Hillary Clinton's Evaluative Responses to her Email Controversy: An Appraisal Analysis

ردود هيلاري كلينتون التقييمية
بشأن الجدل القائم حول بريدها الإليكتروني:
تحليل تقييمي

Doctor
Marwa Mohamed Khamis El-Zouka
Associate Professor, English Department
Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University

Abstract

The present study examines Hillary Clinton's evaluative responses regarding her thorny email problem in press conferences, presidential debates, testimony before Congress and some of the interviews conducted with her. Using Martin and White's (2005) *Appraisal Theory*, the study investigates the evaluation techniques used in Clinton's responses as well as their functions to highlight her ideological position on this sensitive issue that has aroused much controversy since its revelation in March 2015. Results reveal that Clinton employs various evaluation techniques that perform a number of functions. For example, in *Affect*, a subsystem of *Attitude*, *unhappiness* is used to express regret for using a personal server for official communications. In judgments of *social esteem*, *tenacity* is used to stress dependability whereas in judgments of *social sanction*, *veracity* expresses honesty. In the appraisal system of *Engagement*, the evaluation techniques used in *dialogic contraction* of heteroglossic utterances indicate a tendency to challenge alternative views. The evaluation techniques found in the appraisal system of *Graduation* are generally used to add force to the feelings expressed and evaluations made, and quantify email-related matters.

Keywords: Appraisal analysis, evaluation, political discourse, email controversy

الملخص العربي

يسعي البحث إلي دراسة الردود التقييمية لهيلاري كلينتون المتعلقة بالمشكلة الخاصة ببريدها الإليكتروني حيث وردت هذه الردود في المؤتمرات الصحفية والمناظرات الرئاسية والشهادة التي أدلت بها كلينتون أمام الكونجرس بالإضافة إلي عدد من اللقاءات التليفزيونية التي عقدت معها. وباستخدام نظرية التقييم الخاصة بمارتن ووايت (٢٠٠٥) يهدف البحث إلي إلقاء الضوء علي أساليب التقييم التي تستخدمها هيلاري كلينتون في الرد علي الأسئلة الخاصة ببريدها الإليكتروني بالإضافة إلي الوظائف التي تؤديها هذه الأساليب لمعرفة موقف كلينتون الأيديولوجي تجاه هذه المشكلة الحساسة والتي أثارت الكثير من الجدل منذ أن تم كشف النقاب عنها في مارس ٢٠١٥. وتبين النتائج أن هناك عدد من أساليب التقييم المستخدمة في ردود هيلاري كلينتون والتي

تؤدي عدد من الوظائف. فعلي سبيل المثال، تستخدم أسلوب التقييم الخاص بالتعبير عن "عدم السعادة" لإظهار الندم لاستخدام بريد إليكتروني شخصي في المراسلات الرسمية. وتستخدم عدد من أساليب التقييم للتعبير عن وجهة نظر كلينتون في قضية البريد الإليكتروني واستبعاد أو رفض وجهات النظر الأخرى. كما يوجد عدة أدوات يتم استخدامها لزيادة حدة التقييم أو تحديد أعداد بعض الأمور المتعلقة بمشكلة البريد الإليكتروني الخاصة بكلينتون.

1. Introduction

From first lady to U.S. senator to secretary of state to a presidential candidate, Hillary Clinton, the nominee of the Democratic Party in the 2016 American presidential election, has been in the political spotlight over the course of her political career. Since March 2015, the Democratic presidential candidate had to deal with a serious problem that has constituted a major impediment to winning the presidency: her use of a private email server during her term as secretary of state from 2009 to 2013. In early 2015, it was revealed that Hillary Clinton, while serving as secretary of state, violated federal laws by conducting work-related and personal electronic correspondence, which included thousands of emails that contained classified information, by using a personal email server set up in her home in Chappaqua, New York rather than the official and secure state.gov email account which is hosted on the servers of the U.S. government. Since this disclosure, Hillary Clinton has been mired in the email controversy and has constantly expressed her view on the matter in different platforms using an evaluative language which is the focus of the present study.

2. Aims of the Study

Evaluation is a key term used when talking about the language speakers/writers employ for personal expression of opinion and ideological positions. Words used to express opinion can be positive (e.g. *perfect, good*), negative (e.g. *horrible, bad*) or context-dependent (e.g. *high temperature* can be neutral in some contexts and negative when it is used to imply "heat and absence of water") (Cabrejas-Penuelas & Diez- Prados, 2013, p. 317). *Evaluation* figures prominently in political discourse in which politicians seek to establish relations with the audience and win their support by expressing their viewpoints on states of affairs, fellow politicians as well as various controver-

sial issues. One hot-button issue in the 2016 American presidential election is Hillary Clinton's email controversy which arose in March 2015 when it was revealed that the Democratic presidential nominee, during her tenure as secretary of state from 2009 to 2013, used a non-secure email server instead of the secured government servers. Clinton has always expressed her viewpoint using an evaluative language that conveys her positive and/or negative views, thereby revealing her ideological positions and establishing an interpersonal relationship with American voters to persuade public opinion by attempting "to achieve some intersubjective consensus of values with respect to what is represented" (Hart, 2014, p. 43). The language of evaluation can be examined through *Appraisal Theory*, a system of semantic resources developed within Systemic Functional Linguistics for "reacting emotionally (affect), judging morally (judgment) and evaluating aesthetically (appreciation)" (Martin, 1995, p. 28). The present study aims at investigating the evaluation techniques used in Clinton's responses regarding her email controversy. It also examines the functions of these evaluation techniques to shed light on Clinton's ideological position on the email issue.

3. Data and Methodology

In order to analyze Hillary Clinton's evaluation of her email controversy, data has been collected nearly from all what she has said about this issue from March 2015, when it was revealed that Clinton used a private email server for official communications during her tenure as secretary of state, until late October 2016, a week before the U.S. presidential election. The data consists of interviews conducted with Hillary Clinton on different programs broadcast on a number of American television networks. These programs are: *World News Tonight* and *This Week* shown on *ABC News*, *Face the Nation* shown on *CBS*, *The Situation Room* and *The Lead* shown on *CNN*, *The Tonight Show*, *Meet the Press* and *Andrea Mitchell Reports* shown on *NBC News*, *PBS News Hour* shown on *PBS*, and *Special Report* and *Fox News Sunday* shown on *Fox News*. Because Clinton was not asked about her use of a private email server in all the interviews conducted with her since this matter became known in March 2015, the interviews chosen for analysis are only the ones in which Hillary

Clinton was asked about the email issue. The data also includes the three 2016 presidential debates, Clinton's testimony before the U.S. House Select Committee on Benghazi during a hearing held on October 22, 2015, and the only three press conferences in which Clinton addressed her email issue. The first press conference was held on March 10, 2015 in New York City, New York. The second was held in Washington, D.C. on August 5, 2016, and the third was held in Des Moines, Iowa on October 28, 2016. Transcripts of the analyzed interviews and press conferences have been downloaded from the speech archive available on the *Hillary Clinton Speeches* website. This archive contains all Hillary Clinton's speeches, interviews and campaign events. However, some of the interviews chosen for analysis have been obtained from *Youtube* and transcribed by the researcher since they were available as video files only. Transcripts of the three 2016 presidential debates have been obtained from the *American Presidency Project* website which is a database for presidential documents. Clinton's testimony before Congress has been retrieved from the U.S. GPO (Government Publishing Office) federal digital system.

Martin and White's (2005) *Appraisal Theory* is employed to investigate Clinton's evaluative responses regarding her email controversy. All appraisal items in the data are identified and classified into the three main systems and subsystems of Martin and White's (2005) appraisal resources (see figure 1 below). The quantitative and qualitative approaches are employed in the study. The former is used to provide the number of occurrences and percentages of *Attitude*, *Engagement* and *Graduation* and their subsystems. This information is tabulated to get an overview of the most and least frequently occurring evaluation techniques. The latter is employed to interpret the data in order to shed light on Clinton's evaluation of, and hence ideological position on, the email issue. Illustrative examples are provided and the words and sentences that express the evaluation techniques examined are underlined for clarification.

4. Theoretical Background

Evaluation is part and parcel of everyday speech as all utterances are evaluative and reflect some kind of evaluative positioning. White (2016) holds that "all utterances involve positioning by the speaker/

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writer either with respect to prior utterances by other voices on the same subject or with respect to potential responses to what is being asserted" (p. 80). Thus, *evaluation* is considered a "broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Thompson & Hunston, 2000, p. 5). *Evaluation* is concerned with how speakers/writers convey their subjective opinions and thus attempt to achieve an intersubjective consensus of opinions with respect to what is said (Hart, 2014, p. 43). *Appraisal Theory* "provides a particularly useful and appropriate grammatical tool for analyzing aspects of evaluation" (Koller, 2011, p. 125). Martin and Rose (2003) also maintain that *appraisal* is "concerned with evaluation: the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned" (p. 22).

4.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Appraisal Theory, as a framework for analyzing the language of evaluation, has developed within the theoretical framework of Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (White, 2011, p. 14). In SFL, language is considered a speech practice and the "result of the interplay between its two fundamental aspects – its systematicity and its functionality" (Martin as cited in Gales, 2011, p. 29). According to Halliday (as cited in Zhang & Liu, 2015, pp. 3-4), "'systemic' refers to the view of language as a network of systems or interrelated sets of options for making meaning while 'functional' refers to the view that language is as it is because of what it has evolved to do". Thus, SFL allows for the possibility of explaining linguistic phenomena by reference to the social functions of language as well as the functional demands users put upon language (Hadidi & Mohammadbagheri-Parvin, 2015, p. 131; White, 2011, p. 14). The social functions of language, which Halliday (1994) terms *metafunctions*, fall into three categories: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. The ideational metafunction is "concerned with construing experience: what's going on, including who's doing what to whom, where, when, why and how and the logical relation of one going-on to another" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 7). The interpersonal

metafunction relates to how participants construct social roles and relationships. The textual metafunction systematizes the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions so that texts become coherent both internally and contextually, i.e. the communicative setting in which they operate (White, 2011, p. 14, 2015, p. 1). These three social functions or modes of meaning operate concomitantly in communicative contexts based on one key notion in SFL, namely "the notion of kinds of meaning – the idea that language is a resource for mapping ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning onto one another in virtually every act of communication" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 7).

4.2 <u>Appraisal Theory</u>

According to Bednarek (2006), the focus of systemic functional linguists is on appraisal resources, i.e. "the linguistic devices of expressing appraisal" (p. 27). The term *appraisal* has been defined as "the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgments, and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations" (Martin, 2000, p. 145). *Appraisal Theory* was put forward with the aim of drawing:

> …a comprehensive map of appraisal resources that we could deploy systematically in discourse analysis, with a view both to understanding the rhetorical effect of evaluative lexis as texts unfold, and to better understanding the interplay of interpersonal meaning and social relations in the model of language and the social we were developing, especially in the area of solidarity. (Martin, 2000, p. 148)

Emerging within Halliday's SFL, *Appraisal Theory* develops the interpersonal metafunction of language. It shows how speakers/writers express their feelings and opinions, and the linguistic mechanism employed to do so. The framework indicates how speakers/writers position themselves with respect to the material presented and their interlocutors. It also reveals how discourse producers construct certain identities or personae, how they construe propositions as contentious or warrantable, and thus how they align or disalign themselves with actual or potential respondents and value positions operating in the current act of communication (Cabrejas-Penuelas & Diez-Prados, 2013, p. 322; Martin & White, 2005, p. 1; White, 2015, p. 1). These

meaning making resources help reflect the speaker's or writer's evaluative involvement in discourse since they express their viewpoints and ideological positions "either toward phenomena (the entities, happenings or states of affairs being construed by the text) or toward metaphenomena (propositions about these entities, happenings and states of affairs)" (White, 2015, p. 1). Miller (2002) holds that *Appraisal Theory* "is concerned with the language of speaker evaluation, attitude and emotion, i.e. with those wording in and by which speakers negotiate and 'naturalize' subjective, and ultimately ideological, positions" (p. 120).

