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From "Roaring Lion" to "Chlorinated Chicken": Evaluative Stance and Ideological Positioning in a Corpus of British Political Discourse

Abstract: This paper aims to analyse the linguistic mechanisms used by British Conservative and Labour politicians to express their evaluative stance. Although much work has been done in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) in relation to the evaluative potential of metaphor (Hart 2008; Charteris-Black 2005 2019, among others) and to the analysis of epistemic and effective stance (Marín-Arrese 2011, 2015), to our knowledge, no comprehensive analysis has focused on the study of evaluative stance. Drawing on the model of positioning and (inter)subjectivity developed as part of the STANCEDISC Project (Marín-Arrese and Hidalgo-Downing, 2019), this paper uses a mixed methods approach to investigate the type of evaluative strategies in each set of speeches, their value-connotation, and their connection with the specific features of representation and ideological positioning that characterise PD (Chilton 2004; Filardo-Llamas and Boyd 2018).

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Studies, stance, evaluation, metaphor, political discourse*

1 Introduction

Since the classical rhetorical tradition, political discourse (PD) has been characterised by persuasion. It is precisely its persuasive nature that "makes it especially suited for the expression of evaluation, since politicians need to create a distinct profile for themselves in order to persuade their audience to vote for them" (Díez-Prados and Cabrejas-Peñuelas 2018: 179). In the field of linguistics, the study of evaluation in PD has followed two major trends: a trend based on pragmatics and a trend adhering to the appraisal framework (see Cabrejas Peñuelas and Díez Prados, 2014 for an overview).

On the one hand, studies which follow a pragmatics-based approach have primarily focused on the use of evaluative markers as a mechanism for saving the positive face of politicians in response to face-threatening questions (Harris 1991; Simon-Vandenbergen 1996; Becker 2009). On the other hand, a number of studies have applied the appraisal framework (Martin and White 2005) to explain uses of evaluative language in PD. These include, among others, Opstaele's (2008) comparison of Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's speeches,

Aloy Mayo and Taboada's (2017) corpus-based exploration of the 2014 midterm US elections in *Cosmopolitan*, or Berracheche's (2020) study of how appraisal can help us identify party positioning.

Indeed, the appraisal framework has been widely acknowledged as a valuable tool for studying evaluation within the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) paradigm (see Hart 2014a; Coffin and O'Halloran 2012; Bloor and Bloor 2007; Bednarek and Caple 2014). While the analysis of stance includes both evaluation and positioning, the latter has been explicitly approached from a critical perspective, particularly in relation to effective and epistemic stance (see, for instance, Marín Arrese 2011, 2015). Although these studies have examined the linguistic features used by politicians to position themselves towards events and viewpoints presented in their discourse, to our knowledge, no comprehensive analysis has focused on the way evaluative stance is not only discursively manifested but also ideologically determined and oriented. This chapter tries to fill this gap by exploring the linguistic mechanisms used by British Conservative and Labour politicians to express their evaluative stance. In doing so, it addresses the following research questions:

1. How is evaluation expressed by Conservative and Labour politicians? More specifically, how do they differ in the categories of evaluative markers that they use and in the values (positive or negative) ascribed to them?
2. What role does evaluation play in the construction of their ideological positioning? In other words, how is evaluation used to legitimise the party's ideology?

In order to carry out this analysis, a sample of political speeches delivered by British politicians between 2016 and 2019 was chosen from the PD corpus compiled as part of the STANCEDISC project[1] (see section 3 for further details about the data). Due to the fact that the Conservative party was in office during this period, and after the UK voted to leave the EU, it is hypothesised that Labour politicians will make a higher use of negative evaluation devices with the aim of delegitimising the Conservative party and its political actions. A contextual dimension is thus incorporated to the analysis, with the aim of establishing a relation between the linguistic cues present in the text and the ideological function performed by evaluative lexis.

This chapter is organised as follows. After this brief introduction, section 2 provides an overview of the concept of stance, particularly focusing on the model followed in this research as well as its connection with evaluation studies in CDA. Section 3 describes the data and the methodology used for the analysis of both sets of political speeches. Section 4 presents the findings from a qualitative and a quantitative perspective together with an interpretation of those results in relation to ideology. Finally, the conclusion section summarises the main results while highlighting their contribution to the field of PD analysis.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Evaluation and Stance

The concept of stance has been approached from different perspectives within discourses studies, each highlighting particular linguistic dimensions and resources. In its origin, stance was defined as "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements, or commitments concerning the propositional content of a message" (Biber and Finegan 1989: 93). This definition was further developed by Biber et al. (1999: chapter 12), who distinguished three types of stance: i) epistemic stance, which referred to "the status of information in a proposition", thus including expressions of certainty, doubt, actuality, precision and limitation; ii) attitudinal stance, which comprised markers reporting "personal attitudes or feelings", and, iii) style of speaking stance or "comments on the communication itself". Kiesling (2009) incorporates the interpersonal dimension and defines stance not only as the way people relate to their talk (epistemic stance) but also as the way they relate to their interlocutors (interpersonal stance).

