is not a full clause complex. My coding of the DS2 example appears in Figure 3.8.

6-7	It goes without saying that	Writer			Concede	
7	but	Writer		Counter		
	not	Writer		Deny		

Figure 3.8 Coding of multiple instantiations of Engagement in one clause complex

Most instantiations were similar to the examples from Martin & White (2005), so my coding was guided by these. Some tricky examples, as mentioned earlier, highlighted a different side to the relationship between Graduation and Engagement, and some reinforced the argument that Acknowledgement contracts, not expands, dialogic space, and these are presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.6.

3.3.4 The role of analyst intuition in the coding process

In her discussion of Attitude coding, Hunston notes the following when referring to sample analyses by Martin & White (2005):

“Inevitably, though, there is considerable subjectivity involved in allocating a given expression to one or other category, and there might be some dispute over whether a particular phrase construes ‘unhappiness’ or ‘dissatisfaction’, for example. Martin (2000) makes it clear that what he offers is a ‘reading’ (open to debate) rather than an ‘analysis’ (a definitive account). What the exhaustive taxonomy does provide, however, is a sense of the very wide expanse of meaning covered by the term ‘attitude’. Even if the various distinctions cannot be nailed down to everyone’s satisfaction, the attempt to do so gives a sense of the very wide scope covered by the notion of evaluative language” (Hunston 2011: 21).

Texts are polysemous. Each person has lived through a different combination of circumstances, events, and experiences. Putting these together makes for an unpredictable union – people with different background knowledge are going to get different meanings from a text. For this reason, it is unlikely that any two APPRAISAL analyses will be exactly the same. In terms of individual subjectivity (or intuition: see 2.2.4, page 57), analysts must not only identify where the evaluations lie, but also decide which of the APPRAISAL categories are activated as a result. As I argued in Chapter 2, in APPRAISAL it is vital to be able to pick up both inscribed and invoked meanings, otherwise the analyst runs the risk of losing the thread of the evaluative prosody that runs through the text. For the sake of getting results, however, coding decisions cannot be continuously agonised over, and decisions have to be made, and these are determined by what the analyst sees as evaluative, and the trends of evaluation that have been identified up to that point. Corpus linguistic research methods have been seen as a way to reduce the individual subjectivity that is involved in APPRAISAL analysis (for example, Coffin & O'Halloran 2005, 2006) but Stewart (2010) has argued against this (see 2.2.4), saying that intuition also plays a large role in corpus searches. Where social subjectivity is concerned, analysts should follow the example of Martin (2000) as described by Hunston (2011) above, and acknowledge that what we call 'analyses' are interpretations by one person, from one age group, race, and stratum in society, at a particular moment, with a set of beliefs and norms that can differ from those of others (as stated in 3.2.1, I analysed the data as a young, white, middle-class South African²⁷ woman). I have adopted a tactical reading position (as described in 2.2.4, page 58), which follows the 'clues' of inscribed and invoked meaning that the writer gives in the co-text about how the text should be interpreted. The declaration of a reading position limits the polysemy of the text.

My coding has been informed by the guidelines provided by Martin & White (2005), Martin & Rose (2007), White & Don (2012), and my understanding of the categories they describe (explained in 2.2.2). It could also be said that keeping one's coding of the same evaluations constant is a good way to regulate it, but this is not the approach I followed. I have already mentioned my function-orientated coding approach in Chapter 2, but here I will provide another example of why it is important not to code according to form. What this means is that not every instance of the same evaluation will construe the same meaning, because

²⁷ I have declared my nationality because a young, white, middle-class woman from another country would not have the same hands-on knowledge of the *Daily Sun* and *The Times*, and therefore may not interpret the data as I have.

APPRAISAL involves meanings as they are construed in a *text*, not in isolation. Instead of looking at the form of a lexical item (for example ‘good’) and deciding to code it as, say, [+Reaction] every time, so that not too much subjectivity is involved, the analyst needs to consider the co-text, and what is being evaluated, in order to categorise it properly. *What is the function of the evaluation*, is what I asked throughout the coding process. The evaluation *good* appears twice in the *Daily Sun* data:

... it was a *good* environment to grow up in (DS8: 3).

True leaders are not only commanders, they are also *good* listeners (DS15: 7).

In the DS8 example, the environment is being evaluated. I evaluated it as [+Reaction], as it is the evaluation of the quality of an entity. An analyst who was coding by form may code *good* in DS15 as the same, in an attempt to keep their coding consistent. But in DS15, I coded the evaluation as [+Propriety], because being able to listen is a behavioural trait of true leaders. Not only do they have the ability to listen, but they are good at it. The function of this utterance is to evaluate the behaviour of true leaders, even though the form of it is the same as the DS8 example. The form/function distinction has also been used in 2.2.2.3.3, where I argue that modals *must* and *should* are sometimes contractive, not always expansive, as White (2003) states (and reinforced in personal communication, 2012). Although I have used my intuition to code these instantiations, the decisions are informed by consideration of the *function* of the instantiations, of *what* they evaluate, and what *effect* they have on the reader-writer relationship and the dialogic space construed in any particular instance.

3.4 Analysis of the Data

3.4.1 Identifying the imagined communities’ bonds

Once the data was coded, the first step to answering the research questions was to find what is important to the letter writers, that is, the ideational meanings that their evaluations are most often coupled with. I was initially unsure whether to look for the same ideational meanings in both newspaper corpora, so that a comparison could be done, or simply to find what was most important to both sets of readers, similar or not. I ran my data through a concordancer (AntConc3.2.4w) to generate frequency lists and keyword lists. Frequency lists show which lexical items appear most frequently in the data, and, according to Baker (2006), show analysts the points of focus of the corpus. The frequency lists generated by the

concordancer are reproduced in Appendix E (List E1 for the *Daily Sun* and E2 for *The Times*). The results from these lists gave me an indication of the priorities of the writers. A preliminary manual grouping of these results pointed to the following topics: youth, education, government and crime in the *Daily Sun*; and politics, education, business/economy for *The Times*. This list merely gives the frequency of words in the data set, however. To find out which words are most *salient* in a corpus, one list of words can be compared with another (Baker 2006). This will give a list of keywords – those which are key to the text, which appear in the *Daily Sun* corpus more frequently than in *The Times* corpus and vice versa. To generate a list of keywords, a concordancer does a log-likelihood (LL) test, which generates a log-likelihood score. This gives each word a probability (p) value between 0 and 1. When the p value is close to 0, the difference between the frequencies of a word used in the two corpora is significant statistically. A p value close to 1 is an indication that the difference is due to chance (McEnery et al. 2006). Usually, anything with a p value of 0.05 is significant (Baker 2006), as it reflects 95% confidence that the word does not occur due to chance. To achieve at least 95% confidence, the LL score of a word should be over 3.83 (McEnery et al. 2006). The keyness lists showing the words that are most salient to each newspaper corpus can also be found in Appendix E (Lists E3 and E4). I decided to set the LL ‘cut-off’ score as 3.9, ensuring that any words with a score higher than this would be significant. In accordance with my preliminary identification of topics, in the *Daily Sun*, *young* had the second highest LL score of the corpus (27.046), *corruption* (which relates to government and crime) had a score of 9.138, and words relating to education also had significant LL scores (*tertiary* – 6.761, *colleges* – 4.794). Other salient words linked to government were *leaders* (4.623), *constitutional* (4.508), *corrupt* (4.508), and *politicians* (4.508). The significant words in *The Times* that related to my preliminary semantic groupings were: *movement* (the ANC – 10.965), *ANC* (9.735), *entrepreneurship* (9.399) and *entrepreneurs* (6.266), *UJ* and *university* (9.399), *schools* (7.832), *Zuma* (7.179), *Malema* (7.049), *economic* (5.483), *parliament* (5.483), *politics* (4.699), *student* (4.699), *academic* (3.916), *centenary* (of the ANC – 3.916). With these results in mind, I decided to investigate further the main APPRAISAL strategies surrounding youth, education, and government in the *Daily Sun*. I discarded the crime topic, as much of the crime that was mentioned in the letters had to do with the government being corrupt. *The Times* readers’ main issues were more difficult to cut down, but I thought it best to keep the number of issues down to three, to be equal to those of the *Daily Sun*, and also because I would rather do an intensive exploration of three issues than a superficial one of more than three. Education seemed a very salient topic in *The Times*, as it did in the *Daily*

Sun. This was the first issue I chose to investigate, as it would be interesting to compare the perspectives of the readers of the two newspapers. Politics was also very significant in the letters, but I chose to separate *ANC* and *Zuma* instantiations to complete my list of reader issues, as these were the next most salient words identified in *The Times*. The business/economy topic that I originally identified was discarded, because it appeared in very few letters.

3.4.2 The Evaluation Index

After identifying the three main ideations mentioned by the readers in each newspaper (a summary: *Daily Sun* – youth, education, government; *The Times* – ANC, education, Zuma), I highlighted the mentions of these ideations and their related words in the ‘Appraised’ columns of the Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement coding tables. To find a score of the overall polarity (positive or negative) and strength of the evaluative component of the bonds negotiated by the community of readership, I had to allocate each APPRAISAL strategy a number. While the types of APPRAISAL are explained in more detail in 4.2 and 4.3, the Evaluative Index scores had to be established to codify the ‘feeling’ (about each topic) that a reader is left with after reading the text. The scores were also graphed to visualise the evaluative prosody that runs through the texts over time. The shapes of these graphs were used to infer whether linguistic ventriloquism was present in the two newspapers’ letters (see 3.4.3). For Attitudinal meanings, inscribed meanings got a score of two points, while invoked meanings got one point. Whether this is an accurate representation of the ‘value’ of the meanings is debatable, but my reason for allocating these values is that inscribed meanings are, by definition, more overt than invoked ones, so would be easier for any reader to pick up, thus being more ‘prominent’ in a text, and giving the prosody a strong push through the context. This is not to say that invoked meanings are any less powerful in aligning the reader, but they are not as likely to be noticed by the reader as inscribed meaning is, given that they often rely on background knowledge that not all readers will have. It could also be argued that the numbers I have chosen are not ideal because it is possible that invoked meanings are not all equally powerful in aligning the reader, and likewise inscribed meanings may have different strengths. The allocation of values to evaluations is a slippery concept, I admit, and I think it will never become any less complex, given that meanings are not always noticed by all members of the readership, and they have different ways of promoting a stance to the reader. To get a basic idea of the spread of evaluative prosody over time, however, the assignment of a number to each instantiation was necessary, and, while I do not claim that they are a

faultless way of doing this, these values served the purpose well for this research. Each Graduation instantiation also received a score of one point, as did each Engagement strategy. The reason I did not allocate two points to each of these systems is that Attitude is the foundation system through which the main bonds are realised. Graduation and Engagement can work alone, but they most often couple with Attitude strategies. The polarity of the scores that the strategies were allocated match the polarity of the Attitudinal evaluation that they modify. The example from DS1 below was scored as follows: *sterling* is an inscribed [+Valuation], earning +2 points. *Sterling* is also Graduation (upscaling), earning a further +1. The utterance is monoglossic, allowing no alternative arguments and therefore strengthening the [+Valuation], earning +1. The total score for the example would be +4.

Last year she did sterling work... (DS1: 4).

If the writer had said *terrible work*, the evaluation would have been one of [-Valuation], so the score for Attitude would have been -2. *Terrible* is an upscaled evaluation, so strengthening a negative evaluation earns further negative points (-1). Likewise, a monoglossic utterance containing a negative utterance allows no space for alternate stances, so the [-Valuation] is made more powerful (another -1). Entertaining an utterance earns a point of a polarity opposite to that of the Attitudinal evaluation (for example, if the DS1 writer had said *She claimed to have done sterling work*, the Distancing strategy would make the [+Valuation] less powerful, earning it -1 points; Distancing a [-Valuation] such as *terrible* would earn +1 points). The same would occur with downscaling, where the evaluation is made less forceful. The results of the Evaluative Index scoring are shown in Table 3.1 (*Daily Sun*) and Table 3.2 (*The Times*). The following section explains the next steps that I took with the Evaluative Index scores.

3.4.3 Tracing evaluative prosody in the data

To answer Research Question 4, it was necessary to trace the evaluative prosody (as defined in 2.2.4) that runs through the letters over the month that they appeared in their respective newspapers. The question asks what kind of evaluative prosody can be identified in the letters, and what this means for the refined definition of linguistic ventriloquism (see 2.5). Following the lead of Hood & Forey (2008), who graphed the prosody of caller interaction with a stacked area graph, I thought that the best way to visualise the prosody as it weaves through the text is a line graph. Using a bar graph would imply that the letters are discrete

entities, as each letter would have its own bar, whereas prosody is a continuous thread of evaluation, better reflected by the line graph, where the line never breaks. An asymmetrical prosody graph (one that shows mostly positive peaks or mostly negative troughs) lends credibility to the idea that newspapers do favour certain couplings, certain interpersonal evaluations of entities, that appear in letters. A more symmetrical prosody graph would show that the newspapers publish a more balanced selection of letters, and so appear neutral, not favouring any evaluation of an entity.

Table 3.1 Evaluation Index scores for the *Daily Sun* letters

Daily Sun																					
	government							youth							education						
	Att		Grad		Eng		Total	Att		Grad		Eng		Total	Att		Grad		Eng		Total
	+	-	+	-	+	-		+	-	+	-	+	-		+	-	+	-	+	-	
DS1	0	2	0	1	0	0	-3														
DS2								4	5	3	0	1	2	1							
DS3																					
DS4								2	5	0	1	0	1	-5							
DS5																					
DS6	0	13	0	4	0	2	-19														
DS7															3	12	0	2	1	2	
DS8																					
DS9								0	2	0	0	0	2	-4	3	0	0	0	1	0	
DS10	0	1	0	0	0	1	-2														
DS11								6	2	0	1	0	2	1	6	0	2	0	2	0	
DS12																					
DS13								0	7	0	0	0	4	-11	0	5	0	0	0	3	
DS14	0	1	0	0	0	3	-4														
DS15	0	10	0	3	0	7	-20														
DS16	0	4	0	2	0	5	-11														
DS17	0	1	0	0	0	1	-2														
DS18																					
DS19	2	0	0	0	1	0	3														
DS20																					

Evaluative prosody did not only come into play diachronically, that is, over time (the period of data collection), but also synchronically. The prosody of evaluation that was woven through each text helped me to make coding decisions, based on evaluations that had come before, in the co-text. This was especially useful for identifying invoked meaning, which could have been seen as neutral if the prosody had not diffused through the text. For example,

I coded the utterance below as [-Reaction] on the part of the writer, because the previous evaluations (*curse*, *deception*, *burden*) were all negative, showing that the writer believes that the generation gap widening is a daunting prospect:

The generation gap... continues to widen as a result of these beliefs (DS2: 5).

Table 3.2 Evaluation Index scores for *The Times* letters

The Times																					
	ANC							education							Zuma						
	Att		Grad		Eng		Total	Att		Grad		Eng		Total	Att		Grad		Eng		Total
	+	-	+	-	+	-		+	-	+	-	+	-		+	-	+	-	+	-	
TT1	11	1	6	1	8	2	21								0	1	0	1	0	2	-4
TT2																					
TT3	5	1	2	0	3	1	8								0	23	0	3	0	8	-34
TT4								2	11	0	1	1	5	-14							
TT5																					
TT6								3	23	0	3	3	11	-31							
TT7																					
TT8																					
TT9															0	11	0	2	0	6	-19
TT10																					
TT11								0	8	0	3	0	2	-13							
TT12	8	0	1	0	3	0	12														
TT13								0	12	0	3	0	8	-23							
TT14																					
TT15								0	7	0	4	0	4	-15							
TT16	6	0	0	0	1	0	7														
TT17	2	1	2	0	1	1	3														
TT18																					
TT19																					
TT20	1	3	0	0	3	0	1														

If the previous evaluations in the co-text had been absent, I doubt that I would have coded this line as an evaluation, but the negativity of *curse*, *deception*, and *burden* led me to see that there was sentiment behind the utterance. Other researchers may disagree, but I believe it is necessary to pay attention to the prosody of evaluation that flows through the co-text and colours other utterances with evaluative meaning. So, while the synchronic evaluative prosody (in each text) is not graphed in any way, it has informed the coding decisions made about evaluations during the coding process.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described and explained the combination of methods that I have used to answer the research questions. I have justified my choice of newspapers, and provided reasons for the size of my data set, and why I collected it over the period from 9 January to 3 February 2012. The validity of the data, given that it is edited, is argued for, as mediation is in the nature of any text that has been collected from newspapers. The tabular format in which I recorded my Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement coding has been presented and illustrated, as well as cases where other analysts might disagree with the way I have filled the tables with my coding. I have also addressed the role of analyst intuition in the coding process, establishing that subjectivity should not be seen in a negative light, as sensitivity to meaning potential is needed when coding for evaluation. The combination of intuition and the colouring of co-text by evaluative prosody is helpful in identifying invoked meanings. I have also described how I generated frequency and keyword lists, and used them to inform my identification of the ideational components of the bonds that unify the newspapers' communities of readership. Having chosen the main issues of youth, education and government (in the *Daily Sun* letters), and the ANC, education, and government (in *The Times*), I have explained how the Evaluation Index was calculated, and how the scores were later graphed, in order to visualise the movement and polarity of the evaluative prosody for each ideation. In Chapter 4, these graphs have been used as indicators of whether the newspapers are exhibiting linguistic ventriloquism. Chapter 4 also contains a detailed explanation of the APPRAISAL strategies used by the writers to complete the couplings that create bonds in the imagined community, as well as a description of the nature of each community.

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CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and interprets the findings from the APPRAISAL analysis carried out as explained in the previous chapter, and uses these findings to answer the questions listed in Chapter 1. Although explicit reference to these questions is only made in the summary of findings in Chapter 5, it is clear that Sections 4.2 and 4.3 answer the first two research questions using Evaluation Index scores, while 4.4 explains and compares the nature of the two imagined communities of readership, and 4.5 uses graphs showing evaluative prosodies to examine whether or not the data set proves the concept of linguistic ventriloquism. Section 4.6 addresses issues that arose during the coding process, and puts forward a new way of conceptualising the Engagement system as a result, and the findings are summarised in 4.7 – the conclusion. Italics used in the discussion are always mine, i.e. they do not appear in the original letters.

4.2 *Daily Sun*

4.2.1 The *Daily Sun* reader

As shown by the lists of word frequency (List E1) and keywords (List E3) in Appendix E, *Daily Sun* readers are most vocal about education, young people in the community, and the activities of the government and other political leaders. Education and related words appear 14 times in the frequency lists (totals: *education* – 8, *school* – 6); words relating to young people and their parents appear 41 times (*young* – 12, *parents* – 10, *kids* – 8, *girls* – 6, *children* – 5); and words related to the government appear 24 times (*leaders* – 8, *ANC* – 6, *government* – 5, and *SAPS* [South African Police Service] – 5). The related keywords and their log-likelihood (LL) scores can be found in 3.4.1 on page 79. Although the state of education and the current behaviour of children are evaluated negatively, it is clear that the writers want this to change. The government is also not doing their job, according to the writers, and they know that the community has the power to change the status quo by making their complaints heard. Writing letters to advise the rest of the imagined community is their way of contributing to change. In what follows, I present the main bonds around which the *Daily Sun*'s readers affiliate. They are divided into their ideational components, identified during the APPRAISAL analysis: words from the data related to *youth*, *education*, and

government. The interpersonal meanings (evaluations made by the letter writers) that are coupled with the ideational components to form bonds are explained in each section.

4.2.1.1 Bond 1: Youth

Five letters in the *Daily Sun* evaluate young people (see Table 4.1), and the majority of Attitudinal evaluations are negative. Engagement is used more often to contract dialogic space around negative evaluations, thereby enhancing them, whereas Graduation is preferred for amplifying positive evaluations of youth (both exemplified in the discussion of DS2 below Table 4.1). The writers' negative evaluations are mostly about the behaviour of young people, but these are often followed by solutions – the potential young people have for being successful by getting an education, or how they can make better decisions to improve their lives and current circumstances. In DS13 (lines 6-8) the writer negatively evaluates the behaviour of children to make a point to parents, but again the focus is on improvement – the improvement of parenting skills, and control of children:

“Kids go out at night, smoke and drink and don't put any effort into their school work [-Propriety]... Why can't parents show some backbone [invoked -Tenacity] and discipline their kids?”

Table 4.1: Evaluation Index scores for *young* and related words in the *Daily Sun*

Letter code (see Appendix C)	Attitude		Graduation		Engagement		Total
	+	-	+	-	+	-	
DS2	4	5	3	0	1	2	1
DS4	2	5	0	1	0	1	-5
DS9	0	2	0	0	0	2	-4
DS11	6	2	0	1	0	2	1
DS13	0	7	0	0	0	4	-11

The writer of DS2, Tintsoalo Baloyi, evaluates youth itself as [-Reaction], calling it a *curse* (line 2). She states this monoglossically, leaving no space for alternate stances, explaining that young people think that they know everything, and are too proud to ask for or share knowledge. The positive evaluations about youth, however, are those of [+Capacity] in lines 6 and 10, where Baloyi argues that young people have the potential to learn from older people, and to supplement the older people's knowledge so that both age groups can “achieve far better things”. The evaluations of [+Capacity] are upscaled “can achieve *far better things*” (two instances of upscaled Quality in line 10), and a combination of the upscaling of Mass

and a Counter of a negative evaluation is used in line 6 for a doubly powerful argument: “*But* [Counter] it is amazing *just* [upscaled Mass] how much the youth and older people can learn from one another”. Throughout the letter, Baloyi contracts the dialogic space by Denying and Countering other viewpoints, such as the one from line 6 mentioned above.

The remaining letters that focus on young people all identify behaviour of which the authors disapprove, and then modify their evaluations in various ways. DS4, for example, says that young boys “drink their lives away” (line 6) and condemns the [-Propriety] of those community members that “would even drink with them” (line 7). The writer uses *even* as an Affirmation, showing he believes the reader should be surprised that some members of the community would show such [-Propriety], that they would not discourage young boys from indulging in alcohol. Christopher Mazibuko, the author, evaluates young girls falling pregnant as [-Propriety] in line 11, arguing that their “potential is being wrecked”, thereby invoking [-Capacity] of the girls, as they now have an obstacle that will hinder their road to success – *wrecked* is an upscaled Process, as the writer is not saying that the girls’ futures will be slightly damaged, but the more intense *wrecked*. Using monoglossia to state this also makes the evaluation stronger, as the writer allows absolutely no other stances. Mazibuko also criticises the people of the “village” ([Propriety] in line 12) for “making fun of” the pregnant young girls. “Let’s not be hopeless,” Mazibuko urges the community in line 15. This contracts (Denies) a possible alternative stance that hopelessness is the only option for his community.

Young girls’ behaviour is also evaluated negatively by Godfrey Malibe, author of DS9. Although he says that girls give themselves “to tired men” ([Propriety] in line 6), and “do the wrong things to get the right things” ([Propriety] in line 20), he encourages them, evaluating them positively: “Your body is so special” ([+Valuation] in line 24). Malibe tells girls how their lives are “supposed to be” and “should be”, using Pronouncement in lines 2 and 4 to contract the dialogic space for arguments that young girls giving their bodies to older (probably married) men is not a bad thing. He Concedes twice in line 5 that their circumstances may be difficult [-Reaction], as they may be living in poverty, but then Counters this with the negative evaluation of the girls’ solution (the [-Propriety] of giving themselves to older men), and Denies (“*not* an excuse” – line 6) that this behaviour is justified by poverty. The evaluation of this behaviour is negative, because girls’ bodies are “precious” ([+Valuation] in line 12), so should not (Denial) be used to alleviate “bad” ([

Reaction]) circumstances. Malibe uses Graduation strategies to intensify the consequences of the young girls' behaviour: their futures will be *destroyed* (intensified Process in line 18), they will be nursing a broken heart *all the time* (upscaled Extent: Distribution: Time, showing how long their pain will endure). Extent: Distribution: Time is downscaled in line 28 with a Denial to show girls that their valuable youth will "not" last "forever" (line 28). Malibe uses Denials to tell the girls what not to do (lines 20-24, 27, 28) and Counters a stance in line 26 that could be held by some of the young girls in question: "They say age is just a number in love, *but* really?"

Happy Monakhisi, author of DS11, Acknowledges the words of former South African president Nelson Mandela, saying that, through education, children have the potential ([+Capacity]) to achieve high-ranking career positions (doctor, head of a mine, president of a country). The children that Monakhisi has observed, however, are not taking "their education seriously" (line 8), and he evaluates their behaviour as [-Tenacity], as they are "roaming the streets". Monoglossia shows that the writer is adamant that, without a mentor to encourage them to value their education, they will "give in to foolishness" (line 10), as they do not have the self-discipline to succeed. Extent: Proximity: Time is upscaled to strengthen the children's [-Propriety] when Monakhisi says it is only the "second week of school", but already the children are either not attending their classes, or not doing their homework. "Young ones" will become self-centred and arrogant [-Propriety] without a mentor, Monakhisi argues in lines 10-11. He advises parents to take on their "most important" (upscaled [+Valuation]) role as mentors, to change the children's behaviour so they can successfully pursue the careers that Mandela mentions, amongst others.

In DS13, the author tells parents to "wake up" ([-Tenacity] in line 11) and discipline their children, and to prove this point, Nosiseko Longmans, the author, evaluates the children's behaviour as [-Tenacity] ("*don't* even bother to study" – a Denial of the opinion that they do study, with an Affirmation, *even*, further contracting the dialogic space in line 5). Children's behaviour is regarded monoglossically as [-Propriety] – they "go out at night" instead of doing schoolwork, "smoke", "drink", and "don't put any effort into their school work" (line 6). The word "yet" (line 5) Counters parents' arguments that it is teachers' fault that children are failing their classes. Denials (*not*) in lines 5 and 6 further contract dialogic space for parents to argue that their children study and put effort into their schoolwork.

The importance of young people’s futures is a bond around which the community of readership affiliates – in DS4 and DS9 the writers warn young girls that their behaviour ([**-Propriety**]) will lead to their futures being affected negatively (*destroyed* in DS9 and *wrecked* in DS4 – both **upscaled Processes**). The author of DS2 argues that, with more knowledge, young people can achieve “far better things” (line 10), and the writers of DS11 and DS13 advise that children’s bad behaviour must be corrected so that they can pursue their education, which, in Nelson Mandela’s words (DS11, lines 2-6) can turn everyday citizens into powerful people.

4.2.1.2 Bond 2: Education

Attitudinal evaluations of education are divided almost equally, with 17 negative evaluations (see Table 4.2) and 12 positive evaluations. Having seen the value the authors in 4.2.1.1 place on education, one would find the large number of negative evaluations puzzling. The reason for the difference in opinion is that the readers are discussing education from different angles – the readers who evaluate education positively refer to the value of education, but those that choose negative evaluations couple these with their ideational experience of the current state of education in South Africa.

Table 4.2: Evaluation Index scores for *education* and related words in the *Daily Sun*

Letter code (see Appendix C)	Attitude		Graduation		Engagement		Total
	+	-	+	-	+	-	
DS7	3	12	0	2	1	2	-12
DS9	3	0	0	0	1	0	4
DS11	6	0	2	0	2	0	10
DS13	0	5	0	0	0	3	-8

The negative evaluations by the author of DS 7, Jonathan Ngomani, are mostly [**-Valuation**] of fraudulent colleges, which he calls “fly-by-night” (line 4), “fake” (line 6), and “Bogus” (line 8), and he uses two of these evaluations in monoglossic utterances, showing his fellow community members that this is the only opinion possible, and therefore a ‘correct’ interpretation. The number of these colleges that exist is **upscaled** twice (lines 4 and 6) with “many”. Ngomani evaluates the colleges’ ‘behaviour’ as [**-Propriety**] – he says that the colleges operate “fraudulently” in line 7. The sub-editor **Denies** the idea that parents should pay money out to these colleges (“*Don’t fork out for fake colleges*” in line 1), thus

contracting the dialogic space to argue anything positive about these institutions. The author's only positive evaluations are of fully registered tertiary institutions – their courses are “accredited” ([+Valuation] in line 13), and they are the “safe” option ([+Security] for the reader in line 12). The financial risk that parents take when educating their child at a tertiary institution is **upscaled in Mass** to “*huge* expense”. Parents and students must be careful to check the validity of the college before paying for its courses, Ngomani urges with **Pronouncement**: “parents and pupils *must* double-check” (line 7) and “Students *must* check that colleges are properly registered”.

DS9 mentions education briefly, but it is a sure indication of the writer's belief that education is a vital part of a child's life. The writer, Godfrey Malibe, as mentioned in 4.2.1.1, uses **Pronouncement** to explain to young girls what they are “supposed to be” (line 2) and “should be” (line 4) doing – i.e. staying at school during the day ([+Tenacity]), and working hard at their education ([+Tenacity]) to “ensure their future is bright” ([+Reaction] to the quality of the girls' futures in line 4). Malibe's strategies of **Pronouncement** contract the dialogic space for alternate stances that say that the girls' daily activities should be any different from those he describes.

DS11 and DS13 focus on encouraging parents to take responsibility for their children's education – to be mentors and teachers, and to control any ‘bad’ behaviour that would lead to the children failing to achieve success at school. The writers' evaluation of parents was discussed in the previous section, so here I will focus on the letters' references to education, to avoid excessive repetition. As mentioned in 4.2.1.1, the author of DS11 **Acknowledges** former South African president Nelson Mandela's advice that education is the “greatest (**upscaled [+Valuation]**) engine of personal development” (lines 2-3). This Acknowledgement by the writer does not seem to expand the dialogic space for argument against Mandela's words, as the quote reinforces the writer's argument. This apparent contradiction between APPRAISAL theory and the rhetorical effect of the utterance in the data will be discussed in 4.6.3. In line 8, the writer echoes Mandela, telling parents to teach their children that education is a “tool for success”, a further **[+Valuation]** of education. Monakhisi ends the letter with “Education IS the key to success!” – the uppercase *is* serves to **upscale the Quality of [+Valuation]** that the writer attributes to education, and the monoglossia of this utterance closes down the space for argument completely. DS13 also addresses parents, criticising them for blaming the government and teachers for their own children's failure at school. Parents'

behaviour is evaluated negatively in line 3: “What becomes of our kids if parents are the ones barricading roads against school?”. This line includes [-Propriety] of parents, and the rhetorical question Affirms in the reader’s mind the idea that children cannot be expected to succeed if their own parents are blocking access to schools. The children’s attitude towards their education, as shown by their behaviour, is also evaluated negatively. According to the writer, children show [-Tenacity] – “fail” (line 4); and [-Propriety] – “don’t even bother to study” (line 5), “go out at night” (line 6), and “don’t put any effort into their school work” (line 6). Again, the use of Denial (*don’t* in lines 5 and 6) closes down dialogic space for parents to argue against the writer, and also shows that the writer positions the parents as holding an alternate stance.

Although it would appear from Table 4.2 (see page 90) that education is seen negatively by *Daily Sun* readers, this is not the case – it is the readers that disapprove of the current state of educational institutions, and the way children do not take their studies seriously, that make it seem this way. The fact that the writers think that the situation should be improved (readers must be careful not to enrol their children at ‘fake’ colleges, and their children should work hard at school) means that they value education, and believe that the opportunity to go to school and learn should not be squandered by children. In summary, the negative evaluation of children neglecting schoolwork and ‘fake’ colleges implies that children and students should get a proper education, thus reinforcing the importance of education to the writer. ‘Education’ as a whole, then, is coupled with a positive evaluation from all the writers – it is the *implementation* of the education system that is a problem for the writers of DS7 and DS13.

4.2.1.3 Bond 3: Government and political leaders

The leadership of South Africa and its provinces is a popular topic of discussion amongst *Daily Sun* readers, as it appears in eight of the letters of the day (see Table 4.3). All except DS19 evaluate the country’s leaders negatively, for various reasons. DS6 and DS15 have a particularly high (negative) Evaluation Index score in terms of Attitude, which is then intensified by Graduation and Engagement strategies, showing that government is a particularly strong bond that the *Daily Sun* community negotiates. Lesego Mogotsi, author of DS1, applauds the Public Protector monoglossically for her work in exposing “abuse ([Propriety]) of state resources and power”, although Mogotsi expands the space for argument about these negatively evaluated activities, prefacing the accusation with an Entertainment

strategy (“alleged”) to guard against accusations that these claims are unfounded. Mogotsi had “completely lost trust in some of the state agencies, enterprises and organs”, invoked [-Capacity] that is Sharpened by *completely*.

Table 4.3: Evaluation Index scores for *government* and related words in the *Daily Sun*

Letter code (see Appendix C)	Attitude		Graduation		Engagement		Total
	+	-	+	-	+	-	
DS1	0	2	0	1	0	0	-3
DS6	0	13	0	4	0	2	-19
DS10	0	1	0	0	0	1	-2
DS14	0	1	0	0	0	3	-4
DS15	0	10	0	3	0	7	-20
DS16	0	4	0	2	0	5	-11
DS17	0	1	0	0	0	1	-2
DS19	2	0	0	0	1	0	3

Philemon Kgatla, author of DS6, also evaluates the behaviour of corrupt government officials negatively ([Propriety]), listing their disapproved-of activities in lines 4-5: “a mire (upscaled Quality) of bribery, extortion, nepotism, embezzlement” (all [Propriety], and the accumulation of these four activities in such close proximity serves to upscale the [Propriety] of the government officials). Kgatla continues on line 5 with “the list is *endless*” – upscaled [Propriety] of the officials’ activities. [-Capacity] of South African president Jacob Zuma is invoked in line 9, as the writer says that Zuma “knows that his administration is made up of incompetent ([Capacity]) law enforcement agents who fail ([Capacity]) to curb corruption”, implying that Zuma is doing nothing to improve the situation, and cannot claim that he has no knowledge of it.

The author of DS10 does not complain about the government of South Africa in general, but rather invokes [-Tenacity] of the mayor of Johannesburg for (stated as monoglossic – allowing no space for anyone to argue with it) “doing nothing about” the state of the city. The writer describes Johannesburg as “one of the *dirtiest* places in the country, if not in the world” (three instances of upscaled [-Reaction] in line 2). The “filthy” ([Reaction] in line 11) city causes [-Satisfaction] for the writer (lines 1, 2, 5, 6 and 13), and the person that has not fixed the problem (the mayor) receives a negative evaluation, as the situation has not been recognised or rectified. The writer contracts dialogic space for alternative stances throughout

the letter, except when Johannesburg is referred to as a “so-called world class African city” in line 3 – “so-called” **Distances** the writer from this statement, showing that the writer does not believe this to be true, given the state of the city.