Appraisal resources consist of three main systems of evaluative meaning, namely *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation*. Martin and White (2005) define each of these three systems as follows:

> **Attitude** is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgments of behavior 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. (p. 35)

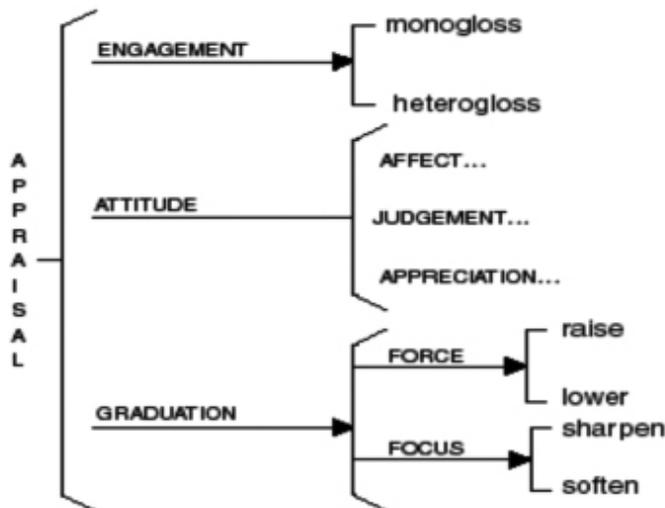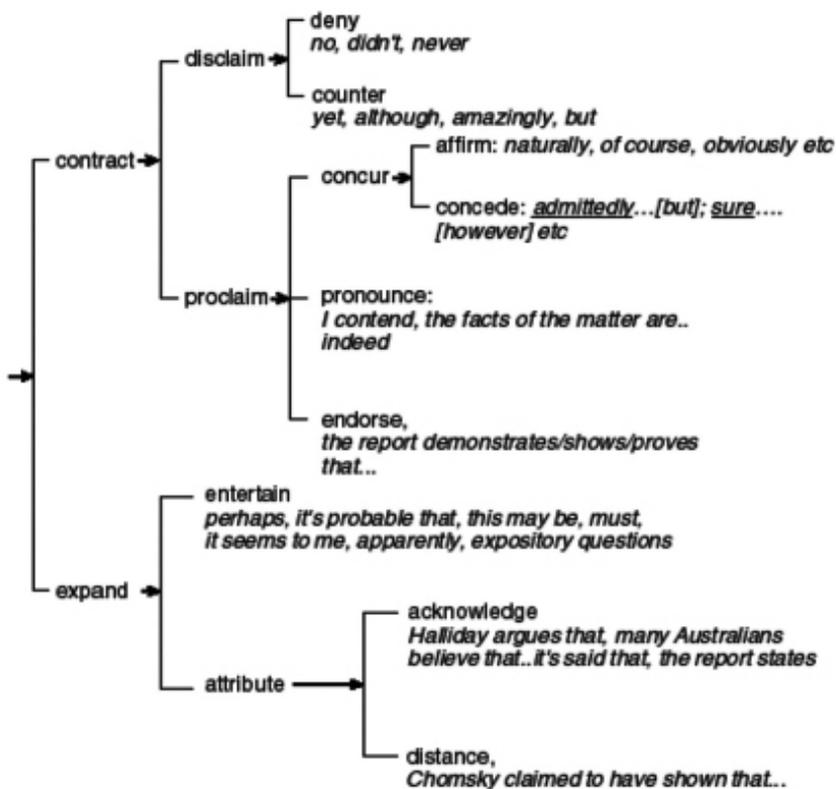Each of these systems is subdivided into categories as outlined in figure (1)

**Figure (1): An overview of appraisal resources
(Martin & White, 2005, p. 38)**

4.2.1 Engagement

The *engagement* system is concerned with "those meanings which in various ways construe for the text a heteroglossic backdrop of prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 97). In this system, meaning is construed intersubjectively based on the view that "all verbal utterances are ultimately dialogic" (White, 2011, p. 27). Thus, *engagement* covers the linguistic resources that speakers/writers employ to "present themselves as in positions of alignment, antagonism or neutrality with respect to previous speakers' value positions and whether speakers anticipate the value positions of putative readers as being in alignment, antagonism or neutrality with respect to the positions they are advancing" (Hart, 2014, p. 52).

Under *engagement*, utterances are classified into monoglossic (undialogized) and heteroglossic (dialogic). Monoglossic utterances do not make any reference to voices and viewpoints other than the author's since "the speaker/writer presents the current proposition as one which has no dialogic alternatives which need to be recognized, or engaged with, in the current communicative context as dialogistically inert and hence capable of being declared categorically" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 99). Thus, these utterances take the form of categorical or bare assertions as in: "saccharin is permitted for use in foods and beverages in more than 100 countries around the world and *is* safe for all populations" (Hart, 2014, p. 53). Heteroglossic utterances, on the other hand, make reference to other voices *as* "they *do* invoke or allow for dialogistic alternatives" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 100). Heteroglossic engagement is divided into two groups: *dialogic expansion* and *dialogic contraction* depending on "the degree to which an utterance…makes allowances for dialogically alternative positions and voices (dialogic expansion), or alternatively, acts to challenge fend off or restrict the scope of such (dialogic contraction)" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 102). Heteroglossic resources are further divided into several subcategories as shown in figure (2).

deny
no, didn't, never

disclaim

counter
yet, although, amazingly, but

affirm: *naturally, of course, obviously etc*

concur

concede: <u>*admittedly*</u>*…[but];* <u>*sure*</u>*….*
[however] etc

contract

pronounce:
I contend, the facts of the matter are..
indeed

proclaim

endorse,
the report demonstrates/shows/proves
that…

entertain
perhaps, it's probable that, this may be, must,
it seems to me, apparently, expository questions

expand

acknowledge
Halliday argues that, many Australians
believe that..it's said that, the report states

attribute

distance,
Chomsky claimed to have shown that…

Figure (2): The engagement system
(heteroglossia) (Martin & White 2005: 134).

As shown in figure (2), *dialogic contraction* is divided into two subcategories: *disclaim* and *proclaim*. The former refers to contractive meanings "by which some dialogic alternative is directly rejected or supplanted or is represented as not applying" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 117). The latter refers to those meanings "by which, through some authorial interpolation, emphasis or intervention, dialogic alternatives are confronted, challenged, overwhelmed or otherwise excluded" (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 117-118). Thus, in *disclaims*, the speaker or writer invokes a prior utterance or some alternative position, and indicates that he/she is at odds with it by rejecting, refuting or replacing it as well as holding that they are unsustainable (Martin & White, 2005, p. 118; Zhang & Liu, 2015, p. 5). *Disclaim* is divided into two subcategories: *deny* and *counter*. The former is the resource for introducing, and hence acknowledging, the alternative positive

position so as to be rejected. Martin and White (2005) maintain that "the negative is not the simple logical opposite of the positive, since the negative necessarily carries with it the positive, while the positive does not does not reciprocally carry the negative…" (p. 118). The latter refers to formulations that introduce the current proposition as replacing or supplanting the one that would have been expected in its place (Martin & White, 2005, p. 120; Pascual & Unger, 2010, p. 268). *Counter* is realized through adjuncts (e.g. *even, only, just, still*) adverbials (e.g. *surprisingly*) as well as conjunctions and connectives (e.g. *although*, *however*, *yet*, *but*) (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 102-121; Miller, 2004b, p. 6).

Unlike *disclaims*, *proclaims* include "formulations, which rather than directly rejecting or overruling a contrary position, act to limit the scope of dialogistic alternatives in the ongoing colloquy" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 121). In other words, speakers/writers suppress or rule out alternative positions by signaling their alignment with a certain position or viewpoint that is contrary to these alternative views. There are three categories of *proclaim*: *concur*, *pronounce* and *endorse*. Through *concur*, speakers/writers indicate that they agree with or share knowledge with the audience so that the current proposition is presented as "given, as being in accord with what is generally known or expected" (White, 2003, p. 5). *Concurrences* are realized via rhetorical questions and modal adjuncts such as *of course, naturally, obviously*, *certainly*, *admittedly* and *not-surprisingly*. *Pronounce* refers to formulations "which involve authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 127). In other words, in this category, speakers/writers are explicitly involved in the text and assert the value of their proposition (Pascual & Unger, 2010, p. 268). *Pronouncement* is conveyed via phrases like *I contend…, the facts of the matter are…, we can conclude that…, you must agree that,* intensifiers such as *really, indeed,* etc., appropriately placed stress (e.g. The level of tolerance *IS* the result of government intervention) and added emphasis on the finite auxiliary (e.g. I *DID* turn out the lights before I left) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 127, 131). In *endorsement*, reference is made to "formulations by which propositions sourced to external sources are

construed by the authorial voice as correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 126). By citing external sources and presenting them as unquestionable, the internal authorial voice "takes over responsibility for the proposition or at least shares responsibility for it with the cited sources" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 127). *Endorsement* is realized by verbal processes or their nominalized equivalents such as *show, prove, demonstrate, point out, found* and *reveal* (Martin & White, 2005, p. 126; Pascual & Unger, 2010, p. 268).

Figure (2) shows that *dialogic expansion*, which gives room for alternative voices, is divided into two subcategories: *entertain* and *attribute*. *Entertain* refers to "those wordings by which the authorial voice indicates that its position is but one of a number of possible positions and thereby, to greater or lesser degrees, makes dialogic space for those possibilities" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 104). *Entertain* is realized via modal auxiliaries (e.g. *may, might, could, must, etc.*), modal adjuncts (e.g. *perhaps, probably, definitely, etc.*), modal attributes (e.g. *it's possible that…, it's likely that…, etc.*), circumstances (e.g. *in my view*), certain mental verb/attribute projections (e.g. *I suspect that…, I think, I believe, I'm convinced that, I doubt, I'm sure*), evidence/appearance-based postulations (e.g. *it seems, it appears, apparently, the research suggests…*), modals of permission and obligation (e.g. *must, may, will*) and rhetorical questions (Chusna & Wahyudi, 2015, p. 73; Martin & White, 2005, p. 105, 110; Zhang & Liu, 2015, p. 5).

Attribution includes "formulations which dissociate the proposition from the text's internal authorial voice by attributing it to some external source. This is most typically achieved through the grammar of directly and indirectly reported speech and thought" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 111). It is realized through communicative process verbs (e.g. *said*), mental process verbs (e.g. *believe, suspect*), nominalizations (e.g. *assertion, belief*), adverbial adjuncts (e.g. *according to*), circumstantial (e.g. *in x's views*) and formulations categorized as 'hearsay' where there is no specific source (e.g. *reportedly, it is said that…*) (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 111-112). A*ttribution* is further subdivided into *acknowledge* and *distance*. Acknowledging attribu-

tions refer to "those locutions where there is no overt indication…as to where the authorial voice stands with respect to the proposition" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 112). Thus, *acknowledgments* indicate that the speaker/writer implicitly agrees with the current proposition because they-acknowledgments- associate the proposition advanced in the text or context with external voices and positions, thereby presenting the speaker/writer as engaging with these voices. *Acknowledge* is achieved by means of reporting verbs (e.g. *say, report, state, declare, announce, believe, suggest* and *think*) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 112). Distancing attributions are those "formulations in which… there is an explicit distancing of the authorial voice from the attributed material" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 113). In this category, it is not clear whether the authorial voice aligns or disaligns with the proposed position and whether he/she is neutral or disinterested. Thus, the door is left open for the co-text to indicate where the speaker/writer stands regarding the proposition advanced (Martin & White, 2005, p. 113). The reporting verb *to claim* through which the speaker "detaches him/herself from responsibility for what is being reported" (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994, p. 295) as well as certain scare quotes are used to realize distancing attributing (Martin & White, 2005, p. 113).

4.2.2 <u>Attitude</u>

The system of *attitude* is concerned with expressions of appraisal used to positively or negatively convey emotional reactions, judge human character and/or behavior, and evaluate the aesthetic qualities of ideas, objects, situations, actions, events or states of affairs (Gales, 2011, p. 30). Thus, *attitude*, conveying the semantic regions of emotion, ethics and aesthetics, is subdivided into three main categories: *affect* (emotion), *judgment* (ethics) and *appreciation* (aesthetics) (Gales, 2011, p. 30; White, 2001b, p. 1, 2015, p. 2). Martin (2000) defines the three categories as follows:

> AFFECT is the resource deployed for construing emotional responses ('happiness, sadness, fear, loathing', etc.); JUDGMENT is deployed for construing moral evaluations of behavior ('ethical, deceptive, brave', etc.) and APPRECIATION construes the 'aesthetic' quality of semiotic

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text/processes and natural phenomena ('remarkable, desirable, harmonious, elegant, innovative', etc.). (pp. 145-146)

4.2.2.1 Affect

Affect is an attitude that expresses a speaker's positive and/or negative feelings as it "deals with resources for construing emotional reactions" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35). Attitudinal meanings expressed by *affect* "indicate positive or negative views via either reports of the speaker/writer's emotional responses or reports of the emotional responses of third parties" (White, 2011, p.16). *Affect* is realized in a number of grammatical structures, including descriptions of participants and processes (affect as quality e.g. a *sad* captain; the boy was *happy*), affective mental and behavioral processes (affect as process e.g. his departure *upset* him; the captain *wept*) and modal adjuncts (affect as comment e.g. *sadly,* he had to go; *happily,* he had a long nap), nominalized realizations of qualities (e.g. *joy, sadness, sorrow*) and processes (e.g. *grief, sobs, constriction* in his throat) (Martin, 2000, p. 149; Martin & White, 2005, pp. 45-46; White, 2001b, p. 4). There are three sets of *affect*, namely *un/happiness, in/security* and *dis/satisfaction*. Martin and White (2005) distinguish between the three sets as follows:

> The un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with 'affairs of the heart' – sadness, hate, happiness and love; the in/security variable covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – anxiety, fear, confidence and trust; the dis/satisfaction variable covers emotions concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect…The un/happiness set of meanings is probably the first to come to mind when we think about emotions…It involves the moods of feeling happy or sad, and the possibility of directing these feelings at a Trigger by liking or disliking it. In/security covers our feelings of peace and anxiety in relation to our environs, including of course the people sharing them with us…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. (pp. 49-50)

4.2.2.2 Judgment

Martin and White (2005) define *judgment* as the subsystem of *attitude* that "deals with attitude towards behavior, which we admire or criticize, praise or condemn" (p. 42). They also maintain that it "is concerned with resources for assessing behaviour according to various normative principles" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35). Thus, people's behavior and character are evaluated with respect to a set of norms about how they are expected to behave or not to behave. Martin (2000) holds that "JUDGMENT can be thought of as the institutionalization of feeling in the context of proposals (norms about how people should and shouldn't behave)" (p. 155). Same as *affect*, *judgment* can be either positive or negative since human behavior is evaluated positively or negatively in light of a set of socially established norms. *Judgment* can be realized as adverbials (e.g. *justly, fairly, honestly, pluckily, cleverly, stupidly, eccentrically*), attributes and epithets (e.g. a *corrupt* politician, that was *dishonest*, don't be *cruel*, she's very *brave*, a *skillful* performer), nominals (e.g. a *brutal* tyrant, a *cheat and a liar, a hero, a genius*) and verbs (e.g. *to cheat, to deceive, to sin, to lust after, to chicken out, to triumph*) (White, 2001a, p. 6).

