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The Voices of History: theorising the interpersonal semantics of historical discourses

1. Introduction- History as discourse

Academic prose texts are typically faceless because they are expected to include all evidence necessary to be persuasive and thus do not need to mark stance. (Biber and Finegan 1988: 31).

This statement from Biber and Finegan's pioneering work in the area of interpersonal meaning suggests that academic disciplines seldom draw on lexical and grammatical resources to express attitudinal stance – 'conveying the speaker's attitudes, feelings, or value judgements' (Conrad and Biber 2000: 57). However, it has been argued in the recent proliferation of text and discourse based research across the social sciences that, even though stance may not be explicitly expressed, texts do a great deal of work (beyond that of providing evidence) to persuade and position their 'consumers'. History, for example, has been 'exposed' as a textual practice designed to persuade the reader 'of the truth of whatever message is transmitted' (Blanco and Rosa 1997). In particular, the 'grand narratives' of history, with their single, unified pictures of the past claiming the status of 'objective' truth, have been challenged – both by academics and professional historians, as well as critics outside the field.

Traditionally, the grand narratives have been a means of presenting – unproblematically – favoured versions of the past and of repressing perspectives that might challenge these versions. However, in the latter part of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty first century, there has been strong pressure to problematise and disband conventional narratives (Lyotard 1987) and to explode the myth of history as 'factual' record and the past as a homogeneous space. This argument for an inclusive rather than an exclusive record has led to the emergence, and proliferation, of alternative narratives and interpretations. And, as Leinhardt et al. (1994), summarising previous theorising (e.g. Foucault 1972; Geertz 1973; Levi-Strauss 1963) state, the interpretative role of language is increasingly acknowledged:

A serious attempt to present and analyse the voice of the recorder has emerged. The sense that all acts of recording are in and of themselves acts of interpretation is in vogue... (Leinhardt et al. 1994: 82)

But how has the voice of the recorder been analysed? What exactly are the discursive products of history? And what kinds of rhetorical and linguistic strategies are available to historians in order that they persuade their readers of the 'truth' of their interpretation?

These questions raise interesting and important issues for linguists and applied linguists. In particular, they are of value to the history teaching community: increasingly, history as a school subject, is concerned with providing students with a knowledge of the procedures of historical enquiry and the historian's 'ways of working'. And since, as Farmer and Knight (1995: 18) point out, historical enquiry is 'to do with values, issues and judgement', students need to learn 'the procedures for handling biased and subjective information'. Similarly, Greene (1994: 138) argues that

those who become enculturated within this field must learn the ways in which different genres respond to rhetorical situations, the techniques of reference that reflect a community's acknowledgement of authority, and the epistemological assumptions that inform its discursive practices.

In other words, many contemporary teacher educators and practising history teachers recognise that the subject is a 'distinct form of knowledge', and one where students have to both deconstruct and construct the values and judgements that are an integral part of its discursive practices. It is surprising, therefore that, to date, there has been little research that has investigated, in any detail, either the nature, or the linguistic expression, of the values and judgements that characterise school history. By carrying out a close linguistic examination of the ways in which values and judgements are expressed in

student history essays in upper secondary school, this article sets out to make a contribution to this area of research.

2. Values and judgements: modelling attitudinal meaning

In terms of modelling attitudinal meaning, several studies within the field of linguistics have explored the semantic space of interpersonal and, more specifically, evaluative meaning. Some of the most relevant work for the theoretical framework reported on in this article, includes work on epistemic modality (Lyons 1977; Palmer 1986), evidentiality (Chafe 1986), intensity (Labov 1984), face (Brown and Levison 1987), hedging (Hyland 1996, 1998) and stance (Biber and Finnegan 1988, 1989; Conrad and Biber 2000).

Studies of 'styles of stance' (Biber and Finnegan 1988, 1989; Conrad and Biber 2000) which have endeavoured to establish the lexical and grammatical marking of attitudes, feelings and judgements have been of particular relevance to the work presented here. There have, however, been restrictions to studies such as these, notably the focus on markers of stance that are direct and explicit expressions of speaker attitude. As will be illustrated later in the article, being restricted to explicit (and discrete) lexical and grammatical categories of stance is unlikely to reveal the full interpersonal flavour of a disciplinary register such as that of history. In this article it is proposed that finer tools of analysis, which are sensitive to both the context of the text and its unfolding patterns of meanings, are necessary if the values and

judgements in what might otherwise appear to be 'faceless' discourse are to be unpicked.

Finer tools of analysis have begun to be developed by a number of linguists and applied linguists, particularly those interested in establishing the different kinds of evaluative resources used in specialised academic disciplines or social domains. In the 1990s, for example, Hunston (1993a, 1993b, 1994) explored the value systems in scientific writing. Drawing on the work of sociologists of science (e.g. Latour and Woolgar 1979) she argued that the main goal of scientific experimental reports is to persuade the academic community to accept new knowledge claims. In particular she proposed that

to be convincing, what is persuasion must appear only to be reportage.

It follows that the evaluation through which the persuasion is carried out must be highly implicit and will, in fact, avoid the attitudinal language normally associated with interpersonal meaning (Hunston 1994: 193).

Hunston's work thus prepared the ground for an exploration of the way in which value systems can be realised in ways that are indirect and implicit.

Another important contribution from the field of applied linguistics has been the increasing recognition of the need for developing frameworks that explain

how choice of evaluative language is related both to value systems within a particular discourse community (history or science, for example) and to relationships that obtain between interactants. Hyland, for example, makes this point in relation to the interpersonal resource of hedging:

In particular, greater attention needs to be paid to the fact that hedging represents a writer's *attitude* within a particular context. There is, therefore, a need for an explanatory framework which accounts for its pervasiveness in academic discourse by situating hedging in its socio-pragmatic contexts. (Hyland 1996: 433)

From the late 1990s, such an explanatory framework began to be developed by a team of researchers working within the tradition of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and influenced by earlier SFL work on interpersonal meaning (e.g. Lemke 1989; Macken-Horarik 1996; Poynton 1985, 1990; Thibault 1993). Referred to as voice theory (Coffin 2000: 381-399; White 1998: 176) it has evolved within the framework of APPRAISAL (Martin 1997, 2000), a system network of semantic options for evaluating people, things and phenomena. Whereas APPRAISAL systems aim to map, in a coherent and systematic way, the evaluative resources that are generally available within the culture, voice theory is essentially a descriptive tool for exploring interpersonal styles that have, to a greater or lesser extent, become conventionalised within particular discourse communities.

