

Interpreting Attitude Resources in *China Daily* Editorials

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Abstract

Editorials play a significant role in conveying newspaper's opinions and influencing the viewpoints or ideology of their readers with careful selections and configurations of certain resources of Appraisal. This study is concerned with the social function of Attitude resources by which editorial writers express their attitudes. It examines and elaborates the patterns and preferences of Attitude resources in 35 editorials from *China Daily* in terms of the three subcategories: Affect, Judgment and Appreciation. The findings indicate that values of Propriety and Capability and Valuation occur much more frequently in the data than the others values. However, Affect states are rare. Explicit attitudes outweigh implicit ones to make reading easy and therefore align readers. The writers also prefer rank attitudes highly to win over putative readers. The functionalities of the deployment of the resources are interpreted in terms of conveying ideology in the editorials and manipulating readers with power in the concluding remarks.

Key words: Appraisal, Attitude resources, ideology, power, *China Daily*

บทบรรณาธิการมีบทบาทสำคัญในการถ่ายทอดความคิดเห็นของหนังสือพิมพ์และมีอิทธิพลต่อมุมมองหรืออุดมการณ์ของผู้อ่านของพวกเขาด้วยการเลือกอย่างระมัดระวังและการกำหนดค่าของทรัพยากรบางอย่างของการประเมินการศึกษาครั้งนี้เป็นเรื่องที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการทำงานทางสังคมของแหล่งที่มาทัศนคติโดยที่บรรณาธิการแสดงทัศนคติของพวกเขาจะตรวจสอบและอธิบายเพิ่มเติมจากรูปแบบและการตั้งค่าของทรัพยากรทัศนคติใน 35 บทบรรณาธิการจาก *China Daily* ในแง่ของสามหมวดหมู่ย่อย: ผลต่อการตัดสินใจและความชื่นชมผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่าค่าของ Propriety และความสามารถในการประเมินค่าและเกิดขึ้นบ่อยครั้งมากขึ้นในข้อมูลที่มากกว่าค่าอื่นๆ แต่ส่งผลกระทบต่อรัฐเป็นของหายากที่ทัศนคติที่ชัดเจนเกินดุลคน โดยปริยายที่จะทำให้การอ่านง่ายและดังนั้นจึงจัดให้ผู้อ่านนักเขียนยังชอบทัศนคติที่สูงที่จะชนะผู้อ่านสมมุติฟังก์ชันการทำงานของการใช้งานของทรัพยากรที่จะถูกตีความในแง่ของการถ่ายทอดอุดมการณ์ในบทบรรณาธิการและจัดการผู้อ่านที่มีอำนาจในการสรุป remarks.f งานศิลปะของเขา

Key words: ประเมิน, แหล่งที่มาทัศนคติ, อุดมการณ์, อิทธิพล, China Daily

Introduction

Mass media are important in mediating ideology. In particular, newspapers discourses are endowed with ideological power (Fowler, 1991). Newspapers are usually published daily or weekly and contain a wide variety of genres such as news articles, editorials, and features which express the same opinions with the aim of shaping the ideology of the readers gradually before they realize they have been influenced. Editorials are indispensable and multi-functional components of newspapers, not only providing the readers with views of the newspaper on certain events and the reviewers opportunities to gain reputation, but they often also serve as a major device for shaping the ideology controlled by the government. According to van Dijk (1998), the basic communicative goal of newspaper editorials is not for the writers to express their personal opinions about social events, but to express the views of the government that they serve. In other words, editorials play a significant role in the formation and change of public opinion, and in influencing social and political actions. Considering the special functions of editorials, van Dijk (1998) points out that research on editorials should be directed at the way they formulate opinions and express ideologies.

This paper analyzes how attitudes in editorials are formed from the perspective of Appraisal Theory established and developed by many scholars, (e.g. White, 2000; Martin and White, 2005; Martin and Rose, 2007). It chooses to use this system as a way of describing the actual language in the texts rather than only offering impressions and opinions about the effect of the texts on a single reader. Patterns of lexis and grammar may indicate what ideologies are being formed and how they are being communicated. When studied over time, such patterns may reveal changes or intensifications in the ideological stance of texts. English teachers need to understand these issues and develop ways of explaining them to students in order to teach critical language awareness.

Thirty five editorials were selected out of total 150 editorials concerning education published from 2005 to 2011 in the national English newspaper *China Daily* for data concerning education in China.