The system of *judgment* can be divided into two groups: *social esteem* and *social sanction*. Judgments of *social esteem* involve assessment of *normality* (how unusual someone is, e.g. *lucky, normal, natural, hapless, odd, eccentric*), *capacity* (how capable they are, e.g. *powerful, robust, successful, mild, immature, foolish*) and *tenacity* (how resolute they are, e.g. *plucky, brave, reliable, timid, impetuous, capricious*) (Khoo, Nourbakhsh, & Na, 2012, p. 4; Macken-Horarik, 2003, p. 298; Martin & White, 2005, p. 52). They include "evaluations under which the person judged will be lowered or raised in the esteem of their community, but which do not have legal or moral implications" (White, 2011, p. 23). Judgments of *social sanction* involve resources for evaluating behavior by reference to a society's rules and moral and legal norms. They have to do with *veracity* (how truthful someone is, e.g. *truthful, honest, frank, dishonest, deceitful, devious*) and *propriety* (how ethical someone is, e.g. *moral, ethical, fair, evil, mean, corrupt*) (De Souza, 2006, p. 539; Martin & White,

2005, p. 52; White, 2011, p. 23). Moreover, while judgments of social esteem involve admiration and criticism, those of social sanction involve praise and condemnation (Martin, 2000, p. 156; Tilakaratna & Mahboob, 2013, p. 69).

4.2.2.3 Appreciation

Appreciation refers to "the domain of meanings for construing evaluations of product of human endevour such as artefacts, buildings, texts and works of art, and also of natural phenomena and states of affairs" (White, 2011, p. 25). Under *appreciation*, the aesthetic qualities of texts, processes, natural phenomena and states of affairs, rather than human behavior, are evaluated according to the criteria of a given field (Martin & White, 2005, p. 43; Painter, 2003, p. 202). Thus, humans are appreciated and not judged "only when it is, for example, their aesthetic qualities which are being addressed rather than the social acceptability of their behaviour" (White, 2011, pp. 25-26).

Appreciation is further subdivided into those assessments, whether positive or negative, that focus on our (1) *reaction* to things (i.e. do they catch our attention? Do they please us?) and it can be further subdivided into *impact* (i.e. did it grab me?) as in *captivating, exciting, boring and uninviting* and *quality* (i.e. did I like it?) as in *good, lovely, nasty and ugly;* (2) *composition*: This refers to "how well the parts of the entity fit together" (Cabrejas-Penuelas & Diez-Prados, 2014, p. 166) and is subdivided into *balance* (i.e. did it hang together?) such as *balanced, symmetrical, unbalanced and uneven*, and *complexity* (i.e. was it hard to follow?) such as *simple, lucid, ornate and unclear*; (3) *valuation* (how innovative, authentic, timely, effective, relevant, significant etc.) as in *profound, creative, insignificant* and *overdue* (Bednarek, 2006, p. 28; Martin & White, 2005, p. 56; White, 2011, p. 26).

4.2.3 Graduation

The third subsystem of appraisal is *graduation* that encompasses "values which act to provide grading or scaling, either in terms of the interpersonal force which the speaker attaches to an utterance or in terms of the preciseness or sharpness of focus with which an item exemplifies a valeur relationship" (White, 2001a, p. 7). *Graduation*

is concerned with "values by which (1) speakers graduate (raise or lower) the interpersonal impact, force or volume of their utterances, and (2) by which they graduate (blur or sharpen) the focus of their semantic categorisations" (White, 2001a, p. 2). Thus, *graduation* has two categories: *force* and *focus*.

4.2.3.1 Force

Force refers to evaluations which are graded according to intensity (known as *intensification*) and amount (known as *quantification*). Evaluation of *intensification* applies to qualities (e.g. *slightly* foolish, *extremely* foolish, it stopped *somewhat/very* abruptly), processes (e.g. This *slightly/greatly* hindered us) or verbal modalities of likelihood, usuality, inclination and obligation (e.g. It's *just/very* possible that) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 140). *Intensification* has three modes which are used to realize it. These are: *isolation*, *infusion* and *repetition*. In isolating intensification, "up-scaling/down-scaling is realized by an isolated, individual term which…performs the function of setting the level of intensity" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 141). Thus, in this mode, a separate lexical item is used to modify another one. Isolated intensification is either grammatical, as in pre-modifiers of adjectives (e.g. *a bit* miserable, *somewhat* miserable, *relatively* miserable), pre-modifiers of adverbs (e.g. *slightly* abruptly, *fairly* abruptly, *very* abruptly, *quite* abruptly), verbal processes (e.g. This upset me *slightly, greatly, somewhat*), modalities (*just* possible, *reasonably* often, *extremely* often) as well as comparatives and superlatives (e.g. *less/least* miserable, *more/most* miserable, *happier, happiest*) or lexical. Lexical intensifications are either figurative (e.g. *ice* cold, *crystal* clear, *dirt* poor) or attitudinal (e.g. *reasonably* happy, *dreadfully* cold, *ridiculously* easy) (Hart, 2014, p. 57; Martin & White, 2005, pp. 141-143).

In infused intensification, "there is no separate lexical form conveying the sense of up-scaling or down-scaling. Rather the scaling is conveyed as but one aspect of the meaning of a single term" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 143). In other words, intensification is infused when the degree of intensity of a single lexical item is compared to that of other lexical items that are semantically related to it (Hart, 2014, p.

57). Infused intensification is seen in lexical items denoting quality (e.g. *corrupted, happy, joyous, warm, hot, scalding*), process (e.g. This *disquieted/startled/frightened/terrified* me) and modality (e.g. *possible, probable, certain, rarely, occasionally, sometimes, often, always*) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 144). Both isolated and infused intensifications can either be figurative (e.g. *crystal* clear, came out *like a jack in a box*, prices *sky-rocketed,* a *trickle/stream* of enquiries) or non-figurative (*very* clear, *greatly* reduced, move *rapidly* (Martin & White, 2005, p. 148).

Realizing intensification via *repetition* can either be by repeating the same lexical item (e.g. It's *hot hot hot*, we *laughed laughed and laughed*) or by assembling a group of terms which are semantically related (e.g. In fact it was probably the most *immature, irresponsible, disgraceful and misleading* address ever given by a British Prime Minister) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 144).

In *quantification*, up-scaling and down-scaling take place with re-spect to number (e.g. *a few, many*, *two million, 89 percent, hundreds of thousands*), mass or presence (e.g. *small, large; thin, thick; light, heavy; dim, bright*) and extent in time and space which are measured according to proximity (e.g. *near, far, recent, ancient*) or distribu-tion (e.g. *long-lasting, short-term, wide-spread, sparse*) (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 150-151, 189, 247). Like *intensification, quantifica-tion* is realized via either *isolation* (e.g. very shortly we were strug-gling through *mountainous* seas) or *infusion* (e.g. canon unveils *a throng of* digital imaging products, *the trickle of* enquiries rapidly became *a stream*, (number), he's a *mountain* of a man, she's a *slip* of a girl (mass-size), I see a *paucity* of talent in this country, there was a *profusion* of pink at the Alexandra Blossom Festival (extent) (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 151-152).

4.2.3.2 Focus

The term *focus* refers to scaling phenomena according to proto-typicality since reference is made "to the degree to which they match some supposed core or exemplary instance of a semantic category" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 137). Thus, phenomena are evaluated based on whether they are deemed good or bad examples of catego-ries (Hart, 2014, p. 58). Under *focus*, scaling applies to non-scala-

ble categories on which focus operates to reconstrue "in such a way that they participate in scalable clines of prototypicality" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 137). Within *focus*, it is possible to sharpen (up-scale) or soften (down-scale) the specification "to indicate that something either does or does not constitute a good example of the category" (Hart, 2014, p. 58). Up-scaling or sharpening the specification indicates prototypicality, as in a *real* father, a *true* friend. Downscaling or softening values, such as they *sort of* play jazz, they are *kind of* crazy, *and it was an apology of sorts*, signal marginal membership in a particular category (Martin & White, 2005, p. 138; White, 2001a, p. 8).

Considerable research has been conducted using *Appraisal Theory* to examine evaluation in different discourses. These include narrative discourse (Cortazzi & Jin, 2000; Goodwin, 1997; Gwyn, 2000; Macken-Horarik, 2003; Martin, 1996; Page, 2002, 2003; Painter, 2003), academic discourse (Chusna & Wahyudi, 2015; Hood, 2004, 2010; Liu, 2010, 2013; Mei & Allison, 2003; Pascual & Unger, 2010; Xinghua & Thompson, 2009), legal discourse (Bock, 2011; Miller, 2002), journalistic discourse (Arrese & Perucha, 2006; Hadidi & Mohammadbagheri-Parvin, 2015; Khoo, Nourbakhsh & Na, 2012; Pounds, 2010; White 1998, 2004, 2006, 2009; Wang, 2004; Zhang & Liu, 2015) and political discourse in which the focus has been mainly on interviews (Becker, 2011; Tilakaratna & Mahboob, 2013), speeches (Cabrejas-Penuelas & Diez-Prados, 2013; Miller, 2004b; Simon-Vandenbergen, 2008) and debates (Cabrejas-Penuelas & Diez-Prados, 2014; Miller, 2004a, 2007). As shown in the aforementioned literature, previous research has employed a genre-based approach to study evaluation using *Appraisal Theory*. Unlike previous studies, the present study adopts a thematic approach to study evaluation in Hillary Clinton's responses regarding her email controversy in different political genres, some of which have not been studied before with respect to *Appraisal Theory* such as parliamentary discourse and press conferences.

5. <u>Results and Discussion</u>

This section aims at presenting the results obtained from the data analysis. First, it demonstrates the evaluation techniques used in Clinton's responses regarding her email controversy. These tech-

niques are presented in tabular form followed by discussions that aim at interpreting the tables to shed light on Clinton's employment of different evaluation techniques to evaluate her attitude towards the controversial email issue. Second, it presents the different functions of the evaluation techniques found in Clinton's responses along with illustrative examples.

5.1 The Evaluation Techniques Used in Clinton's Responses

The total number of the three appraisal systems in the analyzed data is 1703. The most frequently occurring appraisal system is engagement (780 occurrences, 46% of the total number of occurrence of appraisal systems) followed by attitude (542 occurrences, 32%) then graduation (381 occurrences, 22%). Thus, Clinton is concerned more with evaluation related to her commitment to what she says and dialogic engagement with alternative viewpoints (engagement) and less with evaluation concerned with expressing feelings (attitude) and signaling gradability (graduation). Table (1) shows the frequency of occurrence and percentages of the different appraisal subsystems in the analyzed data.

Table (1): Frequency of occurrence and percentages of appraisal subsystems

Appraisal systems	Subsystems	Frequency & percentage
Attitude	Affect	66 (12%)
	Judgment	206 (38%)
	Appreciation	270 (50%)
Total		**542 (100%)**
Engagement	Monogloss	99 (13%)
	Heterogloss	681 (87%)
Total		**780 (100%)**
Graduation	Force	376 (99%)
	Focus	5 (1%)
Total		**381 (100%)**

Table (1) shows that with respect to the subsystems of *attitude*, *appreciation* occurs more frequently (270 occurrences, 50% of the total number of occurrences of the subsystems of *attitude*) followed by *judgment* (206 occurrences, 38%) while *affect* is the least frequently used subsystem (66 occurrences, 12%). This indicates that evaluation concerned with feelings (*attitude*) in Clinton's responses concerning her email issue focuses more on things, processes or states of affairs (*appreciation*) and less on human behavior (*judgment*) and emotions (*affect*). This can be attributed to Clinton's desire to focus on evaluating the email investigations and her behavior as well as that of the people who worked with her when she was secretary of state. However, she is less concerned with expressing how she feels towards the whole issue. Moreover, as far as *engagement* is concerned, there are 681 occurrences (87% of the total number of occurrences of the subsystems of *engagement*) of heteroglossic utterances compared to 99 (13%) of monoglossic ones. With regards to alternative views, Clinton's evaluation is related to other voices more than bare assertions or facts. This reflects Clinton's concern about evaluating other viewpoints more than personal views or beliefs that are taken for granted. As for *graduation*, the subsystem of *force* is used more frequently than *focus*. While *force* occurs 376 times (99% of the total number of occurrences of the subsystems of *graduation*) in the analyzed data, *focus* occurs 5 times only (1%). The high occurrence of *force* compared to *focus* shows that grading evaluations in Clinton's responses focuses on up-scaling and down-scaling intensification or quantification rather than on sharpening or softening prototypicality. The frequency of occurrence and percentages of the different categories of the three appraisal subsystems of *attitude*, namely *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation* are shown in Table (2).

In terms of the subsystem of *affect*, the three categories of *un/happiness*, *in/security* and *dis/satisfaction* occur in different frequencies in the data. As shown in table (2), the most frequently occurring category is *un/happiness* (39 occurrences, 59% of the total number of occurrences of the categories of *affect*) followed by *in/security* (22 occurrences, 33%) then *dis/satisfaction* (5 occurrences, 8%). The differences in the frequency of occurrences of the three categories indi-

Table (2): Frequency of occurrence and percentages of the categories of the subsystems of attitude

Appraisal subsystem	Categories	Frequency & percentage
Affect	Un/happiness	39 (59%)
	In/security	22 (33%)
	Dis/satisfaction	5 (8%)
Total		**66 (100%)**
Judgment	**Social Esteem**	
	Normality	15 (14%)
	Capacity	35 (34%)
	Tenacity	54 (52%)
Total of social esteem		**104 (100%)**
Judgment	**Social Sanction**	
	Veracity	93 (91%)
	Propriety	9 (9%)
Total of social sanction		**102 (100%)**
Total of judgment		**206**
Appreciation	Reaction	25 (9%)
	Composition	18 (7%)
	Valuation	227 (84%)
Total		**270 (100%)**

cate that Clinton is highly concerned with expressing feelings of happiness with the work that she and those who worked with her in the State Department did as well as the procedures taken with respect to the emails sent from her private server since she wants to prove that she did not break the law. She also expresses feelings of unhappiness because she wants to express regret for making the mistake of using a private server for business-related purposes. By expressing feelings of security, Clinton aims at expressing trust that the American people are capable of judging whether or not she abided by the law. She also wishes to express confidence that she never sent or received classified material and that the State Department team complied with the requests of investigators. Clinton also wants to show confidence that

the results of the investigations will be in her favor. No feelings of insecurity and dissatisfaction were found in the data. Clinton is least concerned with expressing feelings of satisfaction because sharing interest in the work done when she was secretary of state is irrelevant to the email issue since it is more important for Clinton to show that she has not breached the law and that she and the people in the State Department were fully cooperative during the course of investigations rather than talk about the achievements made during her tenure.