In Section 3 of this article, the theoretical framework of APPRAISAL and voice is set out and key issues that have arisen in developing such a framework, are discussed. Section 4 exemplifies the use of voice theory in school history by examining in detail two prototypical history texts written by secondary school history students (1). The following section then moves to a more delicate level of voice theory in which a third text is analysed to illustrate the dynamic interaction of APPRAISAL choices as they unfold across a text. Finally, the article concludes by highlighting the main implications for educational practice.

3. APPRAISAL theory

3.1 The APPRAISAL framework

The APPRAISAL (2) framework outlined here has been developed within the tradition of functional linguistics, specifically systemic functional linguistics (see Halliday 1994 [1985]; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Martin 1992; Matthiessen 1995). Its origin can be traced back to a research project, referred to as 'Write it Right' (WIR), conducted in Australia, in the 1990s. The aim of this project was to investigate the written discourse of key learning areas in secondary education (English, history, science, mathematics and geography) as well as

the discourse of the workplace (the science industry, media and administration) (see Christie and Martin 1997).

In the course of the WIR investigation it became clear that evaluative meaning was a key feature in characterising the different discourses. In particular, it emerged that in the school subject areas of history and English, assessment practices frequently turned on the ability of students to a) unpick the often highly indirect and implicit evaluative meanings of texts and b) infuse their own texts with the appropriate interpersonal colouring, to adopt, as it were, the right 'voice' and thus an effective intersubjective positioning strategy (see Christie and Martin 1997, for a general review of this research as well as Rothery 1994 and Martin 1996 for a more specific examination of such interpersonal strategies).

The APPRAISAL framework was designed, therefore, to 'map' an area of interpersonal meaning that was of educational significance (in addition to being of general linguistic interest) and which, at the point of the WIR research project, had been insufficiently developed in systemic theorising. This mapping is outlined in Figure 1 below. The diagram shows how the subsystem of ATTITUDE includes resources for construing emotional responses (AFFECT), resources for judging behaviour in 'ethical' terms (JUDGEMENT) and resources for valuing texts and processes (APPRECIATION). GRADUATION, one of the two other subsystems, is concerned with values which scale meanings

along two possible parameters - either by raising or lowering intensity (FORCE) or by sharpening and softening the focus (FOCUS). Finally, ENGAGEMENT comprises resources for engaging with and negotiating heteroglossic diversity - 'the various convergent, alternative and counter socio-semiotic realities or positions activated and referenced by every utterance' (White 1998: 114). This notion of heteroglossic diversity was profoundly influenced by the Bakhtinian conceptualisation of the wider system of social heteroglossia in which texts and their value-positions are situated. (Bakhtin 1973, 1981, 1986). Similarly, Bakhtinian theory provided a theoretical basis for extending the notion of voice (as an aspect of APPRAISAL use) beyond its late Romantic conceptualisation as an expression of a single, unified 'self' to include the representation of a specific opinion group or evaluative position.

Figure 1 about here

In systemic functional linguistics, then, APPRAISAL is a set of systems which give language users choice in terms of how they appraise, grade and give value to social experience. Thus, AFFECT comprises a set of language resources for appraising experience in affectual terms, for indicating the emotional effect of an event. For example:

These people looked like gods with white skin and clothes in different colours. They came on land. **I was scared very scared.**

The subsystem of JUDGEMENT also encompasses meanings which serve to appraise human behaviour but unlike AFFECT does this by reference to a set of institutionalised norms about how people should and should not behave.

Martin (1997: 23) has proposed that JUDGEMENT can be thought of as 'the institutionalisation of feeling'. For example:

It was Lenin's **commitment, shrewdness** and **willingness to take risk** as opposed to Kerensky's **cowardly** attitude and actions that explains the Bols success in Nov. 1917.

APPRECIATION can also be thought of as the institutionalisation of feeling but with reference to norms for valuing processes and products rather than behaviour. APPRECIATION, perhaps more so than JUDGEMENT and AFFECT, is sensitive to the specific institutional setting and subject matter of a discourse. Thus, within the context of history, the criteria for valuing a process is shaped by what is regarded as significant or salient within the disciplinary construction of historical knowledge. This is reflected in the values attributed to causal and temporal processes (referred to as SOCIAL VALUATION, a sub category of APPRECIATION), typically realised as epithets or classifiers in

nominal groups. For example, the degree of impact of causal factors is expressed through the classifier *main* in the following example:

The **main** causes of the Second World War were, in the long term, a build up of tensions between countries...(SOCIAL VALUATION: impact)

Equally, historical periods may be attributed as having special importance:

It is a **significant** period in Australian history as it demonstrated how strongly Aboriginal people resisted the invasion. (SOCIAL VALUATION: social salience)

GRADUATION comprises a set of resources for grading evaluations - 'turning the volume up or down'. These may be isolated 'intensifiers' such as *very, really, slightly, a bit, somewhat, quite* or may be fused into the experiential values of a word. For example:

In this way the **enormous** (GRADUATION: FORCE - fused) losses that Aboriginal people have undergone, as a result of European colonisation might, to **some** (GRADUATION: FORCE - isolated) extent be compensated for.

GRADUATION can also be used to sharpen or blur the focus. For example:

The Aborigines did present **some sort of** (GRADUATION: FOCUS) resistance towards the Europeans but they were unsuccessful, their efforts were useless.

Finally, ENGAGEMENT is a set of resources which enable a writer (or speaker) to either take up a position whereby their audience is construed as sharing the same, single worldview (MONOGLOSS) or, on the other hand, adopt a stance which explicitly acknowledges diversity with its implication for conflict and struggle among diverse voices (HETEROGLOSS – cf. Bakhtin 1973, 1981, 1986). (See in particular White 1998).

In terms of grammatical realisation, the two systems – MONOGLOSS and HETEROGLOSS – draw on different resources. With reference to MONOGLOSS, the central grammatical structure which serves to background potential diversity of opinion is the *positive declarative* e.g. *The main causes of the Second World War were, in the long term, a build up of tensions between countries.* Such a structure encourages a reader to assume that the proposition is unproblematic and that it enjoys broad consensus. Thus, even though a writer's and reader's worldview may not be a shared one, the grammatical structure implicitly encourages alignment rather than directly opening up the proposition for negotiation.