Reasons to choose editorials concerning education in *China Daily*

According to the introduction of the newspaper on the website <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/>, as the only national English-language

newspaper established in 1981 in China, *China Daily* aims to integrate China into the international community. It is often called the “Window to China” or “Voices of China” and is the only representative for China in the Asian News Network (ANN), a non-government media organization consisting of 14 major English-language newspapers, whose total circulation is more than 20 million. In addition, *China Daily* is read widely all over the world. According to the statistics offered by the website of *China Daily* in 2011, the average daily circulation is more than 200,000, one-third of which is abroad in more than 150 countries and regions. Domestic readers mainly include foreigners and high-end nationals, for example, diplomats, governmental policy makers and students. Overseas subscribers are mostly government officials, members of parliaments, staff members of international organizations and multinationals, researchers and students in universities and institutes. Given the importance of the newspaper and the high profile of its readership, it is essential to understand how the writers form opinions with such a highly educated target audience.

We selected editorials focusing on the theme of education because it has been paid much attention to since the Chinese government prioritizes education as a fundamental and guiding cause with significance to social and economic development. As English teachers, we are interested in the theme of education and care much about the reform and development of education in China and the ideologies that determine them. We also recognize the need for English teachers to address issues related to critical reading, especially in terms of texts drawn from different cultures. Students need to understand how language is used in the real world in ways that construct overt or covert ideological responses. Given the desirability to draw of texts beyond the metropolitan centers of English when teaching English in the Asian context, it is important that teachers understand how these texts work so that they can teach their students how to engage with those texts in a critical way. The language of editorials is marked by specific discourse practices that can be exploited by a teacher to illustrate how lexis and grammar work to convey meanings at the ideational, inter-personal and textual levels.

To understand how cultures and societies are shaped in part through the language of the media, we need to find ways of describing and analyzing that language as an ideological force. Given that language responds to the particular ideological context in which it is used, this article focuses on how editorials are written in the particular cultural context of the Chinese state media and its relationships with English language readers both within and outside China.

Shifts or changes in the language resources used in texts may highlight changes in the ideological positions of the editors and the government they often speak on behalf of. Such changes are in part dependent on the specific issues being raised in each editorial as well as on the changing attitudes of the writers and governments they speak for. To understand Chinese attitudes to educational reform or development, we need to chart the ways the editors of Chinese newspapers represent these changes in the concrete language they use to communicate with their readers and with others in the government they may be speaking for.

This article offers Appraisal Theory as a tool for describing this language. It leaves to another context the specific tasks of how to adapt this approach to the teaching of English in the Asian context to students who will increasingly need to understand China's political, social and cultural views on the region in their personal and professional lives.

A basic overview of Appraisal

Appraisal is concerned with evaluation: the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned and the strength of the feelings involved (Martin & Rose, 2007: 17). The following figure presents a basic overview of the Appraisal system:

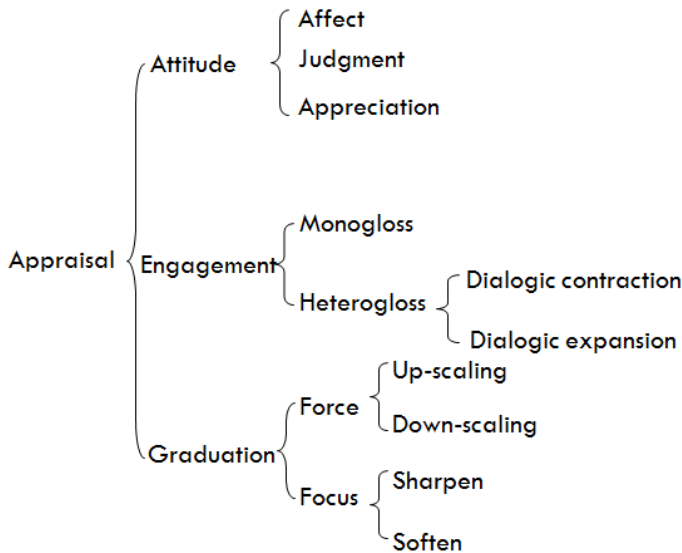


Figure 1: A basic overview of the Appraisal system (adapted from Martin and White, 2005; Martin and Rose, 2007: 59)

As can be seen from the figure, interpersonal meanings can be realized in language through the three co-articulated resources: Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. The more detailed discussion of Attitude is covered as follows for the purpose of analysis in this paper.

The Dimensions of Attitude

The dimensions of Attitude are concerned with how writers / speakers express their attitudes, which cover three types mainly: how writers / speakers express their feelings and emotions, how they assess human character, behaviour and ethics, and how they appreciate aesthetic qualities of things and phenomenon. The linguistic resources to realize these types are termed Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation. The realization of Attitude is adjectival, but attitudinal meanings can be encoded through a wide range of grammatical resources (Martin and Rose, 2007). These resources carry either positive or negative value.