Tshikosi Ramarumo, author of DS14, also takes a more local angle when criticising leaders. Ramarumo **Affirms** a negative evaluation in the reader’s mind by asking “Do we really need provincial governments,” (line 9) before **Countering** any affirmative answers with “*or* are they *just* a way to create jobs for politicians?” This also construes **[-Valuation]** of provincial governments, as the writer believes that they have no ‘real’ function, other than to give people opportunities for “wasting public money²⁸” (**[-Propriety]**, **[-Satisfaction]** of the writer, in line 8, evaluated monoglossically, so the writer must strongly believe this stance to be true). These activities that Ramarumo says waste public money are numerous, as they are **upscaled in Number** to “*All* these additional expenses”. DS16 does not evaluate the necessity of a provincial government, but rather evaluates the *behaviour* of the government of the Mpumalanga province. The author’s negative evaluations of the Mpumalanga government are very strong, as they are upscaled, as well as the space for alternative stances contracted. Yvonne Bathabile, the author, calls the provincial government “corrupt” (**[-Propriety]**) in lines 5 and 8, saying that Mpumalanga is the “*most* corrupt province in the country” (upscaling the **[-Propriety]** in line 5, and using monoglossia to further shut down other stances). Further **[-Propriety]** is invoked by Bathabile’s **Affirmation** in lines 10-11: “Why do the leaders put in power act as if we don’t exist?”, which takes for granted that the leaders do neglect the people that voted for them – the dialogic space for arguments against this assumption is contracted, and positions the reader as aligned, in solidarity, with the writer. **Affirmation** also appears in line 9, where Bathabile wonders “why we bother to vote”, reinforcing the **Denial** later in line 9: “because we are *not* well represented” (invoked **[-Tenacity]** of the government). It could be argued that the author of DS16 agrees with the author of DS14, as both argue that provincial governments are corrupt, so the point in DS16 about the governments neglecting their voters would lead to DS14’s question about whether

²⁸ Corruption (favouritism, nepotism, bribery, or the use of public resources for private activities) often makes the news in South Africa. The topic has spawned the term ‘tenderpreneur’, an amalgamation of the word ‘tender’, a contract awarded to a company by the government, and ‘entrepreneur’. Tenderpreneurs can be owners of private companies who have contacts in government that award them the contracts to perform a service, or government members themselves who are silent partners in private companies, that they then award the tenders to. Either way, politicians who have the power to award tenders might be influenced by the promise of a bribe, or the idea of public funds going into their own companies. The former classmate that the author of DS14 refers to, would be called a tenderpreneur. The Public Protector, who is congratulated for her work in DS1, has the power to investigate suspicions of improper activity at any level of government.

the governments are necessary, if they are doing nothing for their voters, and abusing their power.

DS15 has one of the highest negative Evaluation Index scores (-20 – see Table 4.3). According to the author, Godfrey Rapabi, leaders “take [readers’] lives for granted” (line 2); readers’ lives are “*so* cheap in their eyes” (upscaled in line 3) and leaders of the country “want the best – but only for themselves” (line 8), all evaluations of [-Propriety]. The Counter (*but*) in line 8 disallows opinions that the country’s leaders want the best for everybody, not only themselves. Dialogic space is tightly contracted by the author’s use of rhetorical questions in lines 2 and 3, for example: “WHY do our leaders take our lives for granted?” This leads the reader to see as common sense the argument that leaders *do* take readers’ lives for granted – the issue is not whether the leaders take lives for granted; it is *why* they do. Rapabi also argues that South Africa “lacks leaders of top quality”, thereby evaluating the country’s current leaders as [-Valuation]. Upscaled [-Satisfaction] (“heartbreaking”) is induced by the leaders, who “spend funds allocated to the betterment of the lives of needy people on themselves” (monoglossic [-Propriety] in line 9) – Rapabi notes that people are going hungry while the leaders are “misus[ing]” “millions of rands” (upscaled [-Propriety] in line 11). The positively evaluated characteristics of “*true* leaders” (Sharpened) are introduced by the author, in seeming contrast to the current leaders, leading the reader to make the assumption that South Africa’s leaders are not ‘true’ leaders. A true leader, states Rapabi, is “selfless” (line 5), “inspires people to achieve more” (line 6), and a “good listener” (line 7) (all [+Propriety]). As in DS10, the author of DS15 uses “so-called” to Distance himself from calling the leadership “leaders”, opening up dialogic space for the leaders to be described as anything but ‘true’ leaders, as the writer does not group the current leaders with the characteristics of ‘true’ leaders.

DS17 only mentions the government once, but, like all the letters that have been discussed above, the evaluation is negative. The author, Patrick Sekgala, asks in line 3, “When is the government going to stop its citizens from being killed by thugs?” This Affirmation invokes [-Tenacity] of the government, as it seems to Sekgala that the government is not doing anything to stop crime, and his question leads the reader to follow this logic, as the ‘fact’ that the government is not doing its job is not given space for questioning.

The author of DS19, Tembisi Makgatho, says that the ruling party (the ANC) “must be applauded” ([+Reaction] and contraction of dialogic space in line 5) for its “timely intervention in Limpopo²⁹”, where the Public Protector exposed corruption, and the involved parties were fired from their jobs. This, according to Makgatho, has led to “trust in the government voted into office by the people” ([+Security] in lines 5-6). Makgatho takes it for granted that everyone agrees with the feeling of [+Security], as it is stated as monoglossia. This letter is the only one in the data that contains any positive evaluations of the government. What it does have in common with the other letters about the government, however, is that it evaluates corruption negatively as a “disease” ([-Reaction] in lines 2 and 4) that must be stopped.

4.2.2 Conclusion: *Daily Sun*

Although the letters do not all have similar Evaluation Index scores, it is clear that the writers of the *Daily Sun* have certain priorities that they wish to discuss with the readership, their fellow community members. These are the bonds that the community members co-create, and that define them as the readership of this newspaper. Although they disapprove of the behaviour ([-Propriety]) of some young people, they all want to see the youth succeed. To do this, parents and the rest of the community should encourage young people to take their education seriously ([+Valuation]), and to turn away from behaviour that could hinder a successful future, such as teenage pregnancy, drinking, and staying out late. Parents also need to set a positive example for their children by being mentors ([+Tenacity]). The writers of the letters are also critical of the government (both provincial and national), and question why they should keep voting if the government does not deliver on their promises ([-Tenacity]), and engages in corrupt activities ([-Propriety]).

4.3 *The Times*

4.3.1 *The Times* reader

The topics mentioned most often in letters to *The Times* include education, the ruling ANC, and President Jacob Zuma. Education and related words appear 93 times (totals: *education* – 15, *school* – 14, *schools* – 10, *UJ* [University of Johannesburg] – 12, *university* – 12, *student* – 6, *students* – 10, *pupils* – 7, *teachers* – 7), ANC and related words appear 73 times (*ANC* – 41 [the most frequently mentioned non-grammatical word], *party* – 18, *movement* – 14), and

²⁹ South Africa’s northernmost province.

Zuma's name appears 16 times in the data (see 3.4.1 for the keywords and their LL scores). Like *Daily Sun* readers, people who read *The Times* are concerned about the state of education in South Africa, and would like to see it change for the better. Another concern of the readers is Jacob Zuma's ability to lead the country, but it appears that there is some confidence in the ANC as a ruling party, despite its leadership by Zuma.

4.3.1.1 Bond 1: The African National Congress (ANC)

Evaluations of the ruling political party of South Africa occur in six letters in the data set (see Table 4.4 below). What is interesting is that all the Evaluation Index scores are of the same polarity, showing a strong tendency for *The Times* readers to couple the ANC with positive interpersonal meaning. There are negative evaluations of the ANC in the letters (TT1, TT3 and TT17), however these feelings are overpowered by the prosody carried by the intensification of positive evaluations.

Table 4.4: Evaluation Index scores for ANC in *The Times*

Letter code (see Appendix D)	Attitude		Graduation		Engagement		Total
	+	-	+	-	+	-	
TT1	11	1	6	1	8	2	21
TT3	5	1	2	0	3	1	8
TT12	8	0	1	0	3	0	12
TT16	6	0	0	0	1	0	7
TT17	2	1	2	0	1	1	3
TT20	1	3	0	0	3	0	1

The author of TT1, Thabile Mange, congratulates the ANC on the celebration of its centenary (“worth celebrating”, line 2, using monoglossia, contracting dialogic space completely), but argues later that there is still progress to be made in terms of “liberating the masses from the *shackles of poverty*”, a [-Reaction] towards the circumstances of the ‘masses’. By saying that the ANC is the “*oldest liberation movement on the continent*” (line 6), Mange upscales the evaluation of [+Valuation] of the ANC twice. Other [+Valuations] of the ANC occur in line 12 (“played a *pivotal* role”) and line 13 (“*leading* role”, as a Counter to any opinions that the ANC was not the only organisation that fought for the end of apartheid). [+Propriety] is invoked by Mange's statement that the ANC played a leading role in “helping to free the country”. The ANC is also regarded as an “international inspiration” (an upscaled [+Reaction] Acknowledged from former French president Nicolas Sarkozy – another strategy

of Expansion that actually supports the writer's argument, as a well-known political figure has been quoted). Although Mange evaluates the ANC monoglossically as displaying [+Tenacity], having "survived the storms" (line 23), line 20 contains an (also monoglossic) evaluation of [-Tenacity], where Mange says that "Zuma's party" has not delivered on its promises. In line 21, however, the party is referred to as the "ANC" again, not as "Zuma's party", and Mange's statement that the "masses still have confidence... that it will take them to the promised land" invokes an evaluation of [+Capacity] of the ANC. This [+Capacity] is upscaled by *still*, which shows that despite its shortcomings, the ANC's followers remain loyal. The focus of TT3 is also the ANC's centenary celebrations, but the author, Zukiswa Mqolomba, places more of a focus on Zuma's speech. The evaluation of the speech is discussed in 4.3.1.3, but Mqolomba evaluates the ANC as "glorious" ([+Reaction] in line 26), and praises the party for its "exceptional ability (upscaled [+Capacity] in line 36) to see us beyond today's limitations". The author also invokes upscaled [+Valuation] of the ANC in lines 36-37, arguing monoglossically, without space for denial, that "South Africa needs the ANC like the body needs oxygen". The idea that the ANC has evolved, however, is **Entertained** in line 26, where Mqolomba expands dialogic space for alternative views by calling the party's trajectory "(D)evolution", so readers could argue that the party has devolved.

TT12 takes the stance that ANC Youth League president, Julius Malema, should be expelled from the party. This must be done, according to the author, Nhlanhla Molapo, so that the party can continue to create "internal unity and cohesion" ([+Composition] in line 16). Molapo's evaluations of the ANC are of [+Tenacity]: "emerged from difficult [-Reaction] exile years to lead a *victorious* struggle against apartheid" (line 6), "reached the 100-year *milestone*" (upscaled in line 6), and "succeeded in creating internal unity" (line 16). The ANC's behaviour is seen as [+Propriety] in lines 10-11 ("does not throw its own members into the dustbin of history"), and this quote is **Acknowledged** as coming from Mathews Phosa³⁰. However, it is also Countered in line 10 – "*Contrary to* Mathews Phosa's assertion that the ANC does not throw its own members... the ANC, in fact, expelled the entire group of eight [dissenters]". This shows the author's belief that, although the ANC says they will not expel their own members, when members "contradict and attack key ANC policies" ([-Propriety] in line 8), it is justification for expulsion.

³⁰ Phosa is the ANC's treasurer general, a member of the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) and was the first premier of Mpumalanga province, which was formed post-apartheid.

Cynthia Tsabedze, author of TT16, only mentions the ANC briefly, but she couples her few mentions of the party with positive evaluations. In line 16, she calls the ANC “an *important ally*” ([+Valuation]), and says “It is a known fact” that this is so. This Pronouncement removes the author’s subjectivity from the claim, making it appear more ‘factual’, and in so doing contracts the dialogic space for alternative stances. The ruling party is also evaluated as having [+Capacity] to “help in the fight for democracy” in Swaziland³¹. TT17 is similar to TT16 in that the ANC as a party is not mentioned often, but in this case the members of the party are evaluated. The author, Thabile Mange, says that the ANC is “*divided over Zuma and Malema*” ([-Composition] in line 10). The other evaluation of the ANC, however, is positive: a monoglossic [+Valuation] of the party, that is upscaled twice in line 26-27 (“*oldest liberation movement on the continent*”). This [+Valuation] is supported by the writer’s desire that the party remain free from “politics of personalities” (line 25), as this has the “potential to destroy (upscaled [-Reaction])” the ANC (line 26), and Mange argues in lines 27-28 that this is “not (Denial) in the best (upscaled Quality) interest of the party or the country”.

TT20 is a response to a columnist’s critique of the ANC’s ethics. The columnist suggests that business functions are organised by the Progressive Business Forum (PBF) so that its members can liaise with ANC leaders, in order to secure business contracts with the government³². The author of the letter, Daryl Swanepoel (co-convenor of the PBF), argues that the columnist makes it sound “as if the ANC has stumbled across a fountain of cash, which it is *determined to exploit, regardless of ethics*” (lines 11-12). The columnist, therefore, is evaluating the ANC’s behaviour twice as [-Propriety]. Swanepoel, in contrast, **Denies** that there is anything “sinister” about the functions, and uses three Engagement strategies in one line to close down dialogic space for any stances that would be aligned with the columnist: in line 13, Swanepoel says, “The *truth* (Pronouncement), *however* (Counter), is that there is *nothing* (Denial) sinister to it”. This extreme contraction of space for alternate stances is supported by Swanepoel’s numerous [-Valuations] of the columnist’s arguments: “rubbished” (line 4), “Hardly considerable sums” (line 16), “Let’s get real” (line 17), “inaccuracy” (line 21), and “match your diligence in criticism with diligence in putting forward ideas” (lines 34-35).

³¹ Swaziland’s King Mswati III is the head of state, and he appoints the prime minister.

³² Any liaisons with government members are likely to be viewed with suspicion by journalists, given that tenderpreneurs (see footnote 28, page 94) often have friends in the government that award them contracts.

4.3.1.2 Bond 2: Education

Education and related words appear in five of the twenty letters in the data set (see Table 4.5 below). The Evaluation Index scores for *education* all share the same polarity – negative. In 4.2.1.2, the *Daily Sun* letter writers evaluate both the state of education (they evaluated it negatively) and the value of education to the community (positively evaluated). The writers to *The Times* mostly discuss the state of education at schools and universities. Although they are approaching the issue from different angles, the *Daily Sun* and *The Times* readers affiliate around the same bond: they both couple the ideational concept of *education* with the interpersonal evaluation of it adding value to their communities.

Table 4.5: Evaluation Index scores for *education* and related words in *The Times*

Letter code (see Appendix D)	Attitude		Graduation		Engagement		Total
	+	-	+	-	+	-	
TT4	2	11	0	1	1	5	-14
TT6	3	23	0	3	3	11	-31
TT11	0	8	0	3	0	2	-13
TT13	0	12	0	3	0	8	-23
TT15	0	7	0	4	0	4	-15

The author of TT4, Philimon Mnisi, evaluates the value of the University of Johannesburg’s (UJ) admission process, as well as the university’s ethics, following a stampede for admissions in which a prospective student’s mother was killed. Before evaluating UJ, Mnisi evaluates education as “vital” (monoglossic [+Valuation] in line 3, showing that the author thinks this is undisputable) and adds that it brings him upscaled [+Satisfaction] (“very encouraging” – lines 4-5) that parents are getting involved in their children’s education. Given the accident that occurred, however, the author evaluates UJ’s behaviour as [-Capacity] (“poor disaster management skills” – line 6, “other universities manage this with ease” – line 15, “cannot admit all students who failed to apply on time” – line 16). The evaluations of [-Capacity] are strengthened in line 13 by a Counter and a Denial, which contract the space that allows for stances that exonerate UJ of responsibility for this incident. Evaluations of [-Propriety] are also used to judge UJ’s behaviour: “giving prospective students a false sense of hope” (lines 6-7), and “it should [Pronouncement] stop behaving as if it can [admit all prospective students] through creation of false hopes” (lines 16-17). Mnisi also calls UJ’s admission system “poor” ([-Reaction] in line 6) and “pie in the sky” ([-Reaction] in line 7). The author of TT6, Edwin Mashaba, also criticises UJ in his letter to the

editor. Like the author of TT4, Mashaba evaluates UJ's behaviour as [-Propriety], in line 4 ("greed"), line 16 ("unrealistic to call for more applications"), line 20 ("late applicants being admitted first and timeous applicants being told the space is full"), and line 25 ("Who benefited most?"). UJ's behaviour also includes "negligence" ([Tenacity] in line 4), "incompetence" ([Capacity] in line 4) and the fact that they had "no proper controls in place" (upscaled [-Capacity] in line 45) and "failed to control the situation" ([Tenacity]) in line 48. The monoglossic "combination" of "greed, negligence, incompetence, disorganisation and flaws" (line 4) upscales the author's evaluation of [-Propriety] and provides no space for alternate arguments, which would probably arise from the university. As could be expected when evaluating an admissions process that resulted in a stampede, Mashaba uses many evaluations of [-Composition]: "disorganisation" in line 4, "chaotic" in line 39, "wild" in lines 45 and 47. In comparison, argues the writer, the admissions process at Unisa (University of South Africa) is "smooth" ([+Composition] in line 44), as they have "proper controls in place" ([+Tenacity] in line 42). The writer Denies that the parent's death would have happened at Unisa ("wouldn't" – line 41). Finally, the writer shows his response to the incident itself, evaluating it as [-Reaction] three times: a "tragedy" (line 2), "unfortunate" (line 49), and "tragic" (line 49).

TT11 does not evaluate university education, but rather the education system at schools. The author, AA Jacobs, views the current content and methodologies taught as [-Valuation]: "obsolete" (line 8), "less relevant" (line 9), "irrelevant" (line 9) and "non-demanding, conventional" (line 19). However, these evaluations are prefaced with "*suggesting* that much (upscaled [-Valuation]) of the content taught... *could be*", which are Entertainments of the evaluations, so dialogic space is expanded to allow for alternate viewpoints, and possibly to signal that the writer believes the readership to be heterogeneous, with varied stances on this issue. The "non-demanding, conventional education order" (already shown to be [-Valuation]) provides "*little or no opportunity for expression of natural, individual talent, skill or creativity*", which upscales the [-Valuation] of the current education system.

School is also the focus of TT13. The author, Pippa Maartens, states that there are "difficulties" ([Reaction] in line 2) with learning a second language at school. More [-Reactions] follow: the author's children trying to learn Xhosa at school was a "disaster" (line 11 – space for alternate stances is contracted by *But*), finding a Xhosa teacher brought "difficulty" (line 12) and sometimes there was "no teacher *at all*" (Sharpened in line 13), and

the children could not take Xhosa as a subject in high school because their prior knowledge of the language had been “appalling”. Maartens also monoglossically evaluates finding a Xhosa teacher as upscaled [-Composition] in lines 12-13, where the “teacher changed *more frequently than the weather*” and the teacher that was found displayed [-Propriety] (“did *not* come to school” in line 14, space for alternate stances that would defend the teacher disallowed by *not*). The children’s learning Xhosa, according to Maartens, was therefore “hopeless” (line 15). Finally, Maartens addresses the idea of teaching children in their mother tongue as [-Reaction]: upscaled to “disaster” in line 17, and argues that it would “disadvantage” children, as they would not find employment where an international language, like English, is spoken. “And how on earth would an education system with a culture of indifference ever get it together to teach in 11 official languages,” Maartens asks. This question evaluates the education system as [-Propriety], implying that it does not care about the children, and also Affirms this evaluation in the writer’s mind by closing down the dialogic space around this ‘indifference’ almost completely. The idea that the system is indifferent is not the question – Maartens asks how they would be able to “get it together” to teach in all of South Africa’s official languages – so the judgement of ‘indifference’ must be made in the reader’s own mind, making this alignment strategy very powerful, especially if the reader started reading the text without a stance on the education system.

Like TT13, TT15 also evaluates the current education system negatively, but TT13 seeks to improve it by offering a solution. Ken Stacey, the author, evaluates the start of the school year as “again” (upscaled Extent: Distribution: Time) having “the usual problems” (upscaled [-Reaction] in line 2). Stacey argues that “No one seems to take responsibility” for these problems – an evaluation of [-Tenacity] on the part of people who are responsible for education, but space is left open by *seems* (an Entertainment) for disaligned readers to argue that there are people doing a good job; it could be that Stacey anticipates a divided audience, and does not want to offend disaligned readers by generalising. The result of the current education system, states Stacey monoglossically, not allowing alternate opinions, in lines 4-5, is the output of “another batch (upscaled Number) of under-educated ([Reaction]) and ill-prepared ([Tenacity]) youngsters”. Stacey’s solution is to motivate teachers to achieve better results by basing their salary on their class’s performance. This solution, he says, is “simple” ([+Composition] in lines 5 and 16).

4.3.1.3 Bond 3: President Jacob Zuma

Zuma's name appears in three letters in the data set (see Table 4.6 below). Like the letters about the ANC in 4.3.1.1, all the Evaluation Index scores have the same polarity, but all the evaluations of Zuma are negative, unlike those of the ANC. TT1 does not carry many evaluations of the president of South Africa, but TT3 and TT9 have high negative Evaluation Index scores – TT3 has the highest negative score in the data set (-34), showing that Zuma's name was coupled with a negative evaluation almost every time his name was mentioned by a reader.

Table 4.6: Evaluation Index scores for Zuma in *The Times*

Letter code (see Appendix D)	Attitude		Graduation		Engagement		Total
	+	-	+	-	+	-	
TT1	0	1	0	1	0	2	-4
TT3	0	23	0	3	0	8	-34
TT9	0	11	0	2	0	6	-19

After Thabile Mange, author of TT1, praises the ANC for reaching its centenary (see 4.3.1.1), the focus changes to Zuma in line 19. Mange differentiates between past and present ANC leadership, asking, “has Zuma’s party delivered on its promises? The answer is a resounding “no””. This **Affirmation** in line 19 implies that the ANC’s success so far has not been continued by Zuma, and highlights the evaluation of **upscaled [-Tenacity]** in line 20 that is invoked by the monoglossic words “*resounding* “no””, which disallows rebuttals from Zuma supporters. The writer upscales the amount of work that needs to be done by “Zuma’s party” (“A lot” – line 20) in order to “liberate the masses from the shackles of poverty (**[-Reaction]** to the circumstances of ‘the masses’)”. TT3, also with a focus on the ANC’s centenary, continues with the negative evaluation of Zuma, as well as his speech at the ANC centenary celebration, which the author sees as a reflection of the man. The author, Zukiswa Mqolomba, evaluates Zuma as having **[-Capacity]** to inspire “confidence in the government’s political and strategic programme in response to the nation’s aspirations” (lines 13-14): his speech showed him to be “in a boat without a rudder” (line 5), and was full of “pauses”, “misplaced full stops”, “broken single words” (all line 15) and that four years (**upscaled Extent: Distribution: Time**) in office had not sharpened “the mind” (line 16). Line 16 also contains a **Counter** (*if not*) that disallows alternative stances that would argue that Zuma is wise, or has become wiser during his four years in office. Zuma’s speech also caused the

writer [-Satisfaction] (“lament”, “misgivings” in line 7). Mqolomba argues, with no space for other viewpoints, that the speech “lacked thematic focus” and “lacked... a common thread that bound it together” (both [-Composition] in line 23). Further negative Appreciations of Zuma’s speech include [-Reaction] (“lacked... an underlying message” – lines 23-24) and [-Valuation] (“useful to those oblivious of the activities” – line 19, “devoid of political analysis or actionable historic lessons” – line 21, “shallow” – line 22, and the Affirmation in line 33 – “What have we done... to deserve an address unbecoming the occasion?” which takes for granted that the speech did not befit the occasion, positioning the reader as aligned with this stance). Mqolomba believes that Zuma showed [-Tenacity] in giving his speech, as it was a “gigantic (upscaled Mass) missed political opportunity” that comes “only once in one’s lifetime (upscaled Extent: Distribution: Time, showing how unfortunate it was that Zuma did not use this opportunity properly).

TT9 does not evaluate Zuma directly, but the negative evaluations of his “key troops” and the “people who backed [his] presidency” imply that Zuma is of similar character. For example, in line 2, the author, Noluthando Pearl Ngobese, suggests that a “debate about the character” (invoked [-Propriety]) of people who backed Zuma’s presidency is raised by the resignation of Enoch Godongwana, as he resigned while under suspicion of “financial mismanagement” ([-Propriety] in line 2). Ngobese adds that “Many” (upscaled Number) of Zuma’s “key troops” have been “tainted with controversy” (monoglossic [-Propriety] in line 5). The author then Endorses this stance of [-Propriety] by providing a list of 12 people that were investigated by the Scorpions (a now-disbanded special investigations unit); naming so many people also upscales the [-Propriety] amongst Zuma’s allies. Godongwana, one of Zuma’s backers, is evaluated as a “controversial character” ([-Propriety] in line 10), and the writer states that he was mentioned during an investigation into corruption ([-Propriety] in line 12) in the Eastern Cape.

4.3.2 Conclusion: *The Times*

From the account above, it is clear that the writers have little confidence in Zuma’s abilities as a president ([-Capacity]), but they have faith in the ANC to rise above Zuma’s leadership shortcomings, and be a strong agent of change as it has been in the past, provided that corruption and other unethical activities of [-Propriety] are rooted out. Evidence of these beliefs is that the Evaluation Index scores for the ANC remains positive throughout the data set, while the Evaluation Index scores for Zuma never reaches positive figures – Zuma’s

highest negative score was the highest in the data set, on -34 points. Evaluations of the University of Johannesburg ([-Propriety]) earned a similar Evaluation Index score of -31 in 4.3.1.2. The education system as a whole is coupled with negative evaluation by the writers, but the fact that it concerns them enough to write in to *The Times* indicates that they see education as having great value. Two writers, the authors of DS11 and DS15, offer solutions to improve the education system.

4.4 The Newspapers' Imagined Communities: A Comparison

The most obvious thing that links community members is that they are all part of an 'in-group', an 'us', as opposed to 'them'. The frequency lists generated by the concordancer (see Appendix E) show that letters to the *Daily Sun* have *we* and *our* listed as the 12th and 13th most frequently used words respectively. In *The Times* letters, however, *we* only ranks 19th on the frequency list, and *our* at number 37. Although the rankings of the words in the *Daily Sun* and *The Times* are not far apart, the keyness scores are more telling: *our* has a log-likelihood of 11.981, and the log-likelihood of *we* is 5.424, meaning that the words are significantly more salient in the *Daily Sun* letters than those of *The Times* (keeping in mind that LL scores over 3.9 are highly significant). The difference hints at a tighter bond between the *Daily Sun* community of readership, as they address their fellow community members more often, defining the boundaries of their community. One instance of the use of *we* in the *Daily Sun* is particularly interesting: in DS18, the author berates fellow community members for disrespecting churches and cemeteries, saying that he was brought up to believe that churches were holy and cemeteries were final resting places of the dead. Then, in lines 4-5 he says "Yet we vandalise, steal and have steamy sex at cemeteries and in churches!" Surely the author does not participate in these activities, if he is so scornful of them, yet he does not say "you vandalise" etc. The author includes himself in the *we*, showing that he sees himself as part of the community, and it is the entire community that he is addressing – he does not want to make himself seem superior to the reader by judging their behaviour. He ends with "Let's all learn some respect!" in lines 11-12, although presumably he does not commit the acts he speaks of.

Writers to the *Daily Sun* address community members in general – collectives of young girls, or men, or parents – and their focus is on improving situations they see around them in their everyday lives, such as young boys drinking in taverns (DS4) and parents not getting involved with their children's education (DS13). The problems the writers see can be

corrected with a change in lifestyle, adhering to one's beliefs (such as education being important, so children should be encouraged to take it seriously). The advice by the author of DS9 to young girls urges them to change their mindsets about their bodies – they are not tools to get money or material goods, but “special” things that “need to be reserved” (lines 23-24). The author of DS9, Godfrey Malibe, is therefore boosting the young girls' self-esteem by telling them that they are special – and he addresses all community members in DS5, saying that “There is no limit to the success you can achieve throughout your life” (line 2). His advice will help to improve the community by inspiring confidence in themselves, and how they can do good in the community (for example, being a mentor, in DS11). The writers may not be able to change the government's morals, but they can appeal to the morals of their fellow community members, in order to change their behaviour.

Writers to *The Times*, in comparison, add to the impression of community discreteness by not addressing their fellow community members often, but instead appealing to people or organisations, for example the ANC (to expel Malema in TT12), Zuma (what he should have said in his speech in TT3) and people who have control over teachers' salaries (how to adjust salaries in TT15). They suggest solutions to problems they see, as do the *Daily Sun* writers, but *The Times* writers do not advise community members, as it is not them that they have a problem with. The problems are more abstract than those of the *Daily Sun*'s community (for example, entrepreneurship, corruption in sport, African resources benefiting Africa, the arrangement of the education system), and so finding solutions to these problems does not always involve the effort on the community's part (in contrast with the *Daily Sun* writers' advice, where every community member can help to encourage a child to stay at school, for example). *The Times* community responds more readily to events in the news, such as the mother's death at UJ, the ‘bonus issue’ amongst executives of Cricket SA, the ANC centenary, Enoch Godongwana's resignation, and the controversial multiracial poster from the political opposition's youth branch, the Democratic Alliance Students' Organisation (DASO). These events do not directly affect the lives of most of the readership, whereas the events remarked on by the *Daily Sun* writers are closer to ‘grassroots level’ (i.e. more local – hyperlocal, in fact – and more relevant). While the *Daily Sun* writers prefer to offer advice, *The Times* writers seem to prefer offering a commentary on the situation at hand, in order to add their views to debates, but they also offer solutions to the problems they identify. Table 4.7 (on the next page) summarises key utterances from the two newspapers, to further

illustrate the ‘advisory’, neighbourly nature of the *Daily Sun*’s imagined community, and *The Times*’ solution-orientated community.

Table 4.7: A comparison of the newspapers’ imagined communities

<i>Daily Sun</i> (advisory)		<i>The Times</i> (solution-orientated)	
Letter	Key sentence	Letter	Key sentence
DS2 (9-10)	If we could strip ourselves of our egos and empty pride and allow ourselves, young and old, to meet each other, we can and will achieve far greater things!	TT2 (14-15)	... the essence of our approach is not to mourn this behaviour, but to find solutions to a complex reality...
DS4 (15)	Let’s not be hopeless.	TT5 (8)	We need to change mindsets and this starts with dispelling myths about entrepreneurship.
DS5 (14)	Work hard for success.	TT7 (6-7)	As a country we must support such protests because it is our dream that African riches benefit Africans.
DS7 (2-3)	... I want to advise them to be careful.	TT8 (14-16)	A new start is required with the new executive putting in place checks and balances...
DS8 (11)	would you like the same to be done to you?	TT11 (23-26)	Collaborative partnerships... could possible provide the contextual milieu within which a transformed national education arrangement can occur.
DS9 (23-24)	Your body is so special it needs to be reserved.	TT12 (2-3)	This is a good time for the ANC to rid itself of opportunists and liquidators like Julius Malema.
DS11 (8-9)	Why don’t we advise them to take their education seriously and teach them it is a tool for success?	TT15 (6)	What is required is a curriculum with a core that is based on the 3Rs, plus a narrow selection of secondary subjects.
DS12 (12)	Men, let’s conduct ourselves with respect.	TT18 (18)	... to prosper we need to become more innovative in our business dealings.
DS13 (13)	Discipline your kids first, then blame the world.		
DS15 (12-13)	Remember, true leaders are not born but made through hard work, discipline, dedication and sacrifice.		
DS18 (11-12)	Let’s all learn some respect!		
DS20 (11)	I appeal to whoever lodged a land claim to visit the commission to collect their claim.		

From Table 4.7, it is clear that the *Daily Sun* writers prioritise Judgement, i.e. the behaviour of the community (for example, having respect), to improve the lives of the community, while *The Times* writers appeal to Appreciations, i.e. entities that can provide a solution to

more abstract problems (for example, changing the curriculum, or “putting in place checks and balances” – TT8, lines 14-16). The *Daily Sun*’s community appears to be more cohesive than that of *The Times*, who are more independent, not relying on other community members to make a change.

4.5 The Role of Evaluative Prosody in Detecting Linguistic Ventriloquism

4.5.1 Introduction

Evaluative prosody, as defined in 2.2.4, is not the traditional take on semantic prosody involving collocations, but is instead a diachronic tracing of the polarity of the *evaluation* of an entity in the data set. In other words, the prosody will show whether the coupling that represents a community’s bond changes its interpersonal component, while keeping the ideational one constant. The reason for this specialisation of the term ‘prosody’ is to determine the validity of my refinement of Conboy’s (2006) idea of ‘linguistic ventriloquism’. The refinement specifies that the newspapers use the actual ‘voices’ of the readers on the letters page to promote certain viewpoints, which are likely to be those favoured by the newspaper. By prominently displaying a chosen letter, the newspaper can adopt an evaluative stance without explicitly declaring it, and the newspaper cannot be blamed by readers with differing opinions for ‘taking sides’. If the newspapers display letters with similar evaluations prominently, this could hint at linguistic ventriloquism. This section discusses the graphs of the Evaluation Index scores that appeared in 4.2 and 4.3 (pages 86 and 96), and debates whether these take a step towards proving this refined version of linguistic ventriloquism in newspapers, or disprove the theory.