From a systemic functional linguistic perspective, stance has been equated with the language of evaluation (Martin 2000; Martin and White 2005). In an attempt to provide a detailed account of the linguistic resources used by speakers/writers to convey assessments and engage with prior or potential interlocutors, appraisal theory divides these resources into three semantic domains: i) attitude, or meanings by which (positive or negative) values or assessments are attached to participants and processes by reference to emotional responses or to culturally-determined value systems (e.g. *I admire, he's proud*); ii) engagement, or resources whereby speakers or writers position themselves with respect to the propositions or proposals expressed in the text; this domain includes various lexico-grammatical resources traditionally analysed as pertaining to the domains of evidentiality, epistemic modality or hedging (e.g. *I think, perhaps, it seems that…*); and iii) graduation, or values expressed by speakers/writers to graduate

the impact, force or focus of their utterances or semantic categorisations (e.g. *slightly, effectively*). In appraisal theory all these lexico-grammatical resources are characterised as evaluative. Like Martin (2000), Thompson and Hunston (2001) place emphasis on the semantics of evaluation and regard evaluation as the "broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer´s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (p. 5).

Undoubtedly, evaluation and positioning are key components of stance, to such an extent that the three terms have become inextricably intertwined in the existing literature. Du Bois (2007: 141) claims that "the act of taking a stance necessarily invokes an evaluation at one level or another, whether by assertion or inference". This author views stance as a form a social action, as "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" (p. 163). The act of stance-taking is, according to Elder (2020: 73), also an act of "positioning oneself with respect to the content of what is said, and/or with respect to one´s interlocutors". Consequently, in spite of the complex nature of stance and the multifarious terminology associated with it, it seems reasonable to suggest that a comprehensive view of stance should account for both how one positions oneself towards the content of their propositions and proposals, and how the discursive 'objects' are linguistically evaluated. In other words, stance can be understood as an umbrella term comprising positioning and evaluative resources.

The framework for the study of evaluation presented in this chapter draws on the stance model carried out within the STANCEDISC project, which combines work on stance and evaluation from a CDA perspective (see Marín Arrese 2011; Marín-Arrese et al. 2020; Hidalgo Downing et al. forthcoming). According to this model, there are three types of stance:

  i) Epistemic stance, whereby the speaker/ writer shows their concern with "knowledge about the events designated" (Marín Arrese 2011: 193), as manifested by means of epistemic modals, verbs of cognition, evidentials and reporting verbs.
 ii) Effective stance, which refers to the ways by which the speaker/writer aims to "exert control or influence on the course or reality itself" (Marín Arrese 2011: 193). This type of stance is mostly realised by modals expressing deonticity, possibility, necessity and volition as well as predicates expressing desirability, requirement or intention and commitment.

iii) Evaluative stance, which refers to the assessment of entities, participants or events as well as the expression of attitudes or opinions about a whole proposition (Hidalgo Downing et al. forthcoming). This type of stance links evaluation to positioning and alignment, following Du Bois (2007).

2.2 Evaluative Stance and Ideological Positioning

As previously mentioned, evaluative stance is concerned with assessment and alignment. As such, it is realised in discourse by means of lexical choices having a positive or a negative value. As described in Hidalgo Downing et al. (forthcoming), evaluative markers fall into three categories: classifying, predicational and attitudinal. Classifying expressions are those which "classify entities or events according to social systems of beliefs". These terms are typically nouns and verbs (e.g. this is *chaos*). Predicational expressions are those which "qualify entities or events according to social systems of beliefs", as is the case of adjectives (e.g., *excellent*, *terrible*) or nouns having a modifying function (e.g., a *key* feature). Finally, attitudinal expressions or evaluative resources express the speaker´s attitudes or opinions about a whole proposition. Attitude is prototypically realised by sentential adverbs, such as *luckily*.

It should be noted that in the framework adopted here (Hidalgo-Downing et al. forthcoming; Hidalgo-Downing and Pérez-Sobrino, this volume), classifying and predicational expressions capture the CDA distinction between nomination and predicational strategies, that is, strategies referring to how actors, actions, events or objects are named and characterised in discourse, respectively (see, for instance, Wodak 2001, among others). Additionally, expressions can be metaphoric or non-metaphoric. In fact, Deignan (2010) observes that the evaluative function of metaphor has been widely acknowledged since the 1960s (p. 357). After reviewing existing research on how evaluation is conveyed by metaphor, Deignan (2010) identified four uses of metaphor: creating entailments, exploiting metaphorical scenarios, choosing meaningful source domains and exploiting the connotations of a word´s literal meaning. As will be shown in the analysis section, metaphoric evaluative stance is primarily conveyed by creating entailments, which, in turn, derive from particular source domains strategically chosen to promote the party´s ideology.