Affect

Affect refers to emotional attitude of the speaker or writer towards the content of their message (Foley, 2011: 123). That is to say, affect is concerned with human emotional reactions expressed in discourse. Martin and Rose (2007) classify affect by drawing on the following two factors. Firstly, affect can be positive or negative because people's feelings can either be good or bad. Secondly, affect can be expressed directly or implied. People don't always state their feeling directly. Feelings can be expressed directly either by using words that name specific emotions such as *sad*, *anxious*, *happy* or by describing physical behaviour that also expresses feelings like *cry*, *smile*, *laugh*. They can also be indicated implicitly through the description of extraordinary behaviour by using the phrases such as *fix his eyes on her*, *always yell*, *walk very slowly* to indicate *love*, *anger*, or *sadness* respectively. Metaphor is also an effective way to express feelings. If someone is described with the idiom *as cold as a cucumber*, he / she is *calm* not *anxious*.

According to Martin and White (2005), the meanings of Affect can also be grouped into three major types:

- ◇ emotions having to do with un/happiness: *miserable*, *cheerful*.
- ◇ emotions having to do with in/security: *uneasy*, *confident*.
- ◇ emotions having to do with dis/satisfaction: *bored with*, *impressed*.

Judgment

Judgment is concerned with how the speaker or writer evaluates people and their behaviour (Foley, 2011: 125). Namely, Judgment is targeted at human beings, their character and behaviour. According to Martin and Rose (2007: 32), as with Affect, Judgments of people can be positive or negative, explicit or implied. Nevertheless, they also stress that unlike Affect, Judgments differ between personal Judgments of admiration or criticism and moral Judgments of praise and condemnation. Martin and White (2005) assert that these two general groups of Judgments deal with Social Esteem and Social Sanction respectively.

Judgments of Social Esteem tend to be linked to sharing values without legal implications. They have to do with:

- ✧ Normality oriented to how unusual someone is: *normal, fashionable, unlucky.*
- ✧ Capacity oriented to how capable someone is: *powerful, successful, incompetent.*
- ✧ Tenacity oriented to how dependable someone is: *brave, loyal, willful, weak.*

Judgments of Social Sanction on the other hand are more associated with codes in writing, “as edicts, decrees, rules, regulations and laws about how to behave as surveilled by church and state – with penalties and punishments as levers against those not complying with the code” (Martin and White, 2005: 52). Therefore, Judgments of Social Sanction based on legal implications and religious observances have to do with:

- ✧ Veracity oriented to how truthful someone is: *honest, candid, deceitful, blunt.*
- ✧ Propriety oriented to how ethical someone is: *ethical, respectful, evil.*

Appreciation

Appreciation has to do with linguistic resources for construing our evaluations of things and phenomenon. Like Affect and Judgment, things can be appreciated positively or negatively, directly or indirectly (Martin and Rose, 2007). Nevertheless, the appreciation targets can be concrete or abstract. Martin and White (2005) identify three variables of the Appreciation system:

- ✧ Reaction has to do with affect in terms of impact and quality, i.e. do words catch our attention? and do they please us? For instance: *arresting, remarkable, dull, boring, good, appealing, bad, ugly*.
- ✧ Composition has to do with perception of balance and complexity, i.e. did the text hang together? and was it hard to follow? For example: *harmonious, consistent, irregular, disorganized, simple, precise, unclear, plain*.
- ✧ Valuation has to do with cognition in terms of human assessment of social significance of values. For example: *profound, timely, useless, effective*.

Inscribed and invoked Attitudes

As mentioned in the earlier part of the description of Attitude, evaluation can be explicit or implicit. Thompson (2004: 77) explains that appraisal can be “inscribed” explicitly, which is fairly easy to recognize, but it can also be “evoked”. More specifically, there is no explicit evaluative language in description about people or things, but there are grounds for readers or listeners to make evaluation themselves. Martin and White (2005) term evaluation directly expressed as inscribed Attitude and the indirectly expressed evaluation as invoked Attitude. Inscribed Attitude directs readers in their evaluation of non-attitudinal ideational material under its scope (Martin and White, 2005: 64). In other words, the inscriptions of attitudes act as sign-posts, telling readers how to interpret the ideational choices related to the prosody of attitudes and make the inference of evaluation as it is realized by ideational meanings easier and clearer. White (2000) terms the linguistic resources as tokens through which Attitude values are triggered by superficially neutral, ideational meanings. However, the interpretation depends greatly on listeners/readers’ ideological positions, social and cultural contexts they are familiar with, and their cognition level and comprehension.