4.5.2 *Daily Sun*

4.5.2.1 Bond 1: Youth

Evaluation Index scores of youth in the *Daily Sun* are negative in three out of five letters, and this is shown in Figure 4.1. In these letters, behaviour of the youth is evaluated negatively – authors do not approve of young boys drinking in taverns (DS4), of young girls giving their bodies to older (often married) men (DS9), of teenage pregnancy (DS4), of smoking and drinking and going out at night (DS13) – because all of these activities hinder children’s success in terms of education, and therefore having a ‘bright’ future. In the two letters that have positive Evaluation Index scores (DS2 and DS11), the authors’ evaluations of the potential ([+Capacity]) that young people have overshadows the negative evaluations of children, who the authors believe are egotistical and proud (DS2), and foolish and arrogant

(without a mentor, in DS11). This [+Capacity] is important (it is potential that children have but are not necessarily following up on), so the impression that the reader would be left with after reading these two letters is that children are negatively evaluated, but with some work, this will change. Figure 4.1, therefore, does not depict an accurate picture of the evaluations of children in their current state (that of [-Propriety]), and it could be said that all the letters that involve youth actually do carry negative evaluations.

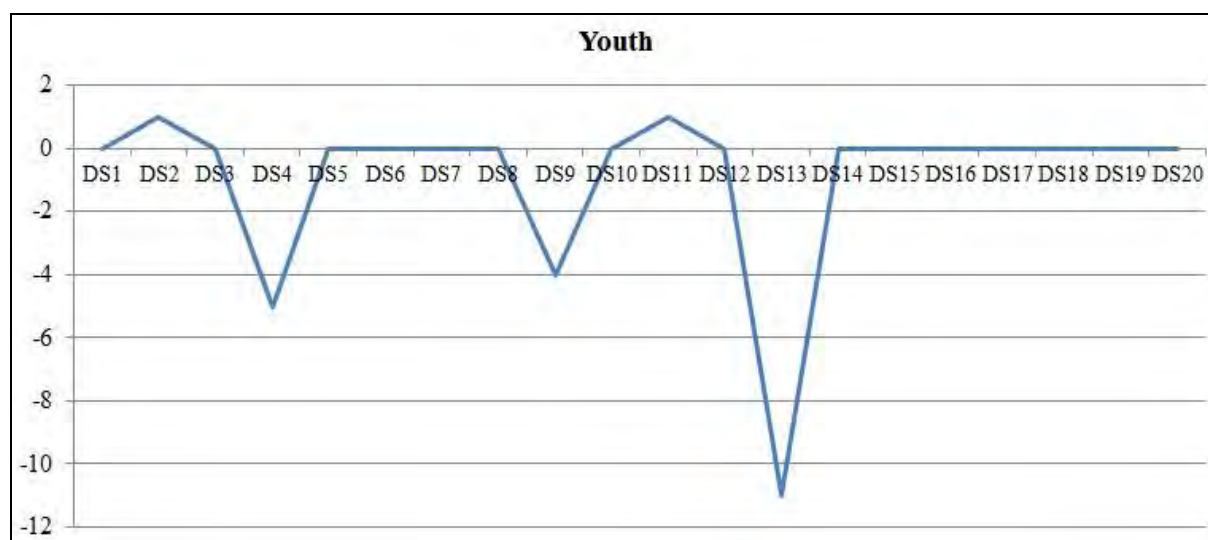


Figure 4.1: Graphical representation of Evaluation Index scores for *youth* and related words in the *Daily Sun*

What does this mean for linguistic ventriloquism? Since the evaluative prosody is very much negative, with only evaluations of *hypothetical* situations of [+Capacity], the *Daily Sun*'s letters all evaluate youth negatively, so this could be a standpoint of the newspaper. It is not a malicious campaign against young people by the paper, merely an indication that the paper believes that the attitude of the youth towards education is not the right one, and this needs to be corrected by the community, hence the positive sanctioning of letters that describe a problem, and give advice to fix it. This finding points to the refined definition of linguistic ventriloquism being plausible, as the couplings expressed by the writers have a dominant negative interpersonal component.

4.5.2.2 Bond 2: Education

Figure 4.2 (on the next page) shows the Evaluation Index scores for *education* and related words – there are two positive (DS9 and DS11) and two negative scores (DS7 and DS13), so at face value it appears that the *Daily Sun* is accommodating two stances on the matter, and,

if true, this would prove that the newspaper does not display linguistic ventriloquism with regard to education. On closer inspection of the letters, however, it becomes clear that the writers have similar stances, but are approaching the issue from different angles, and thus their evaluations focus on different parts of the issue of education.

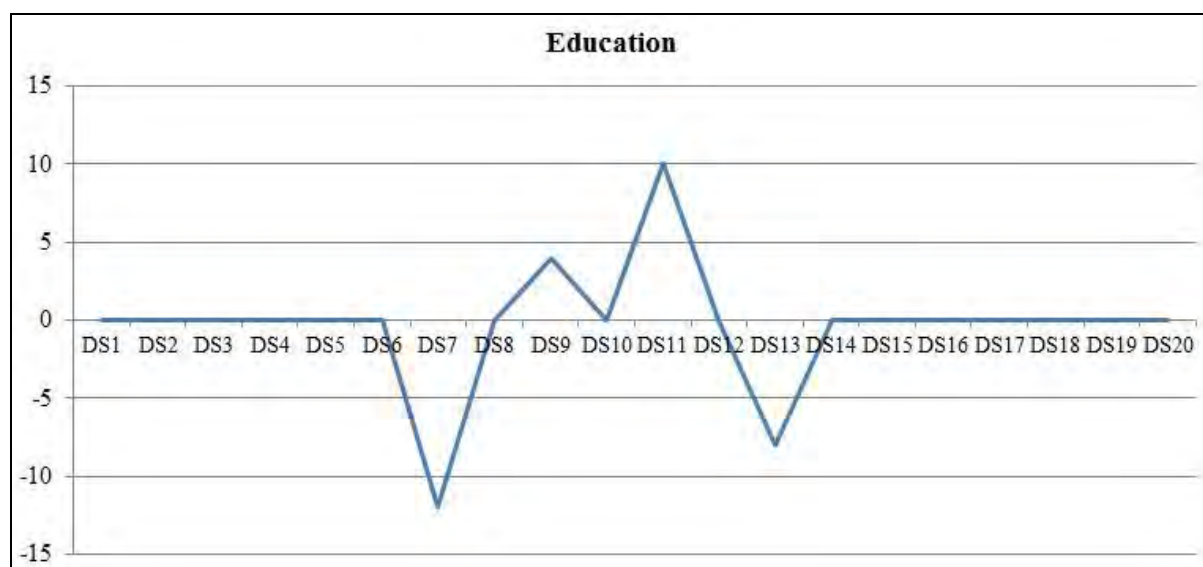


Figure 4.2: Graphical representation of Evaluation Index scores for *education* and related words in the *Daily Sun*

The author of DS7 warns parents against paying out large sums of money to fraudulent colleges, but recommends parents try fully registered tertiary institutions. This shows that the author still thinks that the parents should let their children pursue tertiary education if they have the money, just that the money should not be paid out to ‘fake’ colleges. Education itself is seen positively by the reader, but the actual institutions are not, hence the high negative Evaluation Index score in Figure 4.2. DS13 is similar in that the negative evaluations are the author’s stance towards the pupils’ attitude towards education – the negative evaluations are not of education itself. Because the attitudes toward education are seen as [-Propriety] and [-Tenacity], the author offers advice to correct this mindset, and by saying this, proves that education is seen as important. The evaluations of education itself, therefore, also point to the validity of linguistic ventriloquism, as all the writers see education in a positive light, as something that must be achieved, and this could be a stance that the *Daily Sun* wants to promote, for the benefit of the community.

4.5.2.3 Bond 3: Government and political leaders

Only one letter (DS19) contains positive evaluations of the government, while the other seven letters have a negative Evaluation Index score (see Figure 4.3). DS19 is therefore the only letter that would prevent a conclusion that the *Daily Sun* is participating in linguistic ventriloquism, promoting a fully negative evaluation of the government and its activities. Having seen the results for *The Times* in 4.3 (that the ANC is evaluated positively, but the president of the ANC and the country, Jacob Zuma, is evaluated negatively) is this a similar case? Is the ANC seen as a separate entity from the current leadership (which is clearly judged negatively in Figure 4.3)? The answer is yes. DS19 makes no reference to current leaders, but the author attributes the corruption intervention to the ANC, and the party is evaluated positively. Obviously it was the ANC members (in the government) that made the intervention, but it is interesting to note that a positive action inspires praise for the ANC, not its members in government.

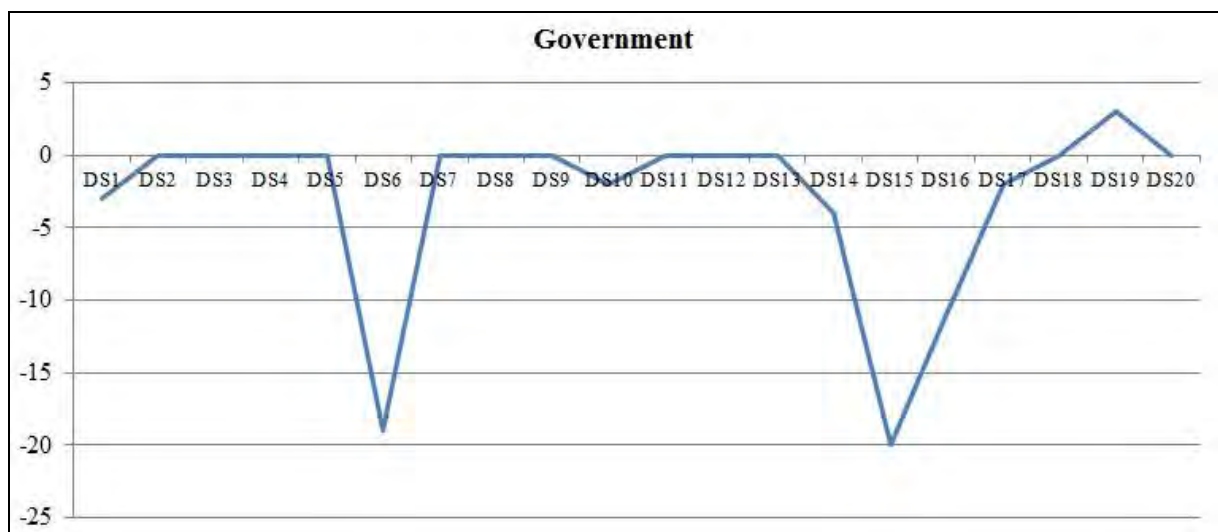


Figure 4.3: Graphical representation of Evaluation Index scores for *government* and related words in the *Daily Sun*

A safe conclusion to draw, based on the argument above, is that the *Daily Sun*'s letters of the day all evaluate the government negatively, and when government members do something positive, it is the party they belong to that gets the credit. This supports the idea of linguistic ventriloquism, but it would take more letters which evaluate positive activities of the government to see whether these are always attributed to the ANC instead. What is quite clear, though, is that where the *Daily Sun*'s readers mention the ideational entity

‘government’, it is coupled with negative interpersonal evaluations, and this could be the stance that the paper aims to project through the ‘voices’ of its readers.

4.5.3 *The Times*

4.5.3.1 Bond 1: The African National Congress (ANC)

The Evaluation Index scores for *ANC* and related words are positive in all six letters (see Figure 4.4). As the data set was collected over a period of four consecutive weeks, this is a very strong positive evaluative prosody. Because the evaluations are one-sided (i.e. there are no negative evaluations to ‘balance out’ the positive opinions of South Africa’s ruling party), the evidence for the validity of the refined definition of linguistic ventriloquism is conclusive.

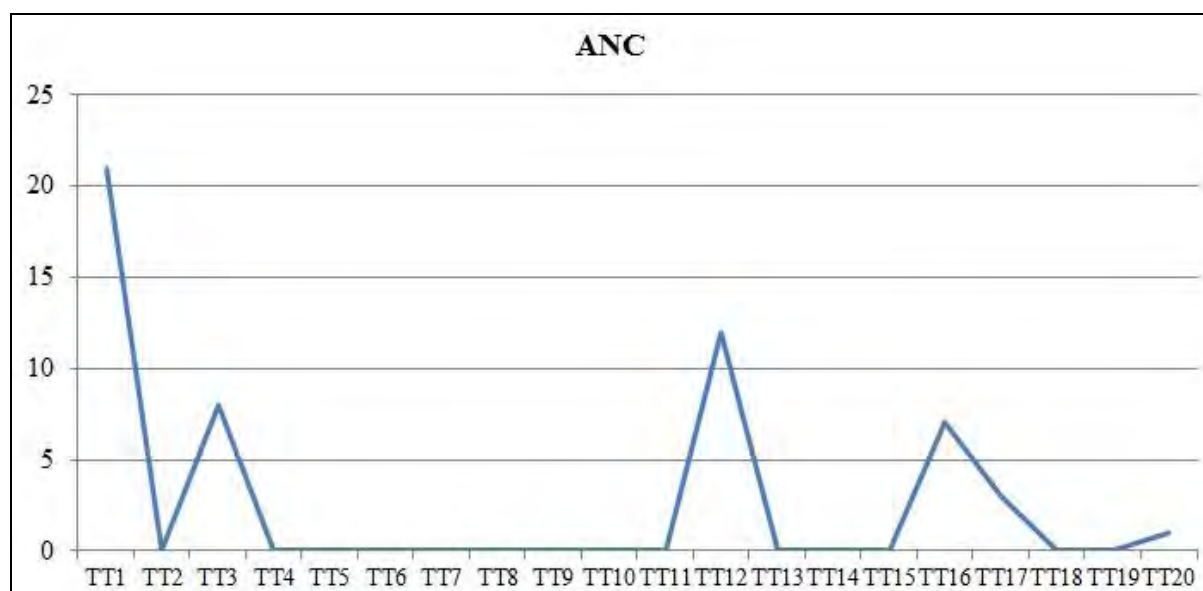


Figure 4.4: Graphical representation of Evaluation Index scores for *ANC* and related words in *The Times*

Although the editor of *The Times* does not explicitly endorse the evaluations in the letters (as the *Daily Sun*’s editor does), the letters in the data set are ones that were displayed prominently at the top of the page, or with a photograph to draw the reader’s eye. The fact that the evaluative prosody for the ANC remains positive throughout the month of data collection shows that the letters that have been displayed prominently espouse similar viewpoints, and this is a good indication that the newspaper has not put them there at random. It would be difficult to argue against this prosody, unless a bigger data set was analysed, but, given the time-consuming nature of detailed APPRAISAL analysis, this is impractical.

4.5.3.2 Bond 2: Education

Like the Evaluation Index scores for *ANC* in 4.5.3.1, the scores for *education* and related words are all of the same polarity (see Figure 4.5). The difference with *education* and related words is that the evaluative prosody is a negative one.

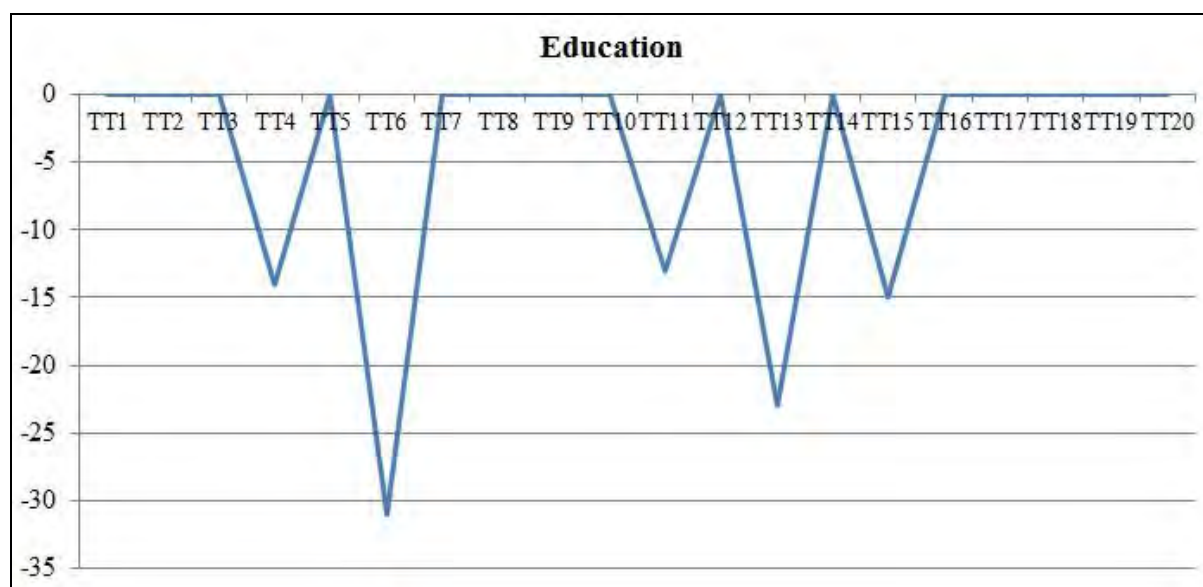


Figure 4.5: Graphical representation of Evaluation Index scores for *education* and related words in *The Times*

In 4.5.2.2, it was explained that, although the *Daily Sun* writers' evaluations of education and related words create a somewhat 'jagged' alternating evaluative prosody, their views of education itself are all positive. This clear conclusion is masked by the writers' negative evaluations of 'fake' tertiary institutions, and the attitudes of some children and their parents. Writers to *The Times*, however, all approach education from the same angle, and that is the state of education in the country. Their positive valuation of education is implied by the fact that they are offering solutions to the problems they find with the current system, but their evaluations are overwhelmingly negative. Their coupling of negative evaluation is more appropriate when paired with a more explanatory ideational component: the *state of education in the country*. If the bond were to be strictly about *education* ideationally, it could be argued that *The Times* readers would readily affiliate around a coupling with positive interpersonal meaning. The consistent negative evaluative prosody provides more evidence for linguistic ventriloquism – but, as with the *Daily Sun*, this is not a negative 'agenda' that *The Times* is propagating, but rather a common opinion held amongst the readership, that needs addressing by people that have the power to change the system.

4.5.3.3 Bond 3: President Jacob Zuma

While evaluations of the president of South Africa only appear in three letters in the data set, it is interesting to see that all the evaluations of him are negative (see Figure 4.6), especially after observing the positive evaluative prosody of *ANC*. One would expect the leader of the ruling party to be seen in an equally positive light – or at least that the negative scores would not be as high as -34.

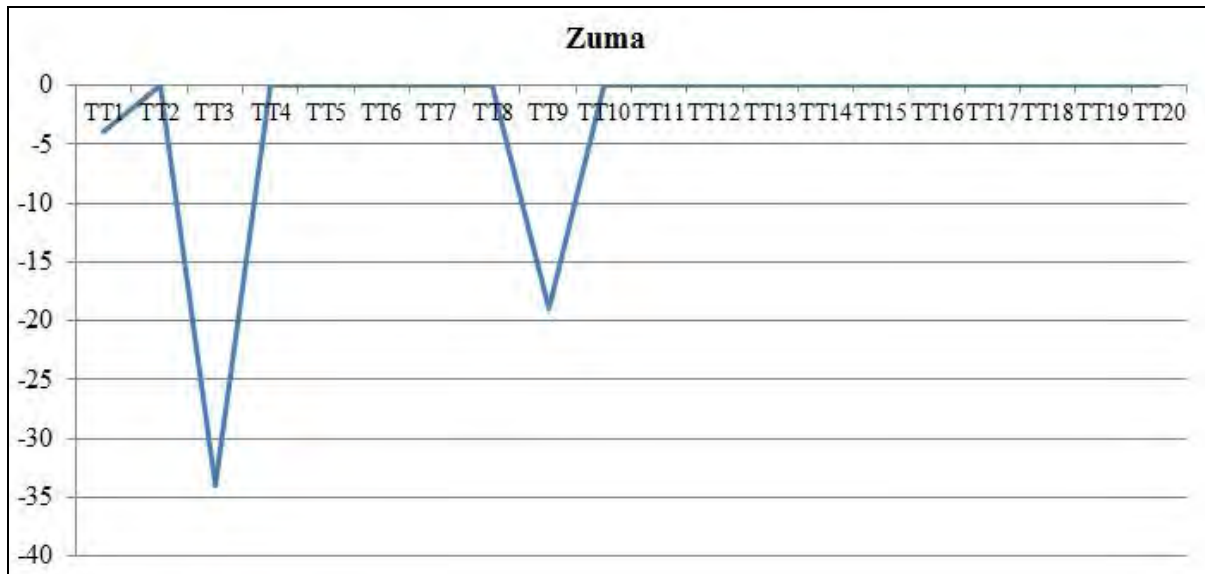


Figure 4.6: Graphical representation of Evaluation Index scores for *Zuma* in *The Times*

Because there are not many letters evaluating Zuma in the data set, it is difficult to tell whether this trend would continue in a larger corpus, but it is significant that 100% of the Evaluation Index scores are negative. As all the other results for *The Times* have been definitive, it could be argued that this negative evaluative prosody reflects a stance on Zuma that the newspaper tries to portray, using the ‘voices’ of the readers to construe this evaluation without fear of accusations of bias. As the Evaluation Index scores are so high, there is no doubt as to the impression of Zuma that the reader would be left with – although disaligned readers could comfort themselves with the thought that these evaluations are merely on the opinions page, so surely the newspaper they support would not endorse these views.

4.5.4 Conclusion

While the Evaluation Index graphs of the *Daily Sun* seem to show that the evaluations of youth and education are ‘balanced’ (and would therefore not support the idea of linguistic

ventriloquism on the letters page), on closer examination, the underlying stances are similar. Added to the results that show the prosody of negative evaluation of the government, the case for linguistic ventriloquism in the *Daily Sun* becomes stronger. It is very likely, therefore, that the newspaper believes the government to be incompetent and untrustworthy, the behaviour of young people to be hindering their path to success in education, and education to be key to securing a ‘bright’ future. The *Daily Sun*’s findings tie into those of *The Times*, as a positive evaluation of action by the government against corruption is attributed to the ANC in one of the *Daily Sun*’s letters. This reflects the division between Zuma’s government and the ruling party itself, that is apparent in *The Times*. The ANC and its legacy of liberation are evaluated positively in every letter in which they are mentioned, yet evaluations of Zuma are all negative, often extremely so. This dissatisfaction with the current leadership, and the writers’ wish for it to be more like the ANC of the past, is likely to be a stance that *The Times* construes through its prominent display of letters that align with their stance. The negative evaluative prosody of the current education system proves that the writers wish to see change, and this is a point that the newspaper seems to endorse more often – it is less controversial (and less disaligned-reader-threatening) to support negative opinions about education than it is to support certain opinions about political parties. Linguistic ventriloquism, it could be argued on the basis of the evaluative prosodies in these findings, takes place on the letters pages of both the *Daily Sun* and *The Times*.

4.6 The APPRAISAL Framework: Analytical Issues

4.6.1. Introduction

While coding the data into the tables found in Appendices C and D, it became clear that there are issues within the APPRAISAL framework that need discussion. One of these is a minor issue – the classification of certain common words according to the framework, which illustrates a bigger matter of the relationship between the Graduation and Engagement systems. Another is re-thinking the ‘boundaries’ of the Engagement subsystems. These issues are clarified in this section, using examples from the data and decisions that I made in this research. The need for adaptations to the framework is discussed, and the relevant solutions suggested.

4.6.2. Invoking Engagement

In a hypothetical example, “He is the most thoughtful person I know”, the word *most* is an example of upscaled Attitude, and this is often the word’s function. But when encountered in

the data set, *most* construed a Graduation-Engagement combination. *What was the writer trying to achieve*, was the question I answered when coding these cases, as the function of the utterance is the focus of the research. In line 30 of TT6, the writer says: “Most of these late applicants had applied to other universities already”. Is this *Most of* upscaled Number, to prove that the majority of students followed the correct procedure, or is the author trying to protect against alternative arguments by implying “most of, but not all”? It can be both – the writer is supporting his point by upscaling the number, but at the same time, Entertaining that there are other students that had applied late for admission. This is not a typical way of marking an Engagement strategy, and the Entertainment is built on the function of *Most* in TT6, so it could be argued that the Graduation strategy ‘invokes’ the Engagement, and can be coded in both tables as such. *Most* also invokes Engagement in the same way in TT19 (line 15-16): “For most people, this was the first time they had seen a parliamentarian in person, let alone engaged with them”. The writer’s intention here is to upscale the number of people who have not met a parliamentarian, to show how surprising it is that parliamentarians wanted to engage with the public. However, the writer could not generalise this statement to all people, because some people have met and engaged with parliamentarians. Therefore, *most* serves two functions: upscaling Number to support the writer’s argument, and Entertaining arguments from people who have met parliamentarians. TT14 contains two cases of this invoked Engagement, and this is likely to be because it is based on race – still a sensitive topic in South Africa. In line 8, the author writes: “The majority of the white community finds it more acceptable for a white man to be in a sexual relationship with a black woman”; and in line 16: “when a black man chooses a white woman, most of the white community questions it because of their racial superiority complex”. The author cannot speak on behalf of the entire white community, so has to use *The majority of* and *most of* to invoke Entertainment of alternative viewpoints that could argue against a “racial superiority complex”. Upscaling Number does strengthen the writer’s stance, however.

In DS12 (lines 4-5), the author writes: “Some men take out their anger and frustration by raping innocent women”. Here, *some* is used not only to downscale the number of men that do this, to show that it is only a few community members that need to be reprimanded, but also to Entertain those views that say that it is not many men that commit this act. The writer combines these strategies so that he does not alienate aligned male readers by generalising this to all men. If the writer removed the word *some* from the statement in lines 4-5, reader-writer solidarity would be threatened, and this would disturb the advisory, neighbourly nature

of the letters page. *Some* is used to fulfil the same function in DS15: “Some of the leaders of my beloved South Africa want the best – but only for themselves”. The number of leaders that show behaviour evaluated as [-Propriety] is downscaled, as not all leaders are self-serving, so this Graduation strategy also Entertains views that there are ethical leaders in South Africa.

The data set shows that it is not just particular grading words such as *most* and *some* that can invoke Engagement. The strategy of upscaling Number by creating a list can invoke Endorsement, as a list of things can prove the writer’s point, as happens in TT9, in lines 5-8. The writer states that “Many of Zuma’s key troops have been tainted with controversy. For example...” and then goes on to list the names of 12 people who have been treated with suspicion. Upscaling the number of controversial people upscales the evaluation made of Zuma’s “key troops” ([Propriety]), and Endorses, or provides more evidence for, the writer’s statement that there have been many of Zuma’s allies in the spotlight for unethical activities.

A final word about invoked Engagement is that it would be difficult to code by machine. Developments have been made by Zappavigna and Almutiari in automatic APPRAISAL coding software, but besides the extremely intricate networks and layers of meaning that are involved in APPRAISAL coding that would be difficult for a non-human analyst to decode, there are innumerable words that could realise an Engagement strategy that are not the ‘usual’ examples. In TT12, for example, the writer states in line 13 that, “Despite Kgokong’s popularity and talents, he was expelled”. *Despite* is clearly a Concession, but *he was expelled* Counters any expectations that Kgokong would not be expelled because he was popular. *He was expelled* is not something that one would list as a Counter if programming a computer to find Engagement strategies, yet it performs a contractive function. Likewise, in DS13, the author argues: “It is not the government that has to get a job or a degree – it is your kids!” Alternative stances are Countered by *it is your kids*, and this is another phrase that would not be seen as an Engagement strategy if used in isolation.

4.6.3 The rhetorical effect of Acknowledgement

The Engagement option of Acknowledgement, according to Martin & White (2005), falls under the subsystem of Attribution, and it is seen as a resource used to expand dialogic space, i.e. to allow stances other than the writer’s own. Acknowledgement, when compared with Distancing, is a more ‘neutral’ way to introduce an external voice into a text. However, in the

letters, it is not always the case that Acknowledgement (a quote) is used to expand dialogic space, and accommodate disaligned readers. In fact, the opposite is true. In DS11, for example, the writer begins the letter with the following in lines 2-5:

Former President Nelson Mandela once said: “Education is the greatest engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a patient can become a doctor, that the son of a mineworker can become the head of the mine, that the child of a farm worker can become the president.”

The writer ends the letter in line 16 with, “Education IS key to success!” The Acknowledgement of Mandela’s words is permitting an external voice in the text, but this external voice does not contradict or lessen the strength of the writer’s message by expanding dialogic space – if anything, Mandela’s quote *contracts* dialogic space for alternate arguments. The writer knows that very few people would argue with Nelson Mandela, and therefore sees him as a reliable source to back up the message of the importance of education. This is another indication that the systematic view of Engagement may not be as watertight as it seems – the boundaries between expansion and contraction are not clear. Another example of contractive Acknowledgement appears in TT1 where the writer ends the letter with a quote from former French president Nicolas Sarkozy in lines 23-24: “It is a giant movement and an “international inspiration”, as Nicolas Sarkozy described it.” After praising the ANC throughout the letter, introducing Sarkozy’s comment can only further contract the space for alternative stances. Including a comment from a European authority is a good way to close down opinions from disaligned readers without threatening the reader-writer relationship.

4.6.4 Towards a deeper understanding of the Engagement system

As was mentioned above, the Engagement subsystems’ boundaries are blurred when it comes to contraction and expansion, with some strategies within a subsystem fulfilling different functions from other strategies in the same subsystem. For example, strategies of Acknowledgement, traditionally expansive, can be used to contract dialogic space, and actually support a writer’s argument (see 4.6.3). Likewise, Distancing strategies appear to open up dialogic space more than Entertainment, because the writer shows disalignment towards a stance – the writer is opening up dialogic space so much that even strategies that the writer does not agree with are cited in the text.

Another Engagement strategy that does not function equally with its other system members is Affirmation, a contractive strategy used to reinforce a point in a reader's mind – and it is usually the aligned reader that this targets. Words such as “naturally” seek to make the argument at hand more commonsensical, which naturalises it in the reader's mind. But rhetorical questions are also classified as Affirmation, and, as mentioned in 4.2 and 4.3, they are a powerful device for alignment, as they put ideas in readers' minds while ‘distracting’ them with a question. For example, in DS15, the writer asks, “WHY do our leaders take our lives for granted?” The question is asking *why* this happens, but what is being taken as common sense is that the leaders *do* take readers' lives for granted. This closes down dialogic space to a greater extent than a Denial, for example, because the Denial explicitly rejects a viewpoint. A rhetorical question such as the one above does not even give the reader a chance to argue, and plants the thought in the reader's mind that ‘the leaders are taking our lives for granted’. When readers make their ‘own’ assumptions and connections (i.e. the ones that have been planted in their minds by strategies like this one), the alignment is stronger. The alignment strategy itself is very powerful when writers can get a reader to think that their opinions are the reader's own, and therefore not bother to question it.

These insights have led me to wonder whether it is not best to conceptualise Engagement strategies as existing along a cline of dialogic space³³. Visualising the strategies from a systemic approach assumes that the strategies are equally powerful, and I have argued that this is not the case. On either ends of the scale would be “total contraction”, where there is no dialogic space, and “total expansion”, where dialogic space is opened to its widest, to accommodate all possible stances on a matter. Total expansion and contraction are ideals, much like cardinal vowels in phonetics, as I would argue that they are not possible to achieve. How can a text allow for all possible stances – how would writers establish their own stance without threatening those of disaligned readers? A writer has no way of knowing what knowledge every single reader will bring to the text, as all readers have had different life experiences, so there are too many different opinions to allow for. But what about total contraction – is this not just monoglossia? All language is dialogic, as it addresses someone, so there is bound to be some kind of dialogic space, however small (see my distinction between monoglossic and undialogised utterances in 2.2.2.3). Even monoglossic utterances are dialogic in that they respond to something which has been said before, or anticipate a

³³ This position was endorsed in discussion with Sally Humphrey before the ISFC39.

certain stance. This view of Engagement strategies existing on a continuum, with examples from the data, is illustrated by Figure 4.7. Where strategies have been ‘removed’ from the systems of expansion and contraction to be placed along the continuum, the remaining strategies from each system still belong in their original places (for example, Entertainment still falls under “heteroglossia: expansion”, as it has not been placed on the scale).

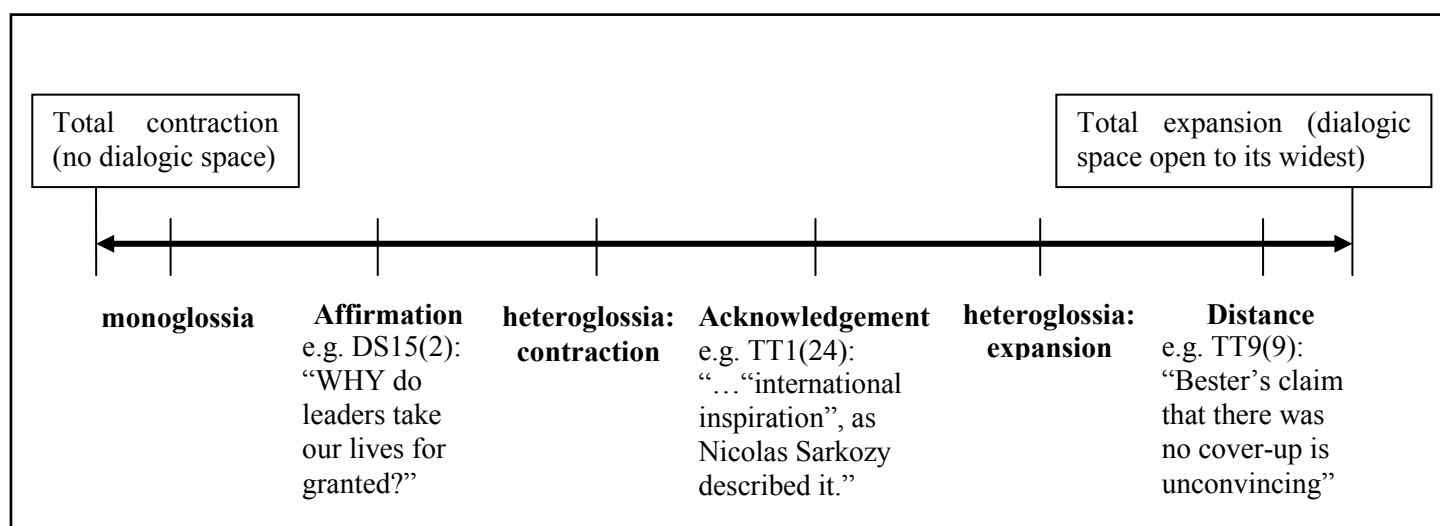


Figure 4.7: Schematic representation of the dialogic continuum

This is not to say that there should be any permanent adjustment to the systemic APPRAISAL framework, but it is important to acknowledge that the Engagement strategies within each subsystem do not have equal ‘power’ to align the reader, so the choices that the writer makes are important – it is not merely a case of expanding or contracting dialogic space, but how far the space is expanded or contracted, and which stances are allowed. The dialogic continuum clearly illustrates how the boundaries between expansion and contraction blur, as Acknowledgement, for example, is a strategy of expansion, but it is more contractive than, say, Distancing, which is more expansive than Entertainment; Affirmation is more contractive than Denial.