Modality, in contrast, signals that meaning is contingent and subject to negotiation e.g. *The main causes of the Second World War were **probably**, in the long term, a build up of tensions between countries.* Modality, in other words, serves to introduce explicit negotiability into a proposition and hence, unlike the positive declarative, does not assume or simulate solidarity between writer and reader. Within the APPRAISAL framework, modality is therefore interpreted as a central resource for expressing HETEROGLOSS (referred to as PROBABILISE).

Another central resource for expressing HETEROGLOSS is the attribution of views and judgements to voices other than those of the writer, either by quoting or reporting (EXTRAVOCALISE). For example:

Gray **described** the nature of thought reform tactics of the CCP during this campaign as 'the destruction of the personality of the "patient" through a combination of psychological pressures and physical deprivation'. (EXTRAVOCALISE: quoting)

On the other hand those who favoured conscription **argued** that if there was a German victory and it became the dominant power then the economic prosperity of Australia would be finished. (EXTRAVOCALISE: reporting)

In the section above a brief outline of APPRAISAL was provided, focusing in particular on those resources that are relevant to the texts presented in this article, namely JUDGEMENT, SOCIAL VALUATION, GRADUATION and within the

subsystem of ENGAGEMENT, PROBABILISE and EXTRAVOCALISE. In section 5 the subsystem of JUDGEMENT will be examined in more detail.

3.2. Key Issues in APPRAISAL

Several aspects of the APPRAISAL framework merit further discussion. These include the overall theorising which underpins the system and questions concerning its linguistic realisation.

With regard to the first issue, it is important to see the APPRAISAL framework as capturing the interpersonal resources that are central to intersubjective positioning. Following Bakhtin, it is proposed that APPRAISAL realisations, although they may be

monologic in their compositional structure, are oriented toward the listener and his answer (Bakhtin 1981 [1934-5]: 280).

Similarly it is proposed that the meanings of APPRAISAL need to be interpreted

against the background of other concrete utterances on the same theme, a background made up of contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgements...pregnant with responses and objections. (Bakhtin 1981 [1934-5]: 281)

In other words, the resources of APPRAISAL are not simply a means for a speaker or writer to make 'personal' comments on the world but rather can be viewed as interpersonal tools for developing solidarity between the speaker/writer and their audience. Such solidarity may be best achieved either by construing the addressee as sharing a similar worldview or by acknowledging a diversity and multiplicity of standpoints, beliefs and attitudes as constituted in discursive practices. Inevitably, the success of interpersonal meaning depends largely on how writers and speakers take into account their addressees when selecting and negotiating emotional responses, judgements and valuations. For example, it cannot be assumed that a value judgement is shared or that a particular evaluative word such as 'risk taking' will have an identical meaning for all interactants. This aspect of interpersonal meaning requires the APPRAISAL framework to take into account the role of reader positioning in the interpretation of attitudinal meanings (see Section 5 for further discussion).

The second issue regarding the APPRAISAL framework concerns linguistic realisation. As Figure 1 shows, the model is oriented towards the discourse semantics, rather than directly to the lexicogrammar. The lexicogrammatical realisations of the systems are in fact highly diversified. This feature of interpersonal meaning has been explored by several linguists, including Fuller (1995, 1998) in relation to a grammar of discourse negotiation, and

Thompson (1996) in his research on 'reporting'. Drawing on Martin,

Thompson notes:

Reporting constitutes one of the 'semantic diffusions' or 'semantic motifs' which Martin (1992: 16) argues 'permeate the grammar' - other examples are modality and causation. Each semantic motif is made up of a group of meanings which are related semantically but which may be realised through a range of very different structural forms.

(Thompson 1996: 502)

Equally significant is the way in which interpersonal meaning can be realised through ideational configurations. Within the APPRAISAL framework, the notion of 'Tokens' of ATTITUDE capture the way in which ideational meaning can be evaluatively 'saturated'. Thus, whereas AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and VALUATION are frequently explicitly and directly inscribed in a text (through lexis such as *afraid, cowardly, significant*), Token of ATTITUDE is a term that references the indirect realisation of APPRAISAL. It enables the theory to account for a word or set of words which are used to trigger or 'evoke' a particular judgement on the part of the reader. In other words, it accounts for the way in which ideational meaning is exploited for its interpersonal effect. The following sentence, for example, would prompt many (but not all) readers to judge the Europeans' behaviour as negative and lacking integrity:

When the Europeans arrived in 1788 they occupied sacred land and destroyed Eora hunting and fishing grounds.

The sentence would, therefore, be analysed as a Token of negative JUDGEMENT.

The notation used to code this analysis would be as follows:

When the Europeans arrived in 1788 *they occupied sacred land and destroyed Eora hunting and fishing grounds.* (T - JUDGEMENT)

Such a system of notation where the Token is italicised and + indicates positive and - negative, will be followed in the APPRAISAL analyses in Section 4.

Finally, as commented on earlier, the APPRAISAL framework was originally developed as part of an investigation into specific school and workplace domains. This raises the question of the degree of generalisability of the discourse semantics modelled. To date, research shows that the systems have applications across a wide range of contexts. These include law (Korner 1998), casual conversation (Eggins and Slade 1997), educational consultancy (Baker 1998) and first language learning (Painter 1998). Nevertheless, it remains an open question as to whether the current framework adequately models the semantic choices generally available in the culture.

4. Towards a theory of voice

4.1 Analysing APPRAISAL choices.

In this section I analyse two history texts from the perspective of APPRAISAL.

Both texts were written by secondary school history students in an Australian Higher School Certificate (HSC) History exam. They were short answers to the question:

How important was the part played by Leon Trotsky in the Civil War following the 1917 Revolution?

