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ALUMNO: MARIA LELIA PICO

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COMISION EVALUADORA: Prof. Elsa Ghio, Dra. Mercedes Luciani y Mgter. Marina Suárez

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Objectives and Research Question	3
Chapter 2: Theoretical Background	
2. A Genres	4
2. A.1 Digital genres	5
2. A.1.1 Online newspapers	6
2. B Critical Discourse Analysis: Ideology	8
2. B. 1 Appraisal: Attitude	9
Chapter 3: Methodology	12
Chapter 4: Results, Discussion and Further Research	
4.1 Results and Discussion	15
4.1.1 Attitude – Direct ways of expressing it	
4.1.1. A Affect	16
4.1.1. B Judgement	20
4.1.1.C Appreciation	22
4.1.2 Attitude – Indirect ways of expressing it	25
4.1.2. A Metaphors	26
4.1.2. B Personifications	29
4.1.2. C Metonymies	29
4.1.2. D Euphemisms	29
4.1.3 Audiences and Ideology	30
4.1.4 Extra findings	31
4.2 Further Research	32
Chapter 5: Conclusion	34

## Appendixes

Appendix I - Obama Wins a Second Term (From <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> )	38
Appendix II - In winning second term, Obama has work cut out for him (From <i>USA Today</i> )	43
Appendix III - Divided U.S. Gives Obama More Time (From <i>The New York Times</i> )	45
Appendix IV - AFFECT - Adjectives and verbs expressing Affect directly in the three texts.	50
Appendix V – JUDGEMENT - Adjectives and verbs expressing Judgement directly in the three texts.	51
Appendix VI – APPRECIATION- Adjectives expressing Appreciation directly in the three texts	52
Appendix VII - Percentage of occurrence of direct expressions denoting Attitude in the three texts	53
Appendix VIII - Summary and contrast of pieces of information included in the three texts as regards important issues	54
References	59

## LIST OF CHARTS

Chart 1 Headlines	16
Chart 2 More examples of metaphors	28
Chart 3 Different sources mentioned by the newspapers	32

## INTRODUCTION

“Social problems in our contemporary world are inextricably linked to texts” (Scollon, 2001:139). Every day we are all exposed to varieties of language input which shape our knowledge and sometimes even our thinking. The media are highly responsible for big amounts of language output that may have an important influence on each community.

Newspapers transmit news, “information about recent events that are of interest to a sufficiently large group, or that may affect the lives of a sufficiently large group” (Reah, 1998: 4). With the increasing popularity of the World Wide Web as a consumer-oriented mass medium, newspapers moved to the online genre (Mings, 1997), which is seen as a strategic move to both retain and expand a base audience of print newspaper readers. Such a strategy might recapture young readers, who have fallen away from the habit of reading hard-copy papers and yet may be attracted to online services. Besides, moving newspapers online facilitates immense archival capabilities, and these archives, along with tools for quickly and conveniently searching and retrieving from them, are assumed to be attractive to the online audience (Mings, 1997).

Direct observation of facts or first-hand evidence is what readers expect to find in newspapers. Nevertheless, much of what is finally reported is filtered through the news process, which is “through the re-interpretation and evaluation of many people - reporters, copywriters, sub-editors and editors” (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994:303). News reporting (both on paper and online) is “a value laden, ideologically determined discourse which operates to influence its audience’s assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and the way it ought to be” (White, 2006:1).

In order to show how the choice of words may transmit ideologies, I will draw on Systemic Functional Linguistics, focusing on Appraisal Theory (Martin & Rose, 2003), the framework aiming to describe the various ways of linguistic realization of interpersonal

meanings in language use. It is a systematic tool as it “offers a typology of evaluative resources available in English” (Hyland, 2005 in Xinghua and Thompson, 2009:3) and it offers attention to “the semantics of meaning...that is, to how meanings are realized through the positioning and coarticulation of interpersonal resources across phases of text” (Hood, 2004 in Xinghua and Thompson, 2009:3).

Appraisal may be located as an interpersonal system at the level of discourse semantics. Its resources are used to negotiate our social relationships “by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people. Attitudes have to do with evaluating things, people’s character and their feelings” (Martin and Rose, 2003:22). Texts’ writers lead their audience to take either negative or positive views of the participants, actions, happenings and state-of-affairs therein depicted. It is via such evaluative positioning that the media constructs a particular model of the social and moral order – a model of what is normal and aberrant, beneficial and harmful, praiseworthy and blameworthy, and so on (White, 2006).

This piece of research will analyse the use of evaluative adjectives and verbs as resources for expressing Attitude, both directly and indirectly, in texts dealing with Obama’s success in his second election, taken from *The Wall Street Journal (WSJ)*, *USA Today (USAT)* and *The New York Times (NYT)*. Such an analysis will attempt to show how the choice of words in newspapers reflects what writers believe in or what they want to show readers.

## CHAPTER 1

### OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTION

“...the power of the media... the power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, social identities. A signifying power which is largely a matter of how language is used...” (Fairclough, 1995: 2)

“Media texts do not merely mirror realities, as is sometimes naively assumed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them” (Fairclough, 1995:103-104). There is a tendency, among writers, to describe in-group members in a neutral or positive way and out-group members in a negative way, to choose words that have to do with evaluating things, people and their feelings and which are closely connected to ideologies.

This study was aimed at analysing how the choice of words in pieces of news transmits ideologies, by answering the following **research question**: Are the ways we feel about things and people reflected on the language used?

The general objectives of this study are

- ▶ To make people aware of the fact that discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning (Fairclough, 2000:64).
- ▶ To make human beings aware of the reciprocal influences of language and social structure of which they are normally unaware (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 1989 in Titscher et al., 2002), therefore helping them become critical readers who will not be easily misled by people in power.
- ▶ To become aware of the role of discourse in power relations.

The specific objective is

- ▶ To show that different ways of wording the same event implies different interpretations of the event and different ideologies.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

“The reality you observe depends on how you look at it...  
If we change the focus of our attention, a different reality emerges –  
a reality which consists not in *things*,  
but in *relationships* within a system” (Hartley, 1995: 12,13)

#### 2. A. Genres

The term “genre” dates back to the study of classical rhetoric and for the last century has been associated with literature (Hyland, 2007). Modern conceptions of genre extend its use beyond literary texts. Nowadays it is used to capture the social nature of oral and written discourse by various theorists and practitioners from applied linguistics. Carino (2006: 162) describes it as “institutionalized frames that generate mutual expectations among readers and writers”. In the case of written discourses, many factors, including the functions of a text, the roles and relationships of readers and writers, the context in which the text is produced, the formal text features and the content are determined in and by the community in which these texts are produced. Lo Cascio (1991) claims that whenever a message is transmitted, the linguistic code offers us a variety of choices. Such choices are closely connected to common abstract, socially recognised ways of using language.

For Hyland (2003), genres are “abstract, socially recognised ways of using language”. This concept is “based on the assumptions that the features of a similar group depend on the social context of their creation and use, and that those features can be described in a way that relates a text to others like it and to the choices and constraints acting on text producers” (p.21).

Bakhtin (1986 in Eggins and Martin, 1998:236) defines genre as “relatively stable types of interactive utterances” while Bazerman (1997 as cited in Hyland, 2007) reminds us that:

Genres are not just forms. Genres are forms of life, ways of being. They are frames for social action. They are environments for learning. They are locations within which meaning is constructed. Genres shape the thoughts we form and the communications by which we interact. (p. 206)

Martin (1992: 505) defines genre as “a schematically structured, staged, goal-oriented social activity”. Social because we participate in genres with other people; goal-oriented because we use genres to get things done; staged because it usually takes us a few steps to reach our goals (Martin and Rose, 2003). For Fairclough (1995:76) “a genre is a way of using language which corresponds to the nature of the social practice that is being engaged in”.

### *2. A.1. Digital genre*

Digital genres have unique features deriving from the multimodal and hypertextual affordances of the Internet. Many studies on such genres have focused on analysing the degree to which they have taken advantage of Web functionalities and have evolved to become significantly different from genres existing in other media (e.g. Shepherd and Watters, 1998; Crowston and Williams, 1998; Dillon and Gushrowski, 2000; Askehave and Nielsen, 2005 in Villanueva Alfonso, Luzón Marco and Ruiz Madrid, 2008). These studies are based on the assumption that functionality, i.e. the capabilities afforded by the new medium, is as important as form and content, and suggest that the analysis of digital genres should take account of the unique properties that the medium adds to the web genre “in terms of production, function and reception” (Askehave and Nielsen, 2005: 3). Kress’ (2003: 35-36) proposal that it is necessary to move from a theory that accounts for language alone to “a theory that can account equally well for gesture, speech, image, writing, 3D object, colour, music and others” (i.e. a semiotic theory) seems to be relevant here.

There are fundamental aspects that should also be taken into account in order to understand digital genres: dynamism and change, functionality and convergence of different technologies and multimodality.

*Dynamism and change:* Evolution and change are outstanding features of digital genres (Shepherd and Watters, 1998 in Villanueva Alfonso, Luzón Marco y Ruiz Madrid, 2008). In a new situation, individuals tend to reproduce genres they are familiar with as members of other communities. This is the case of the digital genres which reproduce traditional genres. But at the same time online newspapers provide the news instantaneously. There is no waiting period for a press deadline or an afternoon edition. Stories can be updated as they happen.

*Functionality:* Research on digital genres has emphasised the need to characterise them not only in terms of form and content but also in terms of functionality (i.e., the capabilities afforded by the new medium) (Shepherd and Watters, 1998 in Villanueva Alfonso, Luzón Marco y Ruiz Madrid, 2008). Functionality is closely related to two aspects: the purpose that the author had in mind and the conception of the digital genre as a medium for participation in a communicative act. Digital genres allow users to perform actions that would not be possible with traditional genres.

*Convergence of different technologies and multimodality:* The possibility of combining multiple technologies - voice, image, text, databases, computing - in a single genre also contributes to genre change and genre re-purposing (Kwasnik and Crowston, 2005 in Villanueva Alfonso, Luzón Marco y Ruiz Madrid, 2008).

### *2. A.1.1. Online newspaper genre*

A **newspaper** is a set of large folded sheets of paper containing news, articles, advertisements, etc, printed and sold usually daily or weekly (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture, 1999). Its main role is to transmit news, “information about recent events that are of interest to a sufficiently large group, or that may affect the lives of a sufficiently large group” (Reah, 1998: 4).

News can be subdivided into three categories:

1. Hard news: the core product. It is the report of accidents, crimes, events that have just happened and which are concerned with the public sphere. It also covers politics. Supposedly, the stories reported do not express private beliefs; they are statements of a fact retold through an institutional voice.
2. Soft news or feature news, defined by Hartley (1995) as having a woman's angle. It includes humour and human interest; it provides background information and generally carries the writer's personal opinion.
3. Special topic news appears in specialised sections of newspapers (sports, racing, business, arts, etc.) (Caldas Coulthard, 1997:36-37).