4.6.5. Conclusion

The data set has inspired questions about the APPRAISAL framework, most importantly about the relationship between Graduation and Engagement, and how the Engagement system is conceptualised. The use of *most* and *some* by the authors has shown that Engagement can be invoked by Graduation, but, examined in context, other phrases in the data have also been shown to invoke Engagement. Acknowledgements in the letters have sparked the idea of

Engagement strategies being represented on a continuum, illustrating that Engagement is more complex than the placement of strategies in discrete ‘boxes’, and that some strategies have more ‘power’ to align the reader with the writer’s stance.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of a full APPRAISAL analysis (Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement) conducted on 40 letters sourced from the *Daily Sun* and *The Times*. The writers’ stances on education, the government, young people, the ANC, and President Jacob Zuma have been established, and the imagined communities’ interpersonal views on these inferred as a result. Evaluation Index scores were used to reveal the polarity of the evaluations of these ideations, and graphs of these used to generate a diachronic view of the couplings. The graphs show the evaluative prosodies that run through the data set, and the consistency of the writers’ opinions in prominently displayed letters indicates a tendency towards linguistic ventriloquism in both newspapers. The writers’ use of *we* and *our*, and their suggestions for solving problems that they observe, demonstrate the difference between the levels of cohesion within each imagined community. Issues that arose during the coding process were discussed, and it is argued that Engagement can be invoked by a number of Graduation strategies. A suggestion for the re-evaluation of the Engagement system as a continuum of strategies was explained, as a result of the apparent disjuncture between the traditional use of expansive and contractive strategies, and the realisation of these strategies in the data set. The next chapter summarises the main findings in terms of the research questions, and considers possible avenues for future research.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings from my data analysis and interpretation, the process that was described in Chapter 3, and the results of which were detailed in Chapter 4. Each of the research questions (see Chapter 1) are answered in Sections 5.2.1-5.2.5. The relevance of this research to South African media is explained, as well as the contribution that it makes to Systemic Functional Linguistics, and APPRAISAL studies in particular. The research process was not without difficulties, and these limitations are considered in Section 5.5. Despite these areas being problematic to negotiate, they need not be looked upon negatively, as they provide avenues for future research. Analyst subjectivity and the validation of mediated data are methodological issues that are focussed on in Section 5.5. In the same section, possibilities for further research into the validity of linguistic ventriloquism are discussed. I also draw on the results of Research Question 5, which investigates the APPRAISAL framework, to suggest that Systemic Functional linguists should consider the effects of the Engagement framework on a continuum. The final area of research that I put forward is the possibility of an analysis of *Daily Sun TV*, the tabloid's television news programme. To conclude this chapter, and the thesis, I summarise how the combination of methods used in this research has enhanced the strengths of each analysis technique, to arrive at results that are significant for a case study of two newspapers (at the micro level), as well as significant for the APPRAISAL field (at the macro level). The conclusion also explains how this thesis has intertwined linguistics and media studies, resulting in important contributions to both fields.

5.2 Summary of Main Findings

In this section, I return to the research questions from Chapter 1, and dedicate a section to each one, using the findings from Chapter 4. While each question is answered separately, it must be noted that they are not discrete. The bonds that unify the imagined communities of the two newspapers (Question 1) comprise an interpersonal component, which is not only made up of Attitudinal meaning, but also Graduation, and Engagement strategies are used to align the reader (Question 2) with the couplings of interpersonal and ideational meaning. The evaluative prosody that runs through the letters carries meaning, thus contributing to the bonds in Question 1, but the prosody also gives an indication of the existence of linguistic

ventriloquism (Question 4). The APPRAISAL framework is used to codify the Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement strategies for Questions 1 and 2, and during this coding, methodological issues arise (Question 5). The combinations of APPRAISAL strategies and the way in which the communities address the bonds (for example, how they approach the coupling that represents disappointment in the government, in terms of it being something for the individual to fix, or whether it should be dealt with as a community) reveals the nature of the community (Question 3). I have not indicated line numbers in this section, as they have already been identified in Chapter 4, from which these examples are drawn.

5.2.1 Research Question 1: Bonds that unify the imagined communities

Taking into account frequency lists and keyword lists generated by a concordancer, the three most salient topics that the writers address in the *Daily Sun* are: youth, education, and the government and political leaders. These topics represent the ideational components of the bonds that the communities of readership affiliate around; each is one half of the coupling that the bond comprises. The other half of these couplings is the interpersonal meaning. The majority of evaluations of youth are negative, as the writers have identified behaviour of which they disapprove in their communities: young girls getting pregnant (DS4) and having affairs with older men (DS9), boys frequenting taverns (DS4), schoolchildren smoking and drinking instead of doing their homework (DS13), and roaming the streets instead of attending classes (DS11); all [-Propriety]. The writers do not merely identify the ‘problems’ with youth, but also solutions. Children are seen as having [+Capacity] to achieve success if they take their education seriously (DS11). They have the [+Capacity] to improve their lives by learning from adults and senior citizens in their community (DS2). Parents are also told in DS11 that they should improve their parenting skills, invoking [-Tenacity] of them. If the children’s [-Propriety] behaviour does not stop, the futures of the youth will be affected negatively.

Education is very important to the writers. Children should be at school during the day (DS9), as it is through education that children achieve success in their lives (DS11). Parents should not stand in their children’s way of getting an education, by barricading access to schools during wage strikes, for example (the writer of DS13 sees this as [-Propriety]). Related to the *youth* bond above, writers are concerned about children’s apathy towards their schoolwork (DS13), calling it [-Tenacity] (as they have the potential to succeed, but do not act on this by working hard). One writer (DS7) warns parents of fraudulent colleges, and urges them to do a

background check before paying out large sums of money for tuition fees. This warning shows concern for fellow community members and their children, helping them to achieve success by finding an accredited college. If the writer had kept the information to himself, there may have been students in the community left with useless qualifications, and without money, having wasted it on the “fly-by-night” colleges.

The government and political leaders are seldom evaluated positively by *Daily Sun* letter writers. Only one letter, DS19, has a positive Evaluation Index score. The writer says that the actions of the ANC (firing corrupt officials from their jobs) have instilled trust in the government, and for this they must be applauded. The letters with negative Evaluation Index scores also see corruption as negative, but argue that the government is involved in it, coupling *government* with [-Propriety]. This is the dominant prosody, as DS1, DS6, DS14, and DS16 all see various government workers (or an entire provincial government) as corrupt. DS10’s author evaluates the mayor of Johannesburg as [-Tenacity], for doing nothing about the “filthy” city CBD, and the author of DS17 couples the same evaluation ([-Tenacity]) with the government, arguing that they are doing nothing to stop crime.

The main ideational components of *The Times*’ community’s bonds are the ruling African National Congress (ANC), education, and President Jacob Zuma. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the number of bonds explored in *The Times* was kept to three, to be consistent with the number identified in the *Daily Sun*, and to guard against superficial investigation of numerous topics. Business would have been the fourth bond, but was discarded as it appeared in very few letters. Most interesting about these topics is the extreme difference in the polarity of the Evaluation Index scores for the ANC and Zuma, its leader. The ANC’s Evaluation Index scores are all positive, with TT1, TT3, TT16, and TT17 all evaluating the ANC as having [+Valuation] to South Africa and neighbouring countries. The party, which celebrated its centenary in 2012, is evaluated by the authors of TT1 and TT12 as showing [+Tenacity] for having “survived the storms” (TT1). The ANC has [+Capacity] to “help in the fight for democracy” in Swaziland, says the author of TT16, and also the [+Capacity] to “see us beyond today’s limitations”, according to TT3. It seems to me that this reference to today’s ‘limitations’ is directed at Jacob Zuma, as the ‘limitations’ statement appears near the end of the letter, and the text preceding this statement is full of negative evaluations of Zuma and his speech at the centenary celebrations. The author implies that the party will stay strong during and after Zuma’s term as party president.

The negativity shown towards Zuma by the author of TT3 is not an anomaly in *The Times*' letters. All the Evaluation Index scores for Zuma are negative, with the score for TT3 showing the highest (negative) score out of all the data: -34. In TT1, the author asks whether Zuma's party (the ANC while under his leadership) has delivered on its promises, and follows the question with an upscaling of the [-Tenacity]: "a resounding no". TT3 also evaluates Zuma as showing [-Tenacity], because his centenary speech was a "gigantic missed political opportunity". The same author also uses numerous evaluations of [-Capacity] towards Zuma, saying that he could not inspire South Africans, and that his speech showed he was "in a boat without a rudder". TT9 evaluates Zuma's "key troops", and because of their closeness to Zuma, the evaluations of them reflect on him. The writer argues that Zuma's allies are of questionable character [-Propriety], and have been investigated by a specialised police unit, with one being implicated in a corruption investigation. Clearly *The Times*' writers support the ANC, but not its current leader, as the ANC's positive evaluations are mostly a result of its endurance as a party and its role in the struggle against apartheid.

Education, as in the *Daily Sun*, is important to *The Times*' community of readership, as it is a common issue in their letters. The Evaluation Index scores indicate, however, that the community is dissatisfied with the state of education in South Africa. Two letters (TT4 and TT6) criticise the admissions process of the University of Johannesburg, where a parent was trampled to death by a crowd of applicants. Education is "vital" [-Valuation], states the author of TT4, but the university which the applicants were trying to reach has [-Capacity] to handle so many applicants. The author of TT6 evaluates the university with [-Composition], in that it was not organised enough to handle the volume of applications, and both authors see this behaviour as [-Propriety], arguing that the university is greedy, offering false hope of acceptance to students that will pay application fees, only to be rejected. TT13 and TT15 show [-Reactions] towards the current school system, arguing that the people responsible for education show [-Tenacity], by not doing the work they should, and [-Propriety], for not caring about the children's education. The author of TT11 evaluates current teaching methods as [-Valuation]. Based on these evaluations, the writers think education is essential, but it is not being executed properly, because the institutions in question, and those that are employed by them, have different priorities.

5.2.2 Research Question 2: Alignment of the reader

Although ‘alignment’ should refer to the combination of APPRAISAL strategies used (and the prosody that runs through the text), as all these play a role in reader alignment, in this question I examine Graduation and Engagement choices by the writers, because Attitude appears in Question 1, and prosody in Question 4 specifically. In terms of Engagement, it is unsurprising that most writers choose more **monoglossia** than heteroglossia. They are speaking to their fellow community members, with whom they share bonds about the issues they raise. Many of these people will share the opinions of the writers, and people who feel very strongly against those opinions will be excluded from the community, as the authors allow little space for disagreement. Where the writers prefer heteroglossia, they often contract the dialogic space around evaluations that are negative. Perhaps they do not want to appear too threatening to their readers in case some of them are disaligned, but at the same time they want to ensure that their viewpoint gets across. This is evident where writers have used **Concession-Counter** pairs, when they initially admit to there being another opinion, but then ‘correct’ it with their own. For example, in TT1, the author agrees that the ANC was not the *only* liberation movement in action during apartheid, in case others want to argue that the ANC gets more credit than it deserves, and then replaces this with the stance that the author prefers – that the ANC was at the forefront of change: “*Though* [Concede] it was not the only liberation movement, *it has played a leading role* [Counter] in helping to free the country”. This example is not a ‘textbook’ one (i.e. the Counter is not signalled with a *but*, or something similar), but the function of the utterance is to counter the information that was Conceded in the first clause. The writers use **Pronouncement** (as I understand it to be used for *should* and *must*: see Chapter 2) to tell their imagined communities what is supposed to be happening (instead of what *is* happening, because what *is* happening is problematic for the community). This strategy is used in both newspapers, such as in DS7: “Students *must* check that colleges are properly registered”; and in TT4: “it *should* stop behaving as if it can [admit all prospective students] through creation of false hopes”. Writers from both newspapers also **Acknowledge** external voices to support their views (see Chapter 2 for my argument for Acknowledgement as contractive, not only expansive, as in Martin & White 2005), and thereby contract dialogic space. For example, in DS11, the writer quotes Nelson Mandela to reinforce the [+Valuation] of education later in the letter: “FORMER President Mandela once said: “Education is the greatest engine of personal development”. In TT1, the writer strengthens the [+Valuations] of the ANC with a quote from Nicolas Sarkozy: “...an “international inspiration”, as Nicolas Sarkozy described it”.

There are few examples of downscaling. The writers from both newspapers use Graduation to make their evaluations more forceful, for maximum impact on the reader. Upscaling is used to amplify positive and negative meaning, such as the [+Valuation] invoked in calling the ANC the “*oldest* liberation movement *on the continent*” (TT1) is upscaled by *oldest* (upscaled Extent: Distribution: Time) and *on the continent* (upscaled Extent: Distribution: Space); and upscaling [-Propriety] with *many* (upscaled Number) in TT9: “*Many* of Zuma’s key troops have been tainted with controversy”. Upscaling also makes the consequences of an unsolved problem worse, prompting the reader to take action by heeding the words of the writer (especially in the *Daily Sun*). For example, young girls’ futures will be (upscaled Processes) *wrecked* (DS4) and *destroyed* (DS9) if their [-Propriety] goes unchecked. As members of a community of readership that wants success for the youth, the readers would not want problems to escalate to a point where children’s futures are so badly affected, and would align with the writer’s call for awareness of ‘bad’ behaviour in their area, and possibly to take more responsibility as parents and community members.

5.2.3 Research Question 3: The nature of the imagined communities

The nature of each imagined community refers to the cohesion within the community and their approach to problem solving. Who is responsible for solving these problems, and how can the community members get this done? This research question prompted not only an examination of the ways that *Daily Sun* and *The Times* writers try to address the problems they identify, but also the frequency and keyness of pronouns such as *we* and *our*, that unify the community, and demarcate the boundaries between who belongs and who does not (cf. Achugar 2004). The log-likelihood scores of the pronouns used in the *Daily Sun* show that *we* and *our* are used significantly more often than in *The Times*, indicating that the *Daily Sun* writers continually reassure the readers that they are part of the ‘in-group’ by addressing them, and making it clear that there are boundaries between *we*, the community, and others, who are not members of the community of readership. The tabloid writers’ pronoun usage shows how they work to negotiate the borders of their community: these are *our* bonds; *we* are unified by our shared evaluations of experiences. Based on these keyness scores, we could infer that *The Times*’ imagined community is not as cohesive as that of the *Daily Sun*.

In terms of problem solving, writers to the *Daily Sun* believe issues should be addressed at a hyperlocal level (which ties in to the newspaper’s hyperlocal approach to journalism). They speak to readers as a collective (using *we* and *our*), and try to better the community by

suggesting changes in lifestyle (to parents, who should take more responsibility for their children; to young girls who get pregnant or have relationships with older men; to schoolchildren who neglect their schoolwork in favour of going out at night; to community members who witness domestic abuse or underage drinking and do nothing about it). These are not drastic changes that the writers are suggesting. They imply that if each person ‘does the right thing’, the accumulation of change will make a difference. Each member of the imagined community is being appealed to; they are told that their behaviour matters, and they can help fix problems in their local communities. This is reflected by the prevalence of Judgement strategies that are used to show the community how to improve life in their communities, for example, in DS12: “Men, let’s conduct ourselves with *respect*”. *The Times*’ writers do not speak to their fellow community members, preferring instead to appeal to people or entities who are not part of the community (Zuma, Malema, the ANC as a whole, education bosses). This supports the log-likelihood scores’ suggestion that *The Times*’ community is more individualistic than the *Daily Sun*’s. Writers to *The Times* use Appreciation choices to describe their problem-solving ideas, where their problems (more abstract things such as African entrepreneurship, and in-fighting in the ANC, which do not directly affect the community) can be solved by entities, not behavioural changes, because it is not the community’s behaviour that is the problem. For example, education crises can be solved by changing the curriculum (TT15) or creating partnerships between schools, businesses, and civic society organisations (TT11), and the problem of ANC “opportunists” can be solved by expelling Julius Malema (TT12). While the *Daily Sun* readers speak out about what they see happening in their local community, *The Times*’ readers mostly respond to news events, so are more distanced from the issues they raise, but offer their opinions of solutions nonetheless. This shows a more solution-orientated approach on *The Times*’ readers’ part (‘I will argue that this thing – process – will fix the problem’), whereas the *Daily Sun*’s approach is advisory (‘we will change our behaviour to fix the problem’).

5.2.4 Research Question 4: Linguistic ventriloquism

In Chapter 2 I presented Conboy’s (2006) definition of linguistic ventriloquism as a stylistic choice of newspapers to adopt the variety of English (in this case) that their readers use, in order to better fit in to the imagined community. He later suggests that it is possible that the letters that newspapers choose to publish on their letters pages are aligned with the newspapers’ own views, thereby using the writers’ own words (though mediated) to endorse certain stances. I have refined the original definition by Conboy (2006) to encompass this

letters-page-specific concept of using the writers' letters to promote the newspapers' own views. To test whether this refined version of linguistic ventriloquism exists in the newspapers in this research, I graphed the Evaluation Index scores to examine the patterns of evaluative prosody over the month that the data was collected (see Chapter 3 for a description of these methods). The prosodies that the graphs show (see Chapter 4) are mostly asymmetrical, meaning that the Evaluative Index scores are either all positive or all negative, depending on the ideational meaning in question. All three of *The Times*' graphs show asymmetrical prosodies: the scores for the ANC are positive, and those that evaluated the state of education in South Africa are all negative, as are the scores for Zuma. These graphs suggest that the refined definition of linguistic ventriloquism is highly likely to be valid, as there are no opposing views that are displayed in a position of prominence by *The Times*. It is possible that *The Times*' editorial staff support the progress that the ANC has made in the past, but they do not support Zuma, the party's current leader. While this result is an interesting one in terms of what it indicates about linguistic ventriloquism, a bigger corpus would be necessary to prove or disprove the theory conclusively.

The *Daily Sun*'s graphs are less straightforward. The graph for *government* has only one positive Evaluation Index score (a low one at that: 3), but even though the government's behaviour is appraised positively, the behaviour that is praised is attributed to the ANC. This points to the *Daily Sun* writers having a similar view to those of *The Times*: the ANC is good, but the current leadership (and government) is bad. The *youth* graph's prosody seems almost symmetrical, but when the letters are examined, it is clear to me that the writers have similar opinions. The negative evaluations are concerned with the children's behaviour ([Propriety]). The positive evaluations refer to the [+Capacity] that the youth have to succeed, if they take their education seriously. These positive evaluations are trying to convince the children to turn from their destructive behaviour, so the writers must agree that the children's behaviour is not acceptable. The letters therefore promote the idea that children's behaviour needs to be changed, whether by the children themselves, the parents, or other community members. Likewise, the symmetry of the positive and negative Evaluation Index scores in the graph for education initially points to the absence of linguistic ventriloquism. However, the positive evaluations show the importance of education to the writers, as it leads to success. The negative evaluations are of the state of education in the country – there are fraudulent colleges trying to take tuition fees from unsuspecting parents (DS7), and the youth are not committing themselves to their schoolwork (DS13). Thus, the negative evaluations are of

schoolchildren and “fly-by-night” colleges, not education itself. The writers of DS7 and DS13 must also believe that education is important, because they warn parents of education scams, and warn the youth that they will not be successful if they do not apply themselves to their education. While these near-symmetrical graphs of evaluative prosody seem to disprove linguistic ventriloquism, the letters still promote quite clear views (education is good, the behaviour of youth is bad but could be improved, and the government is not performing well). There are no letters that oppose any of the above views, so it appears that the theory of linguistic ventriloquism in the *Daily Sun* is plausible.

5.2.5 Research Question 5: The APPRAISAL framework

The answer to this question relies on my experience of the coding process, especially where some instantiations did not ‘fit’ into the APPRAISAL framework, as proposed by Martin & White (2005). My findings centre on the Engagement system, and to a lesser extent the relationship of Engagement and Graduation. These two systems intersect to ‘invoke’ Engagement, for lack of a better term. Words such as *most* and *some* function as Graduation strategies, but coding the data based on the function, not merely the form, of an utterance, suggests that they also have rhetorical effects on the reader. *Most* upscales the Number of something, but also Entertains, in that it implies “most of, but not all” so that generalisations are not made and reader solidarity is not threatened (to use the example from TT6 in 4.6.2: “*Most of* these late applicants had applied to other universities already”). *Some* also Entertains, as in DS15’s: “*Some of* the leaders... want the best – but only for themselves”. Here, the Graduation strategy downscales the number of corrupt leaders, as well as Entertains the stance that not all leaders are corrupt. A stance can also be Endorsed when a list of things is created that support a writer’s stance. This is upscaling of Number, but the fact that there are so many things to back the argument up, makes it more convincing. For example, in TT9 the author lists 12 of Zuma’s supporters who have been under investigation, which Endorses the position that Zuma’s allies may have been involved in unethical activities.

Coding the data also confirmed to me my argument that Acknowledgement is often contractive, as prominent figures such as Nelson Mandela and Nicolas Sarkozy are quoted in support of writers’ positions, not merely to introduce an external voice into the text to provide further information or a diversity of opinions. Writers know that the voice of a person that is respected, or has a high status in society, is more likely to lead readers to align with a

viewpoint, than an unknown voice. The same would be true for academic texts, where well-known authors or organisations are quoted to support the writer's stance.

Finally, the coding and analysis processes also triggered a realisation that Engagement choices within a subsystem have different rhetorical strength. Representing them as a system is convenient and allows analysts to see the options available, but this also implies that they have equal power in terms of negotiating dialogic space. Acknowledgement, given its contractive use, is less expansive than Distancing, another expansive strategy, as Distancing shows that the writer does not agree with the external voice, opening up the dialogic space very wide, for aligned and disaligned views. Pronouncement is more contractive than Denial, for example, as Denial mentions the view that the author does not agree with, whereas Pronouncement does not even acknowledge that it exists, rather promoting the author's view. Affirmation is very powerful in terms of aligning the reader, especially when rhetorical questions are asked. By getting readers to think of the answer in their own minds, the projected view is naturalised, as readers will believe it is their own thought, so it must be true. Because the Engagement strategies expand or contract dialogic space to different degrees, they can be visualised as existing on a continuum (see Figure 4.7 on page 120).

5.3 Relevance of the Research to South African Media

Media studies research has proposed the idea of imagined communities of newspaper readers (cf. Steenveld & Strelitz 2010), and have had to rely on focus groups (Wasserman 2008b, for example) to ascertain how the readers see themselves within a community of readership. Focus groups like these have shown that readers trust tabloids to bring them hyperlocal stories, and often call journalists to crime scenes before police. Readers feel that the newspapers give them a voice. Other than the readers' opinions, however, there has been a lack of empirical evidence from the newspapers themselves to explain more about how the imagined community is constructed. What unifies these readers? What differentiates their imagined communities from other communities of readers? This research has provided linguistic evidence directly from the texts, using quantitative and qualitative methods to ascertain the priorities of the readers, and how these are evaluated, to identify the bonds that the community members affiliate around. One community's bonds are different from another's, not necessarily in terms of ideation, but perhaps in terms of the evaluations that are given to these ideations.

This research has made a contribution to disproving the contention that mainstream newspaper readers are as different from tabloid readers as media commentators would like to believe. *Daily Sun* readers and *The Times* readers agree that education is important, although they differ on how to solve the problems with education in South Africa. The communities of both newspapers also agree that the ANC has been a positive influence on the country, but the current leadership of South Africa is not continuing the ANC's legacy of [+Valuation]. While the two communities are far apart in terms of their strata in society (LSM 6 working-class black men versus LSM 10 middle- to upper-class people of various races), the bonds that unify them are not so different, definitely not so much as to deserve such scorn from media insiders.

The newspapers in this research show a tendency to display prominently letters that express similar evaluations, hinting that the refined definition of linguistic ventriloquism is valid in these cases, and should be tested on other publications. The *Daily Sun* explicitly endorses the views in the main letters with an editor's comment at the end, but Latakgomo's (2012) comments about letters to the editor of the *Sunday Times* (see 1.3.3), and, by extension, *The Times*, imply that it is incorrect to assume that letters would not be published because the editor did not like their content. This denial of content-based letter selection criteria is interesting, as *The Times'* letters show a very clear asymmetrical prosody (clearer than that of the *Daily Sun*, whose editor approves the letters in print), also suggesting that linguistic ventriloquism occurs in *The Times*.

5.4 Relevance of the Research to Systemic Functional Linguistics

Because APPRAISAL analysis is so time-consuming, researchers often opt to use one of the APPRAISAL subsystems, usually Attitude, to examine the emotions of text producers. This research has shown the benefit of combining the three subsystems for a full analysis. Each subsystem has its own role to play, but using them together allows the analyst to explore the relationships between them, and how much more meaning they can reveal, and allow one to trace, when they are all activated. For example, if I had been coding for Graduation only, I would not have noticed how *many* and *some* help the writer to negotiate dialogic space, as I would have only been looking for Graduation, not Engagement. Having to work with all three systems leaves the analyst's mind open to questioning the framework. The full APPRAISAL analysis was also converted to an Evaluation Index to trace the evaluative prosody over time, and the combination of these methods is a useful and illustrative way of following the co-

construction of bonds by the community of readership. This research has also provided evidence of coupling of ideational and interpersonal meaning in a genre yet to be broached by Systemic Functional linguists in this regard: South African mainstream and tabloid media. Coupling theory (Martin 2000) describes how the bonds (Knight 2010) that unify the imagined communities are built, with the communities' specific choices of evaluations of ideational experience being the things that bring them together, and set them apart from other communities.

Most significant to Systemic Functional Linguistics, and APPRAISAL specifically, is the way in which this research has tested the boundaries of the APPRAISAL framework, and critically analysed the choices that Martin & White's (2005) framework proposes. It has demonstrated the value of a function-orientated approach to coding, which has influenced my understandings of Pronouncement and Acknowledgement in the Engagement system. An approach like this one may be called subjective, but it means that the analyst is not guided only by the 'appearance' (form) of the lexical items in the text, but must instead have a mind that is open to meaning potential. This research has taken up the invitation from Martin & White (2005) to test their hypotheses, and by doing so has re-conceptualised the Engagement system's choices as existing on a continuum where dialogic space is expanded and contracted to various degrees.

5.5 Limitations of the Research and Suggestions for Future Research

5.5.1 Validating mediated data

As discussed in Chapter 3, data obtained from any newspaper is mediated, which means that it is likely that the words published are not the exact words of the writer. This is problematic when the research seeks to examine the writers' views, but my experience of sub-editing leads me to believe that the editing of the letters (for spelling and syntax errors) will not greatly affect the overall meaning that the writer intended, as APPRAISAL operates beyond the lexicogrammatical level. To ascertain whether this assumption is true, however, would require research where the original text is acquired from the newspaper staff, and compared with the printed version, to see how much content is cut, and whether these edits alter the meaning that is construed by the letter.

5.5.2 Assigning values to APPRAISAL strategies

To create an Evaluation Index that could be graphed in the style of Hood and Forey (2008), I had to assign numbers to inscribed and invoked meaning to get an indication of the strength of evaluations in the letters. Inscribed meanings carried double the score of invoked ones, as they are more visible in the text, and are thus more likely to be noticed by a reader, regardless of reading position. This implies that all inscribed meanings (and, by extension, all invoked meanings, and all options in a subsystem) have equal ‘power’ to align readers, which I do not believe to be true (see 4.6.4, where I argue for a conceptualisation of Engagement strategies on a continuum). Despite this implication, the assignment of scores to instantiations was useful for the purposes of this research, although it illustrates the complexity of identifying the ‘value’ of evaluations.

5.5.3 Analyst subjectivity

According to Stewart (2010), research that involves analyst intuition has acquired a bad reputation, as it is argued that subjectivity steers the results of the research in a direction that may not be the same as would result from more objective methods. Even though some would see this as a limitation to work in APPRAISAL, I have argued that individual subjectivity and sensitivity to the text that the analyst is coding are vital for teasing meaning out of the text. Declaring one’s reading position and positioning in terms of social variables also helps to ensure that one’s coding can be checked by other analysts (my positions have been declared in Chapters 2 and 3: pages 52, 58 and 77). This declaration may be worth problematising, however. It presupposes that the reader of an analysis will understand how analysts’ membership of a certain social group influences the findings. As noted in 2.2.4, even analysts that are part of similar social groups can code data differently, so how far does the declaration of one’s social group help to limit coding differences and polysemy? Research that compares different analysts’ coding and interpretation would contribute to our understanding of the nature of the debate about subjectivity. If a significant difference appeared in the final interpretations of five analysts, for example, then those that promote objectivity would have more grounds for argumentation. I believe that an analyst trying to re-do my research with the same data would get similar results – their coding may be slightly different, but the overall meaning that the writers construe (in terms of bonds, and their evaluative prosodies) would be similar.

5.5.4 The Engagement system

My findings in 5.2.5 point to the need for further research into the Engagement framework itself, as well as the ways in which it intertwines with, and influences, Graduation. A larger corpus of data, or data from different genres would be beneficial in this regard, to see whether the instantiations that I identify occur elsewhere (and whether other examples arise), and whether they have the same rhetorical effect. In terms of Acknowledgement especially, research could investigate how often it is used expansively and how often it is used contractively, to strengthen (or weaken) the case for it to be rethought as both a contractive and expansive strategy. Texts that are meant to be highly persuasive, such as advertisements, or political pamphlets, could be coded to determine which Engagement strategies they use for maximum alignment. This research could help to refine the dialogic continuum, by noting which choices have the highest degrees of power of naturalisation.

5.5.5 Linguistic ventriloquism

While the results of the Evaluation Index graphs suggest that linguistic ventriloquism *is* in action in the two newspapers in this research, these results might prove more significant if measured against the actual comments from newspaper staff in this regard. In the absence of a response from either newspaper, however, I have obtained du Plessis' (2009) and Latakomo's (2012) comments on the value of the letters to the newspapers, and these provide a good indication of the newspapers' attitudes to the letters to the editor. Further research into linguistic ventriloquism would ideally be based on a much larger corpus. It could be streamlined by deciding on the ideational meaning in advance (for example, *Zuma*), and then collecting only the letters that evaluate this. Different newspapers could also be analysed – I would take a special interest in *The New Age*, a newspaper owned by a family that is well known for funding the ANC, but was inaccessible to me during the period of data collection. Analysing this newspaper for linguistic ventriloquism could prove whether the newspaper is promoting ANC values, or not (as the newspaper has argued).

5.5.6 Daily Sun TV

The *Daily Sun*'s TV show was mentioned briefly in 1.3.1.3, but it would be interesting to compare the print version of the tabloid with its multimodal TV show. How is the imagined community represented in the stories that are covered, and are the bonds shown in the letters reflected in the news content? What opportunities does the TV show allow for the expansion of the imagined community (to be more than a 'readership')? Now those who cannot read, or

cannot see, can access news that is better suited to their lives than mainstream news programmes. *Daily Sun TV* will fill the same niche for the ‘neglected audience’ (of working-class people) that the newspaper did a decade ago (especially if it was broadcast on a free-to-air channel, instead of prepaid satellite TV).

5.6 Conclusion

Since the *Daily Sun*’s first edition in South Africa, it has been criticised by mainstream journalists and media commentators. Despite this, the tabloid has surpassed all expectations of its popularity to become the most read newspaper in the country. Over five and a half million people are part of an imagined community that interacts through the letters page, yet little is known about how this community is constructed. Mainstream media audiences’ rejection of the *Daily Sun* community as the readership of an ‘inferior’ newspaper (see page 2) led me to investigate what makes the two communities different, and what brings each one together. My research has used a combination of Systemic Functional Linguistic methods and theory to identify, explain, and compare how the readership communities of the *Daily Sun* and *The Times* affiliate around bonds constructed by the coupling of ideational and interpersonal meaning in letters to the editor. The communities’ bonds have proved not to be as different as critics would like to think. By tracing the evaluative prosodies that run through the texts, this research has shown that both communities are concerned about the state of education in the country, and are dissatisfied with the government. The *Daily Sun* writers choose to advise their fellow community members to make a change in their individual behaviour at a hyperlocal level, while *The Times*’ writers argue that changes must be made at a national level (for example, in the curriculum and in the ruling party). Whatever the nature of each community, and however their evaluations compare, what this research illustrates is that texts have the power to bring together a vast range of individuals who are geographically distanced; an APPRAISAL-based approach looks deeper than words and the arrangement of clauses, to find the essence of the community of readership – the meanings that weave through a text to create the shared bonds that construct an identity for an invisible collective.

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DS1: Monday 9 January

THE Public Protector, Advocate Thuli Madonsela, must be congratulated for bringing back credibility to the office of the Public Protector.

Last year she did sterling work in investigating alleged high profile corruption activities and abuse of state resources and power.

Madonsela has outshone her predecessors and set a high standard for successors.

I had completely lost trust in some of the state agencies, enterprises and organs.

We hope her work will inspire many municipal managers, chief executive officers of state institutions and directors-general of departments.

For the first time since 1994 I feel confident that with necessary support and less political and executive interference, the Public Protector has finally found her constitutional teeth and can effectively strengthen constitutional democracy in South Africa.

- Lesego Mogotsi

DS2: Tuesday 10 January

1 Share wisdom, no matter your age!

2 THE curse of youth is in the deception of believing that they know better.

3 The burden of old age, on the other hand, is the belief that everything they know is
4 indisputably right since they have crossed rivers and climbed mountains.

5 The generation gap between young and old continues to widen as a result of these beliefs.
6 But it is amazing just how much the youth and older people can learn from one another. It
7 goes without saying that, being older, one is bound to know a bit more, but that does not
8 mean one is always right and cannot expand one's knowledge.

9 If we could strip ourselves of our egos and empty pride and allow ourselves, young and old,
10 to meet each other, we can and will achieve far better things!