The analysis of the two texts will serve to illustrate how each text is different in its selection of APPRAISAL resources, reflecting the findings in a larger corpus of school history writing where it emerged that within the discourse of school history there are several, distinct (prototypical) patternings with reference to interpersonal meaning (Coffin 2000). As can be seen from the texts below, formatting is a useful notation device when analysing APPRAISAL. Note that single and double underlining are used for JUDGEMENT analysis, double underlining being used for judgements that are more highly morally charged and single underlining for those less morally charged (a more detailed discussion of these differences will follow in Section 5). Where JUDGEMENT is realised as a Token, italics are used. The shorthand - stands for negative and + stands for positive.

Key

Single underlining = JUDGEMENT (less 'morally charged')

Double underlining = JUDGEMENT (more 'morally charged')

Italics = Token of JUDGEMENT

Dotted underlining = SOCIAL VALUATION

Bold = GRADUATION

Wave = ENGAGEMENT (PROBABILISE OR EXTRAVOCALISE)

Text 1.

Leon Trotsky played a key role (SOCIAL VALUATION i.e. Trotsky was a strong influencing factor) in the civil war and the Bolshevik revolution, mainly through his build up of the Red army and his restoration of discipline. (T + JUDGEMENT of Trotsky's competence).

When he invented the army it was full of democratic ideas, to destroy such ideas Trotsky abolished soldiers committees and restored discipline. (T + JUDGEMENT of Trotsky's competence). He brought back ranks and reinstated the death penalty for deserters. Trotsky also invited ex-Tsarist officers to join the Red Guard.

He believed they would benefit from their experience and still, however still realised that they may (PROBABILISE) be a threat to his discipline.

To solve such a problem Trotsky set up a special committee which were in charge of ensuring the ex-Tsarist officers were carrying out their duties and not attempting an overthrow. By the end of his changes of the Red Army Trotsky commanded a well trained highly disciplined force of about 5 million, (T + JUDGEMENT of the army, and by implication, Trotsky's competence) which was to play a key role (SOCIAL VALUATION i.e. the army was a strong influencing factor) in the Civil War and Bolshevik revolution. This army was at the disposal of Lenin and he could use them for whatever purpose he wished. Red guards were placed in key positions and the Bolshevik revolution **seized** the existing government.

(New South Wales Board of Studies 1997: 58)

From the analysis of Text 1 we can see that the student draws on two of the ATTITUDE systems, SOCIAL VALUATION and JUDGEMENT. SOCIAL VALUATION is directly realised through the lexical item 'key' expressing the extent of Trotsky's influence on the Civil War. JUDGEMENT, in contrast, is realised indirectly through Tokens (all positive). These Tokens are clearly being used as support for the VALUATION. Similarly, the GRADUATION resources of *highly* and *seized* are used to emphasise the military strengths of the Bolshevik revolution.

Such an analysis serves to show how the interpretation of Trotsky's role in the civil war is largely presented as a factual record. That is, events and judgements are realised through unmodalised declaratives (e.g. *Leon Trotsky played a key role*) and alternative assessments of the part he played are not countenanced. Where there is use of PROBABILISE (in the projected clause *realised that they may...*), this does not serve to introduce an alternative view ascribed to an authoritative historian but rather serves to present Trotsky's purported assessment regarding his use of ex-Tsarist officers. In sum, the writer of Text 1 draws on a relatively small set of APPRAISAL resources in order to evaluate Trotsky and assumes that such an evaluation does not have to be extensively argued for. The writer of Text 2 (see analysis below), in contrast, adopts a rather different intersubjective strategy in making his/her assessment.

Text 2

Following the Revolution of 1917, Trotsky had become commissar for Foreign Affairs, but in 1918 he was replaced by Chichenn, and became Commissar for War.

In 1918, The Russian revolution was under threat from both internal and external counter-revolutionary forces. *Leon Trotsky made the Red Army a formidable force*. (T + JUDGEMENT of Trotsky's competence) He

introduced compulsory conscription for all peasants and workers; and he recruited 50,000 Tsarist officials to provide the Army with experienced leadership (+JUDGEMENT). The Red Army grew from 800,000 men in 1918 to 5 million in 1920 thanks to Trotsky's organisational skill. (+JUDGEMENT)

In 1919 though, it seemed (PROBABILISE) that Trotsky had failed (-JUDGEMENT) as *the 'Whites' (as the counter-revolutionaries called themselves) gained more and more territory and control* (T + JUDGEMENT of the Whites' military skill). Trotsky spent the Civil war travelling in an armoured train, directing battles. (+ JUDGEMENT of Trotsky's leadership) Soon, *the White forces were able to be held at bay* (T - JUDGEMENT of White forces resolve). They could not organise themselves effectively (T -JUDGEMENT); they lost support because of their brutality (- JUDGEMENT of Whites cruelty)

Trotsky was hailed (EXTRAVOCALISE) Hero of the Civil War (+JUDGEMENT). His tactics during the war often came under attack as *ruthless* (- JUDGEMENT) discipline was employed. *Any soldier who decided to 'desert' his troops, was shot on the spot*. (T - JUDGEMENT of Trotsky's ruthlessness)

The part played by Leon Trotsky in the Civil War following the 1917 Revolution was **extremely** important; in fact it was vital in the Bolshevik victory.

(New South Wales Board of Studies 1997: 58)

The formatting of Text 2 immediately makes clear that, compared to Text 1, a more evaluative approach is taken by the student writer. In addition to deploying Tokens of JUDGEMENT, the writer of Text 2 also makes several direct judgements, with one being more morally charged (*Hero of the Civil War*) (although, interestingly, in this instance, the writer draws on the ENGAGEMENT system to mediate the JUDGEMENT).

4.2 The Voices of History - a preliminary examination

From the analyses of the two texts, we can see that the kind, and degree, of APPRAISAL made by the writer of each of the texts is rather different. It can be argued that it is largely this difference in interpersonal orientation that (following official HSC grading) places Text 1 in the 'Typical Average Range' and Text 2 in the 'Typical Excellent Range'. It can also be argued that the distinctions in the APPRAISAL choices and configurations for Text 1 and Text 2 and consequent assessment grading are not untypical. From a detailed analysis of a corpus of student history texts (see Coffin 2000), I would propose that the kind of patterning seen in Text 1 and Text 2 is, in fact, symptomatic of school history writing. That is, there are some students who, regardless of assessment task, are more likely to draw on the resources displayed in Text 1 and some students who are more likely to draw on the resources displayed in Text 2. Looked at from another a perspective we can say that across the range of history texts that make up the register of school history one set of texts (in terms of their APPRAISAL configuration) tends to approximate Text 1 in terms of interpersonal choices and another set, those of Text 2. It is this feature of systematic variation in APPRAISAL choices that underpins voice theory.