With the increasing popularity of the World Wide Web as a consumer-oriented mass medium, one strategy for addressing print newspapers' problems has been to move the genre online (Mings, 1997). The form of an on-line newspaper is by necessity different from the printed edition since the medium is different. However, the content may still be the same, as printed text and images can be displayed on most media terminals. During the birth of the on-line newspapers, around 1994, newspaper content was indeed a selection of news from the printed editions. In 1999, the on-line edition was going towards a "live" scheme of publishing, presenting news continually (Eriksen & Ihlström, 2000 in Lundberg, 2001)

The initial design of online news sites was heavily inspired by the design of the printed newspaper. Metaphorically news sites were conceived as "electronic newspapers" or "digital newspapers" but today they can be seen as a genre of their own with special design elements. Most people have an understanding of how a local newspaper is structured. On the first page the most important news can be found, followed by the local news, the economic news and the sports section. The readers are used to finding the TV schedule and the comics at the end and so on. These concepts are not always easy to transfer to the online version.

Some differences emerge due to the different constraints and possibilities of the web and printed media.

There has also been a move from “print to multimedia” in the sense that the news is not only presented as text but as audio and video as well at the news sites today. News is only a part of many other services at the news sites. There is interaction going on among the users/readers, writers and publishers who debate and chat at the sites (Ihlström, 2002). Hume (1995 in Mings, 1997) also predicts that successful online papers will be those that allow for “talk back” features, allowing the audience to voice their opinions of newspaper coverage.

## 2. *B. Critical Discourse Analysis: Ideology*

Critical Discourse Analysis is concerned with social problems. It conceptualizes languages as a form of social practice, which implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it, and attempts to make human beings aware of the reciprocal influences of language and social structure of which they are normally unaware (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 1989 in Titscher et al., 2002).

For van Dijk (1995 in Sheyholislami, 2001:3), discourse analysis is perceived as ideology analysis, because “ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies”. Many ideologies and ideological practices are polarized on the basis of an in-group – out-group differentiation, typically between *Us* and *Them*. The way actors and actions are described and identified in discourses depends on our ideologies. Typically we tend to describe in-group members in a neutral or positive way and out-group members in a negative way. Similarly, we will mitigate negative descriptions of members of

our own group, and emphasize the attributed negative characteristics of the Others (van Dijk, 2006).

“Identity refers to the way people see themselves in relation to others and to society at large” (Bloor and Bloor, 2007: 20-21). It is closely related to ideology, “the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group. Depending on one’s perspective, group membership or ethics, these group ideas may be valued positively, negatively or not valued at all” (van Dijk, 2006:729).

## *2. B. 1. Appraisal: Attitude*

For my analysis, I will be drawing on the work performed by a group of researchers working within what is known as the Appraisal framework. This network of researchers operates largely within the paradigm of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1994; Martin, 1992) and is working to extend the systemic functional analysis of interpersonal meanings in order to provide a fuller account of the resources of evaluation and stance (White, 2006).

For Halliday a text is understood as:

functioning in a context, where a context is said to operate at two levels: at the level of register, where field (social activity), tenor (the interpersonal relationship among people using language) and mode (the part played by language in building communication) all have consequences for the choices made in the linguistic system; and at the level of genre, where social purposes in using language also have consequences for the linguistic choices made (Christie, 1990 in Johns, 2003:200).

Halliday suggests that “of all the uses we make of language (which are limitless and changing), language is designed to fulfil three main functions: a function for relating experience, a function for creating interpersonal relationships, and a function for organising information” (Eggins, 1994:78)

Language is a resource for mapping ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning onto one another in virtually every act of communication. Ideational resources are concerned with construing experience: what is going on, including who is doing what to whom, where, when,

why and how and the logical relation of one going-on to another. Interpersonal resources are concerned with negotiating social relations: how people are interacting, including the feelings they try to share. Textual resources are concerned with information flow: the ways in which ideational and interpersonal meanings are distributed in waves of semiosis, including interconnections among waves and between language and attendant modalities (action, image, music, etc.).

Appraisal Theory (Martin and Rose, 2003) is the framework aiming to describe the various ways of linguistic realization of interpersonal meanings in language use. It is a systematic tool as it “offers a typology of evaluative resources available in English” (Hyland, 2005 in Xinghua and Thompson, 2009:3), a particular approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, adopt stance, construct textual persona and arrange interpersonal positions and relationships (Wu, 2013).

*Appraisal* may be located as an interpersonal system at the level of discourse semantics. It is regionalized as three interacting domains – ‘attitude’, ‘engagement’ and ‘graduation’. *Attitude* is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things. *Engagement* deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. *Graduation* attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred.

*Attitude* is the major subsystem in Appraisal framework and is the superordinate term for evaluative language in attitudinal positioning in text. It is itself divided into three regions of feeling: ‘affect’, ‘judgement’ and ‘appreciation’. *Affect* deals with resources for construing emotional reactions. It can be positive or negative, depending on having good or bad feelings and it can be expressed directly or implied (Martin and Rose, 2003). *Judgement* is concerned with resources for assessing behaviour according to various normative principles. As with *affect*, judgements of people’s character can be positive or negative and they may be judged

explicitly or implicitly (Martin and Rose, 2003). *Appreciation* looks at resources for construing the value of things, including natural phenomena and semiosis (as either product or process) (Martin and White, 2005).

This analysis will tackle with the interpersonal meaning, the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate. It will be concerned with “how writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticise, and with how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise” (Martin and White, 2005: 13). Under the three systems of Appraisal Framework, attention will be mainly paid to how language (in this case, adjectives and verbs) is used to deal with Attitude, which also encompasses three categories: Affect, Judgment and Appreciation.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

“...any reading is a product of an interface between the properties of the text and the interpretative resources and practices which the interpreter brings to bear upon the text” (Fairclough, 1995/2001: 16)

The texts to be analyzed were taken from the three most widely circulated American newspaper articles, dealing with Obama’s success in his second election (*The Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today* and *The New York Times*).

*The Wall Street Journal (WSJ)* is an American English-language international daily newspaper with a special emphasis on business and economic news. It is published in New York City by Dow Jones & Company. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, the *Journal* is the largest newspaper in the United States, by circulation. Regularly scheduled sections are:

- Section One – every day; corporate news, as well as political and economic reporting and the opinion pages.
- Marketplace – Monday through Friday; coverage of health, technology, media and marketing industries.
- Money and Investing – every day; covers and analyzes international financial markets.
- Personal Journal – published Tuesday through Thursday; covers personal investments, careers and cultural pursuits.
- Weekend Journal – published Fridays; explores personal interests of business readers, including real estate, travel, and sports.
- Pursuits – formerly published Saturdays; the section focuses on readers’ lifestyle and leisure, including food and drink, restaurant and cooking trends, entertainment and culture, books, fashion, shopping, travel, sports, recreation, and the home<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Wall\\_Street\\_Journal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Wall_Street_Journal)

*USA Today (USAT)* is a national American daily newspaper published by the Gannett Company. *USA Today* remains the second widest circulated print newspaper in the United States. It is known for synthesizing news down to easy-to-read-and-comprehend stories and for being demographically and ideologically diverse.

In the main edition seen in the US and some Canadian cities, each edition consists of four sections: News (the oft-labelled “front page” section), Money, Sports, and Life. On Fridays, two Life sections are included: the regular Life for entertainment (subtitled *Weekend*; section E), which features television, a DVD column, film reviews and trends, and a travel supplement called *Destinations & Diversions* (section D). The international edition of the paper features two sections: News and Money in one; with Sports and Life in the other. The paper does not print on Saturdays and Sundays<sup>2</sup>.

*The New York Times (NYT)* is an American daily newspaper, founded and continuously published in New York City since 1851. The paper’s print version remains the largest local metropolitan newspaper in the United States and third-largest newspaper overall, behind *The Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*. It is usually referred to as a “newspaper of record”. Such newspapers are supposed to be available to the public, and publication of notices in those newspapers is considered sufficient to comply with legal requirements for public notice. A variation of this type includes those newspapers controlled by governments or political parties that serve as official newspapers of record reflecting the positions of their controlling bodies. The newspaper is organized in three sections, including the magazine.

1. News: Includes International, National, Washington, Business, Technology, Science, Health, Sports, The Metro Section, Education, Weather, and Obituaries.
2. Opinion: Includes Editorials, Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor.

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<sup>2</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USA\\_Today](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USA_Today)

3. Features: Includes Arts, Movies, Theatre, Travel, NYC Guide, Dining & Wine, Home & Garden, Fashion & Style, Crossword, *The New York Times Book Review*, *The New York Times Magazine*, and Sunday Review<sup>3</sup>.

The focus of analysis in the three texts will fall on the interpersonal metafunction of language (Halliday, 1994); in this case, the identification and analysis of adjectives and adverbs that, directly or indirectly, have to do with the domain of Attitude (Affect, Judgement and Appreciation). Then, different charts will be elaborated so as to introduce examples of the three areas, to compare the choice of evaluative lexis that express Attitude in the three texts and to show percentages of their occurrence.

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<sup>3</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_New\\_York\\_Times](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_New_York_Times)

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS, DISCUSSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

“News is a reconstruction of reality through the eyes of many people.  
The reality observed depends on how it is looked at”  
(Caldas Coulthard, 1997: 33).

#### *4. 1. Results and Discussion*

Fowler suggests that “there is no text in which the context has not been filtered by an author who has selected the propositions and has a particular posture or point of view towards them” (as cited in Caldas-Coulthard, 1994:300).

Adjectival and adverbial locutions tell us little about the nature of the action or entity apart from indicating the speaker/writer’s subjective view of that action or entity and how they assess it in terms of some system of social norms and values. When the emotions are those of the writer/speaker, then they are directed towards constructing a shared community of feeling as the reader/listener is invited to empathise, to share the emotion, or at least to see it as warranted or appropriate (White, 2006: 10-11).

Before analysing the three pieces of news, I consider it interesting to include some comments about their headlines. Headlines should “encapsulate the story in a minimum number of words, attract the reader to the story and, if it appears on the front page, attract the reader to the paper” (Reah, 1998: 13). They have a persuasive function; they are usually written to influence the opinion of the reader.

The three headlines of the analyzed texts include the idea of a second chance, though not explicitly in all the cases. *WSJ* and *USA Today* mention a *second time*, while *The New York Times* claims that the country has given Obama *more time* to go on working. The three headlines also include Obama, but in different ways: in *WSJ*, Obama is the topical theme of the utterance; in *USA Today*, he is also topical theme but preceded by a textual theme referring to time. In both cases, Obama is responsible for the actions to be performed. In *The*

*NY Times*, however, the topical theme is “Divided US” (not only the country, but a divided country) and Obama is the object, the beneficiary.

<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
Obama wins a <i>second term</i>	In winning <i>second term</i> , Obama has work cut out for him	Divided U.S. gives Obama <i>more time</i>

Chart 1 Headlines

“News is not the event itself but the report or account of an event” (Caldas Coulthard, 1997:35). The words chosen by each newspaper to refer to Obama and Romney are closely connected to their ideologies. *WSJ* is recognized by its Pro-Republican ideology; *USAT* is usually more neutral and *The NYT* is more liberal, pro-Obama.

This work will analyze how positive and/or negative attitudes can be explicitly and/or indirectly stated via adjectives and verbs, thus showing how the chosen words reflect writers’ ideology.