Graduation and Attitude

Graduation is concerned with the gradable feature of values of Attitude. Graduation resources can help construe greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity of attitudes. Two axes for grading are identified: force and focus.

Force

Force is concerned with grading according to intensity or amount. Force can be realized by intensifiers like *very, extremely, slightly, many, more*, attitudinal lexis

such as *tired / exhausted, bad / evil, like / love / adore* etc., metaphors like *fast as an arrow* and swearing like *damn* (Martin and Rose, 2007).

Focus

Focus makes inherently non-gradable things gradable, i.e. sharper or softer. For instance,

She is *the very* employee I need. (sharper)

It's *kind of* scary. (softer)

When lexical items with grading are added to the core meaning like *happy / joyous / ecstatic, might / may/ must, I believe / I am convinced* , grading is implicit. It depends on the readers/ listeners to interpret the degrees of intensity.

Graduation can also be employed in relation to resources of non-attitudinal meanings. Graduation in such instances retains some of its evaluative potential by functioning to “give a subjective orientation to the ideational meaning, and, as such, has the potential to evoke Attitude” (Hood, 2004: 28). This means that invoked attitudes can also be graded.

Abbreviations and symbols for annotations of Attitude resources

For the convenience of analysis, Attitude resources were marked in italics with bold abbreviated and symbolized annotations in square brackets. The abbreviations and symbols for annotation are listed in the following table:

Attitude	Affect: aff	Un/Happiness: -/+hap	+ : Positive - : Negative t: Invoked	
		In/Security: -/+sec		
		Dis/Satisfaction: -/+sat		
	Judgment: judg	Social Esteem: sest		Normality: norm
		Social Sanction: ssan		Capacity: cap
				Tenacity: ten
	Appreciation: appr	Reaction: reac		Veracity: vera
Composition: comp		Propriety: prop		
Valuation: val				
Graduation	Force: for	Up-grading: ↑		
		Low-grading: ↓		
	Focus: foc	Sharpen: ⤴		
		Soften: ⤵		

Table I: Abbreviations and symbols for annotations of Attitude resources

One example of annotation for Attitude analysis in square bracket is illustrated:

Extract I:

No first lesson is more important than the one on personal safety for kids
[t, appr: +val, for:↑, first lesson].

(Best First Lesson, 1st Sept, 2008)

The italicized words are tokens of invoked Appreciation resources and therefore annotated with **t** first, followed by **appr** to indicate the Attitude category is Appreciation. The symbol **+** and the abbreviation **val** show that the Attitude subcategory is positive Valuation. The abbreviation and the symbol **for:↑** together indicate that the Attitude is enhance with Force value. The noun group **first lesson** explains what is appraised, which was interpreted according to the context of the discourse.

A synoptic view of Attitude resources in the editorials

Based on the system of Attitude, detailed analysis and annotation of attitude resources were conducted to see the deployment of these resources for discourse purposes. Authors of these editorials employ the full repertoire of attitudinal values to show their stance, among which authorially-sourced Judgment and Appreciation are foregrounded. This pattern indicates that editorials aim to comment on behavior and events (Liu, 2009: 64). Among the types of Judgment and Appreciation, Propriety and Capability and Valuation occur much more frequently in the data than the other resources of the system. In particular, Propriety is preferred, mainly because in editorials the writers prefer the use of modulation for giving directives for some action or response on the part of the addressee or some third party. Editorial writers also intend to access events in terms of their social value, which can explain why Valuation resources occur more frequently compared with Reaction and Composition resources in the data.

Careful examination of the data has indicated that Affect states are rare. This is partially due to the feature of editorial writing. Editorial writers need to avoid personal feelings in order to sound impersonal and objective for the social purpose of convincing readers. The editorials are focused on social issues and are more oriented to judging people and their behaviour and assessing social values of things like policies and social phenomenon.

Attitude resources are also classified as Inscribed and Invoked attitudes according to the ways they are expressed. There is an imbalance between explicit

and implicit evaluation resources in the data. Explicit attitudes outweigh implicit ones to make reading easy and therefore align readers.

In the editorials under investigation, the writers prefer the use of rank attitudes to win over putative readers. Most of the Force resources fall into the type of high-grading. To some extent this is due to the persuasive feature of editorials and the authority the writers aim to establish. It also indicates that in editorial discourse the writers prefer high grading to increase the force of their assertions.

Within the Graduation system, there are fewer Focus resources compared with Force resources to express grading meanings in the process of constructing writer-reader interaction.