First developed within the context of WIR research into the print media (Iedema et al. 1994) and influenced by Bakhtinian theorising (as mentioned in

Section 3.1) the notion of 'voice' was a means of capturing and categorising the textual personas played out in journalistic writing in terms of the favouring and disfavouring of certain APPRAISAL resources. Across the print media, APPRAISAL analyses showed that texts could be grouped into two distinct voice categories - 'reporter' voice and 'writer' voice. This categorising largely turned on the relative 'objectivity' of reporter voice (in which JUDGEMENT choices are extravocalised or tokenised) and the relative 'subjectivity' of writer voice (in which JUDGEMENT choices are inscribed directly into the text). More delicate analyses then revealed that writer voice could in turn be subcategorised as 'correspondent' and 'commentator' voice, 'commentator' voice being more 'charged' in terms of choice of JUDGEMENT subcategory (referred to as SOCIAL SANCTION). Figure 2 below shows very generally the key distinctions with reference to the JUDGEMENT system across the three media voices (SOCIAL ESTEEM referring to less morally charged judgements). (see Section 5 below for further discussion of JUDGEMENT subcategories).

Figure 2 about here

Following on from theorising the voices of the print media, APPRAISAL analyses across school history texts showed similar systematic differences in APPRAISAL clusterings, as suggested in the earlier analysis of Text 1 and Text 2. Thus in one group of texts, there was an obvious absence of inscribed JUDGEMENT and SOCIAL VALUATION. This group was labelled 'recorder' voice in

order to capture the interpersonal distance of the writer and the consequent objective, neutral 'feel' of the text (see Figure 3). Given that all reconstructions of the past, however, present a particular perspective and are therefore biased to some degree, this does not mean that recorder voice is value free. Rather it means that the text creates a perspective in a relatively indirect way- through the writer's selection and arrangement of events, its patterns of transitivity and its use of tokenised JUDGEMENT. 'Objectivity' is thereby achieved through the absence of direct and explicit forms of evaluation and by suppressing alternative interpretations, as exemplified in Text 1. Such a finding thus highlights how a single metafunction (i.e. the interpersonal) cannot be the exclusive focus for the investigation of questions of value and affect.

A further illustration of recorder voice is provided in the text below, an extract from a student account of Aboriginal and European contact in Australia during the 18th century. In the extract, negative judgements of European behaviour are evoked rather than explicitly inscribed and alternative perspectives and interpretations are absent:

When the Europeans arrived in 1788 they occupied sacred land and destroyed Eora hunting and fishing grounds. In 1790 the Eora people began a guerrilla war against the Europeans.

In 1794 the Eora, whose leader was Pemulwuy, attacked the European settlement of Brickfield. Thirty six British and fourteen Eora were killed during this attack. In the same year the Eora killed a British settler. Then the British ordered that six of the tribe be killed.

The Aborigines continued to resist the European invaders by burning their crops and houses, taking food, destroying cattle and killing some settlers. In 1797 they attacked Toongabbie and within a week the farmers had to retreat and the farms were burned. In that year their leader, Pemulwuy, was captured by the British but later escaped.

As exemplified in the extract above, recorder voice assumes, or simulates, reader alignment with the writer's world-view, thus minimising the amount of explicit interpersonal work to be done (in terms of negotiating with diverse audience positionings). It makes no attempt to complicate its unified and 'factual' presentation of the past by directly acknowledging or anticipating alternative, multiple viewpoints, and the relativity of each. This suggests that recorder voice is a device that operates in a similar way to the media's reporter voice - a potent rhetorical device for backgrounding and construing as natural and commonsensical its interpretation of the past.

In a second set of history texts, APPRAISAL analysis revealed that writers favour a different selection of semantic resources in order to 'manage' their

intersubjective positioning. In this group of texts the writer is more intrusive in terms of judging and valuing people and phenomena (as illustrated in Text 2). Thus choices from the ATTITUDE system are often inscribed in the text. In these texts the writer's worldview is more 'in view' and to capture this feature the voice is referred to as 'appraiser'. As is the case with writer voice in the media texts, 'appraisers' may be more or less 'moral' in the kinds of JUDGEMENT made. These distinctions are reflected in the subdivision of appraiser voice into 'interpreter' and 'adjudicator' voice (cf. the media's correspondent and commentator voices). Further illustration of interpreter voice in contrast to adjudicator voice is provided in the two extracts below. In the first, where the student outlines the consequences of World War II there is a high frequency of SOCIAL VALUATION and an absence of judgement. In the second extract, in contrast, in which a student discusses the extent to which the industrial proletariat contributed to the outbreak of revolution, SOCIAL ESTEEM and SOCIAL SANCTION occur freely:

The consequences of World War II

World War II affected Australian Society both during and after the war. The focus of this essay is its impact on Australia after it ended in 1945 and an explanation of how six years of involvement in warfare led to major economic, political and social changes. One major effect of World War II was a restructuring of the Australian economy: the unavailability of goods meant that Australia had to begin to produce its own. In

addition, because better equipment, such as aeroplanes, machinery and ammunition, was needed during the war, industries such as the iron and steel ones, as well as shipbuilding, were **greatly boosted**. In fact between 1937 and 1945 the value of industrial production almost doubled. This increase was faster than would otherwise have occurred and the momentum was maintained in the post war years. This was partly the result of the post war influx of immigrants which led to an increase in the demand for goods and services and therefore a growth in industry.

How far did the industrial proletariat contribute to the outbreak of revolution?

These were the intellectuals and students who witnessed the brutality and corruption of the old regime, and were determined to create a Cuba of 'free and happy people'. The dysfunctions within Cuban society were **immense** in Batista's rule. His army were weak and had a low morale, their brutality (20000 Cubans killed in his seven year reign) led to **widespread** fear and hatred of the regime. The United States domination of Cuban society led to a **deep** resentment amongst the Cubans, a resentment which had been present in the days of Hose Marti, one of Cuba's national heroes. The U.S owned 90% of Cuba's mines, 40% of her sugar industry, and 80% of her utilities. Such a dominating presence aroused **much** anger which was directed towards Batista who allowed such a powerful country to have such influence. With six hundred

thousand unemployed people, and 1/3 of the national living in slums the Batista regimes dysfunctions were **many**. The leadership for revolution was provided by Fidel Castro.