#### 4.1. 1. Attitude – Direct ways of expressing it

##### 4.1.1. A. Affect

Affect is concerned with “registering positive and negative feelings: do we feel happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored?” (Martin and White, 2005: 42). Emotions may be grouped into three major sets having to do with un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction.

The un/happiness variable covers “emotions concerned with ‘affairs of the heart’ – sadness, hate, happiness and love”. In/security covers our “feelings of peace and anxiety in relation to our environs, including of course the people sharing them with us. In stereotypically gendered communities the feelings here are associated with ‘mothering’ in the home – tuned to protection from the world outside (or not)”. Dis/satisfaction deals with our “feelings of achievement and frustration in relation to the activities in which we are engaged, including our roles as both participants and spectators” (Martin and White, 2005:49).

Words related to positive or negative feelings, mainly those connected to satisfaction (37%) and dissatisfaction (27%), are the most commonly used in this text (See Appendix VII).

Positive feelings expressed via adjectives are usually related to Obama. He *was successful* in the re-election and was helped by a *well-executed* turnout effort. After his success, Mr. Obama delivered a *victory* speech. He accepts he will have a second chance to find a way out of some *unfinished* problems which appeared during his first period. Nevertheless, not everything is positive about Obama. His campaign is described as *aggressive*, developed in a coarse tone.

On the other hand, for Republicans, this success raised *uncomfortable* questions like What went wrong?. Mr. Romney delivered a *concession* speech. He is described as a *rich*<sup>4</sup> and *uncaring* guy.

Attitudinal verbs frequently function both experientially and interpersonally. While indicating the speaker/writer's attitude, they also provide experiential information (White, 2006). The verbs in the text related to Obama also transmit positive feelings. He *won / gained / notched /* the re-election, *sealed* his victory, *overcoming* public doubts. He *succeeded* in raising doubt about Mr. Romney. As a Senate he *captivated* the nation and during his first term there were many interventions to *save* the banking system. During his victory speech he admitted that Romney and he fought fiercely because they *love* America deeply and *care* strongly about its future. John Mack, the former Morgan Stanley chief executive commented he would "*love* to see the president reach out" and invite Romney to work together. The Americans gave Obama a second chance to *fix* unfinished problems. A Republican *praised* Obama's performance and two-thirds of the public *approved* of the way the President handled Hurricane Sandy and *deployed* government resources to neighbourhoods left in ruins.

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<sup>4</sup> In this context being *rich* is not exactly a positive concept, since the idea is completed by commenting he did not care about citizens

Nevertheless, Obama has some problems like the fiscal cliff which could *unravel* the economy's fragile gains and which is threatening the whole country.

As regards Romney, he *couldn't overcome* missteps and attacks from Democrats over his work as a private-equity executive. The Hurricane Sandy *forced* him to *cancel* some events and to *juggle* attacks on Obama by showing sympathy for storm victims.

- *USA Today*

The text taken from *USA Today* develops Obama's success in a different way. The focus of the article is economy, job growth and fiscal crisis, which are mentioned from the very beginning.

Like in the previous text, words related to positive or negative feelings, mainly those connected to satisfaction (35%) and dissatisfaction (23%), are the most commonly used (See Appendix VII). Obama won after a *hard fought* race. The Senate and House leaders seemed *conciliatory*. In his *victory* speech he promises to work with leaders of both parties to attack the various problems he has to face. Nevertheless, Obama faces many difficulties in a *divided* government. Business is described as *rough* and the economic crisis as the *worst*.

As regards the verbs included in this piece of news, many of them refer to Obama's success, but they also refer to the economic difficulties he will have to overcome. President Obama *is heading back to the White House / won re-election*. In his speech he commented he wants to work so as to *tackle* problems. He is *looking forward to* reaching out and working with the two parties to meet the challenges that the country is offering him, such as *reducing* the deficit, *reforming* the tax code, *fixing* the immigration system and *freeing* themselves from foreign oil. But he *faces* many economic problems. He may be attacked by the gridlock that has *divided* the electorate and *hampered* his agenda for solving the country's difficulties. Such a gridlock could *thwart* his efforts to negotiate a new fiscal plan.

Romney is only mentioned indirectly as a member of the opposite party that Obama will call to work together.

- *The New York Times*

Just like in the two previous texts, adjectives related to positive or negative feelings, mainly those connected to satisfaction (41%) and dissatisfaction (26.5%), are the most widely used (See Appendix VII).

Obama won after a *dramatic* election in a *divided* nation. He built its coalition the *hard* way, through *intensive* efforts to motivate supporters. He feels *confident* that the economy is moving towards stability. As regards the health care law, nearly half of the citizens wanted to keep it *intact* or *expanded* while a quarter wanted to see it *repealed*. This election was Romney's second *failed* quest for the White House and probably his last.

Most verbs in the text are connected to satisfaction; they have to do with Obama's strong efforts to win this election and the groups that supported him, while Romney is described as somebody who accepted the results and wished the President well. Obama was re-elected after *overcoming* many difficulties. The night *wore along*; it seemed endless for both parties. But, in spite of the difficulties, Obama *redoubled his efforts*, led his supporters *to victory* and the Americans *picked themselves up* and *fought* their way *back*. Obama's supporters celebrated the victory: people *chanted* the president's name or *jumped up and down*.

Romney commented "I *wish* all of them well... and I *pray* the president *will be successful* in guiding our nation. Although Romney *gained steam and stature* in the final weeks of the campaign, Obama *defeated / won* him and *held on* to female voters. Meanwhile, Romney was *supported* by whites, men, older people, evangelicals and the adherents of the

Tea Party, a group which *had resisted* him through the primaries, but fully *embraced* him by Election Day. (See Appendix IV).

#### *4.1.1. B. Judgement*

Judgement deals with attitudes towards behaviour, which we admire or criticise, praise or condemn (Martin and White, 2005: 42). With Judgement we move into the region of meaning construing our attitudes to people and the way they behave – their character (how they measure up). In general terms Judgements can be divided into those dealing with ‘social esteem’ and those oriented to ‘social sanction’. Judgements of esteem have to do with ‘normality’ (how unusual someone is), ‘capacity’ (how capable they are) and ‘tenacity’ (how resolute they are); Judgements of sanction have to do with ‘veracity’ (how truthful someone is) and ‘propriety’ (how ethical someone is). Social esteem tends to be more common in the oral culture, through chat, gossip, jokes and stories of various kinds – with humour having a critical role to play. Sharing values in this area is critical to the formation of social networks (family, friends, colleagues, etc.). Social sanction is more often codified in writing, as edicts, rules, regulations and laws about how to behave as surveilled by church and state – with penalties and punishments as levers against those not complying with the code. Sharing values in this area underpins civic duty and religious observances (Martin and White, 2005).

#### *- The Wall Street Journal*

The *WSJ* text makes use of a wide variety of adjectives to describe attitude towards both candidates and their parties’ behaviour. Most words are related to capacity (40%) and normality (40%) (See Appendix VII).

President Barack Obama will have to show if he can forge a productive second term, after having narrowly won the re-election. His success was due to a *lopsided* advantage on

“the question of which candidate cares about people like them”. Obama’s campaign is described as *light* on details, in contrast to the ambitious list he brought to the office in 2008; but the campaign was also aggressive, *well-funded* and performed in a *coarse* tone.

Mitt Romney appeared *well-positioned* to exploit the doubts people had about Obama’s performance on the economy. He was also painted as a *predatory* capitalist “who bought companies and laid people off in search of a quick profit”. In a few words, Obama managed to make Romney *unpopular* among some voters. But in fact, Mr. Romney intended to lead the country in a *different* direction. This idea is then repeated twice: Republicans expected the next four years to be *different* from the past four years and the two parties represented two starkly *different* visions of the role of government and the recipe for economic revival. Romney admits they will be there to help Obama face a dangerous economy, a *broken* entitlement system and the *conflicting* impulses which exist in the nation.

The verbs that have to do with President Barack Obama imply positive attitudes. He found multiple ways to *chip away* at the public’s confidence in Mr. Romney. Obama managed to persuade voters that Romney’s economic policies would be *bad* for them. Only 38% considered that Mitt Romney’s winning the election could be *good* for them. Although a large majority of people said they were dissatisfied with the economy, relatively few *blamed* Mr. Obama, who admitted he *failed to solve* some problems during his first four years in office.

- *USA Today*

There is only one instance of Judgement – propriety in this text: This second term will allow Obama to support health care reform and coverage for millions of *uninsured* Americans.

- *The New York Times*

Most adjectives in this text have to do with normality (social esteem) (50%) and propriety (social sanction) (60%) (See Appendix VII). The article starts by mentioning what Obama had to overcome in order to be re-elected president of the United States by a divided nation: bad economy, a *lock-step* resistance to his agenda by Republicans in Congress and an *unprecedented* torrent of advertising. His campaign organization is described as *muscular*, a campaign which used a strong financial advantage to hold off the forces that opposed his candidacy. Nevertheless, his victory was far narrower than his election four years before, which is considered *historic*.

Republican moderates recriminate Mr. Romney for having gone too far against those there illegally, including his *get-tough* policies. He is described as someone *stoic and gracious* in his remarks, someone who wished to lead the country in a *different* direction. Nevertheless, after what was considered a *bitter* campaign, he accepted Obama's success. (See Appendix V).

#### 4.1.1. C Appreciation

Appreciation involves "evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena, according to the ways in which they are valued or not in a given field" (Martin and White, 2005: 43). With Appreciation we turn to meanings construing our evaluations of 'things', especially things we make and performances we give, but also including natural phenomena – what such things are worth (how we value them). In general terms appreciations can be divided into our 'reactions' to things (do they catch our attention?; do they please us?), their 'composition' (balance and complexity), and their 'value' (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.) (Martin and White, 2005).

- *WS Journal*

In this case, the text transmits appreciation only through adjectives. Most of them have to do with Value (59%) (See Appendix VII): Obama will have to show if he can forge a *productive* second term. His re-election campaign was *light* in contrast to the *ambitious* list presented in the first one.

The campaign's tone was *coarse*. Apparently Romney had a *big* advantage mostly after Obama's *lackluster* performance in the first of the three presidential debates, but in the end Obama managed to make him *unpopular* among some voters and held a *lopsided* advantage. Some *top* Republicans accepted they need to rethink the way to present their economic message. In fact, both parties tried not to harm a bad economy and their *broken* entitlement system.

- *USA Today*

This text also makes use of adjectives to show appreciation, mostly connected to Value (85%) (See Appendix VII). The national campaign is described as the USA's *costliest* and perhaps *most bitterly contested*.

Obama faces *high* unemployment and the possibility of *massive* cuts in defence and domestic spending. Others consider that signs point to an *improving* economy, with *low* interest rates and hiring remaining *modest*.

- *The New York Times*

Most adjectives used in this text are closely connected to Value (91%) (See Appendix VII): After a *long* and *bitter* (and sometimes *small* and *petty*) campaign, Obama will have a second chance which will require immediate answers because of the rapidly *escalating* fiscal showdown. Nevertheless, he feels confident that the economy (the *top* issue on the minds of

voters) is on its way toward stability. Besides, the result ratifies his *sweeping* health care act, which Romney had promised to repeal.