Deployment of Affect resources in the editorials

There are not many examples of Affect in the editorials. In some cases the writers use these linguistic strategies to show their emotions and invite the readership to feel the same and therefore achieve the persuasion effect. The writers also attribute emotions to participants in editorials. For instance:

Extract 2:

It is a *pity*[t, aff: -sat, authorities' lack of reflection on the status quo] that the concurrent *complaints*[aff: -sat, employers] about the short supply of qualified talents and over-supply of college graduates are yet to make the authorities seriously reflect on the status quo.

...

Now it is the time to put quality above size and speed. (Put Quality above Size, 11-12 Oct., 2008)

The negative emotions of the writer and employers towards the poor qualifications of graduates are presented in order to pave the way for the writer, at the last stage of the editorial, to call for action in terms of putting quality above size and speed.

The following extract exemplifies satisfaction as the emotion foregrounded in editorials of our data.

Extract 3:

It is *sad*[aff: -sat, the writer] that some are always looking for loopholes in policies and trying to take advantage of them. It is *even sadder*[aff: -sat, for: ↑, the writer] that there are always officials who are willing to bend the rules for their own benefits.

....
Hopefully (**aff: +sat, the writer**), universities nationwide will carefully check whether the extra marks obtained by the candidates they have enrolled are true to their names and spot cheaters and deny their admission. (Equity in Education, 23 Aug., 2010)

It can be seen that the extract foregrounds the writer's dissatisfaction about the reality s/he sees in the present education system and satisfaction about the future. It should be pointed out that the adjective *sad* and its comparative *sadder* are used not to indicate unhappiness but the writer's dissatisfaction since their semantic meaning in the context is to indicate the writer's frustration about the obstacle to educational equity.

Hopefully starts the last paragraph of the editorial and introduces the writer's satisfaction about future actions of universities to curb corruption. The word functions to indicate the writer's judgment of the propriety of universities' actions and therefore achieves the ideological purpose of promoting equity in education by extolling the virtue of propriety.

In the editorial *Why such fuss on reform?*, published on 10th Nov. 2009, the writer shows empathy with children and their parents to make the point clear that the country's talent screening regime remains the same and that's why parents don't want to reduce the burden on their children. Affectual inscriptions are foregrounded across the editorial, as annotated below.

Extract 4:

....
 The *poor*[**aff: -sat, kids**] kids *complain*[**aff: -sat, kids**]. *So do*[**aff: -sat, their parents**] their parents. *As do*[**aff: -sat, the education authorities**] the education authorities. Our school-age children are overburdened. They should not be deprived of the joy of childhood. There seems to be a consensus that something has to be done to lighten schoolbags.

But to the Jiangsu education authorities' *surprise* [**aff: -sec, Jiangsu education Authorities**], their five-month old initiative to reduce workload for schoolchildren has run into strenuous opposition from parents. So much so that they have had to publish an open letter to students' parents to solicit support.

....

All parents *sympathetic*[**aff: -sat, parents**] to their kids' plight *should have applauded* [**t, aff: -sat, parents**]. Yet we see the very contrary - they have been railing against it.

...

And they have good reasons to be *afraid* [**aff: -sec, parents**]. In spite of all the changes, the country's talent screening regime remains the same....(Why such fuss on reform, 10 Nov., 2009)

In this extract, the editorial writer evaluates kids' dissatisfaction with the education method twice through the items *poor* and *complain*. It does so with kids' parents, twice about their dissatisfaction with the education method through *so do (complain)* and *sympathetic*, once about their dissatisfaction with the reform by *should have applauded* and once about their insecurity about the future of their kids with *afraid*. The extract also evaluates education authority in terms of their dissatisfaction with the education method and insecurity about the parents' response towards reform with *so do (complain)* and *surprise* respectively. The deployment of many negative emotions in the text resonate with one another, indicating overtly the dilemmas that kids, education authority and parents are experiencing. They together build up the ground for the writer to reach the conclusion that *reform in basic education must be conducted with the context in mind*.

Deployment of Judgment resources in the editorials

Attitudinal resources of Judgment involve writers' construction of attitudes towards humans and their behaviour positively or negatively according to social norms. In the data, institutions like universities and the Ministry of Education are all judged as bodies in most cases since they make decisions and take right or wrong actions. Editorials feature Propriety and Capability resources.

Propriety resources

Propriety resources occur more often in editorials than other types of Judgment resources since this resource focuses on how ethical or how far beyond reproach someone is. The following editorial *Making of a Teacher* published on 27th June, 2008 foregrounds explicit expressions of obligation that a teacher must possess and explicit negative Judgment of Propriety of a teacher who ran away without thinking about his students' safety when an earthquake happened.