His charisma and intellect meant he was able to obtain **much** support from the proletariat in the cities, (see from his reception after release from prison in 1955), and support from the peasantry. His ideology was evident in his 'history will absolve me' speech made in his defence when he had been captured after the failed Moncada attack in 1951.

Figure 3 summarises the key APPRAISAL resources of all three voices as they have been mapped to date. From this diagram it is clear that Text 1 belongs to the category of recorder voice and Text 2 to the category of appraiser voice.

Figure 3 about here

In summary, voice theory can be seen as a theoretical tool for examining an author's overall positioning strategy within a text. Whereas the APPRAISAL framework has been designed to map the evaluative resources that are generally available within the culture, voice theory is essentially a descriptive tool for exploring interpersonal styles that have, to a greater or lesser extent, become conventionalised within particular discourse communities.

Research to date shows that the interpersonal style construed by a writer is influenced both by the social purpose and generic structure of a text (the genre) and on the nature of the intersubjective work that is required or seen to be required in a particular social context. With regard to the latter, the degree of solidarity perceived to exist between writer and reader and the consequent degree of potential alignment or divergence that can be assumed appears to be a strong influencing factor.

In the case of school history, and the set of genres that comprise the writing demands of the secondary school curriculum, the degree of potential alignment and divergence and therefore the nature of the intersubjective work that is required, is largely an outcome of the 'artificial' audiences that operate for pedagogic purposes within the institutionalised school setting. That is, at every stage of schooling, the audience for the written texts produced by students is primarily the classroom teacher and/or an external assessor, suggesting that the degree of potential alignment and divergence remains stable throughout students' apprenticeship. However, research suggests that the pedagogic process of learning history is designed to develop students' repertoire of persuasive skills (Coffin 2000).

Thus a changing audience/reader profile appears to be assumed or 'created' at different levels of schooling, requiring the student to make different assumptions about the nature of reader alignment and hence the degree of

argumentation required. In this sense the history students' audience is an 'artefact' of the pedagogic environment, rather than an outcome of a 'natural' social context. This 'audience' construct is an integral part of the apprenticeship design in that it facilitates the development of different 'voices' and therefore an expanding repertoire of persuasive and positioning strategies. In general terms, school history students move from telling the stories of history (in primarily recorder voice) to explaining and arguing about interpretations of the past (adopting to varying degrees 'interpreter' and 'adjudicator' voice).

Having discussed voice theory as a tool for describing the overall interpersonal style of a text, it is possible to proceed to a related aspect of the theory which addresses the more localised positioning strategies deployed by a writer. For example, is there a rhythm of moving from implicit to explicit JUDGEMENT, does the author predominantly use Tokens in the body of the text and only make explicit their judgements in the concluding stage? This localised strategy is referred to as the 'key' and it is this more delicate tool that can capture APPRAISAL shifts and the interaction of APPRAISAL resources as a text unfolds. In the following section, the JUDGEMENT system is examined in some detail and then considered in relation to a 'key' analysis of a text sharing the same assessment topic as Text 1 and Text 2. .

5. JUDGEMENT and the Voices of History: a dynamic perspective

The subsystem of JUDGEMENT was initially developed during WIR research into the language of the media in order to account for the various categories through which journalists, correspondents and editors pass judgement on newsworthy events and people (for more detail see Iedema et al, 1994). Not surprisingly - given that media news texts can be seen as 'the first drafts of history' - these categories have to date, provided a useful framework for analysing judgement in history (see Coffin 2000).

It should be pointed out that the JUDGEMENT framework is highly determined by cultural and ideological values and different behaviours may be classified differently according to the set of social values to which the reader/evaluator subscribes. In the expanded framework below (Table 1) the sample classifications largely derive from Western, English speaking, mainstream, middle class positioning. There will therefore be many cases where a different reader positioning will lead to alternative classifications. Thus, whereas few would disagree that *brave* represents positive TENACITY and *cowardly*, negative TENACITY, *risk taking* may be placed, depending on context or reader positioning, in either the negative or positive camp. In Table 1 below, JUDGEMENT values marked in bold appear to be less stable, in terms of how they relate to behavioural norms functioning within a particular institutional context or social grouping.

Social Esteem	positive	negative
Normality (custom) 'is the person's behaviour and/or way of life unusual or special?'	lucky, fortunate, charismatic, magical	unlucky, unfortunate...; tragic, odd, strange , maverick
Capacity 'is the person competent, capable?'	able, successful, (politically) skilled, astute, effective, powerful, strong, enterprising, tactical, shrewd, pragmatic , intelligent	incompetent, failure, flawed, weak, short sighted, lacking judgement,
Tenacity (resolve) 'is the person dependable, well disposed, committed?'	brave, heroic, courageous, hard working, willing, well disciplined, daring , fearsome , risk taking , vigorous, formidable , committed, dedicated, tenacious, determined, passionate, self reliant, genial	cowardly, badly organised, stubborn, arrogant, cowardly, rigid, inflexible, despondent, low morale
Social Sanction	positive	negative
Veracity (truth) 'is the person honest?'	genuine, honest, truthful, credible	hypocritical, complicit, deceptive, deceitful, dishonest
Propriety (ethics) 'is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	respectable, responsible, self sacrificing , fair, just,	ruthless, abusive, brutal, unjust, unfair, immoral, corrupt, oppressive

Table 1: JUDGEMENT categories with examples taken from historical discourse

As can be seen in the table, two broad categories of JUDGEMENT are proposed - SOCIAL ESTEEM and SOCIAL SANCTION and each of these has a positive and negative dimension. JUDGEMENTS of ESTEEM have to do with NORMALITY (how unusual someone is), CAPACITY (how capable they are) and TENACITY (how resolute they are). JUDGEMENTS of ESTEEM, therefore, involve admiration and criticism but have no legal implications. With JUDGEMENTS of SOCIAL SANCTION, on the other hand, behaviour is more prone to moral or legal

endorsement through public condemnation or approval and through rules or regulations which are sometimes explicitly coded in the culture. To breach SOCIAL SANCTION, therefore, may be to risk legal punishment or, from a Western, Christian religious tradition, to risk committing a 'mortal' sin. SOCIAL SANCTION is divided into two sub-types: VERACITY, which turns on questions of truth (how honest someone is), and PROPRIETY, which turns on questions of ethics (how moral someone is).