Now, the Republican Party will have to reflect upon the best way to approach Hispanics, a *fast-growing* portion of the voting population which senior party strategists had tried to attract before *intense* activism against illegal immigration took hold within the party (See Appendix VI).

The ideas expressed and transmitted in the three texts may be summarized the following way:

As regards *Affect*, most of the adjectives and verbs in the three texts deal with *satisfaction/dissatisfaction*. Although *WSJ* is a pro-republican newspaper, the text is mostly related to Obama's success in the re-election. Republicans praise and approve of the way the President handled Hurricane Sandy. Romney could not overcome attacks from Democrats. It is worth mentioning that, unlike the other two texts, this one includes Obama's brief biography placing emphasis on certain facts such as the fact that he was brought up by a single mother, he attended prestigious schools and even attended Harvard Law School. While serving the Illinois state Senate he captivated the nation and in 2008 he won the White House for the first time. The *USA Today* text mentions Obama won after a hard fought race, but the text places its emphasis on the field of economy. He will have to face an economic recovery and a threatening fiscal crisis. *The New York Times* explains that Obama won after a dramatic election. Many words are related to the difficulties he managed to overcome, to how he lifted himself to victory and the way his followers celebrated the results. Romney is presented as somebody who accepts his defeat and wishes Obama well.

As far as *Judgement* is involved, *WSJ* includes words mostly related to *Social esteem (capacity)*, while the texts from *The NYT and USA Today* are connected to *Social esteem (normality)* and *Social sanction (propriety)*. Contrary to expectations, *WSJ* first describes

Romney as well-positioned, but then as an unpopular, predatory capitalist. The adjective *different* is repeated many times showing Romney's aim was to contrast Obama's path. Most positive attitudes are attributed to Obama. He was approved and praised. Nevertheless, he failed to solve some problems and many independent voters abandoned him because of the high level of unemployment. The *USA Today* only includes one word that deals with the area of ethics: *uninsured*. *The New York Times* describes Romney as a stoic and gracious person who tried to lead the country in a different direction.

As regards *Appreciation*, the three texts include many words related to *Value*. *WSJ* has many negative words connected with Romney who is described as an unpalatable, unpopular alternative. Some Republicans even accept they should rethink how to tackle economy. *The USA Today* mentions it was the costliest and most bitterly contested campaign, in spite of the high level of unemployment in society. For *The NYT* the campaign was long and bitter, small and petty. The top issue was the economy, which, for Obama, is on a true path to stability. (See Appendix VII).

Appendix VIII summarizes and contrasts the adjectives and verbs used in the three texts to refer to the election results, the campaign, Obama, Romney, the field of Economy, USA as a country, the Democrats and the Republicans.

#### 4.1.2 *Attitude – Indirect ways of expressing it*

The media is expected to tell the story of what happened. But “journalists do not only recount events, they also interpret and explain them, try to get people to see things and to act in certain ways” (Fairclough, 1995/2001: 91). In the three chosen texts, Affect (A), Judgement (J) and Appreciation (Ap) are mostly expressed in a direct way. Nevertheless, there are some instances in which they are indirectly expressed or implied (Martin and Rose, 2003: 25) by

means of different rhetorical devices, such as metaphors, personifications, metonymies and euphemisms.

#### 4.1.2.A. *Metaphors*

In the literary context, a metaphor has been described as “making a comparison by transferring a name from one thing to another, a shift, a carrying over of a word from its normal use to a new one” (Bloor and Bloor, 2007: 69). Metaphors are sometimes presented as a poetic device which can add interest, wit or complexity to a text. They are an extra resource that language offers to construct meanings and they rely almost entirely on factors like context, inference and shared knowledge for its interpretation (Burnes, 2011).

Two common sources of metaphor in politics are war and sport, both of which involve physical contests of some sort (Beard, 2000).

The use of conflict metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980 in Bloor and Bloor, 2007) exaggerates the difference between the winning and losing side in an election, making it seem more clear-cut than is usually the case in political reality (Burnes, 2011). The *campaign* is won or lost. The verbs *win* (A) (NYT), *defeat* (A) (NYT), *succeed* (A) (WSJ) and *declare victory* (A) (NYT), summarize the results.

The campaign is also described as a *tactical fight* (J) (WSJ), USA’s *costliest and most bitterly contested* (Ap) *national campaign* (USAT), a *contest* (NYT) in which there were *attacks* (WSJ).

Obama and Romney *battled* fiercely (A) (WSJ) / Mr. Romney and Mr. Obama *intensely quarrelled and bickered* (A) (NYT). The president *struggled* (WSJ) / *struggled* even more... (A) (NYT) but he won overcoming a lock-step *resistance* (NYT) and *lifted himself and his supporters to victory* (A) (NYT). Where did this war take place? In highly contested

*battlegrounds, in battleground states (NYT)*; the word *battleground* meaning a place where a battle is fought but also an area of conflict or disagreement<sup>5</sup>.

The word *strategy* is included in the text in *NYT* to refer not only to the art of planning in advance the movements of armies or forces in war but also to any kind of planning for gaining success in a particular activity; in this case, the election. This term is combined with the word *firewall* which originally referred to a wall intended to confine a fire or potential fire within a building. Nowadays it is a set of related programs, located at a network gateway server, which protects the resources of a private network from users from other networks. In both uses the idea of protection is involved; such an idea is implicit in the text from *NYT*: “The margin of his (Obama’s) victory was smaller than in 2008... but a *strategic firewall* (A) in several battleground states protected his Electoral College majority”.

The sport metaphors included in the texts are related to the war metaphors in the sense that they imply a division between one party and another. A member of a party must compete in order to get something. Politics is a competition and it resembles the area of sports because there has to be a winner (Filimon, 2012).

The fight to win the presidency of USA is portrayed as *a tightening race* (A) (*NYT*), a *race* to see which candidate *was better equipped* (A) (*NYT*) to deal with the country difficulties, which narrowed in the final month (*WSJ*). Such a race takes place on a *road* (*NYT*), *a path* (*NYT*), *a track* (*WSJ*) and is also described as *a long journey* (Ap) (*NYT*). During that race Mr. Obama was *running neck and neck* in Florida (*WSJ*) and Mr. Romney appeared to *score* well with voters in a number of categories (Ap) (*WSJ*). But Hurricane Sandy *froze the race...when he Romney had been... cutting into Mr. Obama’s lead* (*WSJ*), Mr Obama becoming a *champion of the middle class* (*WSJ*).

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<sup>5</sup> (from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/battleground>)

“The use of medical metaphors in politics is a well-honed rhetorical strategy” (Orsini and Saurette, 2011: 125). The American economy, what really *ails* the US (A) (WSJ), is depicted as *weak and fragile* (Ap) (WSJ), undergoing an *anemic* recovery (A) (USAT). As regards Obama, he may be *plagued* by the same political gridlock that has divided the electorate (A) (USAT); in this case, *plague* related to the original concept of an attack of a disease which causes death and spreads quickly to a large number of people.

There are many more examples of metaphors in the three texts. The following chart includes these examples and their estimated meaning:

Metaphor	Estimated Meaning
... <i>savour</i> his victory (A) (WSJ)	enjoy
... an <i>unpalatable</i> alternative (Ap) (WSJ)	unpleasant
... <i>navigating</i> conflicting impulses (A) (WSJ) ... <i>smooth sailing</i> (Ap) (USAT)	direct the course deal with skillfully
... <i>fiscal cliff</i> (WSJ) (USAT)	extremely bad economic situation
... <i>pointing their fingers at</i> (A) (WSJ)	blame
... <i>extended Mr Obama a hand</i> (A) (WSJ)	help
.. <i>a political climate that seemed ripe for his defeat</i> (J) (WSJ)	a political situation which seemed suitable for his defeat.
His supporters <i>erupted</i> into a roar of relief and elation. (A) (NYT)	explode out of happiness
... <i>swing</i> states (J) (WSJ)	changing nature
... <i>mending fences</i> (A) (WSJ)	remove the bad effects of one’s actions
... <i>the GOP got a lesson</i> (A) (WSJ)	learn
Mr Obama <i>burned through a good chunk of his campaign cash</i> (A) (WSJ).	spend a lot of money

Chart 2 – More examples of metaphors

#### 4.1.2. B Personifications

A personification is a special type of metaphor when something inanimate takes on the characteristic of a human being (Bloor and Bloor, 2007:72). In one of the texts, the whole city is presented as a person: *Washington* remained aligned as it was... (WSJ), while in the USAT text economic issues are humanized: *Gasoline prices have been dropping sharply / Stocks... rose / Overseas markets also were up*. When referring to the results, the *networks projected Mr. Obama as the winner (NYT)* and *car horns honked from the street (NYT)*.

#### 4.1.3. C Metonymies

Metonymy is a figure of speech, a word which “is used as a way of referring to something which is normally associated with the entity that it denotes” (Bloor and Bloor, 2007: 72). For example the *White House* is used to refer to the US President or to the President and his team:

- (1) *The White House* is already working to convene a meeting... (WSJ)
- (2) President Obama is heading back to the *White House*... (USAT)
- (3) Obama ...hadn't served a full term before he won the *White House* in 2008 (WSJ).

*Washington* is used for the US government

- (4) And that starts with bipartisan agreement in *Washington* (USAT).

*Wall Street* stands for the financial markets of the United States as a whole, the American financial sector (even if financial firms are not physically located there), or signifying New York-based financial interest:

- (5) ... few voters blamed Mr. Obama, pointing their fingers instead at *Wall Street* (WSJ)

#### 4.1.2. D Euphemisms

Euphemisms are frequently used by speakers of different languages to soften the impact of concepts with the potential to cause offence and social disapproval. Today, the use of euphemisms by the media has increased (Hojati, 2012).

Miller (1999 in Hojati, 2012: 553) has pointed out that given the existence of concepts deemed too offensive to speak about in almost the entire world's languages, there exists a need for speakers of different languages to find roundabout, indirect and socially acceptable ways of referring to such concepts. According to him, euphemisms can fulfill this important function by sanitizing the language which the speakers use.

- (6) The bad economic situation is described as *powerful economic headwinds* (A) (NYT),
- (7) Obama's second term will focus on ... *heading off the looming fiscal crisis* (A) (USAT).

Obama's lack of agreement with the Congress is softened by describing it as:

- (8) Obama and Congress *have been unable to find common ground on tax...* (USAT).
- (9) If such an agreement is not found, economists warn it *could push the economy off a fiscal cliff* (USAT).
- (10) Republicans alienated Latinos and such a decision was reflected on the results; for the future they must *soften its stance* on illegal immigration (A) (WSJ).

#### 4.1.3. Audiences and Ideology

Media communicative events are sorts of "monologues, which is of course germane to questions about the power of mass media: audiences cannot directly contribute to the communication. Producers construct "ideal" audiences partly on the basis of guesses about the audience response drawn from experience and various types of indirect evidence, such as market research" (Fairclough, 2001: 40).

While writing, writers have their potential audiences in mind and, through the combination of direct and indirect expressions, they manage to share their opinions and even to influence readers.