Extract 5:

It is never too much for a teacher to uphold basic professional ethics[**judg: +prop, for:↑,a teacher**]...

...

The revised professional ethics for middle school teachers published by the Ministry of Education will put a full stop to this debate. It adds a stipulation that a teacher has the obligation of protecting his or her students from danger [**judg: +prop, a teacher**]. Its publication aims at soliciting public opinion nationwide before its adoption.

Even without such a specification, very few would have deemed it as acceptable behavior for a teacher to run out of the classroom for his own life without taking care of his or her students in time of an emergency [**t, judg: +prop, for:↑, a teacher**].

The self-defense by that teacher who did exactly that *without a guilty conscience*[**judg: -prop, that teacher**] has *angered the public* [**t, judg: -prop, that teacher**]. *That he had the cheek to claim himself to be an excellent teacher is anything but evidence that this guy knows what makes a qualified teacher* [**t, judg: -prop, for:↑, that teacher**].

Imparting knowledge to his or her students is only part of the qualities required of a teacher [**judg: +prop, a teacher**]. *Helping them cultivate moral integrity* is an equally important part of a teacher's duties [**judg: +prop, for:↑,a teacher**]....

An *unethical* conduct by a teacher constitutes *a profanity to the sanctity of this profession* [**t, judg: -prop, a teacher**]. The *cowardice and selfishness* [**judg: -prop, a teacher**] that the teacher displayed when his own and the students' lives were threatened is *anything but a quality that a qualified teacher should possess*[**t, judg: -prop, for:↑,a teacher**]....

Of course, in time of an earthquake, not every teacher had enough courage in organizing evacuation of students. But it is beyond common sense for a teacher to deny his moral obligation to save his students first in time of an emergency[**t, judg: -prop, for:↑,a teacher**] ...(Making of a Teacher, 27 June, 2008)

In the above extract, there are 12 Judgment resources, among which 5 are positive, indicating obligations of teachers, and 7 negative, functions which indicate criticism of the teacher's behaviour and professional ethics. It is noted

that 6 of the Judgment resources are intensified to be strong so as to indicate that the rules must be followed. These intensifiers also indicate the power of the editorial and its intention to promote the ideology that in emergencies teachers should sacrifice themselves to protect or rescue their students.

In the editorial data, writers propose authorial directives frequently when they express social sanction. The use of authorial directives is one distinct feature of the editorials in our data.

Extract 6:

While both the government and the society wish for a healthy development of the student aid system, attention *should also be paid* [judg: ssan: +prop, for: ↑, related institutions]to cultivating a caring mentality in those who have benefited from the scheme.

After all, the students *are expected to become rich in knowledge and ready to repay the society* [judg: ssan: +prop, the students]with their contributions after they graduate with financial support from government or the society.

Recently, frequent media exposure of students defaulting in repaying loans has raised concerns about the sustainability of the national scheme as well as the credibility of college students....

Efforts *need to be made to plug the loopholes* [judg: ssan: +prop, for: ↑,related institutions]in the loan system to lower the financial risks for financial institutions. (Aid for Students, 13 Sept., 2007)

The adoption of the modals *should* and *need* and the modal metaphor *be expected to* express the writer's requests for action based on social sanctions.

Authorial directives often occur frequently in the last stage of editorials, where directives are given about the necessity to take actions or stop other actions.

Extract 7:

Much *needs to be done*[judg: ssan: +prop, for:↑,related institutions]before the universities are given autonomy. University presidents *should be elected*[judg: ssan: +prop, for:↑, related institutions] from among professors rather than nominated by higher education authorities. Both professors and students *should have the right* [judg: ssan: +prop, for:↑, professors and students]to decide whether their president should stay or go. ...(Autonomy for Colleges, 4 Feb, 2010)

The explicit authorial directives are all realized by modal expressions carrying illocutionary force, urging related institutions and professors and students to take actions. Meanwhile, all the directives carry high values showing the unequal relations between the writer and the third parties being discussed.

Capability resources

In many instantiations, Judgement resources of Capability construe institutions as incapable of solving problems or achieving goals and thus condemn them. The following extracts illustrate the feature:

Extract 8:

The fact that the central government has *failed to meet the target* [**judg: -cap, the central government**] in the past 10 years speaks volumes about how hard it is to bring home to local government leaders the importance of education for the country's long-term development. (Importance of Education, 4 July, 2011)

Extract 9:

The quality of such continuing education programs for adults has already gone down the hill. These days, those who *fail to enter universities* [**judg: -cap, students**] by passing the national college entrance examinations enroll at these higher learning institutions. (Diploma Mills, 12 July, 2010)

Deployment of Appreciation resources in the editorials

Appreciation resources assess non-living entities and phenomena. Realizations of Appreciation of Valuation occur often in editorials since they are devoted to assess how worthwhile something is according to social norms. The following editorial *Best First Lesson* published on 1st Sept, 2008 points out how necessary it is to train students' to develop self-protection skills to use in emergencies.