With respect to the subsystem of *judgment*, table (2) shows that *tenacity* is the most frequently occurring judgment of *social esteem* (54 occurrences, 52% of the total number of occurrences of the categories of *social esteem*) followed by *capacity* (35 occurrences, 34%) and *normality* (15 occurrences, 14%). The high occurrence of the categories of *tenacity* and *capacity* in comparison to that of *normality* reflects Clinton's desire to assert that she and the team that worked with her when she was secretary of state carried out their responsibilities fully and to the best of their abilities. This is very important for Clinton because as a presidential candidate, she wants to highlight her leadership abilities in order for the American people to be convinced that she and her staff are quite tenacious and competent. The message Clinton wants to hit home is that she is eligible to run for President. Such an argument also helps explain the low frequency of occurrence of the category of *normality* because Clinton might be seen in a bad light if she keeps asserting that her behavior is normal. Her public image might also be affected as she will be contradicting herself if she evaluates the act of using a private email server for official purposes as normal behavior when on several occasions she admitted she made a mistake when she used a personal email account and apologized for such a mistake.

As for judgments of *social sanction*, it is shown that *veracity* outnumbers *propriety* (93 occurrences, 91% of the total number of occurrences of the categories of *social sanction* vs. 9 occurrences, 9%). This discrepancy in the frequency of occurrence of these two categories can be attributed to Clinton's attempt to praise herself to emphasize what she believes to be important qualities in a presidential candidate, namely honesty and truthfulness. Thus, evaluating her

honesty is more important for Clinton than evaluating her ethical or moral behavior as it would serve her purpose of asserting that all her statements concerning the email controversy are truthful, thereby showing herself in a positive light to indicate that she is trustworthy and qualified for presidency.

Table (2) shows that of the three categories of the subsystem of *appreciation*, *valuation* occurs more frequently than *reaction* and *composition*. There are 227 occurrences of *valuation* (84% of the total number of occurrences of the categories of *appreciation*) in the analyzed data, 25 occurrences of *reaction* (9%), and 18 occurrences of *composition* (7%). Thus, when it comes to the evaluation of the worth and quality of entities, processes or states of affairs, Clinton's focus is on evaluating the content of email-related matters such as the accusations triggered at her, the content of the emails that were sent and received, and the work done at the State Department because these matters are at the heart of the email controversy and so excessive evaluation of them helps clarify everything to all Americans, which is essential for Clinton since she does not want to lose votes because of this problem. Moreover, differences in the number of occurrences of *reaction* and *composition* indicate that evaluating the impact of all email-related acts taken by Clinton, her attorneys, the State Department staff or government officials on Clinton as well as on Americans is more important for her than evaluating the clarity or complexity of these procedures. This can be explained in light of Clinton's attempt to seem transparent so as to appeal to the American people by showing that not only is she open about the procedures taken with respect to the email issue but also about their effect on her and on all Americans. Clinton is trying to show that she and the American people are in the same boat as they will be affected by the procedures because based on their results, Americans, especially undecided voters, can decide whether to vote for her or not and accordingly she will be affected because she wants to win as many votes as possible. Thus, focusing on the clarity or complexity of the acts related to the email controversy would not help Clinton realize her goals especially that the composition of these acts might be difficult for some Americans to grasp and might also not be of concern to them. Table (3) presents

the frequency of occurrences of the two types of the appraisal system of *engagement*, namely monoglossic and heteroglossic utterances as well as the percentages of the categories and subcategories of heteroglossic utterances.

Table (3): Frequency of occurrence and percentages of types, categories and subcategories of engagement

Types	Categories	Subcategories	Frequency & percentage
Monogloss			99
Heterogloss	Contract	**Disclaim**	
		Deny	125 (30%)
		Counter	89 (22%)
		Proclaim	
		Concur	98 (24%)
		Pronounce	68 (16%)
		Endorse	35 (8%)
	Total of contract		**415 (100%)**
	Expand	Entertain	223 (84%)
		Attribute	
		Acknowledge	43 (16%)
		Distance	---
	Total of expand		**266 (100%)**
	Total of heterogloss		**681**

Table (3) shows that heteroglossic utterances occur 681 times in the analyzed data whereas monoglossic ones occur 99 times. Clinton avoids excessive use of bare assertions or statements that represent firmly-held beliefs may be to avoid giving the impression that she is not concerned about different voices or that she is defiant of authorities since the email issue, which is still being investigated, is sensitive and controversial. Therefore, Clinton would be negatively affected if she sticks to her own personal viewpoint on the matter. In heteroglossic utterances, *dialogic contraction* occurs 415 times (61% of the total number of heteroglossic utterances which is 681) whereas

dialogic expansion occurs 266 times (39% of the total number of heteroglossic utterances), thereby indicating that Clinton prefers to reject alternative views rather than either present her viewpoints as one of several possible positions or refer to external sources to acknowledge alternative positions or claim a distance from them. This reflects Clinton's insistence that she is in the clear and her confidence that the investigations will prove that. In *disclaim*, the occurrence of the subcategory of *deny* more than that of *counter* (125, 30% of the total number of occurrences of the subcategories of *dialogic contraction* which is 415 vs. 89, 22%) reflects Clinton's tendency to rule out voices other than her own to express categorical denial of all accusations and negative assessments of the act of using a private email server for official purposes. Extensive use of *deny* also indicates that Clinton does not want to leave room for negotiation concerning her email problem and tries to correct any misunderstandings that people might have. It is possible that the use of *counter* does not help her achieve these aims because countering a proposition by using another one that replaces what is expected might put her on the defensive and this is not how Clinton wants to be portrayed to American voters. As for *proclaim*, the frequency of occurrence of its three subcategories reflects various degrees of agreement with previous assertions or propositions; *concur* occurs more frequently (98 occurrences, 24% of the total number of occurrences of the subcategories of *dialogic contraction* which is 415) than *pronounce* (68 occurrences, 16%) and *endorse* (35 occurrences, 8%). This shows that in evaluating her email problem, Clinton prefers to present herself as highly in agreement with the voices presented in the communicative context when they express universally or widely-held values or beliefs because these are non-negotiable and so she cannot challenge them. The frequency of occurrence of *pronounce* indicates that there are times when Clinton finds it necessary to interpolate into the text to express maximal assertion of the truth of her claims concerning the email controversy so as to oppose or defeat counter claims and propositions. The occurrence of *endorse* less frequently than both *concur* and *pronounce* shows Clinton's desire not to rule out counter views or propositions by making increased reference to external unquestionable sources. Though these sources can help prove what Clinton says, she probably

prefers to clarify matters to the audience from her own perspective by repeatedly explaining, and apologizing for, what she did rather than proving the truth of what she says by referring to external sources.

As for *dialogic expansion*, table (3) shows an excessive use of *entertain* (223 occurrences, 84% of the total number of occurrences of the subcategories of *dialogic expansion* which is 266) and a minimal use of *acknowledge* (43 occurrences, 16%), a subcategory of *attribute*. This shows that Clinton sometimes gives room to alternative opinions by using evaluative responses which indicate that her position on the email issue is one of several positions. May be she resorts to using such evaluative responses when she is asked about or is compelled to tackle aspects of the email controversy that are still under investigation to avoid seeming as if she is predicting the outcomes of the official investigations This also helps explain the absence of *distance*, a subcategory of *attribute*, as Clinton seeks to seem neutral towards, or detached from, positions advanced as well as responsibility for what is said or reported and not yet proven. The low frequency of occurrence of the other subcategory of *attribute*, namely *acknowledge* shows that some of Clinton's evaluative responses signal avoidance of explicit expression of where she stands with respect to some positions and/or propositions because they are not officially proven yet. They also indicate Clinton's engagement, and hence agreement, with some voices especially those of government officials whose statements she refers to so as to confirm the truth of her propositions and the legality of her act. However, it is possible that Clinton does not use the subcategory of *acknowledge* a lot because the investigations were not over yet. Table (4) demonstrates the frequency of occurrence and percentages of the subcategories of *force* and *focus*, the two categories of the appraisal system of *graduation*.

Table (4) shows that in the appraisal system of *graduation*, *force* occurs more frequently than *focus* (376 occurrences, 99% of the total number of the subcategories of *graduation* which is 381 vs. 5 occurrences, 1%). This indicates that Clinton's attitudinal meanings are positively or negatively graded based more on upgrading or downgrading evaluation of intensity and quantity of people, things and processes rather than prototypicality or preciseness, thereby constru-

Table (4): Frequency of occurrence and percentages of categories and subcategories of graduation

Categories	Subcategories	Frequency & percentage
Force	**Intensification**	
	Isolation	135 (36%)
	Infusion	14 (4%)
	Repetition	16 (4%)
	Quantification	
	Number	211 (56%)
	Mass	---
	Extent in time and space	---
Total of force		**376 (100%)**
Focus	Sharpen	---
	Soften	5 (100%)
Total of focus		**5 (100%)**

ing increased or decreased commitment and alignment with the position being advanced. With respect to the subcategories of *graduation* according to *force*, table (4) shows that in *intensification*, *isolation* is the most frequently occurring subcategory (135 occurrences, 36% of the total number of occurrences of the subcategories of *force* which is 376) followed by *repetition* (16 occurrences, 4%) and *infusion* (14 occurrences, 4%). This shows that in evaluating email-related matters such as how she feels about what she said, how she and the State Department team complied with official requests as well as how cooperative and law-abiding she has always been, Clinton resorts to strengthening and/or weakening the evaluation by relying more on modifying the lexical item she uses in order to express a high degree of honesty and trustworthiness. The high occurrence of *isolation* and low occurrence of both *infusion* and *repetition* indicates that increasing or decreasing the intensity of an evaluation whether by using lexical items in which the degree of intensification is an inherent component of their meaning or by repeating lexical items would not be as effective as *isolation* in realizing Clinton's goal of making the audience believe her, trust her and ultimately vote for her. Table (4) also shows that in *quantification*, only the subcategory of *number* is

excessively used probably in an attempt on Clinton's part to provide evidence for her claims and explanations by quantifying the different aspects of the email issue like the number of emails that were sent and received, the number of the people she emailed, the number of devices she used, the number of the people who worked with her when she was secretary of state, and the duration of the investigations conducted with her. Using numbers in evaluating the email controversy reflects Clinton's desire to give the impression that she is telling the whole truth and is not hiding anything since the numbers she provides have been proven by investigations and can thus be verified from official documents that have been made available to the public along with the emails.

As for the category of *focus*, it is shown in table (4) that only the subcategory of *soften* is used in the data and it occurs 5 times only. This downscaling of evaluation reflects Clinton's tendency towards imprecision and marginality when she wishes to express a low degree of involvement, and hence partial affiliation, with certain assumptions, positions or propositions concerning her email problem.

5.2 Functions of the Evaluation Techniques

The data reveals that the evaluation techniques used in Clinton's responses to her email controversy fulfill a number of functions. These are explicated and exemplified in the present section. The functions of the evaluation techniques of each appraisal system, namely *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation* are presented along with examples that illustrate them. However, due to space constraints, extensive exemplification is not possible.

5.2.1 Functions of the Evaluation Techniques of Attitude

With respect to the un/happiness set in the subsystem of affect, the data shows that it is used to express feelings of regret and happiness, as shown in the following example:

> (1) And I have said many times and I repeat clearly today, it was a mistake for me to use a personal email and I regret that [affect, unhappiness]. I am certainly relieved and glad [affect, happiness] that the investigation has concluded. (*The Lead*, CNN, July 8, 2016)

In this example, *un/happiness* expresses Clinton's sense of regret for using one account for sending and receiving personal and work-related emails. *Happiness* reflects Clinton's happiness that the investigations have ended, possibly because she wishes the results of the investigations will answer the questions that the email issue has raised and hopefully acquit her of breaking the law.

Another function performed by the *un/happiness* set is shown in example (2):

> (2)…I have no doubt that, you know, what I did has raised questions for people. And I deeply regret [affect, unhappiness] that. And that's why I said there's no excuses…I made a mistake. I've apologized for it. And I'm just happy [affect, happiness] it's over because that's, you know, the end of what's been a difficult period. (*World News Tonight*, ABC News, September 6, 2016)

In this example, *unhappiness* is used to express Clinton's regret that the email problem has raised many questions to the American people who need to know the truth as it can affect their decision to vote for her or not in the presidential election. *Happiness* in this example expresses Clinton's feelings of content that the email controversy ended after the release of the FBI report which showed that she has not committed any criminal wrongdoing.

As for the *in/security* set, as mentioned earlier, no instances of insecurity are found in the data. *Security* is used to fulfill a number of functions, as shown in the following examples:

> (3) I am confident [affect, security] that I never sent or received any information that was classified at the time. (*Fox News Sunday*, Fox News, July 31, 2016)

> (4) And look, there is an investigation going on looking into the security of the emails. I have full confidence [affect, security] we are fully cooperating. (*PBS News Hour*, PBS, October 7, 2015)

> (5) For any government employee, it is that government employee's responsibility to determine what's personal and what's work-related. I am very confident [affect, secu-

rity] of the process that we conducted and the emails that were produced. (*Transcript: Everything Hillary Clinton Said*, March 10, 2015)

(6) I am very <u>confident</u> [affect, security] that by the time this campaign has run its course, people will know that what I've been saying is accurate. (*Andrea Mitchell Reports*, NBC News, September 4, 2015)

Example (3) shows that *security* is used to express Clinton's confidence that the information included in the emails she sent and received was not classified. Examples (4) and (5) indicate Clinton's confidence in the people who worked with her in the State Department. She wants to show that they dealt with the emails professionally and that they are being cooperative in the investigations conducted. Example (6) shows Clinton's attempt to gain the trust of the American people by expressing her confidence that they will surely know she has been saying the truth about the email issue.