WSJ is a conservative, pro-Republican newspaper. Contrary to what readers might expect, the text praises Obama and the way he developed his campaign so as to be successful. It even includes a short biography which shows how he reached his position. Besides, information about many looming difficulties he will have to face during his government is

included. Near the end of the text, there are some comments about the big amount of money spent during the campaign. On the other hand, Republicans wonder what went wrong and consider they should rethink how to present their economic message. Some mistakes made by Romney and which may have affected the results are detailed in the article.

*USA Today*, an ideologically diverse newspaper, praises Obama for having gone back to the White House after a hard fought race and an extremely expensive and highly contested campaign. But what comes next will not be simple. Most of the text is devoted to the field of economy, the problems Obama is facing now and will have to face in his second period. There is no reference to Romney throughout the whole article.

*The New York Times* is a more liberal and Democrat-friendly<sup>6</sup> newspaper. Mr. Romney's good campaign is accepted. He is presented as someone who accepts his defeat and offers his help, but also as someone who made many serious mistakes during his campaign and lost the vote of important groups. Nevertheless, the focus falls on Obama's re-election, on his success. He is the first black president into a second term. There are many references to *cheers, roars of relief and elation, horns honking*, people celebrating these results.

#### 4.1.4. Extra findings

4.1.4. A. Some interesting findings related to the repetition of words or concepts in the three texts include:

- The three articles mention the fact that Obama won the re-election in a *divided* nation / country.
- As regards the actual bad situation in the area of economy, *WSJ* and *USA Today* comment about a *fiscal cliff*, while *The NYT* includes the concept of a *fiscal showdown*.

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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.people-press.org/2012/09/27/section-4-demographics-and-political-views-of-news-audiences/>  
María Lelia Pico

- *WSJ* includes Obama’s victory speech and Romney’s concession speech; *USA Today*, only Romney’s concession speech and *The New York Times*, Obama’s victory speech.

- The campaign itself is described as:

- aggressive and well-funded (*WSJ*)
- long and bitter / small and petty (*The New York Times*)
- the costliest and perhaps most bitterly contested national campaign (*USA Today*)

4.1.4. B. “Events need to be known and recognized, coming from a known and trusted – and preferable a “representative” – source (Hartley,1995: 75). The three texts include acknowledged sources to clearly identify information and ideas gained from an ‘outside’ source. *The New York Times* sources are more general (polls, interviews, surveys), while the other two newspapers include well known politicians or groups.

<i>WSJ</i>	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
Early analysis based on polls and other research by Democrats close to the Obama re-election. A poll ... by Democratic pollster Geoff Garin / Exit polls / A Wall Street Journal-NBC News poll	Francis Lun, managing director of Lyncean Holdings in Hong Kong.  Frank Robles, 45, who employs 15 at his North Las Vegas shoe store.	Preliminary exit poll  Republican moderates  Tea Party adherents  Opinion surveys  Interviews
GOP strategist Karl Rove / Jock Mack, the former Morgan Stanley chief executive / Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.)	Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell  Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid	Preliminary exit polls conducted by Edison Research  Interviews with voters
The President / Mr Romney  Internal focus groups		

Chart 3 - Different sources mentioned by the newspapers

#### 4.2. Further Research

There are some issues which have not been included in this analysis but which could be interesting to devote further studies:

› The use of “direct or indirect quotation as a pervasive textual and ideological strategy, common to different discourses” (Caldas Coulthard, 1997:48), including news. By quoting people’s opinions, responsibility may be disclaimed or ideas, strengthened. “One very common way to attribute feelings is of course to create another voice in the story, by using direct or indirect speech” (Martin and Rose, 2003:27). Indirect speech may simply reproduce the actual words that were used or “it may transform and translate them into discourses which fit more easily with the reporter’s voice (Fairclough, 2001: 81).

› The use of images accompanying the analyzed texts. Images are supposed to “lead to a better, visually-oriented understanding of the concepts included in the texts but they also carry social meanings” (Hartley, 1982 in Fairclough, 1995:24). “Images can inscribe feelings, for example with an image of a person crying or smiling, or invoke them with images that we respond to emotionally; they can invoke appreciation of things by the relative attractiveness of the object or scene presented; and they can invoke judgements of people, by means such as their activity, stance or facial expression” (Martin and Rose, 2003:328).

› The use of more than images. The 21<sup>st</sup> century is awash with ever more mixed and remixed images, writing, layout, sound, gesture, speech, and 3D objects. Multimodality looks beyond language and examines these multiple modes of communication and meaning making (Kress, 2009).

› Conversationalization is realized in a variety of linguistic features, such as the use of items of colloquial vocabulary (Fairclough, 1995/2001). The three articles include many phrasal verbs, which make them more informal, more conversational-like. The use of colloquial vocabulary “draws upon a particular representation of the social reality in question, but at the same time the newspaper, by using it, implicitly claims co-membership, with the audience, of the world of ordinary life and experience from which it is drawn, and a relationship of solidarity between newspaper and audience” (Fairclough, 1995:71).

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

“News is not simply mostly about men, but it is largely by men ... and overwhelmingly seen through men” (Hartley, 1995: 146)

“Media texts do not merely “mirror realities” as is sometimes naively assumed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them” (Fairclough, 1995/2001: 104). The reader of newspapers is the recipient of selected information on recent events and “this information may well be presented with an ideological “spin” that makes it difficult for the reader to make an independent decision on what his/her actual viewpoint of these events actually is” (Reah, 1998: 9).

Evaluation is “concerned with the construction of texts by communities of shared feelings and values, and with the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments. It is concerned with how writers/speakers construe for themselves particular authorial identities or personae, with how they align or disalign themselves with actual or potential respondents, and with how they construct for their texts an intended or ideal audience” (Martin and White, 2005: 13).

The main aim of this paper was to show three renderings of the same event, how the ideology of different newspapers is clearly permeated through linguistic choices, how feelings are shared “in order to belong” (Martin, 2004:321), how the same event may be seen from different perspectives, focusing what the writer wants the reader to give importance to.

The headlines in the three texts make reference to the idea of a second chance. Nevertheless, the topical theme chosen is different: two of them focus on Mr. Obama, while the third one emphasizes the presence of a divided nation.

An author can express attitude towards some phenomenon by indicating how that phenomenon affected them emotionally and appraising something in affectual terms. “Affect occurs as either positive or negative categories” (Wu, 2013:59). Judgment refers to “attitudinal evaluation in which human behavior is negatively or positively assessed by some set of social norms, which include rules, conventions, social acceptability or expectations and systems of value” (Wu, 2013: 60). Appreciation contains “values, which express both aesthetic and non-aesthetic categories of social valuation, and it includes meanings such as significance and harmfulness. It evaluates natural objects, manufactured objects, as well as more abstract texts such as plans and policies” (Wu, 2013:62). In a few words, “affect negotiates empathy (sharing emotions), judgement negotiates character (sharing principles) and appreciation negotiates taste (sharing preferences)” (Martin, 2004:329)

The text taken from *WSJ*, a pro-Republican newspaper, shows that, after a light, aggressive and well-funded campaign, Obama won the elections and retained presidency after overcoming public doubts. The emphasis is placed on the fact that he will have to govern in a divided political system, with a divided Congress and will also have to achieve a productive second term, pushing several unfinished promises left over the first term. Romney is described as somebody who seemed to be well-positioned to explain certain doubts voters had as regards Obama. Nevertheless, he could not overcome attacks from Democrats over his work as a private-equity executive. His dream was to have led the country in a different position.

For *USA Today*, an ideologically diverse newspaper, Obama won after the costliest and most bitterly contested campaign and his government will face a divided electorate. Mr. Romney is mentioned indirectly in the text, as a leader of one of the two parties who will get together to meet potential challenges. The emphasis of the article falls on economy, mostly unemployment and fiscal crisis, issues which are mentioned from its very beginning.

For *The New York Times*, a more liberal newspaper, Obama had to face many difficulties but he redoubled his efforts to lead himself and his followers to victory. Now, he has a second chance to tackle promises that belonged to his first period. Romney is described as a stoic and gracious person. The idea of his having liked to lead the country in a different direction is repeated here.

Writers' feelings are usually told explicitly. But there are some instances in which Attitude is indirectly expressed or implied by means of different rhetorical devices, such as metaphors, personifications, metonymies and euphemisms. The use of indirect expressions often reflects the ideological position of the writer; sometimes, without the conscious expression of opinion (Bloor and Bloor, 2007).

The most common metaphors found in the three texts are related to war and sports, to physical confrontations in which there is a winner and a loser. Personifications are mostly connected to economic issues which are attributed the characteristics of human beings. The most widely repeated metonymy is The White House, meaning presidency, the President or the President and his team. Euphemisms soften the impact of concepts which may cause social disapproval. Most of them refer to the bad economic situation the USA was going through and the lack of agreement between Obama and the Congress.

“The linguistic framework provided by Halliday’s theory offers tools for expanding the awareness about language of all those engaged in education and other social processes” (Schleppegrell, 2004: 165). Language is an instrument of communication, but also an instrument of control; therefore, a particular linguistic choice from a range of options can convey a fact or distort it and readers can be informed or manipulated (Caldas Coulthard, 1997). “In any context, there are a number of meanings that speakers might express and a number of wordings that they might use to express them” (Thompson, 1997:221). “What we read in a newspaper is not a simple and transparent representation of the world, but the

outcome of specific professional practices and techniques, which could be and can be quite different with quite different results” (Fairclough, 1995/2001: 204). The words which are chosen “reflect the cultural and ideological expectations of the producers and their audiences” (Thompson, 1997:214).

“Positions of potential alignment between writer and reader are constructed as the writer strategically invests the text’s experiential content with the different types of attitude” (Martin and White, 2005: 211). I consider that we, as educators, should have “an active role in raising students’ awareness of the power of the language” (Schleppegrell, 2004: 162). Analyses like the one developed here may help readers of newspapers become critical readers, readers who are aware of, and can identify gaps and swings in the information they are given (Reah, 1998).

## APPENDIX I

### Obama Wins a Second Term (From *The Wall Street Journal*)

1 President Barack Obama narrowly won re-election, overcoming public doubts about his performance on the economy—doubts that challenger Mitt Romney appeared well-positioned to exploit.

3 For Mr. Obama, the victory sets up a test of whether he can forge a productive second term in a divided political system.

5 For Republicans, it raises uncomfortable questions: What went wrong, and how did Democrats manage to blunt Mr. Romney's seemingly big advantage on what was easily the top issue for voters in the 2012 race?

8 Early analysis based on polls and other research by Democrats close to the Obama re-election effort suggests that Mr. Obama found multiple ways to chip away at the public's confidence in Mr. Romney, as well as his conservative policy prescriptions. That multifront effort succeeded in raising enough doubt about Mr. Romney—and sufficiently reinforcing Mr. Obama's own message—to allow the president to gain re-election.

13 Some top Republicans agreed they need to rethink how they present their economic message.

14 “We need to do a better job of making our economic case” in coming elections, GOP strategist Karl Rove said on Fox News on Wednesday morning. Mr. Rove said one reason Democrats succeeded was that they turned the presidential election into a tactical fight largely defined by negative attacks.