11 - Tintsoalo Baloyi

DS3: Wednesday 11 January

De-stressing cops

DESPITE the different awareness campaigns, pleas, preventative measures and programmes, police officials are still injuring and killing family members, loved ones, friends, colleagues and in the end, themselves.

Perhaps in dealing with the matter we should start from the beginning and make the obvious point that officers have vowed to protect and serve all – including their spouses – with pride, and not to harm innocent people with the tools destined to fight crime.

The recent series of family violence and killings – by civilians and SAPS members – are really disturbing and traumatic.

These fatal shootings left the SAPS management appealing to each member and their families, who have the responsibility to be aware of the emotional state and well-being of our colleagues and ensure drastic preventative measures are taken.

These steps range from internal to external professional support. It is provided to all distressed members in a bid to curb and condemn such disturbing acts.

The SAPS leadership is currently in the process of increasing the psychological and spiritual services for all its 22 cluster stations to provide complete trauma and emotional counselling to members who have been caught in horrendous situations.

In developing our strategy to tackle and support affected members and give expression to SAPS priorities, we have adopted a multi-faceted approach which includes the appointment of health professionals, a nationwide helpline and spiritual services.

The strategy also urges society to dirty its hands to address these challenges.

It is the task of society and the SAPS to champion the course of these challenges in such a way that the most basic solutions are available and helpful to all our children, fathers, mothers and everyone in society.

- MK Marumo

DS4: Thursday 12 January

Let's take back social power!

I LOOK at challenges confronting us as society and ask just who tore us apart and ripped out our ability to care, leaving us passive.

We stand behind our windows and look as a man brutally bashes a woman and dismiss the incident as none of our business. Some would even cheer the fight on.

We pass young boys walking into taverns to drink their lives away and dismiss it as naughtiness. Some would even drink with them. We are entertained by criminals whose money came through criminal deeds. Some would even take it.

How can we be blind to the academically gifted neighbours' child who can't afford fees while we spend cash on entertainment every week?

Young girls' potential is being wrecked under our noses as they fall pregnant. The best a "village" can do is make fun of them when they queue for their grant.

We yearn for social order and success stories in our communities, yet we can't take up the challenge to act on that vision.

Let's not be hopeless.

- Christopher Mazibuko

DS5: Friday 13 January

1 Self-belief will spell success!

2 THERE'S no limit to the success you can achieve throughout your life. Don't set boundaries
3 for yourself because those boundaries will defer your progress.

4 No mountain is too high if your success is at the top or on the other side of it.

5 The most important tool to realise your dreams is believing in yourself. Believe in what you
6 want to do and believe you can achieve things even other people never thought you were able
7 to.

8 Inspire yourself by looking back at your background and look where you want to go.

9 Imagine yourself up there.

10 Dream and plan how to get to those dreams.

11 Believe your dreams are achievable and put in the hard work to ensure you live them. Let the
12 failures and success of others motivate you. Your positive mindset can open up things for
13 you.

14 Work hard for success. Be a go-getter.

15 - Godfrey Malibe

DS6: Monday 16 January

Corruption is a way of life in SA

THE research by TNS on corruption comes as terrible news that is not shocking at all.

An undisputed fact is that corruption is a normal way of life in South Africa.

I could name government officials who have been caught in a mire of bribery, extortion, nepotism, embezzlement – the list is endless.

Some were arrested but before serving even a quarter of their jail term they were released.

Rich politicians and their cronies get richer and richer in a questionable manner while needy South Africans face unemployment and poor service delivery.

We had better accept reality. Even President Zuma knows that his administration is made up of incompetent law enforcement agents who fail to curb corruption among colleagues and comrades.

- Philemon Kgatla

DS7: Tuesday 17 January

1 Don't fork out for fake colleges

2 WHILE students are struggling for admission to tertiary institutions, I want to advise them to
3 be careful.

4 There are many fly-by-night institutions recruiting students for courses like journalism, IT
5 and tourism.

6 Getting educated after matric can be a huge expense and with many fake colleges operating
7 fraudulently, parents and pupils must double-check before handing over their hard-earned
8 cash. Bogus colleges target students from disadvantaged backgrounds or rural areas desperate
9 for tertiary education.

10 Students must check that colleges are properly registered with the Higher Education
11 Department and do a rigorous background check.

12 The other safe option is registering with fully registered further education and training and
13 mainstream tertiary institutions offering accredited courses.

14 - Jonathan Ngomani

DS8: Wednesday 18 January

1 Do unto others as to yourself

2 OFTEN we act without realising how our actions affect the people near us.

3 When elders recall the past, it seems to them like it was a good environment to grow up in.
4 Children would play safely wherever without parents worrying. They would wear whatever
5 they liked without fear of molestation or abuse.

6 Families and friends got along, wishing each other nothing but happiness. But that changed
7 with *The Times*.

8 These days families and friends do not get along because of bad treatment or jealousy. We
9 talk behind each others' backs, wishing each other failure. People feel restricted in how they
10 dress or in being themselves because there's always a monster waiting to behave
11 inappropriately towards you. And whenever we make it, we start looking down on others.

12 It all comes down to one question: would you like the same to be done to you?

13 - Katleho Mabona

DS9: Thursday 19 January

1 Don't waste youth

2 YOUNG girls are supposed to be at school during school hours and at home helping parents
3 with chores after school.

4 They should be focused and working hard to ensure their future is bright.

5 Things may be difficult at home because of poverty. You may think life is not fair on you, but
6 then it's not an excuse to give yourself to tired men. Think of your future and what it holds
7 for you.

8 Your unpleasant background must be motivation for your tomorrow. Don't let your bad past
9 dictate a bad future for you.

10 Some girls tend to find a temporary answer by offering themselves to older men.

11 Most of these are married. This means there's no future for marriage there. Girls exchange
12 their young precious bodies for material things. These sugar daddies buy girls expensive
13 things and taken them out to nice places.

14 A girl would think it's out of love, but it's mostly lust. The sugar daddy comes to you when
15 things are not rosy with his wife in the house.

16 As soon as everything has been sorted out he runs back to his wife. If the wife finds out her
17 husband's playing with you, the husband will quickly dump you.

18 Sugar daddies take advantage of their resources and they destroy young ones' futures. Yours,
19 as a girl, will be to heal a broken heart all the time.

20 As for a girl who wants the best out of life, stay true to yourself. Don't do the wrong things to
21 get the right things. There are a lot of diseases these days and you're in a high risk zone.

22 Don't settle for less in your lifetime. Your life comes once – make the most of it.

23 Better go for someone with whom the chances of getting married are high. Your body is so
24 special it needs to be reserved. Don't just reveal it to older men who are the age of your
25 grandfather.

26 They say age is just a number in love, but really?

27 Find yourself a young man that you'll grow with in love. Don't waste your time and youth.
28 You won't stay young forever.

29 - Godfrey Malibe

DS10: Friday 20 January

Filthy city CBD is such a shame

THE Joburg CBD is one of the dirtiest places in the country, if not in the world.

Our so-called world class African city is in a state of decay and the city council, led by mayor Parks Tau, is doing nothing about it.

I used to enjoy doing my shopping there, but not anymore. I now prefer doing it at the malls.

It is a shame especially when one considers the fact that this is the very city that houses the headquarters of the ruling party.

It is high time the powers that be wake up and make Joburg the world class African city that it's supposed to be. Otherwise I am afraid more businesses will move out, as we have seen in the past couple of years.

No one will want to invest in a filthy city.

- Bongani Mgubela

DS11: Monday 23 January

1 Teach children to keep learning

2 FORMER President Mandela once said: “Education is the greatest engine of personal
3 development. It is through education that the daughter of a patient can become a doctor, that
4 a son of a mineworker can become the head of the mine, that a child of a farm worker can
5 become the president.”

6 He was urging society to take care of education. We are in the second week of the school
7 year and children are roaming streets.

8 Why don’t we advise them to take their education seriously and teach them it is a tool for
9 success? We have to mentor them at all cost!

10 Without a mentor young ones can give in to foolishness and become self-centred and
11 arrogant.

12 Children need role models and parents are their most important mentors. Let them know that
13 the one who refuses to seek advice will eventually be led to ruin.

14 A bond with a mentor helps them stay on their path.

15 Let’s start by encouraging them as early as possible to see laughter at the end of the year.

16 Education IS key to success!

17 - Happy Monakhisi

DS12: Tuesday 24 January

1 Bring back hope with respect

2 SOMETHING must be going wrong in this world today and terribly so.

3 Men are monsters!

4 Some take out their anger and frustration by raping innocent women and minor girls,
5 destroying young lives.

6 Looking at the dangers of the HIV/Aids disease and how fast it spreads, I wonder if these
7 men love themselves.

8 Some men go as far as relieving whatever they have inside them on goats!

9 Are they disturbed? Our society needs healing.

10 A man will wipe out his whole family or kill anybody at random, just because he has personal
11 problems.

12 Men, let's conduct ourselves with respect.

13 A man who respects himself will never rape. He will never kill or murder.

14 A true man is a father to his community and lays the foundation for young boys.

15 - Godfrey Malibe

DS13: Wednesday 25 January

1 Parents, first check your kids

2 CAN WE be truthful and honest for once?

3 What becomes of our kids if parents are the ones barricading roads against school?

4 Why is it when kids fail, parents blame teachers first?

5 And yet our kids don't even bother to study!

6 Kids go out at night, smoke and drink and don't put any effort into their school work. Yet
7 teachers get the blame.

8 Why can't parents show some backbone and discipline their kids? When they know for sure
9 they have done their part, only then should they start blaming the teachers?

10 I am sick and tired of parents blaming teachers and government.

11 Please parents, wake up! It is not the government that has to get a job or a degree – it is your
12 kids!

13 Discipline your kids first, then blame the world.

14 - Nosiseko Longmans

DS14: Thursday 26 January

1 The people need to take charge

2 SOME weeks ago, I met a former classmate and he told me he is in business.

3 I asked what business he is in. His reply was that he does business with the state and he is
4 doing very well as was proven by his luxury German car.

5 The fact that he didn't want to tell me what business he is in made me curious.

6 After a lot of probing, he revealed that he does any tender business he can find.

7 He told me that he uses his political contacts to win contracts and then he sub-contracts.

8 All these additional expenses are wasting public money.

9 Do we really need provincial governments or are they just a way to create jobs for
10 politicians?

11 The people need to realise that they have the power in all this.

12 - Tshikosi Ramarumo

DS15: Friday 27 January

1 Our leaders steal from us!

2 WHY do our leaders take our lives for granted?

3 Why are our lives so cheap in their eyes?

4 Our country lacks leaders of top quality.

5 A true leader is selfless.

6 A true leader lives a life that inspires people to achieve more.

7 True leaders are not only commanders, they are also good listeners.

8 Some of the leaders of my beloved South Africa want the best – but only for themselves.

9 They spend funds allocated to the betterment of the lives of needy people on themselves.

10 It is really heartbreaking to see people going hungry when millions of rands are being
11 misused by so-called leaders.

12 Remember, leaders are not born but made through hard work, discipline, dedication and
13 sacrifice.

14 - Godfrey Rapabi

DS16: Monday 30 January

1 When will our suffering end?

2 IT'S January – the month everyone dreads but must go through...

3 People are returning to work and there are those who've just got new jobs. This is the month
4 when some look forward to a better life because it is the beginning of a new year.

5 Those of us living in the most corrupt province in the country, Mpumalanga, try to forget
6 how disadvantaged we are. We hope for jobs because we are unemployed.

7 January is the month of hope, but the reality is that nothing seems to change. Our province is
8 still corrupt. This is where you need a relative or a friend to get a job.

9 Sometimes I wonder why we bother to vote because we are not well represented.

10 When will we all benefit from democracy? Why do the leaders we put in power act as if we
11 don't exist? When is our suffering going to end?

12 - Yvonne Bathabile

DS17: Tuesday 31 January

Criminals need to be punished!

THE KILLING of John Moche by hijackers should be condemned in every way.

When is our government going to stop its citizens from being killed by thugs? It is clear the justice system protects the rights of ruthless murderers over those of law-abiding citizens.

I fail to understand why the death penalty has not been reinstated. It is useless to have an impressive constitution while the people it's supposed to protect are dying like flies.

Judges tell us murderers can't be hanged as they have the right to life, but nobody says anything about a person's rights whose life was taken by merciless criminals.

Any person who violates another person's right to live must also forfeit his or her right to live.

- Patrick Sekgala

DS18: Wednesday 1 February

1 Stop having sex in cemeteries!

2 WHEN something goes wrong in our lives we are always very quick to turn to God.

3 When nothing seems to be going right in our lives, we think nothing of asking God and our
4 ancestors for help. Yet we vandalise, steal and have steamy sex at cemeteries and in
5 churches!

6 Graveyards and temples have turned into happy hunting grounds for rapists and a haven for
7 criminals.

8 What happened to Ubuntu? What happened to our moral values? What happened to respect
9 for the dead?

10 As an African child I was brought up to respect these places. I was made to believe church is
11 a holy place of worship, and cemeteries a final resting place for our loved ones. Let's all learn
12 some respect!

13 - Khumbulani Tshehla

DS19: Thursday 2 February

ANC winning war on corruption!

CORRUPTION is a disease that can ravage a society and one must be unapologetic about it.

Citizens look at the ruling party for guidance so the party must show it is capable of dealing with the disease.

The ANC's timely intervention in Limpopo must be applauded. Such actions instill trust in the government voted into office by the people.

The public protector, who the opposition clings to for bashing the ANC, is an ANC brainchild. All members of the tripartite alliance are running serious campaigns against corruption.

These and other campaigns will help in guiding the people and instill confidence that the ANC has the capability to take them to the promised land. When the ANC keeps tight control on its comrades there is hope for the war on corruption.

- Tembisiile Makgatho

DS20: Friday 3 February

Claims can end their suffering

I WAS really astonished to hear about the campaign that the department of rural development and land reform has embarked on to trace claimants.

These people lodged land claims by 1998, but have not contacted the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights.

People could be living in poverty while their money is in the department.

Efforts to trace these claimants have been unsuccessful.

Claimants have also opted for financial compensation but have not come forward to collect their vouchers. There are also land claims that are not yet finalised due to incomplete information. In most instances the contact details are outdated.

I appeal to whoever lodged a land claim to visit the commission to collect their claim.

- Thina Tema

APPENDIX B: *THE TIMES* LETTERS

TT1: Monday 9 January

Happy centenary, ANC, but there's still lots to do

A HUNDRED years of existence as a political organisation is worth celebrating.

The ANC turned 100 on January 8.

The centenary celebration was held where the liberation movement was formed – in Mangaung, Free State. Many people, including heads of state and former presidents, descended on Mangaung to celebrate with the oldest liberation movement on the continent.

In an unprecedented move, the ruling party broke away from its traditional practice and allowed only President Jacob Zuma to speak. There is a school of thought that this was done to avoid the president being embarrassed by the party's youth league, though the ruling party has denied this.

Despite its many challenges, the ANC has many reasons to celebrate its centenary. It has played a pivotal role in the struggle against the evil of apartheid. Though it was not the only liberation movement, it has played a leading role in helping to free the country.

The ruling party has also produced great leaders such as Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, to name but three. And it is expected to produce more extraordinary leaders.

Challenges faced by the movement are different to those of yesterday. Chief among the myriad challenges confronting the ruling party today is corruption, which is eating away at the soul of the nation, and the liberation movement has admitted as much.

The pertinent question is: has Zuma's party delivered on its promises? The answer is a resounding "no". A lot still needs to be done to liberate the masses from the shackles of poverty. That said, the masses still have confidence in the ANC that it will take them to the promised land.

The ruling party has seen it all and survived the storms. It is a giant movement and an "international inspiration", as Nicolas Sarkozy described it. Happy 100 years, ANC!

- Thabile Mange

TT2: Tuesday 10 January

1 Police suicides affect us all

2 DESPITE the various awareness campaigns, pleas, preventative measures, programmes and
3 so on, police officials are still injuring and killing family members, loved ones, friends,
4 colleagues and themselves.

5 Officers have vowed to protect and serve all societies, including their spouses, with pride,
6 and not to harm innocent lives with official tools designed to fight crime.

7 A recent spate of family violence and killings by our members is very disturbing and
8 traumatic.

9 These fatal shootings left police management appealing to every member, employee,
10 manager, commander and family member who has responsibility in this regard to be aware of
11 the emotional state and wellbeing of our colleagues and ensure that drastic preventative
12 measures, including internal and external professional support, is provided to all distressed
13 members in an attempt to curb and condemn such disturbing acts.

14 However, the essence of our approach is not to mourn this behaviour, but to find solutions to
15 a complex reality and also utilise all SA Police Service avenues, including the employee
16 health and wellness and spiritual services, to win the war against suicide in our ranks.

17 SAPS leadership is currently in a process to increase the manpower under psychological and
18 spiritual services in all its 22 cluster stations to provide trauma and emotional counselling to
19 members caught in horrendous situations.

20 But these demand human understanding and detailed emotional therapy and spiritual
21 assistance when viewing in daily police life and the duty challenges that members come
22 across while protecting and serving our society.

23 In dealing with such issues, the SAPS management in Gauteng proceeds from the premise
24 that a rising suicide rate also means a decrease in the safety and security of citizens.

25 The health and wellness of SAPS's employees has been an ongoing priority realised through
26 health promotion which forms part of overall wellness programmes.

27 We have adopted a multifaceted approach which includes appointment of health
28 professionals, helpline numbers across the nation and spiritual services.

29 We should be seen to be doing something to change the world and provide assistance to our
30 children and families to overcome their challenges.

31 Circumstances and incidents that might lead to stressful situations must be identified, and we
32 must ensure that, where necessary employees are taken care of to remedy our society at large.

33 Help us help you.

34 - Captain MK Marumo, Gauteng Provincial Head Office Communications

TT3: Wednesday 11 January

1 Zuma's speech did not take us beyond 100 years

2 A SPEECH is as great as it is a true representation of the ideals of the man who espouses his
3 own ideas.

4 Undoubtedly, not only did President Jacob Zuma's speech speak volumes about the man – a
5 man in an esteemed boat without a rudder – but it also exposed the contradictions between
6 the man and the kind of society the ANC has long aspired to build.

7 I cannot but lament the misgivings of this, a gigantic missed political opportunity, one that
8 comes only once in one's lifetime.

9 As was my critique of Zuma's inaugural state of the national address, the centenary address
10 also lacked strategic focus.

11 My novice understanding is that a presidential address has political and strategic purpose,
12 intended to set the political and strategic agenda – and set the pace for workmanship,
13 inspiring confidence in government's political and strategic programme in response to the
14 nation's aspirations.

15 Between pauses, misplaced full stops and broken single words (for example, “member ship”),
16 one had hoped that four years in office would have sharpened, if not the mind, at least the
17 tactic of the pen.

18 What we got, at best, was a historical lecture titled “ANC 101”.

19 This lecture was particularly useful to those oblivious to the activities of the liberation
20 movement during the struggle.

21 However, a history lecture devoid of political analysis or actionable historic lessons for the
22 future proves shallow.

23 The address lacked thematic focus, a common thread that bound it together, an underlying
24 message.

25 Perhaps it would have been important to give a political synopsis of the following:

- (D)evolution of a glorious movement: a synopsis of the past in context, as well as a political diagnostic of where we are as a movement;
- Lessons to be drawn from other liberation movements; avoiding past failures and evolving as a party in government; and
- Moving towards the second centenary of the ANC. The president had an obligation to give leadership in this respect.

As Zuma closed off with the song “*Senzeni na*” (what have we done as black people?), I could not help but wonder: What have we have done (as a citizenry) to deserve an address unbecoming the occasion?

One wonders what our sin now is?

The ANC has exceptional ability to see us beyond today’s limitations. South Africa needs the ANC as the body needs oxygen. We must commit ourselves to seeing the second centenary of the ANC.

- Zukiswa Mqolomba

TT4: Thursday 12 January

1 UJ has failed the disaster management test dismally

2 It is disturbing that a parent died in the stampede at the University of Johannesburg.

3 Education is vital for personal growth and the development of a nation, and it is very
4 encouraging to see parents involved in their children's education.

5 The incident is, nevertheless, a very sad state of affairs.

6 Besides UJ taking full responsibility for poor disaster management skills, giving prospective
7 students a false sense of hope, creating a pie in the sky and poor admission system, other
8 stakeholders such as the departments of higher education and labour must realise that
9 building a successful country needs a concerted effort from everyone.

10 It is obvious the country suffers from an excess supply of matriculants who instantly become
11 surplus labour due to the lack of employment opportunities.

12 Alternative means must be found to accommodate our matriculants.

13 Although UJ cannot be exonerated for its perceived desperate marketing strategy and
14 grandstanding regarding the management of late applications through marquees and snaking
15 queues, while other universities manage this with ease, it is important the university realises it
16 cannot admit all students who failed to apply on time and it should stop behaving as if it can
17 through creation of false hopes.

18 Other universities manage late applications by considering only applications from those who
19 meet admissions criteria. This would save students from paying the application fee, which
20 most families cannot afford, this being one of the reasons most students failed to apply on
21 time.

22 Will the student whose mother died be admitted? The mother was the family's breadwinner.
23 What is going to happen to the children?

24 - Phillimon Mnisi

TT5: Friday 13 January

1 Much more must be done to create entrepreneurs

2 THERE are a number of reasons to be worried about the state of entrepreneurship in South
3 Africa and globally.

4 For instance, when one looks at the Gini coefficient – which highlights the gap between the
5 poor and the rich in a country – it is clear that inequality is worsening. In spite of the critical
6 role that entrepreneurship has to play in development, we are still not making progress in
7 advancing it in South Africa.

8 We need to change mindsets and this starts with dispelling myths about entrepreneurship.

9 First, forget the notion of “born” entrepreneurs. They are developed and we as a nation need
10 to start developing them in all spheres of society.

11 This is supported by a recent report, “Nature or nurture: Decoding the entrepreneur”, which
12 surveyed 685 entrepreneurs worldwide.

13 Its interesting findings include that entrepreneurial leaders are made, not born; that many
14 (45%) start companies by the time they are 30; that entrepreneurship is rarely a one-off
15 decision (60% had started three or more companies); and that funding, people and know-how
16 are the biggest barriers to entrepreneurial success.

17 South Africa is doing itself an injustice if it talks of entrepreneurship only in the domain of
18 economic entrepreneurship.

19 Social entrepreneurship is important, as is environmental entrepreneurship and
20 entrepreneurship in education and government.

21 There are relatively few examples of entrepreneurship and a high failure rate at the SMME
22 level in South Africa. Why?

23 Fingers are often pointed at the shortage of funding for entrepreneurs, but research points to
24 the lack of skills as being a bigger stumbling block.

25 If we look at how entrepreneurship is defined, we see it is about three elements: identifying
26 opportunities, exploiting those opportunities in a value-adding and innovative manner, and
27 then managing those opportunities.

28 It is possible to train people to exploit opportunities and to take calculated risks.
29 Entrepreneurs can be trained to innovate – to bring true value to the market and not just a “me
30 too” type of offering.

31 And it is not rocket science. There is value in efficiency – if you can bring a product or
32 service to the consumer in a more efficient way, that is innovation.

33 The tools are at hand to develop potential entrepreneurs.

34 This has been proven, and recent research has again confirmed this.

35 Let us forget the notion of “born” entrepreneurs and rather set about purposefully developing
36 systemic entrepreneurship.

37 - Professor Tobie de Coning, chief director of strategic initiatives and human
38 resources at Stellenbosch University

TT6: Monday 16 January

1 Greed was at the root of UJ's chaos, and tragedy

2 IF THERE'S anyone to blame for the tragedy at the University of Johannesburg, it's the
3 university.

4 A combination of greed, negligence, incompetence, disorganisation and flaws in UJ's
5 admission process is to blame.

6 I have been accompanying pupils to UJ every year for about four years now. I've stood in
7 those queues year after year, and I know exactly what I'm talking about.

8 • It should be made clear that those who were crowding outside the gates (I was there) were
9 not just late applicants. They were returning students who came to sort out their
10 registrations, and there were timeous applicants who were provisionally admitted and
11 were there to submit their final results.

12 There were also timeous applicants who were not provisionally admitted in 2010, but who
13 passed well and needed to submit their results for admission. There were other thousands
14 who came to enquire about other things. All these people were made to crowd outside one
15 gate.

16 • Provisional admissions far exceeded capacity so it was unrealistic to call for more
17 applications before finalising the actual numbers.

18 • Common sense and rationality dictate that the university should have dealt with timeous
19 applications first, before opening up for late applications. This usually results in some
20 late-applicants being admitted first and timeous applicants being told the space is full
21 (I've saw it happen last year to one of my pupils).

22 • The university's non-refundable application fee increased from R250 to R350 in 2011.
23 That is 40% compared to the current inflation-rate of about 3%. Why? By calling for late
24 applications, the university received at least R2-million in two days (from more than
25 7 000 applications). This should ring a bell to the sensible. Who benefited most?

26 • Why would UJ SMS students to come and apply? What else were they expecting when
27 most pupils are desperate for admission at this time?

28 • Pupils should not be blamed for late applications. In the real world we can't expect pupils
29 to apply to every single university and we cannot expect all matriculants to apply to UJ.
30 Most of these late applicants had applied to other institutions already but were either
31 rejected for not meeting criteria or were not sure of their outcomes and were thus
32 applying to UJ to secure a place in case they were not admitted to their institutions of
33 choice. It's not like all late applicants did not apply at all.

34 • UJ has four campuses. In previous years, a number of these campuses, if not all, were
35 used for admission processes, and still the crowds at each campus would be astounding.
36 In 2011, UJ decided to only use Bunting Road alone. Why?

37 I accompanied one of my students to the DFC campus on the morning of the incident, and
38 we were told by security at the gate that all applications and registrations are done at
39 Bunting Road, regardless of study choice. I was shocked, knowing how chaotic this
40 would be. Anyway, we went to Bunting Road, and it was as I expected.

41 • Unisa enrolls thousands of students every year, but a situation like this wouldn't have
42 happened there because they have the proper controls in place. They deal with timeous
43 applicants before dealing with late applicants and they have lots of staff in place during
44 registration to ensure its smooth running.

45 • When a crowd has grown wild and there are no proper controls in place, people push their
46 way through and a stampede results. You step on someone because you're being pushed
47 from behind. It is not intentional. The crowd at UJ went wild and the security personnel
48 failed to control the situation.

49 It's unfortunate that some people only learn lessons from tragic events like this, which
50 could have been avoided.

51 - Edwin Mashaba

TT7: Tuesday 17 January

Africa must unite to take back riches

THE oil protests in Nigeria should be welcomed by all since they remind us of the fact that Africans are poor while the African continent is probably the richest in terms of natural resources.

The protests help us ask the hard question: How we can get out of this situation?

As a country we must support such protests because it is our dream that African riches benefit Africans.

Why should African countries like Nigeria or Sudan have large quantities of oil, and yet still have poor people?

It is the same question we have to ask about South Africa. We have gold and platinum in this country, yet the people who benefit from this are not necessarily South Africans, but US and European governments that may not even have natural resources in abundance.

At our expense they get rich, and we allow them. It is time African countries started supporting each other for the benefit of Africans themselves.

The Americans and Europeans have exploited us enough, and they continue to do so in the 21st century.

- Tembisile Magkatho

TT8: Wednesday 18 January

Entire CSA executive is at the root of the debacle

WHAT a bumbling lot is the executive of Cricket South Africa.

We now hear from the chairman of its finance committee, John Bester, that CEO Gerald Majola had a responsibility to report the bonus issue to the proper channels, but failed to do so.

I assume Bester must have been aware that Majola had breached the Company's Act, yet was part of the internal Khan inquiry that granted Majola absolution, but later added his voice to the decision to severely reprimand the CEO for his flagrant disregard of company law.

Bester's claim that there was no intended cover-up is unconvincing, and he claims the administration is in a good space – more like a vacuum.

I hope that, in the event of criminal charges being levelled against certain members, CSA will not carry the legal costs.

My suggestion is to award the entire executive with the "DCM" (don't come Monday).

A new start is required with the new executive putting in place checks and balances, and emphasis on development to let this beautiful game flourish and bring back meaningful sponsorship.

- Ted O'Connor

TT9: Thursday 19 January

No tears for Enoch after his resignation

THE resignation of Enoch Godongwana amid speculation of financial mismanagement when he was in Numsa revives a debate about the character of people who backed Jacob Zuma's presidency.

Many of Zuma's key troops have been tainted with controversy. For example, Mac Maharaj, Vusi Mona, Sicelo Shiceka, Willem Heath, Peggy Nkonyeni, Alpha Shelembe, Schabir Shaik, Sipiwe Nyanda, Jon Qwelane, John Block, Mike Mabuyakhulu, Menzi Simelane and others who were investigated by the Scorpions.

Godongwana, a former trade unionist and Community Party central committee member, has been a controversial character.

His name came up in the Pillay Commission, which was appointed by former Eastern Cape premier Nosimo Balindlela to investigate corruption in the province.

Balindlela was sacked by Zuma's national committee for investigating her peers, who included Makhenkesi Stofile, Stone Sizana and Godongwana.

Godongwana is known for publicly dismissing Cosatu's criticism of Zuma's government as opportunistic.

He has been at loggerheads with Cosatu's Zwelinzima Vavi and Numsa's Irvin Jim.

He is known to be very close to Sdumo Dlamini, Jeremy Cronin and Blade Nzimande.

Like other trade unionists in Zuma's cabinet, he has failed to use his influence to change economic and monetary policies.

His resignation, publicly announced by Maharaj, is not a loss to the left's influence in cabinet.

- Noluthando Pearl Ngobese

TT10: Friday 20 January

Culture, stigma drive women to kidnap babies

THE police officer takes a simplistic view of a very complex matter (“The desperate women who kidnap babies”, yesterday).

These women are not merely protecting “love relationships”, as he calls them.

In African culture, barrenness still carries a stigma. There are derogatory names for such women.

A married woman who cannot give birth to an heir is often maligned by her husband’s family and society in general.

She has to live with the constant threat that if she cannot produce a child soon, her husband will be forced to take another wife who will.

If she is in a polygamous marriage, like Hannah in the Bible, she will be taunted by the other wives.

Consequently, you will find that most of the perpetrators are married women.

The man’s fertility is seldom questioned.

Adoption is not an option as it is believed that the child is born spiritually linked to rituals peculiar to that ancestry, and a cross-pollination of rituals will anger the child’s ancestors and cause all sorts of misfortunes for the child, including sickness and disease.

In the quest for progeny, these women are shunted from one traditional healer to another “for treatment”.

The success rate of this treatment is not known as it is rumoured that a wily sangoma, who suspects the husband may be the one afflicted with infertility, surreptitiously assists by donating his own sperm, but I digress.

Thus, desperate to maintain their dignity and monogamous marriages, they then make false claims of pregnancy and, in order to carry it through, resort to this most heinous crime.

- Advocate Sipokazi Poswa-Lerotholi

TT11: Monday 23 January

Partnerships are key to transforming education

OPINIONS about the status of the education system are wide and varied.

What it is that constitutes success in the 21st century has to be defined.

Similarly, the criteria used to determine success in the industrial age as compared to success in today's knowledge age.

Relevance is, therefore, the operative word.

Active teachers in South African schools today are mostly between the ages of 40 and 55, suggesting that much of the content taught and methodologies suggested could be obsolete, less relevant or irrelevant.

The need for the retraining and reskilling of teachers therefore becomes inevitable, even when fair numbers of teachers continue to improve and upgrade their qualifications, skills and knowledge base.

It is my guess that student numbers will stabilise in schools where relevance substitutes convention in course material and subject content. We today live in an almost borderless economy; social networking is instant, and books can be accessed online. In South Africa, the effect of these changes is, to an extent, reflected in the approximately 600 000 graduates reportedly not able to find employment commensurate with their qualifications.

Furthermore, an untested view attributes the drop-out rate in South African schools partially to the phenomenon of a non-demanding, conventional education order, primarily focused on academic knowhow with little or no opportunity for expression of natural, individual talent, skill or creativity. How do we provide pupils with the space and opportunity for self-expression of ability, skill or talent, academically or otherwise, in schools?

For starters, this cannot be achieved by schools alone. Collaborative partnerships between but not restricted to schools, sport bodies, business, industry, commerce, the arts, the Setas, FET colleges, civic organisations, NGOs and so on could possibly provide the contextual milieu within which a transformed national educational arrangement can occur.

27 The idea is to initially have two categories of formal school-based education: academic and
28 vocational.

29 A student aptitude assessment, done at the beginning of the senior phase, Grade 7, is
30 envisaged. The results will be used to determine the type of educational training the student is
31 predisposed to and with which he or she has a greater chance at being successful in carving a
32 career path aligned to his/her natural ability. Grade 9, as is presently the case, is regarded as
33 an “exit” point from the generic school programme. From here on, both the vocational and
34 academic training programmes are to co-exist as options within the school’s FET programme,
35 that is, Grade 10 up to and including Grade 12. Guided and informed by the results of the
36 aptitude assessment done at the beginning of Grade 7 and subsequent performance, a student
37 would then register with either the academic or vocational unit in the school. Language
38 competency teaching and basic life-orientation is taught in both the training options. The idea
39 is for the state and its partner organisations to be joint custodians of all students in the dual
40 training programme, at schools up to and including Grade 12. The vocational programme is
41 to function alongside and not separate from the academic option.

42 Political will is regarded as the primary resource.

43 Existing schools’ infrastructure could be utilised through the selecting, expanding or
44 reassigning of identified centres for this purpose. The stability in and quality of university
45 education however, is not to be understated, nor is its role in producing world-class
46 competencies through its graduates and diplomats.

47 - AA Jacobs

TT12: Tuesday 24 January

The ANC must expel the ‘petty-bourgeois’ Malema

THIS is a good time for the ANC to rid itself of opportunists and liquidators like Julius Malema.

In fact, after exhausting all due processes, the ANC must expel Malema.

History tells us that the ANC could not have emerged intact from difficult exile years to lead a victorious struggle against apartheid, and it could not have reached the 100-year milestone, had it not purged from within its ranks people like Tennyson Makiwane and Alfred Kgokong Mqota, who, despite serving in the NEC, chose to contradict and attack key ANC policies in statements they issued in London, outside the structures of the movement.