Extract 10:

No first lesson is more important than the one on personal safety for kids [**t, appr: +val, first lesson; for: ↑**]. The First Lesson of the New Semester, a TV documentary about how to protect oneself in time of emergency to be shown tonight at prime time, is meant to *provide school students with the know-how on self-protection* [**appr: +val, first lesson**]

in such natural disasters as earthquake, fire, snowstorm or flood and other life-threatening situations.

The Ministry of Education has notified *all primary and middle schools to urge students and their parents to watch this documentary*, which was jointly produced by the ministry and CCTV. *Some Olympic gold medalists, renowned scholars and social celebrities have participated in making this program* [t, appr: +val, first lesson].

With this program *as the core of a national campaign to alert students on personal safety* [appr: +val, the first lesson program], the ministry has called on all schools nationwide to give lessons on self-protection know-how in time of emergency every semester.

Life is *precious* [appr: +val, life]. ...And the simplest truth is that one cannot expect to accomplish anything without being alive.

...many examples show that enough self-protection knowledge along with enough courage and tenacity *can help many survive what would otherwise be the end of their lives* [appr: +val, the know-how on self-protection]....

The freshest example is from the May earthquake in Sichuan, Gansu and Shaanxi provinces. *When thousands of primary and middle school kids were killed by collapsed school buildings, all students from a middle school survived the disaster even without a single one being hurt because of their timely, orderly and reasonable evacuations, which they had drilled regularly in every semester* [t, appr: +val, the know-how on self-protection].

What was the most impressive was the case of a seven-year-old girl who made a medical emergency call when she found that her parents were gas-poisoned in the bathroom. *Her timely call saved his parents' lives and it was from books she had learned what to do in such critical situations* [t, appr: +val, the know-how on sepf-protection].

In fact, the know-how on self-protection in time of emergency needs to be made an important part of early education for all kids from parents at home and teachers in schools as well because life is fragile but can be

tough when one is armed with enough knowledge on how to best survive life-threatening circumstances[**t, appr: +val, the know-how on self-protection**].

This campaign is *important not only because children represent the future but also because children today will be parents tomorrow* [**appr: +val, the campaign**]. As students fully arm themselves with enough knowledge on how to best protect themselves in life-threatening circumstances, they will be able to easily teach their children the same knowledge when they become parents [**t, appr: +val, the campaign**]... (Best First Lesson, 1st Sept, 2008)

The deployment of inscribed and invoked Appreciation together shows the writer's positive attitude toward the first lesson and therefore persuades the putative reader that the first lesson about self-protection is crucial.

Deployment of Graduation resources in the editorials

Editorials make extensive use of force resources especially in terms of issues related to amount and intensification. With the use of graduation resources, in particular up-scaling of force values, some expressions in editorials are strongly attitudinal. The main device used for intensification is intensifiers. Some structures are also preferred such as subjunctive mood and inverted sentences to emphasize the valuation of some policies or to stress how necessary specific actions are. Such actions are usually found in the last stage of editorials.

Extract II:

It takes time to keep all teachers committed to their work. More than a ban, what is *badly needed*[**appr: +val, for:↑, a mechanism to encourage good teacher and punish poor ones**] is a mechanism to encourage good teachers and punish poor ones. *Only when those who have committed themselves to work and students have incentives to do even better can we expect professional commitment to prevail* [**t, appr: +val, for:↑, a mechanism to encourage good teacher and punish poor ones**]. (Principled Teaching, 28 Oct., 2009)

The intensifier *badly* functions to grade the Appreciation of Valuation with up-scaling Force. The inverted clause stresses how significant the mechanism is to professional commitment and therefore invokes the strong positive

Appreciation of Valuation. Both of the Appreciation resources co-articulate the positive attitudes towards the mechanism.

Expressions of necessity are often presented with high ranking of Force, with little hedging or tentative language.

Extract I2:

State finance *must at the same time help improve their working conditions and increase their income* [judg: +prop, for:↑,state finance]. Only then will education pave the way for better opportunities for rural children. (Education for the Poor, 11 Sept., 2007)

Extract I3:

It is high time that we start thinking more about quality [judg: +prop, for:↑,we] rather than just the quantity of postgraduates. (Grad Degree Woes, 22 Jan., 2008)

The above two extracts foreground up-scaling of Force while expressing Judgment of Propriety and entertain alternative voices. They show clear directives of actions of the writer rather than negotiation. These strong expressions are therefore marked with educational ideology about what to do.