17 Mr. Rove noted that while Mr. Romney appeared to score well with voters in a number of categories, including his leadership and vision, Mr. Obama by the end held a lopsided advantage on the question of which candidate cares about people like them. Democrats succeeded in defining Mr. Romney as “a rich guy who didn't care about them,” Mr. Rove said.

21 Mr. Obama also was aided by a well-executed turnout effort, one that was all the more successful because of demographic shifts that are placing more electoral power in the hands of minority voters, who tended to support Mr. Obama by large margins.

24 His victory makes Mr. Obama the first president since Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940 to succeed with a higher unemployment rate on Election Day than on his inauguration day four years earlier. U.S. unemployment now stands at 7.9%, compared with 7.8% when Mr. Obama took office.

27 A poll completed this week by Democratic pollster Geoff Garin—and funded by an independent group supporting Mr. Obama—suggested that the Obama campaign succeeded in part by persuading voters that Mr. Romney's economic policies would be bad for people like themselves. “Only 38% of voters say that if Mitt Romney is elected president his economic policies will be good for people like them,” the analysis says. “By comparison, 44% say President Obama's policies will be good for people like them”.

33 While a large majority of voters said they were dissatisfied with the economy, relatively few blamed Mr. Obama, pointing their fingers instead at Wall Street and the administration of former President George W. Bush. A narrow majority of voters said they believed the country was making progress economically, and those voters tended to side with Mr. Obama.

37 The Obama campaign also succeeded in undermining voter perceptions of Mr. Romney's tenure at Bain Capital, the private-equity firm he founded. “In the final round of swing state polling...voters

agreed by 17 points that ‘as a businessman, (Romney’s) priority was making millions for himself and his investors, regardless of the impact on jobs and the employees,’ “ according to the Garin analysis.

41 In his victory speech, Mr. Obama said he now looks forward to “sitting down with Gov. Romney to talk about where we can work together to move this country forward.”

43 John Mack, the former Morgan Stanley chief executive, suggested on Wednesday that after all the campaign-season criticism of business, Mr. Obama should enlist Mr. Romney’s help in mending fences, particularly given the economy’s ongoing problems.

46 “I would love to see the president reach out and ask Mitt Romney to get involved in some way to work with the business community,” Mr. Mack said on Bloomberg TV. “If we could make some moves like that where we could work together...I think it’s a huge positive.”

49 In retaining the presidency, Mr. Obama, 51 years old, defeated the 65-year-old former Massachusetts governor, who had been seeking the office for six years.

51 “We may have battled fiercely, but it’s only because we love this country deeply and we care so strongly about its future,” the president said in a victory speech that came after 1:30 a.m. Eastern time. He said he would meet with Mr. Romney in the coming weeks to discuss various issues confronting the country.

55 “I so wish that I had been able to fulfill your hopes to lead the country in a different direction, but the nation chose another leader,” Mr. Romney said in his concession speech.

57 Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.), who has been one of the president’s primary adversaries in Congress, extended Mr. Obama a hand—with an admonition—in a statement issued early Wednesday.

60 “The American people did two things: they gave President Obama a second chance to fix the problems that even he admits he failed to solve during his first four years in office, and they preserved Republican control of the House of Representatives,” he said.

63 He made clear that Republicans are expecting the next four years to be different from the past four years. “To the extent he wants to move to the political center...we’ll be there to meet him half way. That begins by proposing a way for both parties to work together in avoiding the ‘fiscal cliff’ without harming a weak and fragile economy, and when that is behind us work with us to reform the tax code and our broken entitlement system,” he said.

68 Propelling Mr. Obama to victory was the unique coalition he forged four years ago, one that reflects the changing nature of the U.S. electorate—notably, the diminished influence of white Americans and the rising clout of Latino voters.

71 Greeting Mr. Obama will be a divided Congress. Democrats retained their Senate majority, while Republicans looked set to keep control of the House of Representatives. After the election, Washington remained aligned exactly as it was Tuesday morning, despite \$6 billion in spending and 1.2 million political ads in the presidential race alone.

75 Americans handed Mr. Obama the job of navigating conflicting impulses in both Washington and the nation, a partisan divide the president has previously struggled to master.

77 Despite Mr. Romney’s focus on the economy, pitching himself as a onetime businessman capable of fixing what ails the U.S., he couldn’t overcome missteps and attacks from Democrats over his work as a private-equity executive.

80 At stake were two starkly different visions of the role of government and the recipe for economic revival. Mr. Romney called for reducing taxes and scaling back regulations, which he said would trigger economic growth.

83 Mr. Obama laid out a model of public investment in alternative energy and education, along with tax increases on wealthier families to help cut deficits. He has also voiced plans to pursue a revamp of U.S. immigration laws.

86 The president's re-election campaign was light on details of his second-term agenda, in contrast to the ambitious list he brought to the office in 2008.

88 Mr. Obama sealed his victory with wins in swing states including Ohio, Colorado and Virginia. He was running neck and neck in Florida.

90 The contest showed how dramatically the U.S. has changed in recent years. According to exit polls, Mr. Romney won 60% of the white vote. Mr. Obama won 38%, five points fewer than his 2008 showing. Not since Walter Mondale, who was swept aside by Ronald Reagan in the 1984 presidential race, has a Democrat recorded a smaller share of the white vote.

94 Mr. Obama will have little time to savor his victory. Looming almost immediately is the so-called fiscal cliff, a series of tax increase and spending cuts that come into force Jan. 1 and that could unravel the economy's fragile gains unless the president and congressional leaders engineer a compromise. The U.S. will also hit its borrowing limit in coming months, raising the prospect of a battle like the one last year that led to a downgrade of the U.S. debt rating.

99 Mr. Obama hopes to broker a far-reaching agreement, the kind of "grand bargain" that eluded him last year, which would include raising taxes on wealthier Americans. Republicans have said they would oppose any tax increase. The White House is already working to convene a meeting between the president and congressional leaders.

103 A key player will be Rep. Paul Ryan of Wisconsin, Mr. Romney's running mate and a student of fiscal matters, who retained his House seat.

105 Mr. Obama notched a victory in a political climate that seemed ripe for his defeat. Polls showed more than half the population believed the U.S. was on the wrong track and that the government performed too many functions best done by the private sector—attitudes that would seem to benefit Republicans.

109 Mr. Obama was favored to win for most of the campaign, but the race narrowed in the final month after he turned in a lackluster performance in the first of three presidential debates.

111 Mr. Romney closed the gap in the polls, raising the possibility that the nation's first African-American president might be voted from office at the end of a single term.

113 Mr. Obama prevailed through an aggressive and well-funded campaign. He championed middle-class interests while depicting Mr. Romney as an uncaring businessman whose economic policies would favor the wealthiest Americans.

116 The campaign's tone was coarse. Mr. Obama largely jettisoned the hopeful message of his 2008 campaign, convinced that to win he needed to paint Mr. Romney as an unpalatable alternative.

118 Mr. Obama's rise to power might have been dismissed as a fluke had he not secured a second term. His biography is nothing like that of recent predecessors. Mr. Obama was raised by a single mother and his grandparents. His father was from Kenya and his mother's family from Kansas. Mr. Obama spent most of his childhood in Hawaii, where he attended a prestigious private school. After

graduating from Columbia University, he attended Harvard Law School, becoming the first African-American editor of the Harvard Law Review. He eventually moved to Chicago, where he became a community organizer and met his wife, first lady Michelle Obama.

125 His political resumé is short. He served in the Illinois state Senate until 2004, when he captivated the nation with a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention. He was elected to the U.S. Senate that same year and hadn't served a full term before he won the White House in 2008.

128 His first term included passage of the health-care law, the financial-regulation bill and a series of interventions to save the banking system from the worst downturn since the Great Depression.

130 After the midterm elections in 2010, Republicans took charge of the House and Mr. Obama was forced to curb his ambitions.

132 The president has predicted that he would have better results in a second term. David Plouffe, a senior White House adviser, said any ill will from the election would quickly vanish.

134 Mr. Obama has said he would push several pieces of unfinished business left over the first term. He wants to pass an immigration overhaul that would provide a path to legal status for the 11 million people living in the U.S. illegally.

137 Republicans might conclude it is in their interest to cooperate. In Tuesday's elections, the GOP got a lesson in the dangers of alienating Latinos. Many Republicans strategists have said the party must soften its stance on illegal immigration. Latinos now account for 16% of the population, and that figure is expected to jump to 22% by 2030.

141 With Hurricane Sandy ravaging the East Coast, Mr. Obama had a chance to show compassion to storm victims and deploy government resources to neighborhoods left in ruins. No less a critic than New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie, a Republican who gave the keynote speech at Mr. Romney's nominating convention, went out of his way to praise Mr. Obama's performance. About two-thirds of the public approved of the president's handling of Hurricane Sandy, a Wall Street Journal-NBC News poll showed.

147 Worse for Mr. Romney, the storm froze the race at a moment when he had been gaining momentum and cutting into Mr. Obama's lead. Sandy diverted the nation's attention for days, forcing Mr. Romney to cancel some events and to juggle attacks on Obama with expressions of sympathy for storm victims.

151 Still, Mr. Obama's re-election would have seemed unlikely in the nadir of his presidency, the fall of 2010, when voters in the midterm election gave Republicans control of the House. Mr. Obama termed that election, "a shellacking." White House advisers turned their attention to his political revival, knowing he was in a tough spot.

155 Unemployment hovered near 10%, and aides worried that independent voters had abandoned the president. Internal focus groups showed that voters didn't give credit to Mr. Obama for the stimulus program, even though many economists concluded that the measures staved off an even more serious downturn.

159 Aides settled on a strategy that emphasized steady improvement in the jobless rate while positioning Mr. Obama as a champion of the middle class.

161 Rather than save their money for the post-Labor Day race to November, the Obama campaign spent millions of dollars on TV ads attacking Mr. Romney for his record at Bain Capital. They painted him as a predatory capitalist who bought companies and laid people off in search of a quick profit.

164 Mr. Obama burned through a good chunk of his campaign cash, making some Democrats uneasy. But he made Mr. Romney unpopular among some voters.

166 In the end, Mr. Obama suffered no shortage of funds. In September alone, he took in \$181 million in campaign donations. Altogether, the president and allied groups will have raised nearly \$1 billion over the course of the campaign.

- Patrick O'Connor and Colleen McCain Nelson contributed to this article.

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<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204349404578101520589031776.html>

WSJ POLITICS Updated November 7, 2012, 12:16 p.m.

## APPENDIX II

### **In winning second term, Obama has work cut out for him (From *USA Today*)**

1 President Obama is heading back to the White House after a hard fought race. His second term will be focused on the economy, job growth and heading off the looming fiscal crisis.

3 President Obama won re-election in the USA's costliest and perhaps most bitterly contested national campaign in recent memory.

5 A second term should guarantee Obama's signature legislative achievement, health care reform and coverage for millions of uninsured Americans. Yet four more years will not be smooth sailing. Obama faces a still anemic economic recovery, stubbornly high unemployment and a looming fiscal crisis.

8 With Republicans retaining control of the House and Democrats adding to their advantage in the Senate, Obama also may be plagued by the same political gridlock that has sharply divided the electorate and hampered the president's agenda for solving the country's woes. And gridlock could thwart his efforts to negotiate a new fiscal plan.