Concerning the *dis/satisfaction* group, the data does not include instances of *dissatisfaction* whereas *satisfaction* is used to express feelings of pleasure, as indicated in example (7).

(7) I regret using one account. I've taken responsibility for that but I'm <u>pleased</u> [affect, satisfaction] to be able to clarify and explain what I think the bottom line is on this. (*Read Hillary Clinton's Q & A*, August 5, 2016)

In the above example, Clinton is glad because she was given the chance to explain matters concerning the email problem.

Satisfaction is also used to express pride resulting from feelings of achievement. This is shown in the following example in which Clinton shows pride in the work done during her four-year tenure as secretary of state and in the people she worked with in the State Department.

(8) We had a lot of hard work, hard choices to make in those four years. And I'm very <u>proud</u> [affect, satisfaction] of the work we did. I'm very <u>proud</u> [affect, satisfaction] of the people that I worked with. (*Andrea Mitchell Reports*, NBC News, September 4, 2015)

The data shows that judgments of *social esteem*, namely *normality*, *capacity* and *tenacity* and those of *social sanction*, namely *veracity* and *propriety* are used in the analyzed data to make positive evaluations only and not negative ones. This can be attributed to Clinton's desire to explain to Americans all they need to know about the email issue. By so doing, Clinton tries to defend herself and the staff in the State Department and thus present herself in positive lights. The functions of the judgments of both *social esteem* and *social sanction* are given in the following examples.

> (9) It was allowed, and the rules have been clarified since I left about the practice. Having said that, I have said many times <u>it was a mistake</u> [social sanction, veracity]. And if I could go back, <u>I would do it differently</u> [social sanction, veracity]…<u>Just like previous secretaries of state, I used a personal email. Many people did. It was not at all unprecedented</u> [social esteem, normality] (*The Lead,* CNN, *May 26, 2016*)

Example (9) shows that *veracity* is used to indicate Clinton's honesty and frankness as she repeatedly admits that she made a mistake and that a different course of action would have been better. *Normality* is used to show that Clinton's act of using a personal email server for official reasons has been done before by previous secretaries of state and so it "*was not at all unprecedented*". This shows that Clinton is trying to alleviate the grossness of the act she committed as well as its impact on the American people by showing that it was a normal and common practice or else it would not have been done by other secretaries.

> (10) My direction to conduct the thorough investigation was to err on the side of providing anything that could be possibly viewed as work-related…That is the responsibility of the individual and <u>I have fulfilled that responsibility, and I have no doubt that we have done exactly what we should have done</u> [social esteem, capacity]…Even if you have a work-related device with a work-related .gov account, you choose what goes on that…And so we trust and count on the judgment of thousands, may be millions of

people to make those decisions…And again those will be out in the public domain, and <u>people will be able to judge for themselves</u> [social esteem, capacity]…<u>I fully complied with every rule that I was governed by</u> [social sanction, propriety] (*Transcript: Everything Hillary Clinton Said*, March 10, 2015)

In this example, it is shown that *capacity* has two functions. First, it is used to praise both Clinton's abilities as a leader when she was secretary of state as well as the abilities of those who worked with her as she says that she and her team fully carried out their responsibilities. Second, it is used to indicate Clinton's trust in the ability of Americans to judge matters correctly and be on her side when they read the emails themselves. *Propriety* is used to show that Clinton is an ethical person by saying that she always complied with the rules she was governed by. Clinton tries to show that she has always been a law-abiding person.

 (11) I think if one looks at the totality of my public service and the very difficult decisions that I grappled with, from bin Laden to the Iran sanctions and so much more, <u>people can count on me to do the job that is required</u> [social esteem, tenacity] (*PBS News Hour*, PBS, July 8, 2016)

Because of the seriousness and controversial nature of Clinton's email issue and the possibility that it might affect her popularity and the votes she can get in the election, there was a need to win and maintain Americans' trust. Therefore, *tenacity* is used in this example for self-praise to show that Clinton is a reliable person who knows how to run matters. By stating that her record as a politician testifies to her abilities as she managed to take difficult decisions to solve the problems she grappled with, Clinton wants to show that she is a dependable leader and people can rely on her to lead America.

In *appreciation*, *reaction*, *composition* and *valuation* are not used to make any negative evaluations. They are only used to make positive evaluations of email-related matters. Instances of the two types of *reaction*, namely *impact* and *quality* have been found in the data. As for the types of *composition*, examples of *complexity*, but not *balance*, have been found. The functions performed by the techniques of

appreciation are demonstrated in the following examples:

> (12) When I got to work as secretary of state, I opted for convenience to use my personal email account…because I thought it would be <u>easier</u> [appreciation, reaction, quality] to carry just one device for my work and for my personal emails instead of two… It would've been better for me to use two separate phones and two email accounts. I thought using one device would be <u>simpler</u> [appreciation, reaction, quality]… I think that the use of that server, which started with my husband, certainly proved to be <u>effective and secure</u> [appreciation, valuation]… And I feel that I've taken <u>unprecedented</u> [appreciation, valuation] steps to provide these <u>work-related</u> [appreciation, valuation] emails. They're going to be in the public domain. And I think that Americans will find that, you know, <u>interesting</u> [appreciation, reaction, impact]. (*Transcript: Everything Hillary Clinton Said*, March 10, 2015)

Example (12) shows that *reaction* is used to evaluate the effect of using a personal email account on Clinton as she thought that doing so would be "*easier*" and "*simpler*". *Reaction* is also used to evaluate the reaction of making Clinton's emails public. She expects that Americans will like this idea and find it "*interesting*". These evaluations underscore Clinton's wish to show that she has nothing to hide concerning the email issue as she openly says how she thought when she decided to use a personal email account and how she feels about releasing the emails. This example also shows that *valuation* is used to positively evaluate the private personal server Clinton used to send and receive official emails by describing them as "*effective and secure*". This evaluation indicates that Clinton wants to assure the audience that there were no security breaches thanks to the enhanced effectiveness of the server she used. *Valuation* is also used to evaluate the content of the emails, saying that they are "*work-related emails*", thereby admitting that some of the emails she sent and received were official. Moreover, evaluating the steps taken to provide the work-related emails as "*unprecedented*" exhibits another function for *valuation*, namely to give a positive picture of Clinton and the

State Department team by showing that they have been extremely cooperative. This indicates that Clinton wants to show she is so transparent as she did her best to turn in all work-related emails.

> (13) Many Americans have no idea how the classification process works. And therefore I wanted to <u>make it clear</u> [appreciation, composition, complexity] that there is a system within our government, certainly within the State Department…The State Department determined that they did have gaps in their recordkeeping…and the technology in the State Department, indeed, throughout our entire Government, is notoriously <u>difficult</u> [appreciation, composition, complexity] (*Hearing 4*, 2015)

This example shows that *composition* is used to evaluate the complexity of the process of trying to make it easy for Americans to know that there is a system within the government and the State Department because many of them "*have no idea how the classification process works*". Clinton wants to simply and directly explain to the people the idea that there is a system for handling classified material so that they can easily understand it. *Composition* is also used to evaluate the technology in the U.S. government by describing it as "*difficult*", thereby indicating that there is a possibility for mistakes to happen.

5.2.2 <u>Functions of the Evaluation Techniques of *Engagement*</u>

In terms of Clinton's relation to alternative viewpoints, i.e. *engagement*, the data shows that monoglossic and heteroglossic utterances fulfill several functions. Monoglossic utterances are only used by Clinton to defend herself by making categorical assertions, thereby avoiding engagement with other voices or opinions. This is seen in examples (14) and (15):

> (14) <u>After a year-long investigation, there is no evidence that anyone hacked the server I was using and there is no evidence that anyone can point to at all and anyone who says otherwise has no basis that any classified material ended up in the wrong hands.</u> (*Presidential Debate at Washington University*, October 9, 2016)

In example (14), Clinton states the fact that investigations, which lasted for a whole year, showed no evidence that the personal server she used for official correspondence was in anyway hacked and thus no "*classified material ended up in the wrong hands*". Clinton uses the results of the year-long investigations to challenge those who hold different views because they have "*no basis*".

(15) Everything I did was permitted. There was no law. There was no regulation. There was nothing that did not give me the full authority to decide how I was going to communicate. (*The Situation Room*, CNN, July 7, 2015)

In this example, Clinton tries to defend herself by stating categorically that her email practices were permitted because there was no law or regulation that dictates how, as secretary of state, she should communicate. Clinton wants to prove that she has not broken any law and therefore there is no room for anybody who has a contrary opinion.

In heteroglossic utterances, the data shows that *dialogic contraction* and *dialogic expansion* serve different purposes in accordance with Clinton's perception, and hence evaluation, of the email controversy. Through *disclaim and proclaim*, *dialogic contraction* in the analyzed data reflects Clinton's attempts to challenge or restrict alternative positions. The subcategories of *disclaim* and *proclaim* and their functions are shown in examples (16), (17) and (18).

(16) No, I do not [contract, disclaim, deny]. But [contract, disclaim, counter] the fact is [contract, disclaim, pronounce] nothing [contract, disclaim, deny] that I sent or received was marked classified...So it is the fact [contract, proclaim, pronounce], it was the fact [contract, proclaim, pronounce] when I first said it, it's the fact [contract, proclaim, pronounce] that I'm saying it now. What you are saying acted out is the desire of the different parts of the government retroactively classify material so that it is not made public since I did [contract, proclaim, pronounce] ask that all my emails be made public…So again, I will reiterate-nothing [contract, disclaim, deny] I sent or received at the time was marked. (*Special Report,* Fox News, June 8, 2016)

In example (16), Clinton answers a question about whether she remembers signing a nondisclosure agreement in 2009 which says that markings do not matter because classified information is considered classified regardless of whether it is marked or unmarked. In this example, *deny* is used to deny carrying out certain actions like signing a nondisclosure agreement. This could be an attempt on Clinton's part to protect herself against any accusations that might be leveled at her if she admits signing this agreement. It is also used to correct any wrong assumptions concerning the presence of confidential information in the emails sent and received from the private server. *Counter*, realized through the use of "*but*", is used by Clinton to shift to a counter point to clarify matters concerning the material exchanged via email, ultimately aiming to strengthen her position so as to avoid negative judgments whether of her or of the act of using a private server. *Pronounce* is realized via the phrases "*the fact is*", "*it was the fact*", and "*it's the fact*" as well as emphatic stress in "*since I did ask...*" It serves the purpose of emphasizing Clinton's claim that the emails she sent and received when she was secretary of state did not include any classified material. This reflects Clinton's desire to draw the image of being a law-abiding person who is courageous enough to admit that what she did was a mistake but, at the same time, she knows what material should and what should not be exchanged electronically.

> (17) Well, David, <u>obviously</u> [contract, proclaim, concur], I don't like hearing that… What I had done was allowed… But in retrospect, <u>certainly</u> [contract, proclaim, concur], as I look back at it now, even though it was allowed, I should've used two accounts… Everybody in the government I communicated with…<u>knew</u> [contract, proclaim, concur] I was using a personal e-mail… I emailed with many people in the White House and the rest of the government, <u>of course</u> [contract, proclaim, concur], across the State Department, <u>knew</u> [contract, proclaim, concur] that I was emailing from a personal account. (*World News Tonight*, ABC News, September 9, 2015)

David Muir, interviewer of *World News Tonight*, tells Clinton

that when voters were asked about the first word that comes to mind when they think of her, they say "*liar, dishonest, untrustworthy*". Muir then asks Clinton if voters' opinion of her tell her that what she said about using a private server out of convenience was not convincing to the American people. Example (17), in which Clinton answers Muir's question, demonstrates that *concur* is mainly used to indicate that what is said is either expected or known. In other words, Clinton expresses concurrence with other positions. This is seen when she uses "*obviously*" and "*certainly*" to show that how she feels upon knowing that people find her a "*liar, dishonest, untrustworthy*" and realizing that she "*should've have used two accounts*" is expected because as a presidential candidate, she is very much concerned about being seen in positive lights to win as many votes as possible. Therefore, it is expected that she will not like hearing that people do not trust her. It is also expected that she regrets using one account for personal and business communications after realizing that she made a mistake. *Concurrence* is also seen in the use of "*knew*" and "*of course*" to show that Clinton's act of using a personal account was known to all those she emailed in the White House and across the government. Using the idea of shared knowledge between Clinton and the people with whom she communicated might be intended to prove that Clinton's act was known and accepted by all government officials who communicated with her during her four-year tenure as secretary of state or else they would not have emailed her during this period. Therefore, Clinton's proposition on the email issue is in line with what is known.

> (18) Well, Chris, let me respond to that…The FBI conducted a year-long investigation into my emails. They concluded [contract, proclaim, endorse] there was no case. (*Presidential Debate at the University of Nevada*, October 19, 2016)

In this example, *endorse* is used in Clinton's response to defend herself in order to respond to Trump's claim that she should not have been allowed to run for the presidency because of her email problem. Thus, Clinton resorts to referring to the findings of the investigations conducted by the FBI. Reference to authoritative unquestionable

sources, as the FBI, helps Clinton indicate that claims like the ones made by Trump should be categorically ruled out.

The use of *dialogic expansion* indicates that Clinton allows alternative positions or voices by opening up dialogic space. Its two subcategories, namely *entertain* and *attribute* are found in the data. Within *attribution*, only *acknowledge* is used in the data. The functions of the subcategories of *expand* are demonstrated in examples (19) and (20).