Contrary to Mathews Phosa’s assertion that the ANC does not throw its own members to the dustbin of history, the ANC, in fact, expelled the entire group of eight, including Makiwane, Robert Resha, Jonas Matlou and Kgokong, in 1975.

Despite Kgokong’s popularity and talents, he was expelled. There should be no exceptions. Malema and everyone else who believes themselves to be more important than the ANC itself should be expelled.

The ANC succeeded in creating internal unity and cohesion in its ranks because it was able to purge itself of opportunists like Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale, to mention but a few of those who have undermined its internal unity by turning themselves into a faction within the NEC.

This faction was routinely attacking the ANC NEC’s decisions with reckless public statements.

Expelling Malema will be like chopping off the head of a monstrous beast that has been destroying the ANC’s image and unity since the emergence of tenderpreneurs.

At this moment, it is absolutely necessary to openly purge without fear Malema and his “petty-bourgeois” tenderpreneurs from the ranks of the ANC.

- Nhlanhla Molapo

TT13: Wednesday 25 January

1 Children don't master new languages at school

2 I BELIEVE the difficulties with learning a second language at school – whether an African
3 language or English – are caused by the way the subjects are taught.

4 To teach a second language requires special skills and particular methods that schools do not
5 provide.

6 The education department would do well to learn from an organisation such as teaching
7 English as a Foreign Language about how a second language should be taught, and train its
8 teachers properly to do so.

9 We were keen that our children should learn Xhosa, as our own attempts as adults to learn it,
10 from tapes and books, were pathetic.

11 But trying to learn Xhosa at the junior school they attended was a disaster.

12 The school had difficulty finding a teacher of the language. The teacher changed more
13 frequently than the weather. At times there was no teacher at all, and even when there was
14 one, she frequently did not come to school.

15 Alas, by the time the children got to high school it was hopeless to continue with the subject
16 as their grounding in the language had been so appalling.

17 Furthermore, I think it would be an economic and social disaster to teach everyone in their
18 mother tongue. Unfortunately, or fortunately, English is an international language – it is the
19 language of science and much literature.

20 Teaching children in a tongue spoken by a minority of people can only disadvantage them.
21 Where will such youngsters find employment?

22 And how on earth will an education system with a culture of indifference ever get it together
23 to each in 11 official languages?

24 Children educated in Zimbabwe, troubled though the country is, still have an outstanding
25 education and can work anywhere in the English-speaking world.

26 It's too easy to allow political and emotional views to colour the facts. In a perfect world we
27 would all be educated in our mother tongue, in which we would have access to information,
28 education and work. In that perfect world everyone would understand us.

29 - Pippa Maartens

TT14: Thursday 26 January

1 DA youth poster reckless

2 THE DA Student Organisation has taken a confrontational route with its poster depicting a
3 half-naked white man and a half-naked black woman. The catch phrase reads: “In our future,
4 you wouldn’t look twice.”

5 There are issues that need to be unpacked about the poster.

6 The first question that comes to mind is: Why is it not a white female and a black male in the
7 poster?

8 The majority of the white community finds it more acceptable for a white man to be in a
9 sexual relationship with a black woman. There’s a taboo about and intolerance of a white
10 woman being in a relationship with a black man.

11 This emanates from the race and gender superiority complexes that are still rife in our
12 society.

13 A man is still celebrated as a figure of authority over a woman.

14 His choices of partner are not to be questioned because his gender allows him to make such
15 choices.

16 However, when a black man chooses a white woman, most of the white community questions
17 it because of their racial superiority complex.

18 Furthermore, sexual relations between blacks and whites have given birth to the coloured
19 community. Some people have tried to demean the identity of coloureds and make them seem
20 as if they do not belong. The mantra “we are fighting for the coloured vote” is a reflection of
21 the treatment of this part of our population as numbers and statistics first, before they are
22 afforded an identity and respected as fellow humans.

23 The DA itself has not dealt adequately with this matter.

24 In the Western Cape it continues to prey on coloured people as voting fodder.

25 Truth is, sex between black and white people leads to the production of coloured people.

26 The question we must ask is: Have we adequately prepared society for such relations? Has
27 the cultural bridge been well established?

28 Is the DA recklessly promoting something it has not assisted society to grapple with?

29 It is significant to question why Daso did not show interracial relations at play in an
30 environment that would truly empower students of different races to work together.

31 We are not seeking “sexual empowerment in our lifetime”; we are on a path that demands
32 “economic empowerment for all races in our lifetime”.

33 - Lukhona Mnguni

TT15: Friday 27 January

How to grade children and reward their teachers

THE school year has again stuttered into motion with the usual problems with registration, infrastructure and teachers on strike. No one seems to take responsibility.

Schools go on producing another batch of under-educated and ill-prepared youngsters for the (currently non-existent) job market. There is a simple solution: motivation and incentives.

What is required is a curriculum with a core that is based on the 3Rs, plus a narrow selection of secondary subjects.

Matriculation is the key to qualification :

- Less than 40% = failure, so re-educate;
- 41%-50% = unskilled, go for closely supervised work;
- 51%-60% = unskilled, go for supervised work;
- 61%-70% = qualified to apply for apprenticeship training;
- 71%-80% = qualified to apply for technical training and a later diploma or degree; and
- 80%⁺ = qualified to apply for entrance to university, leading to professional status.

Teachers' basic salary plus pay based on last year's class performance should be determined by the school board. This might raise eyebrows, but the principle is simple and will work. Pupils will know where they are going and potential employers will know what to expect and set requirements and training accordingly.

- Ken Stacey

TT16: Monday 30 January

Rail deal means little to Swaziland's ordinary folk

THE cooperation between Transnet and Swaziland Railway in constructing a 146km rail link, which will go through Swaziland, is disingenuously presented as a benefit to the people of the kingdom.

The deal is mainly aimed at helping South Africa export more coal.

The venture is not necessarily an effort to benefit the people of Swaziland.

Its main purpose is to ease congestion in Ermelo, help South Africa transport more coal and thereby enhance the much-anticipated Waterberg rail investment.

The fact that jobs will be created in Swaziland as a result of the project is a secondary issue.

South Africa is mainly interested in cutting its coal transportation costs.

South Africans will get richer and they will rejoice about the smooth rise of the country's economy.

But this improvement will come as a result of the exploitation of cheap labour in Swaziland.

On the other hand, such business in Swaziland can be exploited by the ANC to help the liberation movement in Swaziland.

The ANC should – and it can if there is any will – partner with the mass democratic movement in Swaziland to help in the fight for democracy.

This can be done through part of the profits that will be generated from the coal, or any other means.

It is a known fact that the ANC is an important ally of Pudemmo, the main liberation movement in Swaziland.

This is probably the greatest test of whether the ANC is an ally of the oppressed people of Swaziland.

- Cynthia Tsabedze

TT17: Tuesday 31 January

1 Politics of personality strangling ANC to death

2 IF YOU were a foreigner visiting this country, you would think our politics is only about
3 President Jacob Zuma and beleaguered ANC Youth League president Julius Malema. The
4 two are consistently in the spotlight – and at loggerheads.

5 The politics of personalities appears to take precedence over bread and butter issues.

6 When then president Thabo Mbeki was recalled by the ANC, a few of his cabinet ministers
7 resigned in allegiance to him.

8 Some of these ministers established a breakaway party called the Congress of the People,
9 which is now on the brink of collapse.

10 The ruling party is now divided over Zuma and Malema.

11 The youth league leader wants Zuma replaced by the party's deputy president, Kgalema
12 Motlanthe.

13 On the other side, Zuma is fighting tooth and nail for re-election as party president.

14 The ANC always says the party is bigger than individuals, but if the power struggle between
15 these two powerful leaders is not properly managed, the party will be adversely affected, as it
16 has been in the past.

17 Not so long ago Malema was prepared to “kill for Zuma”. That is no longer the case.

18 The two men are now sworn enemies. How quickly things change.

19 Interestingly, the youth league leader is now courting Mbeki, the same man he helped to
20 bring down.

21 Motlanthe remains quiet about whether he hopes to become the party leader.

22 It is unclear if he harbours presidential ambitions, although there is a school of thought that
23 he does desire to lead the ANC. If Motlanthe were open about this, the power struggle would
24 be between him and Msholozhi.

25 The sooner the ANC deals with the politics of personalities the better.

26 This kind of politics has the potential to destroy the oldest liberation movement on the
27 continent. And the destruction of the ANC is not in the best interest of the party or the
28 country.

29 - Thabile Mange

TT18: Wednesday 1 February

1 Innovation should be the name of Africa's game

2 READING Field Ruwe's article ("You lazy intellectuals", January 30), one is reminded of
3 the book *Capitalist Nigger*, and Reuel Khoza's *Let Africa Lead*.

4 All these intellectuals have a common theme and picture of Africa; they want to see Africa
5 begin to do something for itself. The popular "African Renaissance" and "I am an African"
6 assertions by former president Thabo Mbeki should form the basis of African rediscovery.

7 South Africa is undoubtedly one of the best countries in the world in the disciplines of
8 education, infrastructure development, management of conflict and diversity (except for the
9 xenophobic tendencies in our societies) and politics.

10 We have produced academics of high stature, businessmen and women of an international
11 standard, and we continue to display to the world that we are a learning-loving nation (the
12 recent accident at the University of Johannesburg bears testimony to this, as does the
13 overflow of other institutions of higher learning). The question is: what do we do after all this
14 studying?

15 Some argue that getting a decent job is enough, others want to become business people, while
16 others dream of becoming renowned entrepreneurs. All these make a positive contribution to
17 the country's economic growth and development.

18 However, to prosper we need to become innovative in our business dealings. Engineers,
19 scientists, scholars, academics, intellectuals and medical doctors should focus more on
20 innovation of dynamic instruments of economic growth and development.

21 For example, we have vast areas of arable land which could be exploited by agricultural
22 scientists for food production and security.

23 Where are they and what are they doing? They are giving lectures rather than producing food
24 for local markets and exports.

25 South Africa, viewed as a gateway to economic growth and development of the African
26 continent, should realise the importance of the leadership vested in her by the world. Ours is a
27 relatively stable country compared to other African countries.

28 We should complement that with new discoveries and inventions.

29 Studies have confirmed that South Africa imports more than it can export.

30 A country that does not manufacture its own materials will always rely on other countries,
31 such as Brazil, Russia, India and China, for supplies.

32 One can only hope joining South Africa to the aforementioned economies to form BRICS
33 will assist us to develop our economy for the betterment of Africa.

34 It is time for Africa to lead. We need to be trendsetters.

35 - Witus Matukane

TT19: Thursday 2 February

1 ‘The people’ angry at info bill consultation

2 “TAKING parliament to the people” has been the swan song of the ANC government since
3 the inception of the other layer of parliament, the National Council of Provinces.

4 But the initiative to take the proposed Protection of State Information Bill on national round
5 robins has given parliament a surprise.

6 People on the ground are angry. You cannot discuss a “luxury” bill like this when
7 deliverables like service delivery, education, employment, job creation and poverty
8 alleviation are lacking.

9 In Guguletu, Cape Town, parliament did not prepare information packs or pamphlets for the
10 public or media kits for the press; neither did the panel chairman articulate the controversial
11 issues on which consensus had or had not been reached.

12 Parliament assumed the public would be fully conversant with the bill to engage
13 parliamentarians intelligently, as it is done in parliament, clause by clause. It was not going to
14 happen.

15 For most people, this was the first time they had seen a parliamentarian in person, let alone
16 engaged with them. The people said they felt insulted by how parliament had passed other
17 legislation without as much consultation. Despite all the bills to have come out since 1994,
18 this was their first experience participating with the legislators directly.

19 This bill could be one form of disenfranchisement that the country will regret, left as it is in
20 the hands of the artful dodgers among the current political apparatchiks.

21 - Cabel Thondhlana

TT20: Friday 3 February

PBF's role in state-led delegations above board

BRENDAN Boyle, in his column “Excluded? Buy your way in” (January 26), raises the point of party-political funding in South Africa.

Unfortunately, his points are rubbished by his indiscriminate echoing of the popular media's fixation on seeking sensation in anything the ANC promotes. I cite merely two examples of this from Boyle's article.

He writes: “For a considerable sum – which is not publicly advertised – you can buy PBF (Progressive Business Forum) membership in various categories and get invited to functions with ANC leaders, who happen also to run the government departments that formulate policy and whose tenders are the fountain of new wealth in this country.” Stated as such, it sounds as if the ANC has stumbled across a fountain of cash, which it is determined to exploit, regardless of ethics.

The truth, however, is that there is nothing sinister to it. Click on “Join the PBF” on the website, and up comes an application form indicating fees of up to R7 500 per annum for SMMEs, and slightly more for bigger companies.

Hardly considerable sums, and clearly not amounts that will induce corruption on tenders worth millions of rands. Let's get real.

PBF participants realise the value and importance of dialogue. Especially in a developing country such as ours, with its unique challenges, corporate South Africa and the ANC naturally have to share with each other their views on the economy.

Boyle's second inaccuracy is that the PBF nominates its participants onto so-called government-led, government-funded trade delegations. The truth? The PBF itself arranges, and its participants themselves fund these delegations, even covering the expenses of the ANC minister who accompanies them.

This may not fall nicely on the ears of those intent on portraying the PBF as sinister and abusive of taxpayers' resources, but, alas, to the PBF's own financial detriment, it carries the expense – precisely to prevent any criticism about the misappropriation of taxpayers' money. In addition, the PBF provides its participants with complimentary training, publications and a

29 range of other activities, all included in the fee paid. Clearly, therefore, the PBF is much more
30 than a simple cash cow to benefit the ANC; it has a far more strategic function.

31 The writer acknowledges the need for South African parties to raise money in order to
32 function effectively, as is the case in many other democracies. However, it appears that, to
33 satisfy the critics, South African parties have to dream up alternative means of a higher
34 ethical standard. Please, match your diligence in criticism with diligence in putting forward
35 ideas as to how parties could raise funds “ethically”.

36 - Daryl Swanepoel, co-convenor of Progressive Business Forum

APPENDIX C: *DAILY SUN* CODED TABLES

DS1: Shining light in our democracy

Table DS1.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	Shining light	Sub-editor			Valuation	+	Invoked	Thuli Madonsela
2	congratulated	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Thuli Madonsela
3	bringing back credibility	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Thuli Madonsela
4	sterling	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Thuli Madonsela's work
5	abuse	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	State employees
6	outshone	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Thuli Madonsela
	set a high standard	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Thuli Madonsela
7	I had	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	Thuli Madonsela
	lost trust	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	State agencies etc.
8	inspire	Writer			Reaction	+	Invoked	Thuli Madonsela's work
10	confident	Writer	Security			+	Inscribed	Feelings about Madonsela's abilities
12	can effectively strengthen	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Thuli Madonsela

Table DS1.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	sterling		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	Thuli Madonsela's work
	high profile	Presence			Upscaled			
7	completely			Sharpened		-	Capacity	State agencies etc.

8	many	Number			Upscaled	+	Reaction	Thuli Madonsela's work
10	For the first time since 1994	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Security	Own feelings about Madonsela's abilities
	less	Mass			Downscaled			
11	finally	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			

Table DS1.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	must	Writer			Pronounce			+	Reaction	Thuli Madonsela
2-3	bringing back credibility to the office of the Public Protector	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	Thuli Madonsela
4	Last year she did sterling work	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Thuli Madonsela's work
	alleged	Writer				Entertain				
6	Madonsela has outshone her predecessors and set a high standard for successors	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Thuli Madonsela
10	I feel	Writer			Pronounce			+	Security	Feelings about Madonsela's abilities

DS2: Share wisdom, no matter what your age!

Table DS2.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
2	curse	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Youth

	deception	Writer		Veracity		-	Inscribed	Youth
3	burden	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Old age
5	The generation gap... continues to widen as a result of these beliefs	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Belief that one generation is wiser
6	amazing	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	How much people can learn from each other
	can learn	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Youth and older people
9	egos	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Youth and older people
	empty pride	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Youth and older people
10	will achieve	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Youth and older people

Table DS2.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	better		Quality		Upscaled			
4	indisputably		Quality		Upscaled			
5	continues	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Belief that one generation is wiser
	widen	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Belief that one generation is wiser
6	just	Mass			Upscaled	+	Capacity	Youth and older people
7	a bit	Mass			Downscaled			
8	always	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			
10	far		Quality		Upscaled	+	Capacity	Youth and older people
	better		Quality		Upscaled	+	Capacity	Youth and older people

Table DS2.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	no matter	Sub-editor		Deny						
2	The curse of youth	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Youth
	is in the deception	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Veracity	Youth
3	The burden of old age	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Old age
5	The generation gap between young and old continues to widen	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Belief that one generation is wiser
	as a result	Writer			Justify			-	Reaction	Belief that one generation is wiser
6	But	Writer		Counter				+	Reaction	Youth and older people
6-7	It goes without saying that	Writer			Concede					
7	but	Writer		Counter						
	not	Writer		Deny						

DS3: De-stressing cops

Table DS3.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
3	injuring	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police
	killing	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police
6	protect	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Police vow
	serve	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Police vow
	with pride	Writer	Satisfaction			+	Inscribed	Police vow
7	harm innocent people	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police

8	violence	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police and civilians
	killings	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police and civilians
9	disturbing	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Feelings about killings
	traumatic	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Feelings about killings
10	fatal shootings	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Police
14	distressed	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Police
	condemn	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Killings by police
	disturbing	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Killings by police
	(double-coding)		Security			-	Inscribed	Feelings about killings
17	horrendous	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	‘Situations’ police find themselves in
21	dirty its hands to address these challenges	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	Proposed community action
23	helpful	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Solutions

Table DS3.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	different	Number			Upscaled			
	awareness campaigns... programmes	Number			Upscaled			
3	family members... themselves	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Police
6	all	Number			Upscaled	+	Propriety	Police vow
	including their spouses	Number			Upscaled	+	Propriety	Police vow
8	recent	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled			
	series	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Police and civilians
9	really		Quality		Upscaled	-	Security	Feelings about killings

10	each	Number			Upscaled			
12	drastic		Quality		Upscaled			
13	all	Number			Upscaled			
16	all	Number			Upscaled			
	complete			Sharpened				
19	multi-faceted	Number			Upscaled			
20	nationwide	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled			
22	and	Number			Upscaled			
23	all	Number			Upscaled	+	Valuation	Solutions
24	everyone	Number			Upscaled	+	Valuation	Solutions

Table DS3.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	Despite	Writer			Concession					
3	still	Writer		Counter				-	Propriety	Police
5	Perhaps	Writer				Entertain				
	should	Writer			Pronounce					
	obvious	Writer			Affirm					
7	not	Writer		Deny				-	Propriety	Police
8-9	The recent series of killings ... are really disturbing and traumatic	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Security	Feelings about killings
14	such disturbing acts	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Killings by police
	(double-coded Attitude)							-	Security	Feelings about killings
17	members who have been caught in horrendous situations	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	'Situations' police find themselves in
21	urges society to dirty its hands to	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Tenacity	Proposed

	address these challenges								community action
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DS4: Let's take back social power!

Table DS4.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	take back	Sub-editor		Capacity		+	Invoked	Readership
2	tore us apart	Writer			Composition	-	Invoked	Readership
3	ripped out our ability to care	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	Readership
	passive	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	Readership
4	We stand behind our windows and look... and dismiss the incident	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Readership
	bashes	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	A man
5	Some would even cheer the fight on	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Some of the readership
6	We pass young boys walking into taverns... and dismiss it	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Readership
	drink their lives away	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Young boys
7	Some would even drink with them	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Some of the readership
	criminals	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	People involved in illegal activities
8	Some would even take it	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Some of the readership
9	gifted	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Neighbour's child
	can't afford fees	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	Neighbour's child
11	potential is being wrecked	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	Young girls
	fall pregnant	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Young girls
12	make fun of them	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Community
13	yearn	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Readership
13-14	can't take up the challenge	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Readership
15	hopeless	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Readership

Table DS4.2: Graduation

Ln	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	tore us apart		Process		Upscaled	+	Composition	Readership
	ripped out		Process		Upscaled	-	Capacity	Readership
4	brutally		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	A man
	bashes		Process		Upscaled	-	Propriety	A man
5	Some	Number			Downscaled	-	Propriety	Some of the readership
7	Some	Number			Downscaled	-	Propriety	Some of the readership
8	Some	Number			Downscaled	-	Propriety	Some of the readership
10	every week	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			
11	wrecked		Process		Upscaled	-	Capacity	Young girls
	under our noses	Extent: Proximity: Space			Upscaled			

Table DS4.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
4-5	We stand behind our windows and watch... and dismiss the incident as none of our business	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Readership
5	even	Writer		Counter				-	Propriety	Some of the readership
6-7	We pass young boys... dismiss it as naughtiness	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Readership
7	even	Writer		Counter				-	Propriety	Some of the readership
7-8	We are entertained by	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	People involved in

	criminals... criminal deeds									illegal activities
8	even	Writer		Counter				-	Propriety	Some of the readership
9	How can we be blind... every week?	Writer			Affirm					
11	Young girls' potential is being wrecked under our noses	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Capacity	Young girls
12	"village"	Writer					Distance	-	Propriety	Community
13	We yearn for... success stories in our communities	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Satisfaction	Readership
	yet	Writer		Counter						
	can't	Writer		Deny				-	Tenacity	Readership
15	not	Writer		Deny				-	Valuation	Readership

DS5: Self-belief will spell success!

Table DS5.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	you can achieve	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Readership
3	defer your progress	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Readership with boundaries
5	important	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Believing in yourself
6	you can achieve	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Readership
9	Imagine yourself up there	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	Readership
11	achievable	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	Readership
12	failures	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Others
	success	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Others
	positive	Writer		Tenacity		+	Inscribed	Readership

Table DS5.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	throughout your life	Number			Upscaled	+	Capacity	Readership
5	most		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	Believing in yourself

Table DS5.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	no	Writer		Deny						
	Don't	Writer		Deny						
4	No	Writer		Deny						
5	The most important tool to realise your dreams is believing in yourself	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Believing in yourself
6	believe you can achieve things	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Capacity	Readership
	even	Writer		Counter						
	never	Writer		Deny						
9	Imagine yourself up there	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Capacity	Readership
11	Believe your dreams are achievable	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Capacity	Readership
12-13	Your positive mindset can open up things for you	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Tenacity	Readership

DS6: Corruption is a way of life in SA

Table DS6.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	terrible	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	News about corruption
3	corruption	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Corrupt individuals
4	caught	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Government officials
	bribery	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Government officials
	extortion	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Government officials
	nepotism	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Government officials
	embezzlement	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Government officials
7	cronies	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Friends of politicians
	in a questionable manner	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Politicians and their friends
	needy	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	Unemployed South Africans
8	poor	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Service delivery (from government)
9	President Zuma knows	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Zuma
10	incompetent	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	Law enforcement agents
	fail	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	Law enforcement agents

Table DS6.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	at all			Sharpened				
4	mire		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Government officials
4-5	bribery, extortion, nepotism, embezzlement	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Government officials

5	endless	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Government officials
7	and richer		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Politicians and their friends

Table DS6.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	The research by TNS on corruption comes as terrible news	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	News about corruption
	not	Writer		Deny						
3	An undisputed fact is	Writer			Pronounce					
6	but	Writer		Counter						
	even	Writer		Counter						
7	Rich politicians... get richer and richer in a questionable manner	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Politicians and their friends
7-8	South Africans face unemployment and poor service delivery	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Service delivery (from government)
9	Even	Writer		Counter				-	Tenacity	Zuma
9-10	President Zuma knows that his administration	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Zuma
	is made up of incompetent law officials	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Capacity	Law enforcement agents
	who fail to curb corruption among colleagues	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Law enforcement agents

DS7: Don't fork out for fake colleges

Table DS7.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	fake	Sub-editor			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Colleges
2	struggling	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Students
4	fly-by-night	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Colleges
6	fake	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Colleges
7	fraudulently	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Colleges
8	Bogus	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Colleges
	disadvantaged	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Students' circumstances
	desperate	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Students
12	safe	Writer	Security			+	Invoked	Fully registered tertiary institutions
13	accredited	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Courses from fully registered tertiary institutions

Table DS7.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	many	Number			Upscaled	-	Valuation	Colleges
6	huge	Mass			Upscaled			
	many	Number			Upscaled	-	Valuation	Colleges
11	rigorous		Quality		Upscaled			

Table DS7.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Don't	Sub-editor		Deny						
4	There are many fly-by-night institutions recruiting students	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Colleges
6	can be	Writer				Entertain				
7	must	Writer			Pronounce					
8	Bogus colleges target students	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Colleges
10	must	Writer			Pronounce					
12	The other safe option is registering with fully registered further education and training and mainstream tertiary institutions	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Security	Fully registered tertiary institutions

DS8: Do unto others as to yourself

Table DS8.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
3	good	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Elders' past environment
4	safely	Writer	Security			+	Inscribed	Children in the past
	without parents worrying	Writer	Security			+	Inscribed	Parents in the past
5	without fear of molestation or abuse	Writer	Security			+	Inscribed	Children in the past
6	got along	Writer	Satisfaction			+	Inscribed	Families and friends in the past
	happiness	Writer	Happiness			+	Inscribed	Families and friends in the past
8	do not get along	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Families and friends now
	bad treatment	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Families and friends now

	jealousy	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Families and friends now
9	talk behind others' backs	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Families and friends now
	wishing each other failure	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Families and friends now
10	monster	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Person behaving inappropriately
10-11	behave inappropriately	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Behaviour of people
11	looking down	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Readership

Table DS8.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	wherever	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	+	Security	Children in the past
10	monster		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Person behaving inappropriately
12	one	Number			Downscaled			

Table DS8.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
3	seems	Writer				Entertain		+	Reaction	Elders' past environment
4	Children would play safely wherever	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Security	Children in the past
	without parents worrying	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Security	Parents in the past
4-5	They could wear whatever they liked without fear of molestation	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Security	Children in the past

	or abuse									
6	But	Writer		Counter						
8	do not	Writer		Deny				-	Satisfaction	Families and friends now
	because of	Writer			Justify			-	Propriety	Families and friends now
8-9	We talk behind each other's backs	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Families and friends now
10	because	Writer			Justify			-	Propriety	Person behaving inappropriately
12	Would you like the same to be done to you	Writer			Affirm					

DS9: Don't waste youth

Table DS9.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
4	focused	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	How young girls should be
	working hard	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	How young girls should be
	bright	Writer			Reaction	+	Invoked	How young girls' futures should be
5	difficult	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Young girls' circumstances
	not fair	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Young girls' circumstances
6	give yourself to tired men	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Young girls
8	unpleasant	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Young girls' circumstances
	bad	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Young girls' future
12	precious	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Young girls' bodies
13	nice	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Places sugar daddies take girls to
14	love	Writer	Happiness			+	Inscribed	Reason for attention to girls
	lust	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Sugar daddies
15	not rosy	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Sugar daddies' relationships with

								their wives
17	her husband is playing with you	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Sugar daddies
18	destroy	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Sugar daddies' effect on girls' futures
19	broken	Writer	Happiness			-	Invoked	Young girls' hearts
20	the wrong things	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Young girls
24	special	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Young girls' bodies

Table DS9.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
17	quickly	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled			
18	destroy		Process		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Sugar daddies' effect on girls' future
19	all the time	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Happiness	Young girls' hearts
20	best		Quality		Upscaled			
23	so		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	Young girls' bodies
24- 25	the age of your grandfather	Number			Upscaled			
28	[you won't stay young] forever	Extent: Distribution: Time			Downscaled			

Table DS9.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	supposed to be	Writer			Pronounce					
4	should be	Writer			Pronounce			+	Tenacity	How young girls should be
5	may	Writer			Concede			-	Reaction	Young girls' circumstances
	because of	Writer			Justify			-	Reaction	Young girls' circumstances
	may	Writer			Concede			-	Reaction	Young girls' circumstances
	but	Writer		Counter						
6	not	Writer		Deny				-	Propriety	Young girls
8	must	Writer			Pronounce					
	Don't	Writer		Deny						
10	Some girls... offering themselves to older men	Writer	Monoglossia							
11	Most of these	Writer				Entertain				
11-12	Girls exchange their young precious bodies for material things	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Young girls' bodies
14	but	Writer		Counter				-	Propriety	Sugar daddies
	mostly	Writer				Entertain		-	Propriety	Sugar daddies
16	If the wife finds out... will quickly dump you	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Sugar daddies
20	Don't	Writer		Deny				-	Propriety	Young girls
22	Don't	Writer		Deny						
23-24	Your body is so special it needs to be reserved	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Young girls' bodies
24	Don't	Writer		Deny						

26	They say	Writer					Acknowledge			
	but	Writer		Counter						
	but really	Writer			Affirm					
27	Don't	Writer		Deny						
28	won't	Writer		Deny						

DS10: Filthy city CBD is such a shame

Table DS10.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	Filthy	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Joburg CBD
	shame	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Joburg CBD
	(double-coding)		Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings about Joburg CBD
2	dirtiest	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Joburg CBD
3	decay	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Joburg
4	doing nothing about it	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Parks Tau (mayor of Joburg)
5	I used to enjoy doing my shopping there, but not anymore	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings about Joburg CBD
5-6	now prefer doing it at the malls	Writer	Satisfaction			+	Invoked	Shopping at malls
6	shame	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings about Joburg CBD
8	world class	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Joburg
11	filthy	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Joburg

Table DS10.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Filthy		Quality		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Joburg CBD
	such		Quality		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Joburg CBD
	(double-coded Attitude)					-	Satisfaction	Feelings about Joburg CBD
2	dirtiest		Quality		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Joburg CBD
	in the country	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Joburg CBD
	if not in the world	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Joburg CBD
8	wake up		Process		Upscaled			
9	more	Number			Upscaled			
11	filthy		Quality		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Joburg

Table DS10.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Filthy city	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Joburg CBD
	is such a shame	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Joburg CBD
	(double-coded Attitude)							-	Satisfaction	Feelings about Joburg CBD
2	THE Joburg CBD is one of the dirtiest places in the country	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Joburg CBD
3	so-called	Writer					Distance			
	city is in a state of decay	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Joburg

	city council... is doing nothing about it	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Parks Tau (mayor of Joburg)
5	but	Writer		Counter				-	Satisfaction	Feelings about Joburg CBD
	not	Writer		Deny				-	Satisfaction	Feelings about Joburg CBD
	I now prefer doing it at the malls	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Satisfaction	Shopping at malls
8-9	make Joburg the world class African city that it's supposed to be	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Joburg
11	No one will want to invest in a filthy city	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Joburg

DS11: Teach children to keep learning

Table DS11.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
2-3	greatest engine of personal development	Mandela			Valuation	+	Invoked	Education
3	can become a doctor	Mandela		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Daughter of a patient
	(double-coding)				Valuation	+	Invoked	Education
4	can become the head of the mine	Mandela		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Son of a mineworker
	(double-coding)				Valuation	+	Invoked	Education
4-5	can become the president	Mandela		Capacity		+	Inscribed	Child of a farm worker
	(double-coding)				Valuation	+	Invoked	Education
7	roaming the streets	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Children
8-9	tool for success	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Education
10	give in to foolishness	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Children
	self-centred	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Children without a mentor

11	arrogant	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Children without a mentor
12	important	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Parents
13	ruin	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Results of refusing to seek advice
16	key to success	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Education

Table DS11.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	keep	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			
2	greatest	Presence			Upscaled	+	Valuation	Education
6	second week	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Children
9	at all cost		Process		Upscaled			
12	most		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	Parents
16	IS		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	Education

Table DS11.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	said	Mandela					Acknowledge	+	Valuation	Education
6-7	We are in the second week of school year and children are roaming the streets	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Children
8-9	Why don't we advise them to take their education seriously and teach them it is a tool for success?	Writer			Affirm			+	Valuation	Education

10	Without a mentor young ones can give in to foolishness	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Children
10-11	and become self-centred and arrogant	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Children without a mentor
16	Education IS key to success	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Education

DS12: Bring back hope with respect

Table DS12.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	wrong	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	World
	(double-coding)		Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings about world
	terribly	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings about world
3	monsters	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Men
4	anger	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Men's feelings
	frustration	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Men's feelings
	raping innocent women	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Some men
5	destroying	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Some men
6-7	I wonder if these men love themselves	Writer	Happiness			-	Invoked	Some men
8	relieving whatever they have inside them on goats	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Some men
9	disturbed	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Some men
	Our society needs healing	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	society
10	wipe out his whole family	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	A man
	kill anybody at random	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	A man
	personal problems	Writer			Composition	-	Invoked	A man
12	respect	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Writer's wish for men
13	will never rape	Writer		Propriety		+	Invoked	A man who respects himself

	never kill or murder	Writer		Propriety		+	Invoked	A man who respects himself
14	father to his community	Writer		Propriety		+	Invoked	A true man
	lays the foundation for young boys	Writer		Propriety		+	Invoked	A true man

Table DS12.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	terribly		Quality		Upscaled	-	Satisfaction	Feelings about world
3	monsters		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Men
4	Some	Number			Downscaled	-	Propriety	Some men
5	destroying		Process		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Some men
8	Some	Number			Downscaled	-	Propriety	Some men
13	never	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Propriety	A man who respects himself
	never	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Propriety	A man who respects himself
14	true			Sharpened				

Table DS12.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
3	Men are monsters	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Men
4	Some	Writer				Entertain		-	Propriety	Some men
6-7	I wonder if these men love themselves	Writer			Affirm			-	Happiness	Some men
8	Some	Writer				Entertain		-	Propriety	Some men

9	Are they disturbed?	Writer			Affirm			-	Composition	Some men
	Our society needs healing	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Society
10	A man will wipe out his whole family	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	A man
	kill anybody at random	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	A man
13	never	Writer		Deny				+	Propriety	A man who respects himself
	never	Writer		Deny				+	Propriety	A man who respects himself
14	A true man is a father to his community	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	A true man
	lays the foundation for young boys	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	A true man

DS13: Parents, first check your kids

Table DS13.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	truthful [... for once]	Writer		Veracity		-	Invoked	Parents
	honest [for once]	Writer		Veracity		-	Invoked	Parents
3	the ones barricading roads against school	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Parents
4	fail	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	Children
5	don't even bother to study	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Children
6	go out at night	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Children
	smoke	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Children
	drink	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Children
	don't put any effort into their school work	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Children
8	show some backbone	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Parents

10	sick and tired	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Parents
11	wake up	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Parents

Table DS13.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
10	sick and tired		Quality		Upscaled	-	Satisfaction	Parents

Table DS13.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	Can we be truthful and honest for once	Writer			Affirm			-	Veracity	Parents
3	What becomes of our kids if parents are the ones barricading roads against school?	Writer			Affirm			-	Propriety	Parents
4	Why is it when kids fail, parents blame teachers first	Writer			Affirm					
5	yet	Writer		Counter						
	don't	Writer		Deny				-	Propriety	Children
	even	Writer		Counter				-	Propriety	Children
6	Kids go out at night, smoke and drink	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Children
	don't	Writer		Deny				-	Propriety	Children
	Yet	Writer		Counter						
8	Why can't parents show some	Writer			Affirm			-	Tenacity	Parents

	backbone...									
9	should	Writer			Pronounce					
11	not	Writer		Deny						
	– it is	Writer		Counter						

DS14: The people need to take charge

Table DS14.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
4	well	Classmate		Normality		+	Inscribed	Former classmate
8	wasting public money	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Former classmate's actions
	(double-coding)		Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings about classmate's actions
9	just a way to create jobs for politicians	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Provincial governments
11	they have the power	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	The people

Table DS14.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	very		Quality		Upscaled	+	Normality	Former classmate
6	a lot	Mass			Upscaled			
8	All	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Former classmate's actions

Table DS14.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	need to	Sub-editor			Pronounce					
3-4	he is doing very well	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Normality	Former classmate
4	as was proven	Writer			Justify			+	Normality	Former classmate
8	All these additional expenses are wasting public money	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Former classmate's actions
	(double-coded Attitude)							-	Satisfaction	Feelings about classmate's actions
9	Do we really need provincial governments	Writer			Affirm			-	Valuation	Provincial governments
	or	Writer		Counter				-	Valuation	Provincial governments
	just	Writer		Counter				-	Valuation	Provincial governments
11	need to	Writer			Pronounce			+	Capacity	The people

DS15: Our leaders steal from us!