Each of the different JUDGEMENT categories exemplified in Table 1 can be seen as a different key. Hence a shift from one choice of JUDGEMENT to another can be described as a 'key change'. Equally, the notion of key change can be used to capture the shift in interpersonal quality when a writer moves from a Token to an explicit realisation of JUDGEMENT. In this way, by examining the typical patterns of JUDGEMENT choice as they unfold across a text, 'key' analysis can capture the precise nature of the voice strategy. As well, it can be used to see how different people and phenomena are construed through particular JUDGEMENT choices and this can usefully reveal the naturalised, but ideologically determined, world-view which informs the historical interpretation.

In the text that follows the JUDGEMENT and SOCIAL VALUATION choices present in Text 2 have been reconfigured in order to illustrate a) how interpretations

of past events and people can be more or less morally charged (and thus shift 'voice') and b) how 'key' patterning can give a text persuasive force.

Text 3

Following the Revolution of 1917, Trotsky had become commissar for Foreign Affairs, but in 1918 he was replaced by Chichenn, and became Commissar for War. He proved to be a resolute (+ TENACITY) and moral leader. (+ PROPRIETY).

In 1918, The Russian revolution was under threat from both internal and external counter-revolutionary forces. Leon Trotsky made the Red Army a formidable force. (T + CAPACITY). He introduced compulsory conscription for all peasants and workers; and he recruited 50,000 Tsarist officials to provide the Army with experienced leadership. (+ CAPACITY). The Red Army grew from 800,000 men in 1918 to 5 million in 1920 thanks to Trotsky's organisational skill.(+ CAPACITY).

In 1919 though, it seemed that Trotsky had failed (-CAPACITY), as the 'Whites' (as the counter-revolutionaries called themselves) gained more and more territory and control. (T + CAPACITY). Trotsky spent the Civil war travelling in an armoured train, directing battles.(+ JUDGEMENT of Trotsky's leadership). Soon, the White forces were able to be held at bay (T - JUDGEMENT of

White forces resolve). They could not organise themselves effectively (- CAPACITY); they lost support because of their terrible brutality (- PROPRIETY) .

Trotsky was hailed Hero of the Civil War (+ PROPRIETY). His firmness (+ RESOLVE) and tactics were highly effective (+ CAPACITY) as was his ability to manage and discipline the forces (+ CAPACITY). For example, any soldier who decided to 'desert' his troops, was shot on the spot. (T + CAPACITY).

Leon Trotsky was a courageous (+ TENACITY) and just leader (+ PROPRIETY) who was deeply concerned with the continuing success of the Revolution (+ PROPRIETY - caring). The part played by Trotsky in the Civil War following the 1917 Revolution was extremely important. (+ SOCIAL VALUATION); in fact it was vital (+ SOCIAL VALUATION) in the Bolshevik victory.

Text 3 shows a clear voice strategy at work. Overall the presence of explicit SOCIAL SANCTION JUDGEMENTS would lead it to be classified as adjudicator voice. From a logogenetic perspective, the text begins with an explicit JUDGEMENT of Trotsky within the SOCIAL SANCTION category (*moral leader*), followed by further judgements from within the SOCIAL ESTEEM category, namely his skill as leader and his resolve in the civil war. In the body of the text, JUDGEMENTS of SOCIAL ESTEEM are realised explicitly (e.g. *experienced leadership, organisation skill, his firmness and tactics were highly effective*) whereas

the single JUDGEMENT of SOCIAL SANCTION is mediated through the resource of EXTRAVOCALISE (*he was hailed Hero of the Civil War*).

In the final stage of the text, however, a further judgement of SOCIAL SANCTION is inscribed directly (*just leader*). This movement from a direct inscription of SOCIAL SANCTION in the opening paragraph of the text to the use of a Token in the body prior to further inscription in the closing paragraph is, I believe, an effective positioning device (see Coffin 1997 for further discussion of this rhetorical move). That is, by offering an initial explicit JUDGEMENT, the writer guides or 'constrains' a compliant reader's subsequent interpretation of events.

It is more likely, for instance, that, in the context of a positive opening JUDGEMENT (*he proved to be a resolute and moral leader*), combined with the more local JUDGEMENTS (*he was hailed Hero, his firmness and tactics were highly effective, his ability to manage and discipline the forces*), a reader will interpret the proposition *any soldier who decided to 'desert' his troops, was shot on the spot* as a positive Token of CAPACITY. In contrast, a less positive initial JUDGEMENT might lead to a more ambiguous reading, or one where readers interpret the Token as negative SOCIAL SANCTION. Likewise the accumulation of positive JUDGEMENTS of ESTEEM and SANCTION (both inscribed and evoked) make the final JUDGEMENT of intensified SOCIAL SANCTION more plausible and thus more

persuasive. It seems to follow logically that given the events recounted, given the 'facts', Trotsky could only be viewed in one way.

6. Conclusion

The main aim of this article was to examine recent developments in interpersonal theorising (namely APPRAISAL and voice theory) and to show how they can provide insight into the linguistic patterning of values and judgements that are such a crucial aspect of school history writing. In particular, I argued that history texts can be grouped according to their particular configuration of APPRAISAL choices and that research to date suggests that these groupings fall into three main categories. These have been termed 'recorder', 'interpreter' and 'adjudicator' voice.

An awareness of these voices (on the part of teachers and students), I would argue, is of high educational value. As commented on earlier, the kind, or degree, of APPRAISAL present in student essays appears to have an effect on their grades. Teachers need, therefore, tools that can make explicit the choices available to student historians. They need, too, to be able to discuss with students the rhetorical consequences of 'speaking in different voices'. Equally important, given that history is fundamentally about 'assessing distortions not copying out truths' (Vincent 1995), is students' ability to unpick value judgements and to recognise the way in which they, as readers, are positioned by a text. For it is only then that a student can actively choose to be a resistant

or a compliant reader (see Cranny Francis 1996 for a discussion of critical and tactical readings of school texts). As Blanco and Rosa (1997: 196) propose:

One of the purposes of teaching history should be that of empowering students to defend themselves from ready-made stories and their implications; that is, to provide them with resources for untangling the fabric of the historical stories they encounter.