> (19) Previous secretaries of state have <u>said</u> [expand, attribute, acknowledge] they did the same thing. And people across the government knew that I used one device-<u>may be</u> [expand, entertain] it was because I am not the most technically capable person and wanted to make it as easy as possible. (*The Situation Room*, CNN, July 7, 2015)

Example (19) shows that other voices are referred to using *acknowledge* in "*Previous secretaries of state have <u>said</u>*". This serves Clinton's purpose of showing that other secretaries of state, like her, used a private email server for business communication. By so doing, Clinton wants to prove the legality of her act and thus defend herself against accusations of breaking the law. Moreover, the use of *entertain* in "<u>*may be*</u> *it was because I am not the most technically capable person…*" shows that Clinton's explanation for using one device for personal and official correspondence, saying that she is not a technically capable person and wanted to make things easy for herself, represents her own position on the matter and is one of a number of possible positions probably held by other secretaries of state who carried out a similar act and possibly had their own reasons for doing so. Clinton aims at showing that her act, which she admits was a mistake, was unintentional and resulted from both lack of technical ability and a desire to do her work easily. Thus, Clinton implies that government officials carry out this act for different reasons.

> (20) Clinton:…But I also know how important it is to make sure everybody understands that I would certainly not do that again… That is something that, at the time, as even FBI Director James Comey <u>said</u> [expand, attribution, acknowledge] seemed like a convenience…there are about

300 people in the government…with whom I emailed over the course of four years. I believe [expand, entertain] they were not sending any material that was classified. (*The Lead,* CNN, July 8, 2016)

In this example, *acknowledge* is used to refer to what the FBI Director, James Comey, said about Clinton's use of a private server being "*a convenience*" to confirm the truth of what she says concerning her motivation for carrying out this act. When talking about the government officials with whom Clinton communicated when she was secretary of state, *entertain* is used in "*I believe they were not sending any material that was classified*" to express a personal opinion of the work done by these people. *Entertain* in this example engages other voices as it indicates that there can be positions with respect to these people other than the one held by Clinton. It is possible that Clinton gives room to these alternative voices or positions as the investigations were still underway so she was waiting for their results to be out and prove that no classified material was sent or received.

5.2.3 Functions of the Evaluation Techniques of Graduation

In *graduation*, the data shows that *force* and *focus* perform different functions. *Force* serves to express the degree of Clinton's alignment or disalignment, i.e. commitment, with the positions advanced when evaluating the email controversy as well as the level of strength or weakness of her feelings towards what is said. *Focus* in the data is used to soften, rather than sharpen, the intensity of attitudinal meaning. Examples (21) to (25) demonstrate the functions of the three subcategories of *force (intensification)*, namely *isolation, infusion* and *repetition* as well as *force (quantification).*

(21)…I'm the one who asked that all my emails be made public. I have been more [force, intensification, isolation] transparent than anybody I can think of in public life. (*Face the Nation*. CBS, March 7, 2016)

(22) I look forward to moving forward to focus on the important challenges facing the American people, winning on November 8th, and working with all [force, quantification,

number] Americans to build a better future for our country…We don't know the facts which is why we're calling on the FBI to release <u>all</u> [force, quantification, number] the information that it has. (*RBC Network Broadcasting*, October 28, 2016)

(23) …I dealt with <u>three hundred</u> [force, quantification, number] people in the State department, <u>many</u> [force, quantification, number] with <u>decades</u> [force, intensification, infusion] of experience who understand <u>clearly</u> [force, intensification, isolation] how to handle classified material…so I think…We cooperated <u>fully</u> [force, intensification, isolation], we answered questions, and we were <u>very</u> [force, intensification, isolation] grateful that this matter is behind us…these are professional diplomats dealing with <u>the most</u> [force, intensification, isolation] important issues around the world. They were doing <u>the best</u> [force, intensification, isolation] job they could. (MSNBC, July 8, 2016)

(24) <u>There is no evidence. There is no evidence</u> and he did not contradict that. I think he was speculating but if you go by the evidence, <u>there is no evidence</u> that the system was breached or hacked successfully. And I think that what's important here is to follow the evidence and <u>there is no evidence</u> [force, intensification, repetition] (MSNBC, July 8, 2016)

(25) …I'm trying to be as transparent as possible. <u>It's why</u> people are reading the contents of the emails that are being released. <u>It's why</u> I've turned over my server. <u>It's why</u> I will testify [force, intensification, repetition] (*The Situation Room,* CNN, *September* 17, 2015)

Isolation is used in the data to intensify evaluation of Clinton and the people who worked with her in the State Department. It is also used to intensify evaluation of feelings. These uses are seen in examples (21) and (23). In (21), Clinton intensifies self-praise by saying she has been more transparent than anybody else in public life. In example (23), Clinton intensifies evaluation of the State Department

team using *isolation* to show that they are professional in handling classified material as they know how to deal with "*the most important*" world issues and they did "*the best job they could*". Moreover, in order to present herself and the State Department team positively and assert the idea that using a personal server was an unintended mistake, Clinton intensifies evaluation of how she and the team cooperated in the investigations. *Isolation* is also used in "*we were very grateful that this matter is behind us*" to intensify feelings of happiness and gratitude that the email controversy came to an end after closing the investigation into Clinton's email practices without any charges.

As for *infusion*, the data reveals that it is mainly used to positively evaluate the people in the State Department who worked with Clinton when she was secretary of state. This is shown in example (23) in which Clinton describes the people in the State Department as having "*decades of experience*". By using "*decades*" instead of "*years*" or "*lots of*", for instance, Clinton aims at highly praising these people to prove that they are experts in their field and thus know how to handle classified and confidential material.

In the analyzed data, *repetition* is used for emphasis as seen in example (24) in which Clinton repeats the phrase "*there is no evidence*" four times to emphasize the truth of her proposition concerning the non-existence of any evidence to prove that her email system was breached or hacked as claimed by the head of the FBI who, Clinton believes, was merely speculating and did not provide any evidence to prove his speculation. Example (25) shows that *repetition* is also used to assert the positive image that Clinton draws for herself. Saying that she is trying to be transparent then repeating the phrase "*it's why*" three times followed by actions taken by Clinton to prove she is being transparent reflects Clinton's insistence on proving that she is extremely cooperative due to her firm belief that she is in the clear, as indicated by the fact that people can read the emails that have been released, that she turned over her server and that she is ready to testify before Congress.

Force (quantification) is used in the data to upscale and downscale evaluation with respect to number only. Entities quantified in the data include the number of devices Clinton used, the people she

emailed, the people who worked with her, and the number of emails sent, received and handed in. Quantification with respect to number is seen in examples (22) and (23). In (22), Clinton quantifies Americans and the information that the FBI has. Using "*all*" to refer to the number of Americans she wants to work with to build a better future for America indicates a desire to include every American citizen, and not only her supporters, in the process of doing what is best for America. Clinton's confidence that reopening the investigation will not change the results of the previous investigations is indicated by requesting the FBI to release "*all the information it has*". In (23), quantification is used to refer to the number of the people who worked with Clinton in the State Department and to the fact that "*many*" of them, in Clinton's view, are experienced and professional diplomats, thereby indicating that they are worthy of trust.

As mentioned earlier, in *focus*, only *soften* has been found in the analyzed data. Examples (26) and (27) demonstrate the function of *soften* in the analyzed data.

> (26) Now I have acknowledged repeatedly that using two email accounts was a mistake…but I do think having him say that my answers to the FBI were truthful and then I should quickly add what I said was consistent with what I had said publicly and that's really <u>sort of</u>, in my view, trying to tie both ends together (*Read Hillary Clinton's Q & A*, August 5, 2016)

In this example, the softener *sort of* is used as a downtoner to soften the expression of a personal viewpoint. Clinton here is commenting on what she told news organizations that FBI Director James Comey said her answers were truthful and that what she said was consistent with what she told the American people although he did not weigh in on whether what she told the American people was truthful or not, according to the moderator, Kirsten Welker. Clinton is probably trying to save her face which could be threatened by the moderator's insinuation that she might be putting words into Director Comey's mouth. Realizing she might have made a mistake, Clinton expresses a personal opinion using "*in my view*" and softens it using "*sort of*" to provide an interpretation for what she said to the news

organizations.

> (27) They're boring. They're <u>kind of</u> what are we doing, how do we do it… (*The Tonight Show,* NBC News, *September* 17, 2015)

Asked about the contents of the emails, Clinton here responds by saying that they are about the work done in the State Department. She uses "*kind of*" to downscale the specifications since it is possible that they should not be told or might be difficult for non-specialists to grasp.

6. <u>Conclusion</u>

The present study has examined Hillary Clinton's evaluative responses concerning her email controversy. Employing Martin and White's (2005) *Appraisal Theory*, it has attempted to investigate the evaluation techniques used in Clinton's responses as well as their functions so as to shed light on Clinton's ideology on the contentious email issue.

With respect to the evaluation techniques used in Clinton's responses regarding the email issue, the data shows that all three appraisal systems, namely *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation* are found in the data. *Engagement* occurs frequently (46%) followed by *attitude* (32%) and *graduation* (22%). Of the three systems of *attitude*, *appreciation* occurs more frequently (50%) followed by *judgment* (38%) then *affect* (12%). Within *engagement*, heteroglossic utterances outnumber monoglossic ones (87% vs. 13%). In *graduation*, *force* occurs more than *focus* (99% vs. 1%).

A number of evaluation techniques are used in the subsystems of *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation*. Within *attitude*, *affect* includes the three categories of *un/happiness*, *security* and *satisfaction*. No instances of *insecurity* and *dissatisfaction* occur in the data. *Un/happiness* is the most frequently occurring device (59%) followed by *security* (33%) and *satisfaction* (8%). In judgments of *social esteem*, *tenacity* is used more frequently (52%) then *capacity* (34%) and *normality* (14%). In judgments of *social sanction*, *veracity* occurs more than *propriety* (91% vs. 9%). With respect to *graduation*, the data shows that *valuation* occurs more frequently (84%) followed

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by *reaction* (9%) then *composition* (7%). As for *engagement*, the data reveals that in heteroglossic utterances, *dialogic contraction* is used more than *dialogic expansion* (61% vs. 39%). In *disclaim*, in *dialogic contraction*, *deny* occurs more than *counter* (30% vs. 22%). In *proclaim*, *concur* is used more than *pronounce* (24% vs. 16%) and *endorse* (8%). In *dialogic expansion*, *entertain* outnumbers *attribute* (84% vs. 16%) in which only *acknowledge*, and not *distance*, is found in the data. With respect to *graduation*, it has been shown that in *force* (*intensification*), *isolation* occurs more frequently (36%) than both *infusion* and *repetition* (4% each). In *force* (*quantification*), evaluation is made with respect to number only.

With regard to the functions of the evaluation techniques found in Clinton's responses regarding her email controversy, the data shows that in the appraisal system of *attitude*, the functions of the techniques of *affect* shed light on Clinton's emotional reaction to the email issue. For example, the *un/happiness* set is used to express happiness that the emails have been released and that the investigations have ended. It also expresses regret for using a personal server for official communications. *Security* expresses confidence that the emails contained no confidential material. *Satisfaction* expresses Clinton's pleasure for being given the chance to explain everything concerning the email controversy to the American people. Judgments of *social esteem* and *social sanction* are used to make positive, but not negative, evaluations. In *social esteem*, *normality* is used to show that using a personal server for work-related purposes is not a new practice. *Capacity* is used to evaluate Clinton's leadership abilities, the abilities of the State Department team and the ability of the American people to judge matters correctly when they read the emails. *Tenacity* is used for self-praise. In *social sanction*, *veracity* expresses Clinton's honesty and frankness whereas *propriety* shows that she is a law-abiding person. The techniques of *appreciation* are all used to make positive evaluations only of email-related issues. *Reaction* is used to evaluate the effect of the email problem on Clinton as well as the impact of releasing the emails on Clinton and the American people. *Composition* is used to evaluate the system of how things work in the government and in the State Department. The functions of *valuation* include

evaluating the private server Clinton used to send and receive emails.

Concerning *engagement*, monoglossic utterances are used to make undisputable assertions. In heteroglossic utterances, the evaluation techniques of *dialogic contraction* and *dialogic expansion* fulfill different functions. Within *dialogic contraction*, *deny* is used correct some assumptions and thus evade accusations of breaking the law. *Counter* is used to introduce counter points to clarify email-related matters. In *proclaim*, *concur* is used to indicate that what is said accords with what is expected or already known to all government officials and the people that Clinton emailed when she was secretary of state. *Pronounce* emphasizes Clinton's propositions concerning the content of the emails. *Endorse* is used to refer to undeniable authoritative sources to reject opposing positions. In *dialogic expansion*, *entertain* engages other voices and expresses a personal opinion of the work done in the State Department. In *attribute*, *acknowledge* is used to refer to other voices to prove the truth of Clinton's claims.

With respect to *graduation*, the data reveals that in *force (intensification)*, *isolation* intensifies positive evaluation of Clinton, the State Department team, feelings and government-related matters. *Infusion* is used to positively evaluate the people who worked with Clinton in the State Department. *Repetition* is used for emphasis. In *force (quantification),* evaluation is made with regard to number to quantify the people Clinton emailed and the people in the State Department, among other entities found in the data. In *focus*, *soften* is used to tone down the expression of Clinton's personal viewpoints as well as the description of specifics pertaining to the nature of work in the State Department.