Table DS15.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	steal	Sub-editor		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Leaders
2	take our lives for granted	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Readers' lives, according to leaders
	(double-coding)			Propriety		-	Invoked	Leaders
3	so cheap in their eyes	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Readers' lives, according to leaders
	(double-coding)			Propriety		-	Invoked	Leaders

4	lacks leaders of top quality	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Leaders
5	selfless	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	True leaders
6	inspires people to achieve more	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	True leaders
7	good listeners	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	True leaders
8	beloved	Writer	Happiness			+	Inscribed	Feelings about South Africa
	only for themselves	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Leaders
9	They spend funds allocated to the betterment of the lives of needy people on themselves	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Leaders
	needy	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	People in South Africa
10	heartbreaking	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings about misuse of funds
	going hungry	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Needy people
11	misused	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Leaders
12	hard work	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	True leaders
	discipline	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	True leaders
	dedication	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	True leaders
13	sacrifice	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	True leaders

Table DS15.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
3	so		Quality		Upscaled	-	Valuation	Readers' lives
	(double-coded Attitude)					-	Propriety	Leaders
5	true			Sharpened		+	Propriety	True leaders
6	true			Sharpened		+	Propriety	True leaders
7	true			Sharpened		+	Propriety	True leaders
8	Some	Number			Downscaled	-	Propriety	Leaders
	best		Quality		Upscaled			

10	really		Quality		Upscaled	-	Satisfaction	Feelings about the misuse of funds
	heartbreaking		Quality		Upscaled	-	Satisfaction	Feelings about misuse of funds
	millions	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Leaders
12-13	hard work, discipline, dedication and sacrifice	Number			Upscaled	+	Tenacity	True leaders

Table DS15.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Our leaders steal from us	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Leaders
2	Why do our leaders take our lives for granted	Writer			Affirm			-	Valuation	Readers' lives
	(double-coded Attitude)							-	Propriety	Leaders
3	Why are our lives so cheap in their eyes	Writer			Affirm			-	Valuation	Readers' lives
	(double-coded Attitude)							-	Propriety	Leaders
4	Our country lacks leaders of top quality	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Leaders
5	A true leader is selfless	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	True leaders
6	A true leader lives a life that inspires others to achieve more	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	True leaders
7	not only	Writer		Deny						
	also	Writer		Counter				+	Propriety	True leaders
8	Some	Writer				Entertain		-	Propriety	Leaders
	but	Writer		Counter				-	Propriety	Leaders
9	They spend funds allocated to... needy people on themselves	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Leaders
10	It is really heartbreaking to see people going hungry	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Satisfaction	Feelings about misuse

										of funds
								-	Satisfaction	Needy people
11	so-called	Writer					Distance			
12	not	Writer		Deny						
	but	Writer		Counter				+	Tenacity	True leaders

DS16: When will our suffering end?

Table DS16.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	suffering	Sub-editor	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Writer's feelings
2	dreads	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Everyone's feelings
5	corrupt	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Government in Mpumalanga
6	disadvantaged	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Circumstances of people living in Mpumalanga
8	corrupt	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Government in Mpumalanga
9	not well represented	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Government in Mpumalanga
10-11	act as if we don't exist	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	People living in Mpumalanga
	(double-coding)			Propriety		-	Invoked	Government in Mpumalanga
11	suffering	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings of people in Mpumalanga

Table DS16.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	better		Quality		Upscaled			

5	most		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Government in Mpumalanga
7	nothing	Number			Downscaled			
8	still	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Government in Mpumalanga
10	all	Number			Upscaled			

Table DS16.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	When will our suffering end	Sub-editor			Affirm			-	Satisfaction	Writer's feelings
2	the month everyone dreads	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Security	Everyone's feelings
5	the most corrupt province in the country	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Government in Mpumalanga
5-6	try to forget how disadvantaged we are	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Circumstances of people living in Mpumalanga
7	but	Writer		Counter						
	the reality is that	Writer			Pronounce					
7-8	Our province is still corrupt	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Government in Mpumalanga
9	I wonder why we bother to vote	Writer			Affirm			-	Tenacity	Government in Mpumalanga
	not	Writer		Deny				-	Tenacity	Government in Mpumalanga
10	When will we all benefit from democracy	Writer			Affirm					
10-11	Why do leaders in power act as if we don't exist	Writer			Affirm			-	Valuation	People living in Mpumalanga
	(double-coded Attitude)							-	Propriety	Government in

										Mpumalanga
11	When is our suffering going to end	Writer			Affirm			-	Satisfaction	Feelings of people in Mpumalanga

DS17: Criminals need to be punished!

Table DS17.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	condemned	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Hijackers
	(double-coding)		Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Writer's feelings about killing
3	When is our government going to stop its citizens from being killed by thugs	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Government
4	ruthless murderers	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Criminals
	law-abiding	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Non-criminal citizens
5	fail	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	Writer's ability to understand
	useless	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Having an impressive constitution that does not protect the innocent
6	impressive	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Constitution
	dying like flies	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Writer's feelings
7	merciless	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Criminals
9	violates another person's right to life	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Criminals

Table DS17.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	every	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Hijackers
	(double-coded Attitude)					-	Satisfaction	Writer's feelings about killing
6	dying like flies	Number			Upscaled	-	Satisfaction	Writer's feelings
9	Any	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Criminals

Table DS17.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	need	Sub-editor			Pronounce					
2	should	Writer			Pronounce			-	Propriety	Hijackers
3	When is our government going to stop its citizens from being killed by thugs	Writer			Affirm			-	Tenacity	Government
	It is clear	Writer			Pronounce					
5-6	It is useless to have an impressive constitution while the people it's supposed to protect are dying like flies	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Having an impressive constitution that does not protect the innocent
7	Judges tell us	Writer					Acknowledge			
	can't	Writer		Deny						

	but	Writer		Counter					
9	must	Writer			Pronounce				

DS18: Stop having sex in cemeteries!

Table DS18.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	Stop having sex in cemeteries	Sub-editor		Propriety		-	Invoked	People having sex in cemeteries
2	wrong	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	People's lives
3	nothing seems to be going right	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	People's lives
4	vandalise	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Readership
	steal	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Readership
4-5	have steamy sex at cemeteries and in churches	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Readership
6	happy hunting grounds for rapists	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Graveyards and temples
6-7	haven for criminals	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Graveyards and temples
8	What happened to Ubuntu	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Readership
	What happened to our moral values	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Readership
8-9	What happened to respect for the dead	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Readership
11-12	learn some respect	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Readership

Table DS18.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	very		Quality		Upscaled			
3	nothing	Number			Downscaled	-	Reaction	People's lives
4	steamy		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Readership
11	all	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Readership

Table DS18.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	WHEN something goes wrong in our lives, we are always very quick to turn to God	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	People's lives
3	When nothing seems to be going right... asking God and our ancestors for help	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	People's lives
4	Yet	Writer		Counter				-	Propriety	Readership
6-7	Graveyards and temples... haven for criminals	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Graveyards and temples
8	What happened to Ubuntu	Writer			Affirm			-	Propriety	Readership
	What happened to our moral values	Writer			Affirm			-	Propriety	Readership
8-9	What happened to respect for the dead	Writer			Affirm			-	Propriety	Readership

DS19: ANC winning war on corruption!

Table DS19.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	winning	Sub-editor		Tenacity		+	Invoked	ANC
2	disease	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Corruption
4	disease	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Corruption
5	applauded	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	ANC's intervention
	trust	Writer	Security			+	Inscribed	People's feelings about government
8	serious	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Anti-corruption campaigns
10	help in guiding the people	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Anti-corruption campaigns
11	capacity to take them to the promised land	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	ANC
	tight control	Writer		Tenacity		+	Inscribed	ANC

Table DS19.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	ravage		Process		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Corruption
8	All	Number			Upscaled			
	serious		Process		Upscaled	+	Valuation	Anti-corruption campaigns
11	promised land		Quality		Upscaled	+	Tenacity	ANC

Table DS19.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	ANC winning war on corruption	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					+	Tenacity	ANC
2	CORRUPTION is a disease	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Corruption
	must	Writer			Pronounce					
3	must	Writer			Pronounce					
5	must be	Writer			Pronounce			+	Reaction	ANC's intervention
5-6	Such actions instill [sic] trust in the government voted into office by the people	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Security	People's feelings about government
10	These and other campaigns will help in guiding the people	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Anti-corruption campaigns
10-11	instill [sic] confidence that the ANC has the capability to take them to the promised land	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Capacity	ANC
11-12	When the ANC keeps tight control... there is hope for the war on corruption	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Tenacity	ANC

DS20: Claims can end their suffering

Table DS20.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
1	suffering	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Circumstances of claimants
2	astonished	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Campaign to trace claimants

	(double-coding)		Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings about people living in poverty unnecessarily
6	poverty	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Circumstances of claimants
10	outdated	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Contact details

Table DS20.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	really		Quality		Upscaled	+	Reaction	Campaign to trace claimants
	(double-coded Attitude)					-	Satisfaction	Feelings about people living in poverty unnecessarily

Table DS20.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Claims can end their suffering	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Circumstances of claimants
4	but	Writer		Counter						
6	could be	Writer				Entertain		-	Reaction	Circumstances of claimants
10	In most instances the contact details are outdated	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Contact details

APPENDIX D: *THE TIMES* CODED TABLES

TT1: Happy centenary, ANC, but there's still lots to do

Table TT1.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	Happy	Sub-editor	Happiness			+	Inscribed	Wishes for ANC
2	worth celebrating	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	100 years of existence of the ANC
6	oldest liberation movement on the continent	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	ANC
9	embarrassed	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	President's feelings about youth league
11	celebrate	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Centenary
12	pivotal	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	ANC
	evil	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Apartheid
13	leading role	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	ANC
	helping to free the country	Writer		Propriety		+	Invoked	ANC
14	great	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Leaders
15	extraordinary	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Leaders
17	eating away	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Corruption
20	"no"	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	ANC
20-21	shackles of poverty	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Circumstances of the masses
21-22	it will take them to the promised land	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	ANC
23	survived the storms	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	ANC
24	inspiration	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	ANC
	Happy	Writer	Happiness			+	Inscribed	Wishes for ANC

Table TT1.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	lots	Mass			Upscaled			
2	A HUNDRED years	Number			Upscaled	+	Valuation	100 years of existence of the ANC
5	Many	Number			Upscaled			
	heads of state and former presidents	Presence			Upscaled			
6	oldest	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Valuation	ANC
	on the continent	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	+	Valuation	ANC
11	many	Number			Upscaled	+	Valuation	Centenary
15	more	Number			Upscaled	+	Valuation	Leaders
17	myriad	Number			Upscaled			
17	eating away		Process		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Corruption
20	resounding		Quality		Upscaled	-	Tenacity	ANC
	A lot	Mass			Upscaled			
	masses	Number			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Circumstances of the masses
21	still	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Capacity	ANC
23	all	Number			Upscaled			
	giant	Mass			Upscaled			
24	international	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	+	Reaction	ANC

Table TT1.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	but	Sub-editor		Counter				+	Happiness	Wishes for ANC
2	A HUNDRED years of existence as a political organisation is worth celebrating	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	100 years of existence of the ANC
5-6	Many people... with the oldest liberation movement on the continent	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	ANC
7	unprecedented	Writer		Counter						
8	a school of thought	Writer					Acknowledge	-	Satisfaction	President's feelings about youth league
9	though	Writer		Counter						
11	Despite	Writer			Concede					
	the ANC has many reasons to celebrate its centenary	Writer		Counter				+	Valuation	Centenary
11-12	It has played a pivotal role	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	ANC
12	the struggle against the evil of apartheid	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Apartheid
	Though	Writer			Concede					
13	it has played a leading role	Writer		Counter				+	Valuation	ANC
14	The ruling party has also produced great leaders	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Leaders
	And it is expected to produce more extraordinary leaders	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Leaders
17	which is eating away at the soul of the nation	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Corruption

19	has Zuma's party delivered on its promises	Writer			Affirm			-	Tenacity	ANC and Zuma
19-20	The answer is a resounding "no"	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	ANC and Zuma
20-21	A lot still needs to be done to liberate the masses from the shackles of poverty	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Circumstances of the masses
21-22	That said, the masses still have... it will take them to the promised land	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Capacity	ANC
23	The ruling party has seen it all and survived the storms	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Tenacity	ANC
24	as Nicolas Sarkozy described it	Writer					Acknowledge	+	Reaction	ANC

TT2: Police suicides affect us all

Table TT2.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
3	injuring	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police
	killing	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police
5	protect	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Police vow
	serve	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Police vow
	pride	Writer	Satisfaction			+	Inscribed	Feelings of police
6	harm innocent people	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Police
7	violence	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police
	killings	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Police
	disturbing	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Feelings about killings
	traumatic	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Feelings about killings
9	fatal shootings	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Police
12	distressed	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Police

13	condemn	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Killings by police
	disturbing	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Killings by police
	(double-coding)		Security			-	Inscribed	Feelings about killings
15	complex	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Reality
16	win the war	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	Police management
19	horrendous	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	'Situations' police find themselves in
22	protecting	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Police
	serving	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	Police
24	decrease in the safety and security of citizens	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Rising suicide rate
25	priority	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	SAPS employees
29	doing something to change the world	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	What police should do
30	overcome their challenges	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	What police should do

Table TT2.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	all	Number			Upscaled			
2	various	Number			Upscaled			
2-3	awareness campaigns... and so on	Number			Upscaled			
3-4	family members... themselves	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Police
5	all	Number			Upscaled	+	Propriety	Police vow
	including their spouses	Number			Upscaled	+	Propriety	Police vow

7	recent	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled			
	spate	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Police
	very		Quality		Upscaled	-	Security	Feelings about killings
9	every member... and family member	Number			Upscaled			
11	drastic		Quality		Upscaled			
12	all	Number			Upscaled	-	Satisfaction	Police
15	all	Number			Upscaled			
18	all	Number			Upscaled			
20	detailed		Quality		Upscaled			
27	multifaceted	Number			Upscaled			
28	across the nation	Extent: Distribution: Space						

Table TT2.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ / -	Instantiation	Appraised
2	DESPITE	Writer			Concession					
5	Officers have vowed to protect and serve all societies	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	Police vow
7	very disturbing and traumatic	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Security	Feelings about killings
14	However	Writer		Counter				-	Reaction	Killings by police
	not	Writer		Deny						
	but	Writer		Counter						
19	members caught in horrendous situations	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	'Situations' police find themselves in
20	But	Writer		Counter						
24	a rising suicide rate also means	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Rising suicide

	a decrease in the safety and security of citizens									rate
25	The health and wellness of SAPS's employees has been an ongoing priority	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	SAPS employees
29	should	Writer			Pronounce			+	Capacity	What police should do
31	must	Writer			Pronounce					
32	must	Writer			Pronounce					

TT3: Zuma's speech did not take us beyond 100 years

Table TT3.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
5	in a boat without a rudder	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	Zuma
	contradictions	Writer			Composition	-	Invoked	ANC and Zuma
7	lament	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings about Zuma's speech
	misgivings	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings about Zuma's speech
	missed political opportunity	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Zuma
10	lacked strategic focus	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Zuma's speech
13	inspiring	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	What a presidential speech is supposed to be
15	pauses	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	Zuma
	misplaced full stops	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	Zuma
	broken single words	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	Zuma
16	if not the mind	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	Zuma
19	useful to those oblivious of the activities	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Zuma's speech
21	devoid of political analysis or actionable historic lessons	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Zuma's speech

22	shallow	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Zuma's speech
23	lacked thematic focus	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Zuma's speech
	lacked... a common thread that bound it together	Writer			Composition	-	Invoked	Zuma's speech
23-24	lacked... an underlying message	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Zuma's speech
25	important	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	What should have been in the speech
26	glorious	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	ANC
30	had an obligation	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Zuma
33	unbefitting the occasion	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Zuma's speech
36	exceptional ability	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	ANC
36-37	South Africa needs the ANC like the body needs oxygen	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	ANC

Table TT3.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	true			Sharpened				
4	volumes	Mass			Upscaled			
6	long	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			
7	gigantic	Mass			Upscaled	-	Tenacity	Zuma
8	once in one's lifetime	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Tenacity	Zuma
16	four years	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Capacity	Zuma
36	exceptional		Quality		Upscaled	+	Capacity	ANC
36-37	South Africa needs the ANC like the body needs oxygen		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	ANC

Table TT3.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	did not	Sub-editor		Deny						
4	Undoubtedly	Writer			Affirm					
	not only	Writer		Deny						
5	but	Writer		Counter				-	Composition	ANC and Zuma
9	the centenary address also lacked strategic focus	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	Zuma's speech
16	if not	Writer		Counter				-	Capacity	Zuma
19	This lecture was particularly useful... liberation movement during the struggle	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Zuma's speech
21	However	Writer		Counter						
23	The address lacked thematic focus	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	Zuma's speech
	lacked... a common thread that bound it together	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	Zuma's speech
23-24	lacked... an underlying message	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Zuma's speech
25	Perhaps	Writer				Entertain		+	Valuation	What should have been in the speech
26	(D)evolution	Writer				Entertain		+	Reaction	ANC
33	What have we done (as a citizenry) to deserve an address unbecoming the occasion	Writer			Affirm			-	Valuation	Zuma's speech
36	The ANC has exceptional ability to see beyond today's limitations	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Capacity	ANC
36-37	South Africa needs the ANC as the body needs oxygen	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	ANC

37	must	Writer			Pronounce				
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TT4: UJ has failed the disaster management test dismally

Table TT4.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	failed	Sub-editor		Capacity		-	Inscribed	UJ
2	disturbing	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Feelings about a parent's death
3	vital	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Education
4	encouraging	Writer	Satisfaction			+	Inscribed	Feelings about parents' involvement
5	sad	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Incident
	(double-coding)		Happiness			-	Inscribed	Feelings about a parent's death
6	poor	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	UJ
6-7	giving prospective students a false sense of hope	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	UJ
7	pie in the sky	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	UJ's admission system
	poor	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	UJ's admission system
15	other universities manage this with ease	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	UJ
16	cannot admit all students who failed to apply on time	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	UJ
16-17	stop behaving as if it can through creation of false hopes	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	UJ
20	most families cannot afford	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Circumstances of families

Table TT4.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	dismally		Process		Upscaled	-	Capacity	UJ
3	very		Quality		Upscaled	+	Satisfaction	Feelings about parents' involvement
9	concerted		Process		Upscaled			
	everyone	Number			Upscaled			
10	excess	Number			Upscaled			

Table TT4.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	UJ has failed the disaster management test dismally	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					-	Capacity	UJ
1	It is disturbing that a parent died in the stampede at the University of Johannesburg	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Security	Feelings about a parent's death
3	Education is vital for personal growth and the development of a nation	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Education
3-4	it is very encouraging to see parents involved in their children's education	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Satisfaction	Feelings about parents' involvement
5	nevertheless	Writer		Counter				-	Reaction	Incident
8	must	Writer			Pronounce					
10	It is obvious	Writer			Pronounce					

12	must	Writer			Pronounce					
13	Although	Writer		Counter				-	Capacity	UJ
	cannot	Writer		Deny				-	Capacity	UJ
16	cannot	Writer		Deny				-	Capacity	UJ
	should	Writer			Pronounce			-	Propriety	UJ
20	Most	Writer				Entertain		-	Reaction	Circumstances of families
22	Will the student whose mother died be admitted	Writer			Affirm					
23	What is going to happen to the children	Writer			Affirm					

TT5: Much more must be done to create entrepreneurs

Table TT5.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	worried	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Feelings about SA entrepreneurship
5	worsening	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Inequality
	critical	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Role of entrepreneurship
6	still not making progress	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	South Africa
13	interesting	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Findings of report
17	injustice	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings about SA entrepreneurship
19	important	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Social, environmental, and education/governmental entrepreneurship
21	failure	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Entrepreneurship at SMME level
26	innovative	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	How entrepreneurs operate
29	value	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Entrepreneurs
31	value	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Efficiency
34	confirmed	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Research

Table TT5.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Much	Mass			Upscaled			
2	number	Number			Upscaled	-	Security	Feelings about SA entrepreneurship
10	all	Number			Upscaled			
11	recent	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled			
12	worldwide	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled			
13	many	Number			Upscaled			
14	45%	Number			Upscaled			
	rarely	Extent: Distribution: Time			Downscaled			
15	60%	Number			Upscaled			
16	biggest	Mass			Upscaled			
21	few	Number			Downscaled			
	high	Mass			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Entrepreneurship at SMME level
23	often	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			
24	bigger	Mass			Upscaled			
29	true			Sharpened		+	Valuation	Entrepreneurs
34	recent	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled	+	Valuation	Research

Table TT5.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	must	Sub-			Pronounce					

		editor								
2	THERE are a number of reasons to be worried about the state of entrepreneurship in South Africa and globally	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Security	Feelings about SA entrepreneurship
4	For instance	Writer			Justify			-	Security	Feelings about SA entrepreneurship
5	it is clear	Writer			Pronounce			-	Reaction	Inequality
	In spite of	Writer			Concede			+	Valuation	Role of entrepreneurship
	not	Writer		Counter				-	Tenacity	South Africa
9	forget	Writer		Deny						
	They are developed	Writer		Counter						
11	supported	Writer			Endorse					
13	Its interesting findings include	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Reaction	Findings of report
17	South Africa is doing itself and injustice	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Satisfaction	Feelings about SA entrepreneurship
19	Social entrepreneurship is important... education and government	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Social, environmental, and education/ governmental entrepreneurship
21-22	a high failure rate at the SMME level in South Africa	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Entrepreneurship at SMME level
22	Why	Writer			Affirm					
23	but	Writer		Counter						
25-27	we see it is about three elements: ... innovative manner, and then managing those opportunities	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Reaction	How entrepreneurs operate
29	not just	Writer		Counter						
31	not	Writer		Deny						
	There is value in efficiency	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Efficiency

34	proven	Writer			Endorse					
	confirmed	Writer			Endorse					
35	forget	Writer		Deny						
	rather	Writer		Counter						

TT6: Greed was at the root of UJ's chaos, and tragedy

Table TT6.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	Greed	Sub-editor		Propriety		-	Inscribed	UJ
	chaos	Sub-editor			Composition	-	Inscribed	UJ's admission process
	tragedy	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Incident at UJ
2	tragedy	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Incident at UJ
4	greed	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	UJ
	negligence	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	UJ
	incompetence	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	UJ
	disorganisation	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	UJ
	flaws	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	UJ's admission process
16	unrealistic	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	UJ
20	late applicants being admitted first and timeous applicants being told the space is full	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	UJ
25	Who benefited most	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	UJ
27	desperate	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Pupils
39	shocked	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings about admission process
	chaotic	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	UJ's admission process
42	proper	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	Unisa
44	smooth	Writer			Composition	+	Inscribed	Unisa's admission process
45	wild	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Crowd at UJ
	no proper	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	UJ

47	wild	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Crowd at UJ
48	failed	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	Security personnel at UJ
49	unfortunate	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Situation
	tragic	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Situation at UJ

Table TT6.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	combination	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	UJ
4-5	greed, negligence, incompetence, disorganisation and flaws	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	UJ
6	every year	Number			Upscaled			
7	year after year	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			
	exactly			Sharpened				
13	thousands	Number			Upscaled			
14	All	Number			Upscaled			
	one	Number			Downscaled			
16	far exceeded	Number			Upscaled			
24	at least R2-million in two days	Number			Upscaled			
24-25	more than 7000	Number			Upscaled			
29	every single	Number			Upscaled			
	all	Number			Upscaled			
30	Most of	Number			Upscaled			
36	alone	Number			Downscaled			
38	all	Number			Upscaled			
41	thousands	Number			Upscaled			
43	lots	Number			Upscaled			

45	no	Number			Downscaled	-	Capacity	UJ
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Table TT6.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Greed was at the root	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	UJ
	of UJ's chaos	Sub-editor						-	Composition	UJ's admission process
	and tragedy	Sub-editor						-	Reaction	Incident at UJ
2	it's the university	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Incident at UJ
4	A combination of greed	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	UJ
	negligence	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	UJ
	incompetence	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Capacity	UJ
	disorganisation	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	UJ
	and flaws in UJ's admission process is to blame	writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	UJ's admission process
8	should	Writer			Pronounce					
	I was there	Writer			Endorse					
9	not just	Writer		Counter						
16	so	Writer			Justify			-	Propriety	UJ
18	Common sense and rationality dictate	Writer			Affirm					
	should have	Writer			Pronounce					
21	I've saw it [sic]	Writer			Endorse			-	Propriety	UJ
23	Why	Writer			Affirm					
25	should	Writer			Pronounce					
	Who benefited most	Writer			Affirm			-	Propriety	UJ

26	What else were they expecting	Writer			Affirm					
28	should not	Writer		Deny						
	can't	Writer		Deny						
29	cannot	Writer		Deny						
30	Most of	Writer				Entertain				
33	not	Writer		Deny						
36	Why	Writer			Affirm					
41	but	Writer		Counter						
	wouldn't	Writer		Deny				+	Capacity	Unisa
42	because	Writer			Justify			+	Capacity	Unisa
43-44	They have lots of staff in place during registration to ensure its smooth running	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Composition	Unisa's admission process
45	When a crowd has gone wild	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	Crowd at UJ
	and there are no proper controls in place	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Capacity	UJ
47	not	Writer		Deny						
	The crowd at UJ went wild	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	Crowd at UJ
47-48	and the security personnel failed to control the situation	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Security personnel at UJ
49	It's unfortunate	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Situation
	tragic events like this	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Incident at UJ
50	could have	Writer			Pronounce					

TT7: Africa must unite to take back riches

Table TT7.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
3	poor	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Africans' circumstances
	richest	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	African continent
5	hard	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Question
6-7	benefit Africans	Writer			Reaction	+	Invoked	Improvement of current circumstances
9	poor	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	People of Nigeria and Sudan
11	people who benefit are not necessarily South Africans	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings of writer
13	we allow them	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	African countries
13-14	time African countries started supporting each other	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	Proposed action for African countries
14	for the benefit of Africans	Writer			Reaction	+	Invoked	Improvement of current circumstances
15	exploited	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Americans and Europeans

Table TT7.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	all	Number			Upscaled			
3	richest		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	African continent
12	in abundance	Mass			Upscaled			
15	continue	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Americans and Europeans

Table TT7.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	must	Sub-editor			Pronounce					
2	should	Writer			Pronounce					
	since	Writer			Justification			-	Reaction	Africans' circumstances
	the fact that	Writer			Pronounce			-	Reaction	Africans' circumstances
3	probably	Writer				Entertain		+	Valuation	African continent
6	must	Writer			Pronounce					
	because	Writer			Justify			+	Reaction	Improvement of current circumstances
8-9	Why should African countries like Nigeria or Sudan have large quantities of oil, and yet still have poor people	Writer			Affirm					
	still	Writer		Counter						
11	yet	Writer		Counter				-	Invoked	Feelings of writer
12	may not even	Writer				Entertain				
13	we allow them	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	African countries
13-14	It is time African countries started supporting each other	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Tenacity	Proposed action for African countries
15	The Americans and Europeans have exploited us enough	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Americans and Europeans

TT8: Entire CSA executive is at the root of the debacle

Table TT8.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	debacle	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Invoked	‘bonus issue’
2	bumbling	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Executive of Cricket South Africa
4-5	failed to do so	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Gerald Majola
6	breached	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Gerald Majola
8	disregard of company law	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Gerald Majola
9	unconvincing	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	John Bester
10	good	Bester			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Administration
	vacuum	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Administration
13	don’t come Monday	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	Executive of Cricket South Africa
14	checks and balances	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	Proposed new start
15	beautiful	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Cricket
15	meaningful	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Sponsorship during proposed new start

Table TT8.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Entire	Number			Upscaled			
8	severely		Quality		Upscaled			
	flagrant		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Gerald Majola
15	flourish		Process		Upscaled			

Table TT8.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Entire CSA executive is at the root of the debacle	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	'bonus issue'
2	WHAT a bumbling lot is the executive of Cricket South Africa	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Executive of Cricket South Africa
3	that CEO Gerald Majola had a responsibility to report the bonus issue to the proper channels, but failed to do so	John Bester					Acknowledge	-	Propriety	Gerald Majola
6	I assume	Writer			Pronounce					
7	but	Writer		Counter						
9	claim	Writer					Distance	-	Propriety	John Bester
	no	Writer		Deny						
	claims	Writer					Distance			
10	more like	Writer		Counter				-	Reaction	Administration
12	not	Writer		Deny						
13	My suggestion	Writer				Entertain		-	Capacity	Executive of Cricket South Africa

TT9: No tears for Enoch after his resignation

Table TT9.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
2	financial mismanagement	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Enoch Godongwana

3	debate about the character	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	People who backed Jacob Zuma's presidency
5	tainted with controversy	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Many of Zuma's key troops
8	investigated by the Scorpions	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Many of Zuma's key troops
10	controversial character	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Enoch Godongwana
12	corruption	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Enoch Godongwana
13	sacked by Zuma's national committee for investigating her peers	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Zuma's national committee
16	opportunistic	Godongwana			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Cosatu's criticism of Zuma's government
19	failed	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	Enoch Godongwana
21	not a loss	Writer			Reaction	+	Invoked	Enoch Godongwana's resignation

Table TT9.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
5	Many	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Many of Zuma's key troops
5-8	Maharaj, Mona, Shiceka, Heath, Nkonyeni, Shelembe, Shaik, Nyanda, Qwelane, Block, Mabuyakhulu, Simelane and others	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Many of Zuma's key troops
18	very		Quality		Upscaled			

Table TT9.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	No	Sub-editor		Deny						
3	revives a debate about the character of people who backed Jacob Zuma's presidency	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	People who backed Jacob Zuma's presidency
5	Many of Zuma's key troops have been tainted with controversy	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Many of Zuma's key troops
5-8	Maharaj, Mona, Shiceka, Heath... Mabuyakhulu, Simelane and others	Writer			Endorse			-	Propriety	Many of Zuma's key troops
10	Godongwana... has been a controversial character	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Enoch Godongwana
13	Balindlela was sacked by Zuma's national committee for investigating her peers	Writer						-	Propriety	Zuma's national committee
19-20	he has failed to use his influence to change economic and monetary policies	Writer						-	Tenacity	Enoch Godongwana
21	not	Writer		Deny				+	Reaction	Enoch Godongwana's resignation

TT10: Culture, stigma drive women to kidnap babies

Table TT10.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	simplistic	Writer			Composition	+	Inscribed	Police officer's view of the matter
	complex	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Matter of baby kidnapping
5	derogatory	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Names for barren women
7	cannot give birth	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	Barren women
	maligned	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Barren women
9	threat	Writer	Security			-	Inscribed	Barren women
11	taunted	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings of barren women
16	anger	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings of child's ancestors
17	misfortunes	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Feelings of adopted child
18	shunted	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings of barren women
23	false	Writer		Veracity		-	Inscribed	Barren women
24	heinous	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Barren women

Table TT10.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	very		Quality		Upscaled	-	Composition	Matter of baby kidnapping
7	often	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Valuation	Barren women
14	seldom	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			
17	all sorts	Number			Upscaled	-	Satisfaction	Feelings of adopted child
24	most		Quality		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Barren women

Table TT10.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	The police officer takes a simplistic view	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Composition	Police officer's view of the matter
4	not	Writer		Deny						
	merely	Writer		Counter						
	"love relationships"	Writer		Distance						
5-6	There are derogatory names for such women	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Names for barren women
7	A woman who cannot give birth to an heir	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Capacity	Barren women
	is often maligned by her husband's family and society in general	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Barren women
9	She has to live with the constant threat	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Security	Barren women
11-12	she will be taunted by the other wives	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Satisfaction	Feelings of barren women
13	Consequently	Writer			Pronounce					
15	not	Writer		Deny						
	as	Writer			Justify			-	Satisfaction	Feelings of child's ancestors
	it is believed	Writer				Entertain		-	Satisfaction	Feelings of child's ancestors
20	as	Writer			Justify					
	it is rumoured	Writer				Entertain				
23-24	they then make false claims of pregnancy	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Veracity	Barren women
24	resort to this most heinous crime	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Barren women