'Notes'

1. Small caps are used to distinguish APPRAISAL systems as semantic systems.
2. All texts and extracts from texts form part of the corpus of student writing collected from secondary schools during the Write it Right project (see section 2.1) or are published sample answers from the Australian Higher School Certificate in History.

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Figure 1

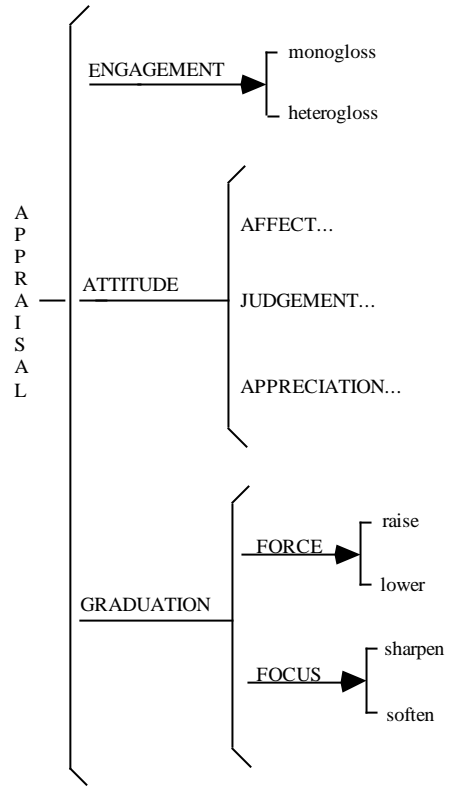


Figure 2

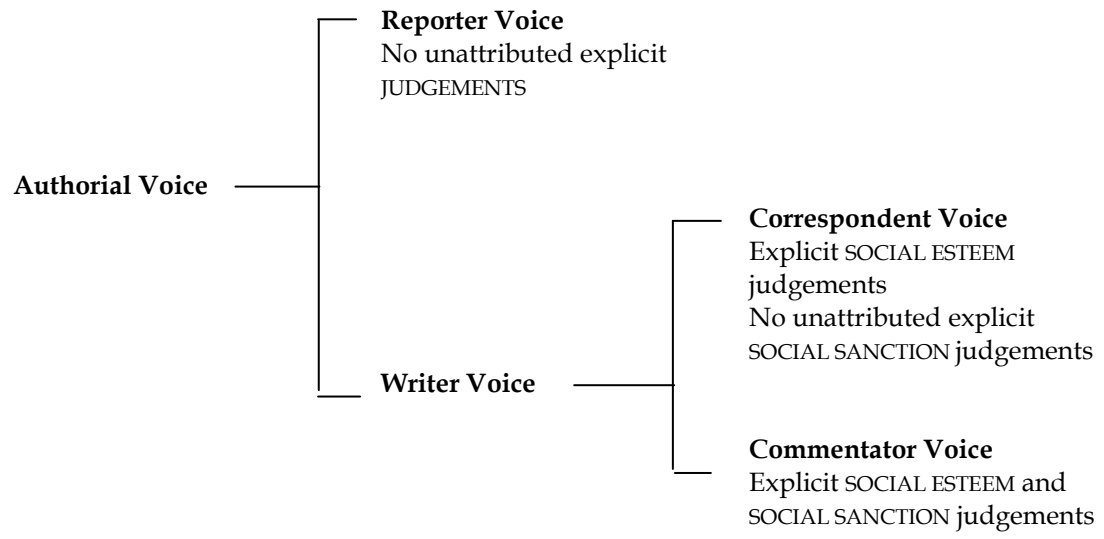
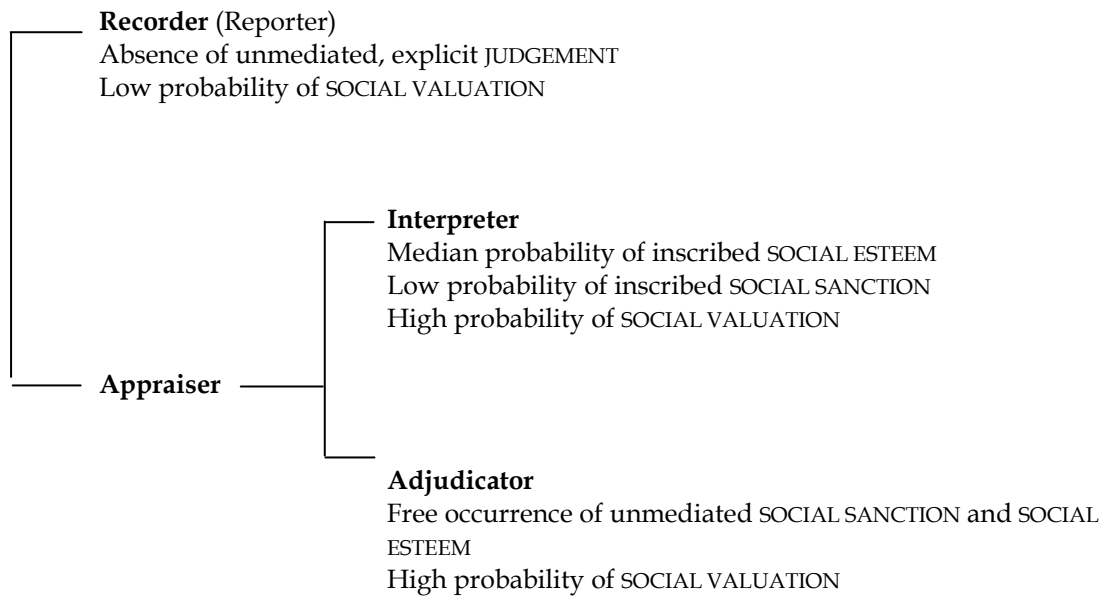


Figure 3



Captions for Figures

Figure 1 An outline of APPRAISAL resources in English (after Martin 2000)

Figure 2: The voices of the Print Media: First Cut (adapted from Iedema et al. 1994)

Figure 3: The Voices of history