12 Obama and Congress have been unable to find common ground on tax and spending cuts. Obama wants to preserve low income tax rates for all except high-income Americans, spending more on public works and giving targeted tax breaks to businesses.

15 If no agreement is reached by year's end, massive cuts in defense and domestic spending will kick in, as will sharp, across-the-board tax increases. Economists warn that could push the economy off a fiscal cliff and back into recession.

18 Francis Lun, managing director of Lyncean Holdings in Hong Kong, said an Obama victory means an extension of the status quo.

20 "Nothing will change. We will have ultra-low interest rates, a \$1 trillion deficit and quantitative easing," Lun said. (Federal Reserve Chief Ben) Bernanke "will keep his job as Fed chairman. As for the fiscal cliff, the president will do something to minimize the effect of tax increases and spending cuts."

24 Tuesday exit polls of voters in key states showed the economy remains a top issue among voters.

25 "Business is rough. Everybody wants someone to blame," said Frank Robles, 45, who employs 15 at his North Las Vegas shoe store. Yet Robles supported Obama, saying he's not responsible for the worst of the economic crisis: "People need to give him a chance."

28 Signs point to an improving economy. While the unemployment rate ticked up to 7.9% in October, employers added 171,000 jobs in October. Hiring also was stronger in August and September than first thought. Yet a separate Labor Department report issued Tuesday said job openings dropped by 100,000 in September to 3.56 million, lowest in five months, data that suggest hiring will remain modest.

33 Gasoline prices have been dropping sharply — now \$3.46 a gallon — a drop of 35 cents from a month ago. Cheaper gas typically spurs consumer spending, although prices typically fall in the fall.

35 Stocks — which historically perform better with a Democrat in the White House — rose Tuesday and U.S. stock futures were up heading into Wednesday’s market opening. Overseas markets also were up in early Wednesday trading.

38 Yet overall economic policy needs to change, experts say. And that starts with bipartisan agreement in Washington.

40 Senate and House leaders seemed conciliatory. Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell said Tuesday’s vote showed that the electorate had neither endorsed the “failures or excesses of the president’s first term,” but rather have given him more time to finish the job. “To the extent he wants to move to the political center, which is where the work gets done in a divided government, we’ll be there to meet him half way,” McConnell said.

45 Said Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid: “Now that the election is over, it’s time to put politics aside and work together to find solutions.”

47 In his victory speech early Wednesday morning from Chicago, Obama said he was willing to work across party lines to tackle problems. “Tonight you voted for action, not politics as usual,” he told a partisan crowd. “You elected us to focus on your jobs, not ours. And in the coming weeks and months, I am looking forward to reaching out and working with leaders of both parties to meet the challenges we can only solve together. Reducing our deficit. Reforming our tax code. Fixing our immigration system. Freeing ourselves from foreign oil. We’ve got more work to do.”

*Contributing: Julie Schmit, Associated Press.*

Downloaded from <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2012/11/06/election-day-obama-romney/1680933/> (Nov.7, 2012)

## APPENDIX III

### **Divided U.S. Gives Obama More Time (From *The New York Times*)**

1 Barack Hussein Obama was re-elected president of the United States on Tuesday, overcoming powerful economic headwinds, a lock-step resistance to his agenda by Republicans in Congress and an unprecedented torrent of advertising as a divided nation voted to give him more time.

5 In defeating Mitt Romney, the president carried Colorado, Iowa, Ohio, New Hampshire, Virginia and Wisconsin, a near sweep of the battleground states, and was holding a narrow advantage in Florida. The path to victory for Mr. Romney narrowed as the night wore along, with Mr. Obama winning at least 303 electoral votes.

9 A cheer of jubilation sounded at the Obama campaign headquarters in Chicago when the television networks began projecting him as the winner at 11:20 p.m., even as the ballots were still being counted in many states where voters had waited in line well into the night. The victory was far narrower than his historic election four years ago, but it was no less dramatic.

13 “Tonight in this election, you, the American people, reminded us that while our road has been hard, while our journey has been long, we have picked ourselves up, we have fought our way back,” Mr. Obama told his supporters early Wednesday. “We know in our hearts that for the United States of America, the best is yet to come.”

17 Mr. Obama’s re-election extended his place in history, carrying the tenure of the nation’s first black president into a second term. His path followed a pattern that has been an arc to his political career: faltering when he seemed to be at his strongest — the period before his first debate with Mr. Romney — before he redoubled his efforts to lift himself and his supporters to victory.

22 The evening was not without the drama that has come to mark so many recent elections: For more than 90 minutes after the networks projected Mr. Obama as the winner, Mr. Romney held off calling him to concede. And as the president waited to declare victory in Chicago, Mr. Romney’s aides were prepared to head to the airport, suitcases packed, potentially to contest several close results.

27 But as it became increasingly clear that no amount of contesting would bring him victory, he called Mr. Obama to concede shortly before 1 a.m.

29 “I wish all of them well, but particularly the president, the first lady and their daughters,” Mr. Romney told his supporters in Boston. “This is a time of great challenges for America, and I pray that the president will be successful in guiding our nation.”

32 Hispanics made up an important part of Mr. Obama’s winning coalition, preliminary exit poll data showed. And before the night was through, there were already recriminations from Republican moderates who said Mr. Romney had gone too far during the primaries in his statements against those here illegally, including his promise that his get-tough policies would cause some to “self-deport.”

37 Mr. Obama, 51, faces governing in a deeply divided country and a partisan-rich capital, where Republicans retained their majority in the House and Democrats kept their control of the Senate. His re-election offers him a second chance that will quickly be tested, given the rapidly escalating fiscal showdown.

41 For Mr. Obama, the result brings a ratification of his sweeping health care act, which Mr. Romney had vowed to repeal. The law will now continue on course toward nearly full implementation in 2014, promising to change significantly the way medical services are administered nationwide.

45 Confident that the economy is finally on a true path toward stability, Mr. Obama and his aides have hinted that he would seek to tackle some of the grand but unrealized promises of his first campaign, including the sort of immigration overhaul that has eluded presidents of both parties for decades.

49 But he will be venturing back into a Congressional environment similar to that of his first term, with the Senate under the control of Democrats and the House under the control of Republicans, whose leaders have hinted that they will be no less likely to challenge him than they were during the last four years.

53 The state-by-state pursuit of 270 electoral votes was being closely tracked by both campaigns, with Mr. Romney winning North Carolina and Indiana, which Mr. Obama carried four years ago. But Mr. Obama won Michigan, the state where Mr. Romney was born, and Minnesota, a pair of states that Republican groups had spent millions trying to make competitive.

58 Americans delivered a final judgment on a long and bitter campaign that drew so many people to the polls that several key states extended voting for hours. In Virginia and Florida, long lines stretched from polling places, with the Obama campaign sending text messages to supporters in those areas, saying: "You can still vote."

62 Neither party could predict how the outcome would affect the direction of the Republican Party. Moderates were hopeful it would lead the rank and file to realize that the party's grass-roots conservatism that Mr. Romney pledged himself to during the primaries doomed him in the general election. Tea Party adherents have indicated that they will argue that he was damaged because of his move to middle ground during the general election.

67 As he delivered his brief concession speech early Wednesday, Mr. Romney did not directly address the challenges facing Republicans. His advisers said that his second failed quest for the White House would be his last, with his running mate, Representative Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin, standing as one of the leaders of the party.

71 "We have given our all to this campaign," said Mr. Romney, stoic and gracious in his remarks. "I so wish that I had been able to fulfil your hopes to lead this country in a different direction."

74 The results were more a matter of voters giving Mr. Obama more time than a second chance. Through most of the year slight majorities of voters had told pollsters that they believed his policies would improve the economy if they could stay in place into the future.

77 Mr. Obama's campaign team built its coalition the hard way, through intensive efforts to find and motivate supporters who had lost the ardor of four years ago and, Mr. Obama's strategists feared, might not find their way to polls if left to their own devices.

80 Up against real enthusiasm for Mr. Romney — or, just as important, against Mr. Obama — among Republicans and many independents, their strategy of spending vast sums of money on their get-out-the-vote operation seemed vindicated on Tuesday.

83 As opinion surveys that followed the first debate between Mr. Romney and Mr. Obama showed a tightening race, Mr. Obama's team had insisted that its coalition was coming together as it hoped it would. In the end, it was not a bluff.

86 Even with Mr. Obama pulling off a new sweep of the highly contested battlegrounds from Nevada to New Hampshire, the result in each of the states was very narrow. The Romney campaign was taking its time early Wednesday to review the outcome and searching for any irregularities.

90 The top issue on the minds of voters was the economy, according to interviews, with three-quarters saying that economic conditions were not good or poor. But only 3 in 10 said things were getting worse, and 4 in 10 said the economy was improving.

93 Mr. Romney, who campaigned aggressively on his ability to turn around the deepest economic downturn since the Great Depression, was given a narrow edge when voters were asked which candidate was better equipped to handle the economy, the interviews found.

96 The electorate was split along partisan lines over a question that drove much of the campaign debate: whether it was Mr. Obama or his predecessor, George W. Bush, who bore the most responsibility for the nation's continued economic challenges. About 4 in 10 independent voters said that Mr. Bush should be held responsible.

100 The president built a muscular campaign organization and used a strong financial advantage to hold off an array of forces that opposed his candidacy. The margin of his victory was smaller than in 2008 — he held an advantage of about 700,000 in the popular vote early Wednesday — but a strategic firewall in several battleground states protected his Electoral College majority.

105 As Mr. Romney gained steam and stature in the final weeks of the campaign, the Obama campaign put its hopes in perhaps one thing above all others: that the rebound in the auto industry after the president's bailout package of 2009 would give him the winning edge in Ohio, a linchpin of his road to re-election.

109 Early interviews with voters showed that just over half of Ohio voters approved of the bailout, a result that was balanced by a less encouraging sign for the president: Some 4 in 10 said they or someone in their household had lost a job over the last four years.

112 He defeated Mr. Romney 52 percent to 47 percent in Hamilton County, home to Cincinnati, but only because of the number of votes he banked in the month leading up to Election Day.

115 Mr. Obama won despite losing some of his 2008 margins among his key constituencies, including among younger voters, blacks and Jewish voters, yet he appeared to increase his share among Hispanics and Asians. Early exit poll results showed Latinos representing about 1 in 10 voters nationwide, and voting for Mr. Obama in greater numbers than four years ago, making a difference in several states, including Colorado and Florida.

120 He held on to female voters, according to preliminary exit polls conducted by Edison Research, but he struggled even more among white men than he did four years ago.

122 Mr. Romney's coalition included disproportionate support from whites, men, older people, high-income voters, evangelicals, those from suburban and rural counties, and those who call themselves adherents of the Tea Party — a group that had resisted him through the primaries but had fully embraced him by Election Day.

126 The Republican Party seemed destined for a new round of self-reflection over how it approaches Hispanics going forward, a fast-growing portion of the voting population that senior party strategists had sought to woo before a strain of intense activism against illegal immigration took hold within the Republican grass roots.