Evaluations reflect the speaker's attitudinal positions and are thus ideologically functional. Thus, the analysis of the data sheds light on Clinton's ideological positioning towards the email controversy. It reveals that she foregrounds ideational as well as interpersonal meanings as she constantly seeks to express and explain her view of the email issue and draw a positive public image of herself. This can be explained in light of Clinton's desire to persuade the American people not to distrust her because of the email problem. She also wants to convince Americans that the "mistake" she made was unintentional,

yet not illegal. This is essential for Clinton since she wants to win people on her side so as not to lose votes in the presidential election. To achieve her goals and strengthen her position, Clinton focuses on positively evaluating a number of issues. These are: her honesty, reliability, frankness and transparency as well as the professionalism and expertise of the people who worked with her in the State Department. Other positively evaluated issues are: Clinton's professional abilities, the Americans' ability to judge matters, and the authoritative voices whose statements prove the truth of Clinton's claims. Thus, the desired effect of the evaluation techniques and the functions they perform are highlighted and asserted via the verbatim repetition of the phrases Clinton uses to positively evaluate the above issues in the analyzed interviews, press conferences, debates and testimony before Congress. This is probably done to achieve an intersubjective consensus of views and gain the trust of Americans who have been perplexed by the email controversy which has received wide media attention that some have labeled it "emailgate".

The present study focuses on Hillary Clinton's spoken discourse. Future research can examine her written discourse as well. For example, it can study the evaluation techniques used in Clinton's (2014) book *Hard Choices* which is a memoir of her time as U.S. secretary of state from 2009 to 2013. Future research can also study the evaluation techniques used in politician's biographies and autobiographies. A comparison of the evaluation techniques used by male and female politicians in different kinds of political discourse is another area for future studies.

Transcription conventions
…   Omitted speech

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Mother and Daughter: the Dichotomy of Authority and Resistance In Alice Munro's *Dear Life*

Doctor

Asmaa Abdelsalam Ahmedy Elshikh

Lecturer at the English Department

Faculty of Arts, Damanhour University

Abstract

Dear Life, the last of Alice Munro's short story collections, offers a number of mother figures who are in conflict with a patriarchal society to reach their own freedom. What really distinguishes these conflicts, as this paper assumes, is the presence of a very precise resisting figure, the daughter. "To Reach Japan", "Gravel", and "The Eye", all include young daughters whose existence is the main reason to putting the mother's conflict to an end. The daughters are less than twelve years old. This paper examines and analyses the narrative techniques that Munro applies to make those very helpless young daughters very victorious over the seeking-freedom mothers. These techniques are examined on three levels: the psychological and social field of resistance; the narrative act; and the technique of temporality.

Key Words: Canadian literature, Alice Munro, fiction, narration, temporality, psychoanalysis.

الملخص العربي

تعد العلاقة بين الأم والابنة من المواضيع التي تميز أعمال اليس مونرو القصصية وخاصة مجموعتها القصصية الأخيرة «حياة عزيزة»، وتتناول هذه الدراسة بالتحليل دور الابنة التي لم تتجاوز الأنثى عشر عاما في مقاومة سلطة الأم التي تبدو باحثة عن الحرية فى مجتمع ذكوري ، وهناك ثلاث قصص تخصنا فى هذه الدراسة وهى «الوصول لليابان» و«جرافيل» و«العين»، وتثبت الدراسة بالتحليل أن مونرو استطاعت ان توظف بكل عبقرية جميع الوسائل والتقنيات الروائية الممكنة لجعل الابنة الصغيرة مصدر هام لهزيمة الأم فى محاولتها للتحرر من قيود المجتمع الذكورى بل والانتصار على سلطتها كأم ، وهناك ثلاث محاور يقوم عليها التحليل فى هذه الدراسة، أولا: المناخ النفسي والاجتماعي الذي يوفره النص ، ثانيا: الفعل السردي وتقنيات السرد ، ثالثا: تقنية الوقتية التي تتميز بها أعمال مونرو.

1. Introduction

Mother-daughter relationship has recently gained a great deal of interest from feminists in both literary criticism and psychoanalysis. Feminist writers like Melanie Klein, Marianne Hirsch, Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigarary and others have devoted complete works to this issue. Much of this work relates to the act of story-telling and to resistance

to the masculine dominated world. A few, however, tried to study this relationship as a closed Hegelian dialectic inside a feminine world. Insisting on seeing the world but as masculine authority and feminine resistance, some feminists find it difficult to read such relationship as a dichotomy of two feminine poles. This dichotomy is difficult, if not impossible, to be read in complete separation of the masculine domination. Still, reading it as working between two feminine poles, a mother and her daughter, takes us to new sites in women fiction where a woman writer creates a dichotomy of two feminine poles, standing, however, on opposite sides. Contemporary women writers, like Alice Munro, who are just interested in women issues rather than "feminism", make it difficult to apprehend their stories in separation of this female/female dichotomy. It opens sites of authority and resistance outside the limits of gender or race differences.

My goal in this paper is to examine how Munro employs her talent as a short-story writer to distribute authority and resistance between two close female figures and generations, a mother and her daughter; how Munro specifies the locations where one site of this dichotomy represents authority and the other represents resistance. This paper also notices how the writer, being resistance in herself (and non-feminist as she once asserts), detaches (or relates) this feminine/feminine dichotomy from the larger feminine/masculine one. It examines, in this respect, some aspects in Munro's writing which act together to represent this dichotomy on three levels. The first level is the field on which the dichotomy works, that is the social and psychological environments where resistance and authority take place. The second level is the narration act which represents the dichotomy and which stands, in itself, as an important site of authority for Munro's heroines. The third level is the element of time applied by Munro to help the dichotomy work out between two generations. In this respect three representative stories of the collection are concerned: two fictional, "Gravel" and "To Reach Japan", and an autobiographical, "The Eye".

1. A Field for Resistance

In his discussion of one of Munro's earlier collections, Howell states that "in all Munro's stories relationships between men and

women constitute the field in which 'the feminine' is defined through varieties of resistance to masculine constructions, as each woman seeks not a room of her own but a space of her own where she can escape the constraints of expectation imposed upon her" (Howell 171). Actually this "field" of resistance, one would assume, is wider than what Howell calls "the relationship between men and women". That is to say, the "constructions" through which the feminine resistance is defined, are not only masculine, but also, and more fierce, feminine. By examining the social and psychological fields of the relationship between a mother and her daughter, in Munro's stories, these constructions will become clear. They interplay to constitute the feminine resistance on one side, and the feminine authority on the other.

1.1   The Psychological Field:

In *Dear Life*, the relation between the two figures represents almost the main background of the three stories in concern. In "To Reach Japan", the mother tries to chase her dreams of freedom, but she ends up drawn back by the existence of the figure of her preschool daughter who is almost lost in the train. In "Gravel", she has already chosen her freedom but, in consequence, loses her elder daughter drowned in gravel; and has her younger daughter narrating the loss. The mother-daughter relationship in these two stories works like a psychological field through which the psychological trauma is offered to defeat maternal authority. In "the Eye" the maternal authority is resisted on a deeper level where the daughter is attached to another maternal figure, which, in turn, proves to be traumatic.

The daughters in the three stories are aged between four to nine years old. This age, in psychology, and according to Piaget's cognitive theory, marks the end of the stage of "preoperational thought" and the beginning of the stage of concrete operational thought, where a child begins to decrease "the limitations of egocentrism, rigid thought, and limited role-taking and communication abilities"(Miller 652). This critical age ensures a multidimensional field of resistance to the maternal authority where the resisting daughters in the three stories have a wide range of choices to use the tools of two Piagetian stages (preoperational and concrete operational). Caro, the elder daughter in "Gravel" is nine years old, while her sister, the narrator, is

four, during the events of the story. In "The Eye" the daughter is five. In "To Reach Japan", Katy, the daughter, is in her "preschool" age.

The psychological field offered for the resisting figures in "Gravel" gets the benefits of the operational stage through Caro who seems to have already taken her steps towards concrete operational thought. She gets into logic arguments with her mother and Neal, her mother's lover, about the lives of dogs and wolves. She speaks informative language most of the time, referring to what she has learned at school. She is the source of an important part of the narrator's memory: "Caro, when she got home, was enough for me" (Munro 81). When the mother warns them not to get near the gravel and that it is about ten to twelve feet deep, Caro gives the informative statement: "Right around the edge it wouldn't be" (Munro 93). Caro's informative language marks her stepping into the Piagetian operational stage and signifies her drowning in the gravel as an intended resisting action. Thus the trauma caused by her drowning seems to be a kind of punishment to the mother and a defeat of her authority. On the other hand the younger daughter, the narrator, had to delay her punishment for the guilty mother until she grows up and possesses the authority of telling the story. She was just four years during the events and her "preoperational thought" doesn't allow her concrete resistance. In Piaget's theory, preschoolers tend "to perceive and interpret the world in terms of their own perspective, lacking the understanding that this perspective is just one of many" (Miller 665). However this same lack is what announces the younger daughter as innocent and the mother as guilty.

Unlike Caro, Katy, is almost silent and does not give evidence of Piagetian concrete operational thought. Katy, the daughter in "To Reach Japan" is six years old; she is ending her preoperational stage. She is of "generally agreeable behavior" (Munro 27). This is just the outcome of the "limited role playing and communication abilities" available to her age as a preschooler (Miller 652). Thus the punishment she offers for her mother is non-intended. She disappears in the train while her mother makes love with a "boy" she meets for the first time. Katy's age allows her only temporal and non-intended resistance to the authority of the mother, thus the trauma she causes has a temporal effect on the mother.

The psychological trauma in "To Reach Japan" and "Gravel" has many things in common. The mother, in both, is the subject of the trauma, while the daughter child is the carrier. Trauma in both stories happens at a moment where the mother was having "pleasure" and giving "her attention elsewhere" (Munro 28). Katy and Caro, and her narrator sister, in the two stories, decide to resist the mother's authority through announcing her as guilty, each using the cognitive tools available to her age. The limited authority offered to them through their young ages proved to be capable of challenging the authority of the mother and surprising her with decisions taken against her well.

"The Eye" differs from the previous two stories in that it is autobiographical. However, the psychological field, on which resistance to the maternal authority takes place, is not totally different. Munro, in this story, is almost the same age as Katy in "To Reach Japan". She is in her "preoperational" stage of development, thinking egocentrism and lacking proper communication. This lack, just like Katy's, is what defeats the maternal authority. The daughter is attached to the Sadie, the babysitter, to the point that she sees her moving her eye while dead.

1.2 The Social Field

The social field, on which resistance to the maternal authority works, is of no less importance than the psychological one. The small town norms which shape the lives of Munro's characters allow them little chance of choices, but much conflict. They "often find themselves caught on the margins of shifting cultural mores and pulled between conflicting imperatives — between rootedness and escape, domesticity and freedom, between tending to familial responsibilities or following the urgent promptings of their own hearts" (Kakutanukt 26). Restrictions on their choices are not just brought by "cultural norms", but also and more powerfully by other female figures who are supposed to be on the same side, where "home, the past, family ties - forces which are conventionally interpreted as positive forces - are here dramatized as disturbing elements, and the narrator even defines "home" as a "dim world of continuing disaster"' (Dahlie 58). These restrictions will allow little space for open resistance. That is to say, the patriarchal society in Munro's fiction has its authority over

the female characters not just through male figures but also through female ones. The mother figure, who occupies almost all of Munro's stories, suffers from the constraints of authorial patriarchal society and, at the same time, she reflects these constraints on her daughter, over whom she has maternal authority. It is a dichotomy of authority in which the mother plays a multi-layered role. This kind of authority proves to be more complicated and of a stronger impact on the female character than the authority of the male character. Hence, resistance to this authority is of deeper and of more intense impact on the characters.

The mother figures in the three stories are, like most of Munro's women, from small Canadian towns. The small town norms give Munro the chance to draw her women figures in a conflict that is more open to harsh restrictions.

> In spite of herself, the writer [Munro] has remained loyal. She is loyal to place and the past, faithfully and perpetually reconstructing it, so that no one, having read her, would ever again say, "What's so interesting about small-town rural Canada?" She is loyal to truth, getting the detail precisely right in every phrase and word, so that people, habits, objects, scenes, and places that are lost and gone in the real world remain alive on her pages. (Lee 101)

The mother figures in the three stories concerned here are members of this patriarchal society; they challenge, or exceed, the margins of the cultural norms, and hence comes the conflict. The mother in "Gravity" leaves her husband in search of "more excitement" with an actor. The mother in "To Reach Japan" takes a train across Canada to meet a man she once met at a party and felt physically attracted to. In "The Eye", which is autobiographical, the mother is more committed to the small town norms, hence she is replaced by the daughter with another mother figure, Sadie who led a style of life completely challenging these norms.

The mothers in "Gravel" and "To Reach Japan" have some features in common. Both are interested in arts, one in theatre and the other in poetry. Both have love relations with actors. It seems that the authority they represent tends to be detached from the real world, try-

ing to fulfill their emotional needs in the world of arts not of reality. They are women of creativity whose stories fall in a restrictive world ruled by restrictive cultural rules. Both break with these rules, in a way or another. However, they end up facing an ugly image of their own, which they never imagined to be there. Both are ordinary people seeking ordinary needs but have tragic ends. Both have daughters, through whom they get their punishment. The authorities they represent seem to be defeated from within.

In "Gravel" the mother is presented by Munro as a female figure who is not committed to the social rules of the town society by looking for more 'excitement'. She resists those rules and authority, and in turn her authority is resisted by her two daughters; one by death, the other by narration. She allows herself to get free of social chains, and her daughters allow her no authority in narration or death. In "To Reach Japan", like that in "Gravel", the mother figure is taken from everyday life. We see an ordinary mother, "a poetess" who looks after her daughter. All what she wanted was "some excitement" in her life which her husband did not offer. In "Gravel", the mother finds this excitement with Neal, a theatre actor. Greta, in "To Reach Japan", finds it with a young actor she meets on the train. The details about the two mothers introduce the reader to ordinary mothers whom we meet in everyday life; but this ordinariness is only until the moment they get their excitement.