TT11: Partnerships are key to transforming education

Table TT11.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	key	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Partnerships
8	obsolete	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Content and methodologies taught
9	less relevant	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Content and methodologies taught
	irrelevant	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Content and methodologies taught
13	student numbers will stabilise in schools where relevance substitutes convention	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Relevant content
17	not able to find employment	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Circumstances of graduates
19	non-demanding, conventional	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Current education order
20-21	little or no opportunity for expression of natural, individual talent, skill or creativity	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Current education order
26	transformed	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Collaborative new education order
31-32	greater chance at being successful	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Collaborative new education order
45	world-class	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Competencies of graduates produced by universities

Table TT11.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	wide and varied	Number			Upscaled			

8	much	Mass			Upscaled	-	Valuation	Content and methodologies taught
14	almost			Softened				
16	to an extent			Softened				
	600 000	Number			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Circumstances of graduates
18	untested	Presence			Downscaled			
	partially			Softened		-	Valuation	Current education order
20	little or no	Mass			Upscaled	-	Valuation	Current education order
45	world-class		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	Competencies of graduates produced by universities

Table TT11.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	Partnerships are key to transforming education	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Partnerships
8	suggesting	Writer				Entertain		-	Valuation	Content and methodologies taught
	could be	Writer				Entertain		-	Valuation	Content and methodologies taught
10	even	Writer			Concede					
13	It is my guess	Writer				Entertain		+	Valuation	Relevant content
16	approximately	Writer				Entertain		-	Reaction	Circumstances of graduates
17	reportedly	Writer					Acknowledge	-	Reaction	Circumstances of graduates
21	How do we provide pupils with the space and opportunity for self-expression of ability, skill or talent, academically or	Writer			Affirm					

	otherwise, in schools									
23	cannot	Writer		Deny						
	but	Writer		Counter						
25	could possibly	Writer				Entertain		+	Valuation	Collaborative new education order
43	could be	Writer			Pronounce					
45	however	Writer		Counter						
	not	Writer		Deny						

TT12: The ANC must expel the ‘petty-bourgeois’ Malema

Table TT12.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
2	good	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Time
	opportunists	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Julius Malema
	liquidators	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Julius Malema
5	difficult	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Exile years
6	victorious	Writer		Tenacity		+	Inscribed	ANC
	reached the 100-year milestone	Writer		Tenacity		+	Invoked	ANC
7-8	had it not purged from within its ranks people like Tennyson Makiwane and Alfred Kgokong Mqota	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Tennyson Makiwane and Alfred Kgokong Mqota
8	contradict and attack key ANC policies	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Tennyson Makiwane and Alfred Kgokong Mqota
10-11	does not throw its own members to the dustbin of history	Writer		Propriety		+	Invoked	ANC
15	should be expelled	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Malema and everyone else who believes themselves to be more

								important than the ANC
16	succeeded	Writer		Tenacity		+	Inscribed	ANC
	unity and cohesion	Writer			Composition	+	Inscribed	ANC
17	opportunists	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale
18	undermined its internal unity	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale
20	attacking the ANC NEC's decisions	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Faction within the ANC (Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale)
	reckless	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Faction within the ANC (Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale)
22-23	like chopping off the head of a monstrous beast that has been destroying the ANC's image and unity	Writer			Reaction	+	Invoked	Expelling Malema
23	destroying	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Julius Malema
	tenderpreneurs	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Julius Malema
25	"petty-bourgeois"	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Julius Malema and his tenderpreneurs

Table TT12.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	all	Number			Upscaled			
6	milestone	Presence			Upscaled	+	Tenacity	ANC
7	purged		Process		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Tennyson Makiwane and Alfred Kgokong Mqota
11	entire	Number			Upscaled			

13	no	Number			Downscaled			
17	purge		Process		Upscaled			
20	routinely	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Faction within the ANC (Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale)
22	chopping off the head		Process		Upscaled	+	Reaction	Expelling Malema
23	destroying		Process		Upscaled	-	Propriety	Julius Malema
24	absolutely			Sharpened				
25	purge		Process		Upscaled			

Table TT12.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	must	Sub-editor			Pronounce					
2	THIS is a good time for the ANC to rid itself	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Reaction	Time
2-3	of opportunists and liquidators like Malema	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Julius Malema
4	In fact	Writer			Pronounce					
	must	Writer			Pronounce					
5	not	Writer		Deny						
6	not	Writer		Deny						
8	despite	Writer		Counter						
10	Contrary to	Writer		Counter				+	Propriety	ANC
	ANC does not throw its own members to the dustbin of history	Mathews Phosa					Acknowledge	+	Propriety	ANC
13	despite	Writer		Concede						
	should	Writer			Pronounce					
15	should	Writer			Pronounce					

16	The ANC succeeded	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Tenacity	ANC
	because	Writer			Justify			+	Composition	ANC
18	those who have undermined its internal unity	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale
20	This faction was routinely attacking the ANC NEC's decisions	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Faction within the ANC (Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale)
20-21	with reckless public statements	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Faction within the ANC (Phosa, Fikile Mbalula and Tokyo Sexwale)
22-23	Expelling Malema will be like chopping off the head of a monstrous beast... tenderpreneurs	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Reaction	Expelling Malema
24-25	“petty-bourgeois” tenderpreneurs	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Malema and his tenderpreneurs

TT13: Children don't master new languages at school

Table TT13.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
2	difficulties	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Learning a second language at school
8	properly	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	Teachers after training
10	pathetic	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Attempts to learn Xhosa
11	disaster	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Children learning Xhosa
12	difficulty	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Finding a Xhosa teacher
12-13	teacher changed more frequently the weather	Writer			Composition	-	Invoked	Finding a Xhosa teacher

13	no teacher at all	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Absence of teacher at school
14	did not come to school	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Xhosa teacher
15	Alas	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Feelings of writer
	hopeless	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Children learning Xhosa
16	appalling	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Children's grounding in Xhosa
17	disaster	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Teaching everyone in their mother tongue
18	Unfortunately	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	English as an international language
	fortunately	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	English as an international language
19	language of much science and literature	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	English
20	disadvantage	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Teaching children in a language spoken by a minority
22	culture of indifference	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Education system
24	troubled	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Zimbabwe
	outstanding	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Education of children in Zimbabwe

Table TT13.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
11	disaster		Quality		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Children learning Xhosa
13	at all			Sharpened		-	Reaction	Absence of teacher at school
13-14	more frequently than the weather	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Composition	Finding a Xhosa teacher
17	disaster		Quality		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Teaching everyone in their mother tongue
20	minority	Number			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Teaching children in a language spoken by a minority

23	11	Number			Upscaled			
24	outstanding		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	Education of children in Zimbabwe
25	anywhere	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled			

Table TT13.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ / -	Instantiation	Appraised
1	don't	Sub-editor		Counter						
2	I believe	Writer			Pronounce					
4	not	Writer		Deny						
7	should	Writer			Pronounce			+	Capacity	Teachers after training
11	But	Writer		Counter				-	Reaction	Children learning Xhosa
12	The school had difficulty finding a teacher	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Finding a Xhosa teacher
12-13	The teacher changed more frequently than the weather	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	Finding a Xhosa teacher
13	there was no teacher at all	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Absence of teacher at school
	even	Writer			Concede					
14	not	Writer		Denial				-	Propriety	Xhosa teacher
15	it was hopeless	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Children learning Xhosa
16	their grounding in the subject was so appalling	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Children's grounding in Xhosa
18-19	English is an international language – it is the language of science and much	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	English

	literature									
20	Teaching children in a tongue... can only disadvantage them	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Teaching children in a language spoken by a minority
21	Where will such youngsters find employment	Writer			Affirm			-	Reaction	Teaching children in a language spoken by a minority
22	And how on earth will an education system with a culture of indifference ever get it together to teach in 11 official languages	Writer			Affirm			-	Propriety	Education system
24	troubled though the country is	Writer			Concede			-	Reaction	Zimbabwe
	still	Writer		Counter				+	Valuation	Education of children in Zimbabwe

TT14: DA youth poster reckless

Table TT14.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	reckless	Sub-editor		Propriety		-	Inscribed	DA
8	acceptable	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	White man in a sexual relationship with a black woman
9	taboo	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	White woman being in a relationship with a black man
	intolerance	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	White woman being in a relationship with a black man
11	superiority complexes	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Society
13	celebrated	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	A man
	authority	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	A man

17	racial superiority complex	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	White community
19	demean	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	DA
19-20	make them seem as if they do not belong	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	DA
21	treatment of this part of our population as numbers	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	DA
	numbers and statistics first	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Coloured community
23	adequately	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	DA
24	prey	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	DA
	voting fodder	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Coloured community
28	recklessly	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	DA
31	not seeking “sexual empowerment	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Sexual empowerment
31-32	we are on a path that demands “economic empowerment for all races	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	Economic empowerment

Table TT14.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
8	majority	Number			Upscaled	+	Reaction	White man in a sexual relationship with a black woman
	more		Quality		Upscaled	+	Reaction	White man in a sexual relationship with a black woman
11	rife	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Society
13	still	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Valuation	A man
16	most	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	White community
27	well		Quality		Upscaled			

32	all	Number			Upscaled	+	Valuation	Economic empowerment
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Table TT14.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	wouldn't	DA		Deny						
6	Why is it not a white female and a black male in the poster	Writer			Affirm			+	Reaction	White man in a sexual relationship with a black woman
8	majority	Writer				Entertain		-	Propriety	White community
9	There's a taboo about and intolerance of	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	White woman being in a relationship with a black man
11-12	This emanates from the race and gender superiority complexes that are still rife in our society	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Society
13	A man is still celebrated	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	A man
	as a figure of authority over a woman	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	A man
14	not	Writer		Deny						
	because	Writer			Justify					
16	However	Writer		Counter						
	most	Writer				Entertain		-	Propriety	White community
17	because	Writer			Justify			-	Propriety	White community
19	Some people have tried to demean the identity of coloureds	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	DA
20	"we are fighting for the coloured vote"	DA					Acknowledge	-	Propriety	DA

24	In the Western Cape, it continues to prey on coloured people as voting fodder	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	DA
		Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Coloured community
25	Truth is	Writer			Pronounce					
25	must	Writer			Pronounce					
26	Have we prepared society adequately for such relations	Writer			Affirm					
26-27	Has the cultural bridge been well established	Writer			Affirm					
28	Is the DA recklessly promoting something it has not assisted society to grapple with	Writer			Affirm			-	Propriety	DA
29	It is significant	Writer			Pronounce					
31	not	Writer		Deny				-	Valuation	Sexual empowerment
31-32	we are on a path that demands	Writer		Counter				+	Valuation	Economic empowerment

TT15: How to grade children and reward their teachers

Table TT15.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
2	problems	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Start of school year
3	No one seems to take responsibility	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	People responsible for education
4	under-educated	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Pupils
	ill-prepared	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	Pupils

5	simple	Writer			Composition	+	Inscribed	Solution to education problem
8	key	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Matriculation
9	failure	Writer		Tenacity		-	Inscribed	Children who achieve below 40%
16	simple	Writer			Composition	+	Inscribed	Principle of determining teachers' salaries
17	will know where they are going	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	Pupils

Table TT15.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
2	again	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Start of school year
	stuttered		Process		Downscaled			
	usual	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	-	Reaction	Start of school year
3	No one	Number			Downscaled	-	Tenacity	People responsible for education
4	another	Number			Upscaled	-	Valuation	Pupils
6	narrow	Extent: Distribution: Space			Downscaled			

Table TT15.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ / -	Instantiation	Appraised
2	with the usual problems	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Start of school year
3	seems	Writer				Entertain		-	Tenacity	People responsible for education
4	Schools go on producing another batch of under-	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Pupils

	educated									
	and ill-prepared youngsters	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Capacity	Pupils
5	There is a simple solution	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Composition	Solution to education problem
15	should	Writer			Pronounce					
16	might	Writer			Concede					
	but	Writer		Counter				+	Composition	Principle of determining teachers' salaries
17	Pupils will know where they are going	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Capacity	Pupils

TT16: Rail deal means little to Swaziland's ordinary folk

Table TT16.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
1	little	Sub-editor			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Rail deal
3	disingenuously	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Transnet and Swaziland Railway
	benefit	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Rail deal, according to Transnet and Swaziland Railway
7	ease congestion	Writer			Composition	+	Invoked	Rail deal
8	much-anticipated	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Waterberg rail investment
11	rejoice	Writer	Satisfaction			+	Inscribed	South Africans
13	exploitation	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	Transnet and Swaziland Railway
14	exploited	Writer		Propriety		+	Inscribed	ANC, helping the liberation movement in Swaziland
16	can	Writer		Capacity		+	Inscribed	ANC
20	important	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	ANC
22	oppressed	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Circumstances of people in Swaziland

Table TT16.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
9	secondary	Presence			Downscaled			
16	mass	Mass			Upscaled			
22	greatest	Presence			Upscaled			

Table TT16.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
2-3	THE cooperation... is disingenuously presented	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Transnet and Swaziland Railway
6	not	Writer		Deny						
7	Its main purpose is to ease congestion in Ermelo	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Composition	Rail deal
11	they will rejoice	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Satisfaction	South Africa
14	business in Swaziland could be exploited... movement in Swaziland	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	ANC, helping the liberation movement in Swaziland
16	should	Writer			Pronounce					
20	It is a known fact	Writer			Pronounce			+	Valuation	ANC
22	probably	Writer				Entertain				

TT17: Politics of personality strangling ANC to death

Table TT17.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
1	strangling	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Invoked	Politics of personality
3	beleaguered	Writer	Security			-	Invoked	Julius Malema
9	collapse	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Congress of the People
10	divided	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	ANC
15	adversely	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	Effects of power struggles
18	enemies	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Julius Malema and Zuma
	How quickly things change	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Julius Malema
19	Interestingly	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Malema courting Mbeki
26	destroy	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Politics
26-27	oldest liberation movement on the continent	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	ANC
27-28	not in the best interest of the party or the country	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Destruction of the ANC

Table TT17.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	to death		Process		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Politics of personality
4	consistently	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			
9	on the brink of	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled	-	Composition	Congress of the People
13	tooth and nail		Process		Upscaled			
14	always	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			

14	bigger	Presence			Upscaled			
17	Not so long ago	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled			
18	How quickly	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled	-	Tenacity	Julius Malema
25	sooner	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled			
	better		Quality		Upscaled			
26	destroy		Process		Upscaled	-	Reaction	Politics
	oldest	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Valuation	ANC
26-27	on the continent	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	+	Valuation	ANC

Table TT17.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
5	appears	Writer				Entertain				
9	which is now on the brink of collapse	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	Congress of the People
10	The ruling party is now divided over Zuma and Malema	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	ANC
15	the party will be adversely affected	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Effects of power struggles
17	kill for Zuma	Writer					Acknowledge			
	no longer	Writer		Deny						
18	The two are now sworn enemies	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Julius Malema and Zuma
	How quickly things change	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Julius Malema
19	Interestingly	Writer			Affirm			+	Reaction	Malema courting Mbeki
22	he does desire to lead the	Writer					Acknowledge			

	ANC									
26	This kind of politics has the potential to destroy	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	Politics
26-27	the oldest liberation movement on the continent	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	ANC
27	not	Writer		Deny				-	Reaction	Destruction of the ANC

TT18: Innovation should be name of Africa's game

Table TT18.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/ Invoked	Appraised
4	common theme	Writer			Composition	-	Invoked	Intellectuals' vision
5	do something for itself	Intellectuals		Tenacity		+	Invoked	Africa
	popular	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Thabo Mbeki's assertions
7	best	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	South Africa
10	high stature	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	South African academics
	international standard	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	South African businesspeople
11	learning-loving	Writer		Propriety		+	Invoked	South Africa
16	renowned	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Dreams of some people
	positive	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Businesspeople and entrepreneurs
21	exploited	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	Land available for agricultural scientists to cultivate
23	giving lectures	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Current activities of agricultural scientists
25	gateway to economic growth and development	Writer			Valuation	+	Invoked	South Africa
26	importance	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	South Africa's leadership role
27	stable	Writer			Composition	+	Inscribed	South Africa

33	betterment	Writer			Reaction	+	Inscribed	Improvement of Africa through BRICS partnership
34	It is time for Africa to lead	Writer		Capacity		+	Invoked	Africa's leadership role

Table TT18.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification			+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
7	one of the best		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	South Africa
	in the world	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled	+	Valuation	South Africa
11	continue	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled	+	Propriety	South Africa
12	recent	Extent: Proximity: Time			Upscaled			
13	overflow	Mass			Upscaled			
21	vast	Extent: Distribution: Space			Upscaled			
30	always	Extent: Distribution: Time			Upscaled			

Table TT18.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
1	should	Sub-editor			Pronounce					
4-5	they want to see Africa begin to do something for itself	Intellectuals	Monoglossia					+	Tenacity	Africa
6	should	Writer			Pronounce					
7	undoubtedly	Writer			Affirm			+	Valuation	South Africa
10	We have produced academics	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	South African

	of high stature									academics
10-11	businessmen and women of an international standard	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	South African businesspeople
11	we continue to display to the world that we are a learning-loving nation	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	South Africa
16	All these make a positive contribution	Writer			Concede			+	Reaction	Businesspeople and entrepreneurs
18	However	Writer		Counter						
	need	Writer			Pronounce					
19	should	Writer			Pronounce					
23	Where are they and what are they doing	Writer			Affirm			-	Valuation	Current activities of agricultural scientists
23-24	They are giving lectures rather than producing food	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Current activities of agricultural scientists
25-26	viewed as a gateway to economic growth of the African continent	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	South Africa
28	should	Writer			Pronounce					
29	confirmed	Writer			Endorse					
34	It is time for Africa to lead	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Capacity	Africa's leadership role

TT19: 'The people' angry at info bill consultation

Table TT19.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
1	angry	Sub-editor			Reaction	-	Inscribed	'The people'

5	surprise	Writer	Security			-	Invoked	Parliament
6	angry	Writer			Reaction	-	Inscribed	The people
8	lacking	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Government
9	did not prepare	Writer		Tenacity		-	Invoked	Parliament
10-11	neither did the panel chairman articulate the controversial issues	Writer			Reaction	-	Invoked	Panel chairman
12	It was not going to happen	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	People's ability to discuss the Protection of Information Bill
16	insulted	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	The people
19	disenfranchisement	Writer		Capacity		-	Inscribed	The people
	regret	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	The country
20	artful dodgers	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Politicians
	apparatchiks	Writer		Capacity		-	Invoked	politicians

Table TT19.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
7-8	service delivery, education, employment, job creation and poverty alleviation	Number			Upscaled	-	Tenacity	Government
12	fully			Sharpened				
15	most	Number			Upscaled			
17	all	Number			Upscaled			

Table TT19.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ / -	Instantiation	Appraised
1	‘The people’ angry at info bill consultation	Sub-editor	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	‘The people’
4	But	Writer		Counter				-	Security	Parliament
6	People on the ground are angry	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Reaction	The people
	cannot	Writer		Deny				-	Tenacity	Government
9	parliament did not prepare information packs or pamphlets	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Parliament
9-10	neither did the panel chairman articulate the controversial issues	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Tenacity	Panel chairman
13	not	Writer		Deny				-	Capacity	People’s ability to discuss the Protection of Information Bill
15	let alone	Writer		Counter						
16	The people said	Writer					Acknowledge	-	Satisfaction	The people
17	Despite	Writer		Counter						
19	could	Writer				Entertain		-	Satisfaction	The people

TT20: PBF’s role in state-led delegations above board

Table TT20.1: Attitude

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	+/-	Inscribed/Invoked	Appraised
4	Unfortunately	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Inscribed	Own feelings about Boyle’s column

	rubbed	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Boyle's argument
	indiscriminate	Writer			Composition	-	Inscribed	Boyle's argument
5	seeking sensation	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Popular media
8	get invited to functions with ANC leaders, who happen also to run the government departments that formulate policy and whose tenders are the fountain of new wealth in this country	Boyle		Propriety		-	Invoked	Progressive Business Forum (PBF)
11	determined to exploit	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	ANC as Boyle portrays them
12	regardless of ethics	Writer		Propriety		-	Inscribed	ANC as Boyle portrays them
13	nothing sinister	Writer		Veracity		+	Invoked	PBF and ANC
16	Hardly considerable sums	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Boyle's argument
17	Let's get real	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Boyle's argument
18	value	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Dialogue
	importance	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	Dialogue
19	unique	Writer		Normality		+	Inscribed	South Africa
21	inaccuracy	Writer			Valuation	-	Inscribed	Boyle's argument
22	The truth	Writer		Veracity		-	Invoked	Boyle's argument
25-26	those intent on portraying the PBF itself as sinister and abusive of taxpayers' resources	Writer		Propriety		-	Invoked	Boyle and his supporters
26	alas	Writer	Satisfaction			-	Invoked	Own feelings about expenses
27	to prevent any criticism about the misappropriation of taxpayers' money	Writer		Veracity		+	Invoked	PBF
28	complementary	Writer		Propriety		+	Invoked	PBF
30	strategic	Writer			Valuation	+	Inscribed	PBF
34-35	match your diligence in criticism with diligence in putting forward ideas	Writer			Valuation	-	Invoked	Boyle's argument

Table TT20.2: Graduation

Line	Instantiation	Force		Focus	Upscaled/ Downscaled	Attitudinal meaning amplified		
		Quantification	Intensification	Sharpened/ Softened		+/-	Instantiation	Appraised
5	anything	Number			Upscaled	-	Propriety	Popular media
16	Hardly			Softened		-	Valuation	Boyle's argument
	[Hardly] considerable	Number			Downscaled	-	Valuation	Boyle's argument
17	millions	Number			Upscaled	-	Valuation	Boyle's argument
18	Especially	Presence			Upscaled			
21	second	Number			Upscaled	-	Valuation	Boyle's argument
29	range	Number			Upscaled			
	much more		Quality		Upscaled			
30	far more		Quality		Upscaled	+	Valuation	PBF

Table TT20.3: Engagement

Line	Instantiation	Voice	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia: Contraction		Heteroglossia: Expansion		Attitudinal meaning graded		
				Disclaim	Proclaim	Entertain	Attribute	+ /-	Instantiation	Appraised
4	his points are rubbished	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Boyle's argument
	his indiscriminate echoing	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Composition	Boyle's argument
4-5	fixation on seeking sensation	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Propriety	Popular media
7	He writes	Boyle					Acknowledge	-	Propriety	PBF
13	The truth...is	Writer			Pronounce			+	Veracity	PBF and ANC
	however	Writer		Counter				+	Veracity	PBF and ANC
	nothing	Writer		Deny				+	Veracity	PBF and ANC
16	clearly	Writer			Affirm			-	Valuation	Boyle's argument

	not	Writer		Deny						
18	PBF participants realise the importance of dialogue	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Valuation	Dialogue
20	naturally	Writer			Affirm					
21	Boyle's second inaccuracy is that	Writer	Monoglossia					-	Valuation	Boyle's argument
22	The truth	Writer			Affirm			-	Veracity	Boyle's argument
25	may	Writer				Entertain				
28	The PBF provides... all in the fee paid	Writer	Monoglossia					+	Propriety	PBF
29	Clearly	Writer			Affirm			+	Valuation	PBF
32	However	Writer		Counter						
	it appears that	Writer				Entertain				
35	"ethically"	Writer					Distance			

APPENDIX E: CORPUS DATA

List E1: *Daily Sun* word frequency ($n \geq 5$)

Columns show (from right) the word, its frequency, and its frequency rank in the data

1	140	the	45	10	life
2	114	to	46	10	must
3	102	and	47	10	one
4	71	of	48	10	parents
5	68	a	49	10	take
6	61	is	50	9	corruption
7	57	in	51	9	do
8	39	are	52	9	his
9	39	it	53	9	things
10	38	for	54	8	because
11	34	that	55	8	education
12	34	we	56	8	kids
13	29	our	57	8	leaders
14	26	be	58	8	let
15	22	as	59	8	lives
16	22	their	60	8	other
17	22	they	61	8	success
18	22	you	62	8	up
19	21	can	63	8	was
20	20	your	64	8	what
21	19	have	65	8	why
22	19	s	66	8	yourself
23	19	with	67	7	from
24	18	i	68	7	get
25	18	not	69	7	has
26	18	t	70	7	how
27	17	he	71	7	if
28	17	on	72	7	just
29	16	but	73	7	men
30	16	by	74	7	most
31	16	people	75	7	right
32	15	at	76	7	society
33	15	these	77	7	us
34	15	when	78	7	work
35	15	will	79	7	would
36	14	them	80	6	anc
37	13	all	81	6	been
38	13	some	82	6	being
39	13	who	83	6	business
40	12	don	84	6	city
41	12	young	85	6	even
42	11	or	86	6	girls
43	11	out	87	6	go
44	11	there	88	6	high

89	6	land
90	6	need
91	6	school
92	6	so
93	6	state
94	6	themselves
95	6	this
96	6	want
97	5	also
98	5	an
99	5	back
100	5	children
101	5	each
102	5	end
103	5	going
104	5	government
105	5	hard
106	5	her
107	5	hope
108	5	know
109	5	look
110	5	make
111	5	man
112	5	members
113	5	no
114	5	nothing
115	5	ones
116	5	public
117	5	really
118	5	respect
119	5	saps
120	5	those
121	5	true
122	5	way
123	5	while
124	5	without
125	5	world
126	5	year
127	5	yet

List E2: *The Times* word frequency ($n \geq 5$)

Columns show (from right) the word, its frequency, and its frequency rank in the data

1	422	the	47	18	their
2	229	to	48	17	more
3	208	and	49	17	which
4	197	of	50	16	country
5	151	in	51	16	his
6	145	a	52	16	if
7	134	is	53	16	would
8	72	it	54	16	zuma
9	71	that	55	15	african
10	63	for	56	15	been
11	58	as	57	15	can
12	56	not	58	15	education
13	56	s	59	14	movement
14	51	be	60	14	school
15	50	this	61	14	such
16	46	are	62	13	had
17	44	with	63	13	he
18	41	anc	64	13	like
19	41	we	65	13	these
20	38	at	66	13	what
21	38	have	67	12	entrepreneurship
22	37	has	68	12	must
23	36	by	69	12	political
24	36	on	70	12	uj
25	30	an	71	12	university
26	30	was	72	12	us
27	29	will	73	11	do
28	26	all	74	11	how
29	26	people	75	11	man
30	25	its	76	11	only
31	25	who	77	11	still
32	24	africa	78	11	swaziland
33	24	there	79	11	you
34	24	they	80	10	applications
35	23	but	81	10	between
36	23	from	82	10	could
37	23	our	83	10	done
38	23	south	84	10	language
39	22	or	85	10	late
40	22	were	86	10	pbf
41	21	other	87	10	president
42	20	about	88	10	schools
43	19	should	89	10	so
44	18	i	90	10	students
45	18	one	91	10	when
46	18	party	92	9	applicants

93	9	apply	143	6	business
94	9	being	144	6	challenges
95	9	cannot	145	6	come
96	9	children	146	6	failed
97	9	liberation	147	6	get
98	9	malema	148	6	management
99	9	most	149	6	many
100	9	no	150	6	my
101	9	state	151	6	nation
102	9	those	152	6	own
103	9	through	153	6	police
104	9	time	154	6	politics
105	9	world	155	6	results
106	8	entrepreneurs	156	6	ruling
107	8	government	157	6	second
108	8	including	158	6	she
109	8	society	159	6	strategic
110	8	take	160	6	student
111	8	than	161	6	two
112	8	them	162	6	woman
113	8	training	163	6	work
114	8	up	164	5	academic
115	8	white	165	5	address
116	8	year	166	5	admission
117	7	also	167	5	africans
118	7	black	168	5	bill
119	7	development	169	5	centenary
120	7	did	170	5	countries
121	7	economic	171	5	despite
122	7	first	172	5	fact
123	7	form	173	5	family
124	7	grade	174	5	her
125	7	help	175	5	important
126	7	however	176	5	johannesburg
127	7	itself	177	5	lead
128	7	members	178	5	leaders
129	7	much	179	5	learn
130	7	need	180	5	let
131	7	now	181	5	means
132	7	parliament	182	5	national
133	7	pupils	183	5	new
134	7	question	184	5	numbers
135	7	teachers	185	5	opportunities
136	7	where	186	5	place
137	7	why	187	5	poor
138	7	women	188	5	programme
139	7	years	189	5	provide
140	6	admitted	190	5	rate
141	6	because	191	5	role
142	6	benefit	192	5	some

193	5	struggle
194	5	success
195	5	t
196	5	themselves
197	5	timeous
198	5	today
199	5	very
200	5	youth

List E3: *Daily Sun* keyword list (LL $\geq$ 3.9)

Columns show (from left): keyness rank in the *Daily Sun* corpus, frequency of word, log-likelihood score, and the keyword

1	20	33.239	your	46	3	6.761	malibe
2	12	27.046	young	47	3	6.761	mentor
3	18	20.400	t	48	3	6.761	month
4	8	18.030	kids	49	3	6.761	never
5	8	18.030	yourself	50	3	6.761	old
6	12	17.129	don	51	3	6.761	places
7	10	16.619	parents	52	3	6.761	put
8	22	16.189	you	53	3	6.761	registered
9	7	15.777	right	54	3	6.761	rights
10	6	13.523	city	55	3	6.761	stay
11	6	13.523	girls	56	3	6.761	suffering
12	10	13.291	life	57	3	6.761	sugar
13	8	12.535	lives	58	3	6.761	supposed
14	29	11.981	our	59	3	6.761	tertiary
15	13	11.945	some	60	3	6.761	village
16	9	11.420	things	61	3	6.761	wrong
17	5	11.269	end	62	39	6.669	are
18	5	11.269	really	63	5	6.646	hard
19	7	10.532	men	64	5	6.646	nothing
20	11	10.527	out	65	5	6.646	ones
21	21	10.177	can	66	5	6.646	respect
22	9	9.138	corruption	67	6	6.092	land
23	4	9.015	achieve	68	6	6.092	want
24	4	9.015	check	69	34	5.424	we
25	4	9.015	criminals	70	15	5.316	these
26	4	9.015	godfrey	71	4	4.794	believe
27	4	9.015	older	72	4	4.794	better
28	4	9.015	protector	73	4	4.794	colleges
29	14	8.978	them	74	4	4.794	love
30	22	8.631	their	75	4	4.794	me
31	15	7.989	when	76	18	4.760	i
32	7	7.808	just	77	22	4.699	they
33	17	7.443	he	78	8	4.623	leaders
34	3	6.761	acornhoek	79	8	4.623	let
35	3	6.761	background	80	8	4.623	success
36	3	6.761	bad	81	2	4.508	abuse
37	3	6.761	cemeteries	82	2	4.508	actions
38	3	6.761	claimants	83	2	4.508	advise
39	3	6.761	discipline	84	2	4.508	along
40	3	6.761	dreams	85	2	4.508	belief
41	3	6.761	drink	86	2	4.508	believing
42	3	6.761	fail	87	2	4.508	blaming
43	3	6.761	girl	88	2	4.508	bother
44	3	6.761	joburg	89	2	4.508	boundaries
45	3	6.761	looking	90	2	4.508	boys

91	2	4.508	cbd
92	2	4.508	collect
93	2	4.508	comrades
94	2	4.508	constitutional
95	2	4.508	contracts
96	2	4.508	corrupt
97	2	4.508	courses
98	2	4.508	daddies
99	2	4.508	disadvantaged
100	2	4.508	dismiss
101	2	4.508	everything
102	2	4.508	fake
103	2	4.508	feel
104	2	4.508	filthy
105	2	4.508	god
106	2	4.508	goes
107	2	4.508	grow
108	2	4.508	home
109	2	4.508	inspire
110	2	4.508	instill
111	2	4.508	living
112	2	4.508	lodged
113	2	4.508	madonsela
114	2	4.508	murderers
115	2	4.508	needy
116	2	4.508	night
117	2	4.508	officers
118	2	4.508	politicians
119	2	4.508	rural
120	2	4.508	shame
121	2	4.508	soshanguve
122	2	4.508	spend
123	2	4.508	steal
124	2	4.508	tell
125	2	4.508	tired
126	2	4.508	tool
127	2	4.508	top
128	2	4.508	trace
129	2	4.508	trust
130	2	4.508	wake
131	2	4.508	waste
132	2	4.508	week
133	2	4.508	whatever
134	2	4.508	wishing
135	5	4.460	back
136	5	4.460	look
137	5	4.460	true
138	6	4.415	high
139	10	4.073	take

List E4: *The Times* keyword list (LL $\geq$ 3.9)

Columns show (from left): keyness rank in The Times corpus, frequency of word, log-likelihood score, and the keyword

1	422	15.091	the	46	5	3.916	academic
2	50	14.548	this	47	5	3.916	bill
3	14	10.965	movement	48	5	3.916	centenary
4	41	9.735	anc	49	5	3.916	countries
5	12	9.399	entrepreneurship	50	5	3.916	johannesburg
6	12	9.399	uj	51	5	3.916	lead
7	12	9.399	university	52	5	3.916	national
8	11	8.615	swaziland	53	5	3.916	numbers
9	17	7.845	which	54	5	3.916	opportunities
10	10	7.832	applications	55	5	3.916	programme
11	10	7.832	language	56	5	3.916	rate
12	10	7.832	late	57	5	3.916	struggle
13	10	7.832	pbf	58	5	3.916	timeous
14	10	7.832	schools				
15	16	7.179	zuma				
16	9	7.049	applicants				
17	9	7.049	apply				
18	9	7.049	liberation				
19	9	7.049	malema				
20	24	6.722	africa				
21	8	6.266	entrepreneurs				
22	8	6.266	than				
23	8	6.266	white				
24	37	6.198	has				
25	30	6.058	an				
26	22	5.646	were				
27	7	5.483	black				
28	7	5.483	economic				
29	7	5.483	form				
30	7	5.483	grade				
31	7	5.483	however				
32	7	5.483	itself				
33	7	5.483	parliament				
34	25	5.327	its				
35	6	4.699	admitted				
36	6	4.699	failed				
37	6	4.699	nation				
38	6	4.699	own				
39	6	4.699	politics				
40	6	4.699	results				
41	6	4.699	strategic				
42	6	4.699	student				
43	6	4.699	two				
44	197	4.430	of				
45	23	4.377	south				