Concluding remarks

Different choices within lexical-grammatical systems realize different attitudes. They are used not just for the construction and negotiation of meaning, but also serve to illustrate and realize the complex set of functions of editorials. The core functions are to construct ideologies about education in these editorials and shape them among the audience through the use of manipulation and power.

The illustrations of the deployment of various Attitude resources in the paper reveal that they are in most cases ideologically marked, strongly and clearly co-articulating the writers' points of views and attitudes. However, the opinions in editorials produced by *China Daily* are not just the voices of the writers, but the representation of the positions of the central government. *China Daily* is one of the country's most authoritative English media outlets and an important source of information on Chinese politics, society and culture as well as its economy. These outlets speak for the central government (Ma, 1996). Due to their

advantageous position in social relations, editorial writers have the power and freedom to apply various linguistic resources to show their attitudes and views, shape them in the readership and direct third party or readers' actions indirectly. van Dijk (1995: 10) points out that:

“Media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions. ...the control of intentions, plans, knowledge, beliefs, or opinions that is, mental representations that monitor overt activities is presupposed.” (van Dijk, 1995: 10)

In this article, we have identified the frequent use of modality in terms of the modulation of obligation and probability, and especially the preference for those with high value, indicates “the power of the editorials to influence and control the public and to maintain such social relations” (Liu, 2009: 73). Modal expressions of obligation, especially those with high values, normally occur at the last stages of editorials, expressing the writer's power to show directives for future action. At the same time, there is an ever-present view of the obligation of readers and government officials to address the issues raised in ways that are specifically Chinese. These obligations are often not explicitly stated as political views. Instead, they are conveyed in the subtle uses of resources identified in Appraisal Theory. The role of the media in China to shape public responses is indicated in the imperative mood of many of the editorials cited in this research. While these imperatives may sound authoritarian to some readers, a reader sensitive to Chinese cultural values would see that these “orders” are justified and supported in the texts that follow such headings. This illustrates a particular Chinese way of deploying the Appraisal resources which in a future study could be compared with the ways editorials from other Asian English language newspapers use language to guide or inform their readers and reflect or engage with their own governments' policies.

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Appendix: Editorial No., headlines and date of publication of the 35 editorials

Editorial No.	Headline	Date of publication
2005 [1]	Earmark More Funds for Rural Schools	6 Mar., 2005
2005 [2]	Equal Opportunities for Quality Education	16 Mar., 2005
2005 [3]	Providing Real Help for College Students	13 May, 2005
2005 [4]	More Public Funds for Compulsory Education	22 Aug., 2005
2005 [5]	Free Schooling Is Crucial for Future	31 Aug., 2005
2006 [1]	Better education for west	22 May, 2006
2006 [2]	Fair play for all students	6 th June, 2006
2006 [3]	Questionable exam	21 June, 2006
2006 [4]	Let kids enjoy holidays	1 Sept., 2006
2006 [5]	Bridge education gap	6 Dec., 2006
2007 [1]	Education overcharge	5 Jan., 2007
2007 [2]	End college largesse	23 Mar., 2007
2007 [3]	Make teaching attractive	21 May, 2007
2007 [4]	Education for the poor	11 Sept., 2007
2007 [5]	Aid for students	13 Sept., 2007
2008 [1]	Grad degree woes	22 Jan., 2008
2008 [2]	Equitable education	15-16 Mar., 2008
2008 [3]	Making of a teacher	27 June, 2008
2008 [4]	Best first lesson	1 Sept., 2008
2008 [5]	Put quality above size	11-12 Oct., 2008
2009 [1]	Collapse of standards	2 Sept., 2009
2009 [2]	Chinese Ivy League?	21 Oct., 2009
2009 [3]	Principled teaching	28 Oct., 2009
2009 [4]	Why such fuss on reform?	10 Nov., 2009
2009 [5]	Education calling	2 Dec., 2009
2010 [1]	Autonomy for colleges	4 Feb., 2010
2010 [2]	Cut red-tape in education	6 May, 2010
2010 [3]	Diploma mills	12 July, 2010
2010 [4]	Equity in education	23 Aug., 2010
2010 [5]	University of new style	24 Dec., 2010
2011 [1]	Funding for learning	23 Mar., 2011
2011 [2]	Teaching more than grades	12 Apr., 2011
2011 [3]	Tsinghua's learning goal	25 Apr., 2011
2011 [4]	Education equality	1 June, 2011
2011 [5]	Importance of education	4 July, 2011