130 It was the first presidential election since the 2010 Supreme Court decision loosening restrictions on political spending, and the first in which both major-party candidates opted out of the campaign matching system that imposes spending limits in return for federal financing. And the overall cost of the campaign rose accordingly, with all candidates for federal office, their parties and their supportive "super PACs" spending more than \$6 billion combined.

135 The results Tuesday were certain to be parsed for days to determine just what effect the spending had, and who would be more irate at the answer — the donors who spent millions of dollars of their own money for a certain outcome, or those who found a barrage of negative advertising to be major factors in their defeats.

139 While the campaign often seemed small and petty, with Mr. Romney and Mr. Obama intensely quarreling and bickering, the contest was actually rooted in big and consequential decisions, with the role of the federal government squarely at the center of the debate.

142 Though Mr. Obama's health care law galvanized his most ardent opposition, and continually drew low ratings in polls as a whole, interviews with voters found that nearly half wanted to see it kept intact or expanded, a quarter wanted to see it repealed entirely and another quarter said they wanted portions of it repealed.

146 In Chicago, as crowds waited for Mr. Obama to deliver his speech, his supporters erupted into a roar of relief and elation. Car horns honked from the street as people chanted the president's name.

149 "I feel like it's a repudiation of everything the Republicans said in the campaign," said Jasmyne Walker, 31, who jumped up and down on the edge of a stone planter in a downtown plaza. "Everybody said that if he lost it would be buyer's remorse — that we were high on hope in 2008. This says we're on the right track. I feel like this confirms that."

By Jeff Zeleny and Jim Rutenber

Michael Cooper and Allison Kopicki contributed reporting.

Downloaded from <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/07/us/politics/obama-romney-presidential-election-2012.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> • Published: November 6, 2012

APPENDIX IV

AFFECT

Adjectives and verbs expressing Affect directly in the three texts.

AFFECT	WSJ	USA Today	The New York Times
SATISFACTION	<p><i>better, rich well-executed successful, rising approved</i></p> <p><i>win, succeed (x2), gain retain, seal broker, notch convene, champion captivate save, deploy, praise</i></p>	<p><i>hard fought, common win, tackle, fix, reform</i></p>	<p><i>redoubled, intact or expanded</i></p> <p><i>fight back pick sb up wish sb well, pray, affect, improve, vindicate, win, hold on, embrace, jump up and down</i></p>
DISSATISFACTION	<p><i>divided (x2), uncomfortable, negative dissatisfied diminished, unfinished, uneasy</i></p> <p><i>go wrong, unravel, oppose jettison, curb, divert, cancel</i></p>	<p><i>divided, rough, worst thwart</i></p>	<p><i>divided (x2), hard, partisan-rich, failed, narrow, long</i></p> <p><i>galvanize, repeal</i></p>
HAPPINESS	<p><i>love (x2), care, show compassion</i></p>	<p><i>look forward to</i></p>	<p><i>dramatic, know in our hearts</i></p>
UNHAPPINESS	<p><i>aggressive, uncaring, single, abandon</i></p>	<p>-----</p>	<p><i>irate,</i></p>
SECURITY	<p><i>overcome (x2), defeat, battle, fix, soften, stave off</i></p>	<p><i>smooth, conciliatory reduce, free</i></p>	<p><i>confident, gained, overcome, protect, defeat,</i></p>
INSECURITY	<p><i>undermine, loom, ravage, force</i></p>	<p><i>hampered face</i></p>	<p><i>wear along, struggle, resist</i></p>

APPENDIX V

JUDGEMENT

Adjectives and verbs expressing Judgement directly in the three texts.

JUDGEMENT	<i>WS Journal</i>	<i>The USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
SOCIAL ESTEEM			
NORMALITY	<i>different (x3)</i> <i>changing</i>	-----	<i>unprecedented,</i> <i>historic, grand,</i>
CAPACITY	<i>good, bad</i> <i>fail,</i> <i>revamp</i>	-----	<i>stoic</i>
TENACITY	<i>well-positioned, steady</i>	-----	<i>gracious,</i> <i>muscular</i>
SOCIAL SANCTION			
VERACITY	<i>wrong</i>	-----	<i>real</i>
PROPRIETY	<i>predatory,</i>  <i>chip away,</i> <i>blame, side</i>	<i>uninsured</i>	<i>get-tough,</i> <i>unrealized,</i>

APPENDIX VI

APPRECIATION

Adjectives expressing Appreciation directly in the three texts

APPRECIATION	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
REACTION	<i>big, top, lackluster</i>	-----	<i>escalating</i>
COMPOSITION	<i>lop-sided, well-funded</i>	<i>massive</i>	-----
VALUE	<i>productive, broken, light, ambitious, coarse, prestigious, unpopular</i>	<i>smooth, contested, high, improving, low, modest</i>	<i>sweeping, true, long, bitter, brief, contested, top, petty fast-growing, intense, small</i>

APPENDIX VII

Percentage of occurrence of direct expressions denoting Attitude in the three texts

ATTITUDE	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
AFFECT	66.5%	68%	62.5%
Satisfaction	37%	35%	41%
Dissatisfaction	27%	23%	26.5%
Happiness	7%	8%	6%
Unhappiness	7%		3%
Security	15%	23%	14.5%
Insecurity	7%	11%	9%
JUDGEMENT	18.5%	4%	16%
Social esteem			
Normality	40%%		50%
Capacity	40%		20%
Tenacity	20%		30%
Social sanction			
Veracity	20%		40%
Propriety	80%	100%	60%
APPRECIATION	15%	28%	22%
Reaction	25%	-----	9%
Composition	16%	15%	
Value	59%	85%	91%

## APPENDIX VIII

Summary and contrast of pieces of information included in the three texts as regards important issues

	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
ELECTION RESULTS	<p>Obama narrowly won re-election overcoming public doubts about his performance on economy</p> <p>In retaining the presidency, Mr. Obama, 51 years old, defeated the 65 year-old former Massachusetts governor.</p>	<p>President Obama is heading back to the White House after a hard fought race. President Obama won re-election.</p>	<p>Mr. Obama won ... Barack Hussein Obama was re-elected president of the United States on Tuesday, overcoming powerful economic headwinds, a lock-step resistance... and an unprecedented torrent of advertising... (Obama) defeated Mr. Romney.</p> <p>A cheer of jubilation sounded at the Obama campaign headquarters in Chicago... / ...his supporters erupted into a roar of relief and elation. Car horns honked ... as people chanted the president's name. / ...jumped up and down...</p>
CAMPAIGN	<p>Aggressive and well-funded campaign / Its tone was coarse.</p> <p>Obama's election campaign was light.</p>	<p>The USA's costliest and perhaps most bitterly contested national campaign</p>	<p>...a muscular campaign organization and used a strong financial advantage... / ...the overall cost of the campaign rose accordingly / Obama's campaign team built its coalition the hard way.</p> <p>Long and bitter / small and petty</p> <p>"...while our road has been hard, while our journey has been long, we have picked ourselves up, we have fought our way back" (Obama).</p> <p>The Romney campaign ... to review the outcome and searching for any irregularities.</p>

	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
OBAMA	<p>He found multiple ways to chip away at the public's confidence in Mr. Romney.</p> <p>He expects to work with Romney.</p> <p>He was given a second chance to fix the problems he failed to solve during the first period.</p> <p>He laid out a model of public investment in alternative energy and education, along with tax increases on wealthier families.</p> <p>He was favored to win for most of the campaign.</p> <p>He was raised by a single mother and his grandparents. He attended a prestigious school in Hawaii. He graduated from Columbia University and then he attended Harvard Law school. In 2004 he was elected to the US Senate.</p>	<p>He is willing to work across party lines to tackle problems.</p> <p>He wants to preserve low income rates for all except high-income Americans, spending more on public works and giving targeted tax breaks to businesses.</p>	<p>He defeated Mitt Romney (x2).</p> <p>A divided nation voted to give him more time / His re-election offers him a second chance that will quickly be tested.</p> <p>Obama ... seemed to increase his share among Hispanics and Asians. He held on to female voters...</p>

	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
ROMNEY	<p>He appeared well positioned to exploit public doubts as regards Obama.</p> <p>He intended to lead the country in a different direction.</p> <p>He was attacked by Democrats over his work as a private-equity executive.</p> <p>He called for reducing taxes and scaling back regulations to trigger economic growth.</p> <p>He was depicted as an uncaring businessman and an unpalatable alternative (by Obama).</p> <p>He had to cancel some events because of the Sandy Hurricane.</p> <p>He was painted as a predatory capitalist who bought companies and laid people off in search of a quick profit.</p> <p>He was made unpopular (by Obama).</p>		<p>“I wish all of them well... and I pray the president will be successful in guiding our nation”.</p> <p>“I so wish that I had been able to fulfill your hopes to lead this country in a different direction”.</p> <p>...his second failed quest for the White House would be his last.</p> <p>...stoic and gracious in his remarks.</p> <p>Mr. Romney’s coalition included disproportionate support from whites, men, older people, high-income voters, evangelicals, ...</p>

<p>ECONOMY</p>	<p>Romney's economic policies could be bad.</p> <p>Many voters were dissatisfied with the economy but did not blame Obama.</p> <p>Weak and fragile.</p> <p>Looming is the fiscal cliff, a series of tax increase and spending cuts.</p>	<p>Business is rough. Massive cuts in defense and domestic spending and increase in taxes.</p> <p>Obama faces a still anemic economic recovery, stubbornly high unemployment and a looming fiscal crisis.</p> <p>Top issue among voters.</p> <p>Ultra-low interest rates.</p> <p>Signs point to an improving economy.</p> <p>Gasoline prices have been dropping sharply / cheaper gas spurs consumer spending / stocks rose and US stock futures were up. Overseas markets also were up. Yet overall economic policy needs to change.</p> <p>Reduce our deficit. Reform our tax code. Fix our immigration system. Free ourselves from foreign oil.</p>	<p>The top issue on the mind of voters was the economy.</p> <p>...the economy is finally on a true path toward stability (Obama).</p>
<p>USA</p>	<p>A divided political system /A divided Congress / Changing nature of the US electorate.</p> <p>Demographic shifts / more electoral power in the hands of minority voters / High level of unemployment.</p>	<p>A political gridlock that has divided the electorate.</p>	<p>A divided nation / a deeply divided country.</p>

	<i>WSJ</i>	<i>USA Today</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
REPUBLICANS	<p>What went wrong?</p> <p>How to present their economic message?</p> <p>Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell extended Obama a hand – with an admonition.</p> <p>They are expecting the next four years to be different from the past four years.</p> <p>They kept control of the House of representatives.</p> <p>They will oppose any tax increase.</p> <p>A Republican went out of his way to praise Mr. Obama’s performance.</p>	<p>They retained control of the House.</p>	<p>They considered Mr. Romney had gone too far during the primaries in his statements against those here illegally.</p> <p>They retained their majority in the House.</p>
DEMOCRATS	<p>They turned the presidential election into a tactical fight.</p> <p>They succeeded in defining Romney as “a rich guy who didn’t care about them”.</p> <p>They retained their Senate majority.</p>	<p>They added to their advantage in the Senate.</p>	<p>They kept their control of the Senate.</p>

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