In both stories excitement is coincided with punishment. Excitement is what makes the maternal authority of the two mothers a kind of mal-authority that must be resisted and punished. In their search for excitement, both mothers impose on their kids a style of life that only fits their (the mothers') own needs. In "Gravel", the mother moves from the house; she leaves the father and lives with Neal; she sends her daughters outside when making love with Neal. Greta, on the other hand, leaves to Toronto with her daughter, leaving the father at Vancouver. The tragedy happens when Caro's mother, in "Gravel", "having some excitement", is announced as guilty because of her daughter's suicide. Greta is also announced guilty by the loss of her daughter Katy. It is authority, looking for excitement, which Caro resists by suicide and Katy by her being lost.

2. Narration, resistance and authority

Narration is a very important medium of resistance in Munro's stories. All the stories in *Dear Life* are narrated by a female narrator. Each story of the three under discussion offers distinctive figures of mother and daughter which despite being recurrent in Munro's stories, can be described as representative. They represent three different authorial positions for the female figures, among themselves, and between them and the authority of the act of narration. "The Eye" has the daughter as the protagonist and at the same time, the narrator of the story. In "To Reach Japan" she is neither the protagonist nor the narrator. "Gravel", has the daughter narrator and the mother protagonist. These different positions of the narrator signify three different states of the dichotomy between the mother and the daughter.

In "Gravel", Munro relates the act of narration to the daughter in order to allow her a kind of resistance to the authority of the mother. She gives the daughter the authority to narrate not just her own story, but also both the mother's and the elder sister's story. The daughter-narrator tells us how her mother gets indulged in making love with a younger man while her daughter (the narrator's elder sister) drowns in a "shallow" gravel pit. With the first lines of the story, we can see that the narrator is concerned with the mother as an authorial figure: "My mother was the one who insisted on calling attention to it," "'Blitzee loves it here,' my mother said," "my mother stepped in to deflect him". Actually the mother is referred to directly as "my mother" or "our mother" (sometimes "she") fifty nine times in this short story; fifty five times she is the active subject of the sentence, while only four times the object. While the image of the positive mother prevails the atmosphere of the first half of story, a stream of resistance is going underneath every line from the beginning to the end.

The younger daughter (the narrator) is an adult now who is looking for answers. The whole story is a series of flashbacks in which we feel the five-year old child is the narrator. Trying to keep innocent-eye narration to the last moment; the answers (or possibilities) she offers are actually not hers. Three different people, who happened not to know each other, lay their different explanations before the reader. 'The counselor had said that we couldn't know. Likely she herself

didn't know what she wanted. Attention? I don't think she meant to drown herself. Attention to how bad she was feeling' (Munro 124). Ruthann, the narrator's 'wise partner', sees that may be Caro wanted, "to make your mother do what she wanted? Make her smarten up and see that she had to go back to your father?" (Munro 124). Neal, who was making love with the mother while Caro drowned, sees that "it doesn't matter. Maybe she thought she could paddle better than she could. Maybe she didn't know how heavy winter clothes can get. Or that there wasn't anybody in a position to help her" (Munro 126). Clearly the counselor and the 'wiser partner' both admit resistance on Caro's side to the mother's authority. Both believe that Caro, by her death, decided to take the decision that she was sure the mother won't agree to. Ruthann even goes further and sees that Caro's suicide was a trial to impose "what she (Caro) wanted" on the mother (124). It is interesting that Ruthann and the counselor do not appear as characters; they are just two judgments that the narrator needed to draw, but not as her own. The mother is judged guilty by both of them; and, at least, is not completely innocent according to the third, Neal's.

Munro, masterfully, succeeds in keeping a sense of innocence and objectivity on the narrator's side, from the beginning to the end of the story. First, we know that she "barely remember(s) that life. That is, I remember some parts of it clearly, but without the links you need to form a proper picture." With the last line, she is "still caught, waiting for her (Caro) to explain to me, waiting for the splash." (Munro, 121). That is, she doesn't draw a '"proper picture" leaving space for the reader to take his/her part. She offers no answers or explanations, but other characters do. She raises questions and waits for explanations. We can even touch the authority of the mother in the language of narration, "I had not understood or even particularly noticed these changes at the time. My mother was my mother. But no doubt Caro had." (Munro, 123) It is noticeable that the narrator offers no name for the mother; the reader sees her only as the narrator's mother, or Caro's.

The language of narration in "Gravel" is actually used masterfully to impose authority over the mother figure. She never gets a name; she is just "my mother" to the end of the story. She is given no mentionable space in the story after the accident of Caro. The mother's

active voice which prevailed once, is now growing faint; "My mother cannot be made to recall any of those times, and I don't bother her with them" (125) The direct subject, "mother", which is always accompanied by strong verbs like "said", "wanted", "did", is now replaced by an object one. She "cannot be", and the narrator wants not to bother "her".

"The Eye" is autobiographical narrated by Munro. It is a story from Munro's childhood in Toronto. She was five years old during the events of the story. The story offers the theme of death, encountered in early childhood, in a tone of implicit pain and grief. The five-year-old child encounters the death of her baby-sitter, to whom she was emotionally attached. This attachment is coincident with the child's detachment from the mother. The psychological experience narrated is that of the first-time recognition of death, but we also get the feeling that it is the narrator's part to break from the chains of the mother's authority. With the first lines we can notice how Munro, the narrator, is curious about the authority of the mother on her own childhood. Recognition of this authority prevails over the atmosphere of the story. The narrator remembers how her mother drew images of her own that were not really hers: she "always wanted" the baby boy, she was fond of Red River cereal, she was the one "half hiding at the corner" in the picture at her bed. However, the narrator spares no effort to stay aware of such an "invented" image; and that this was "all fictitious but hard to counter"(Munro 5). It was not until the time of the story that the narrator "had not been aware of ever feeling different from the way my mother said I felt"(4). It is this awareness, or recognition, which made the narrated experience possible:

> I suppose all this was making me ready for Sadie when she came to work for us. My mother had shrunk to whatever territory she had with the babies. With her not around so much, I could think about what was true and what wasn't. I knew enough not to speak about this to anybody (6).

The protagonist in "The Eye" is not the mother, unlike that in "Gravel" and "To Reach Japan". She is another female figure, free and less authorial than a mother. Sadie, the baby-sitter, represents resistance to masculine dominated society. Munro uses the comic

element of making "dance" as the medium of Sadie's resistance to social norms. She sings and dances her own way, and openly: "The more sophisticated people in town tended to joke about her songs and about the whole station which was said to be the smallest one in Canada" (Munro 259). On the other hand, farmers like her songs. The child narrator "worships" her. It seems that Sadie's fan cannot be but less "sophisticated" people like farmers and innocent children, however they lack no wisdom. The child's attachment to Sadie seems to be a kind of taking the side of this less sophisticated social group. This fits the narrator's representation of Sadie's character as a social figure rather than a personal one. The narrator seems interested in her singing, dancing, and her views about society. She is so resistant to the social norms that she exposes her life to danger. Her death, thus, is literary imperfect; she leaves something "possible" for the narrator and for the reader: "I saw it, her eyelid on my side moved. It was not opening or halfway opening or anything like that, but lifting just such a tiny bit as would make it possible, if you were her, if you were inside her, to be able to see out through the lashes."(Munro 262). In this scene, Munro is so true to the child-daughter of the story that she refuses to make any clear lines between reality and imagination. The daughter-narrator "saw" the movement from the dead body of Sadie. This scene, thus, works like a defense mechanism against the "hateful" and "triumphant" tone of the mother in her attempt console the daughter for Sadie's death: "Come now, she said to me. Her gentleness sounded hateful to me, triumphant." (Munro 260). It is this "possible" "something" left to the narrator by Sadie's dead body that she (the daughter) could detach the story from the mother's authority.

Unlike "Gravel" and "The Eye", the narrator in "To Reach Japan" is a third person narrator of limited omniscience. She sees into the mind of Greta, the mother. Greta is about to have marriage rapture. She leaves to Toronto for work while we learn that she has intended to make a relation with a man she met once at a party. The child, Katy, in this story does not have narration authority; she is almost a silent, watching figure. "Children in Munro's work are mute observers to the main action"(Taylor 2012). The daughter here is a silent accompany of the mother, through whom the narrator could give the

mother a kind of shock when the mother let herself be subdued to a kind of hysterical lust. However, the narrator here establishes Katy as a watching authority, "waiting for whatever had to come"(Munro 30). She is silent but present all along the main stream of the story, watching and watched for; just like the social norms violated by Greta. The limited-omniscient narrator and the mother, in turn, seem to be occupied by Katy as a watcher. The concluding lines of the narrative make reflections on this hidden authority in Katy: "She (the mother) was trying to hang on to Katy but at this moment the child pulled away and got her hand free. She didn't try to escape. She just stood waiting for whatever had to come next"(30). These lines give the feeling that it the mother, not just the narrator, who is really occupied with the "waiting" Katy.

3. Time and Resistance

Resistance and authority, in the three stories under discussion, interplay between two succeeding female generations, the mother and the daughter. Here Munro's distinctive way of dealing with the matter of time is what actually gives possibilities to this dichotomy. Munro is famous of her genius use of the matter of time in her stories. Commenting on one of her earlier shot stories, Painter states that "the silent passage of time and the emptiness of its duration yield to readers something fundamental to moral understanding"(Painter 173). This is totally true concerning the stories in *Dear Life*. The passage of time between the events of the stories and the time of narration is "fundamental" to the dichotomy under discussion.

In "Gravel", the narrator, who was almost four years during the events of the story, watching innocently and keeping very passive all along, is not actually passive. She is the documentation of the mother's being guilty or innocent; she holds the story of the daughter's death to other generations, never allowing it to fade away.   Caro, the eldest is almost nine years old. She is too young to keep her life untouched by the mother's authority; still she gives the tragic shock to this authority by her sudden and suspicious drowning. Up to the moment of her death, Caro shows no sign of resistance except for a few moments, even in a weak tone. When her mother asks if they enjoyed their day with the father, she "said yes, too, but in a tone of voice that suggested

that it was none of our mother's business" (Munro 97). Also when she is sent by the mother to play outside with her younger sister, the first thing they did is "loosen and let trail the scarves our mother had wrapped around our necks" (106). However it is by her sister's death that the narrator (the younger sister) could openly claim resistance to the maternal authority. Years passed since this accident, and many things changed: Neal became "shorter than he used to be, as adults we remember from childhood usually are. His hair was thin, and trimmed close to his head", "even where the gravel pit was a house now stands, the ground beneath it leveled" (108). The narrator is conscious of those changes, and so becomes the reader. It is this passing of time which gives the narrator the authority to narrate the mother-daughter story. At the time of the accident she is conscious that "all I have to do is watch and be happy—nothing required of me, after all"(98).

In "To Reach Japan", Greta's dilemma doesn't actually begin with the first lines of the story, where she got into the train which witnessed her non-planned betrayal of her marriage. It started months earlier when she recognized her physical attachment to a man she met briefly at a party. The train journey and the relationship with the actor gradually become clear to be interruptions of "the time space continuum".

> At the very least, we acquire from Munro a humbling compassion for the human predicament in the face of moral judgment. Her mysterious moral sensibility seems to confute the time-space continuum that readers and characters must accept in the so-called real world. It also colors the notion of duration with the wordless factors of silence and mental emptiness – though often of intense emotional fullness – that allow for reconfiguration of memory and moral significance. (Painter 173)

The narrator's going back and forth in time gives a deeper level to the absence and loss of the daughter on the train. The emotional and psychological experiences of the mother extend, while the loss of the daughter, which happens suddenly and in a brief time, has the strongest influence, on the reader as well as on the mother. Munro's critics, rightly, see that this scene is what distinguishes this story:

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It's a storyline that has come up in Munro tales before: the unhappily wed or overwhelmed mother distracted and losing sight of her child, then feeling guilt-ridden (most notably in ''Miles City, Montana,'' from The Progress of Love, 1986). But the scene in which Greta searches for Katy has acquired new power. This is Greta looking for Katy (…) Greta finds Katy between the cars, ''amazed and alone,'' and the terror of the search inspires Greta to be a more attentive mother. But the fear and disorientation of the scene are not quickly forgotten. (Mendelsohn 168)

This scene, to use Painter's words, is what allows "for reconfiguration of memory and moral significance." The "terror of the search", brings down the mother as well as the reader from the world of fantasy to the real world. It brings down the authority of the dreamy mother to defeat.

Conclusion

In *Dear Life*, Munro has opened new realms for literary interpretation of the relationship between mother and daughter, between the narrated and the narrator, and between female authority and female resistance. These binary oppositions are woven, by Munro's art, in a dichotomy which is always solved on behalf of the resisting side. Although the resisting figures - discussed in this paper- are young daughters who are under the age of nine, they prove to be powerful and even authorial over the maternal authority.

To help these young daughters defeat the authorial mother figure, and to make such dichotomy to be so dynamic, Munro employs several tools and techniques. First, she draws her daughter figures in specific ages which, according to Piage's developmental psychology, mark the beginning of the cognitive process. On the social level, Munro's characters are represented in the closed rural society; to magnify the dichotomy. Second, she employs the narrative act in a way that reinforces such a dichotomy; for the authorial positions inside the dichotomy interplay masterfully with the authority of the narrative act. Moreover, the technique of temporality and avoiding the chronological sequence of events help this dichotomy to work in

a dynamic and soft way between the two generations: the mother and the daughter.

The daughter figures introduced to the reader in Munro's stories about mothers prove to be more than just "mute observers". The young daughters of the three stories discussed in this paper are the working engines of the dichotomy. "To Reach Japan," "Gravel," and "The Eye," each offers the dichotomy of authority and resistance between a mother and a daughter in a distinctive way. They unveil sites of authority and resistance that one could not expect to be there, even in ordinary life. The female figures are drawn in psychological and social fields that offer distinctive positioning for the resisting daughter and the resisted authorial mother. Munro's handling of the act of narration and the issue of temporality is what made a symphony of this mother/daughter, authority /resistance dichotomy. One could assume that it is not without her very distinctive and precise handling of the resistance working on in the female world, between two female figures and two female generations, that Munro could have been "so great a writer."

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