The connection between evaluative stance and ideology is another important theoretical foundation for the present study. Within CDA, cognitive-linguistics and socio-cognitive approaches have shown that linguistic choices, and among them, evaluative language, can result in the construction of social identities (Filardo-Llamas and Boyd 2018; Filardo-Llamas and Morales-López 2021), in

ideological representations and values of ingroups (Núñez Perucha 2011) and in alternative construals of reality, which, in turn, encode particular (de)legitimised views (Hart 2014a, 2014b, 2018). Amongst the construal operations identified in the literature, two are of particular interest for the study of evaluation in political discourse: framing and positioning. Positioning strategies are the ones related to the situation of the speaker in relation to a given temporal, spatial or axiological coordinate (Chilton 2004; Hart 2014b; Cap 2013). It is the axiological dimension of positioning that is important for the study of evaluation, given its role in the construal of alien or shared ideological beliefs and values relative to the dominant ideology of the deictic centre (Cap 2010: 399; 2013). In the study of PD, evaluation has been considered a positioning strategy showing the politicians' (inter)subjective alignment or disalignment with (discourse) participants and events in an axis which ranges across the good-bad parameters (Thompson and Hunston 2000; Chilton 2004; Englebretson 2007; Hart 2014a; Lawrence 2017). These good-bad values are closely related to van Dijk´s (1998: 301) ideological square based on the "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" of participants and events. Indeed, it can be argued that evaluation is ideologically motivated inasmuch as what the speaker/writer thinks or feels about something reveals their ideology and its underlying value-system. As Thompson and Hunston (2001: 6) rightly note, "every act of evaluation expresses a communal value-system, and every act of evaluation goes towards building up that value-system. This value system in turn is a component of the ideology which lies behind every text".

As will also be shown in the analysis, ideology is articulated on the basis of group values, which, in turn, determine the purpose and features of evaluation. The importance of context and shared knowledge shall thus be addressed when identifying the value system underlying lexical choices. Positive and negative evaluation do not only reflect the politician´s value-system, but they also contribute to reinforcing the party´s ideology and a sense of commonality.

3 Corpus and Methodology

3.1 Data and Selection Criteria

The data comprises two sets of political speeches delivered by members of the British Conservative and Labour Parties between 2016 and 2019, a time during which the Conservative party was in power. The EU or Brexit referendum took place on 23rd June 2016 and Britain voted to leave the EU. The official withdrawal process started in 2017, but Theresa May failed to win the backing of the UK

Parliament on her Brexit deal and resigned as Prime Minister in 2019. She was then succeeded by Boris Johnson.

As previously mentioned, all the speeches belong to the 200,000-word STANCEDISC corpus. For the purposes of this study, a sample was compiled according to the following selection criteria: First, each set should contain approximately 15,000 words. The number of words rather than the number of speeches was considered the main selection criterion. As a result, the number of speeches varies across the sample. Second, in order to avoid stylistic influence, different politicians, who were not necessarily the leaders of the party, were selected. Finally, for consistency reasons, it was decided that all the speeches should belong to the same genre. Consequently, all the speeches chosen were given at party conferences, which ensured contextual homogeneity.

The Conservative set (henceforth STANCECON) contains 15,537 words and includes speeches given by David Davis, Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union (October 2016); Boris Johnson, as leader of the Conservative Party (October 2017); Theresa May, PM and Conservative leader (October 2018); and, Jacob Rees-Mogg, Leader of the House of Commons (September 2019). The Labour set (STANCELAB) consists of 14,546 words and represents the voices of Jeremy Corbyn, Leader of the Labour Party (September 2018); Emily Thornberry, MP, Shadow Foreign Secretary (September 2018); Diane Abbott, Shadow Home Secretary (September 2019); Dawn Butler, Shadow Secretary of State for Women and Equalities (September 2019); Jennie Formbie, General Secretary (September 2019); Keir Stammer, Shadow Brexit Secretary (September 2019); and Ian Lavery, Chairman of the Labour Party (September 2019). In the analysis section, the source for each example is indicated by the surname of the politician and the year in which the speech was delivered in brackets.

3.2 Methodology

The analysis used a mixed methods procedure, thus combining the quantitative analysis of the evaluative categories under investigation and the qualitative analysis of their discursive and ideological functions.[2]

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2   For a detailed description of the method developed for the analysis of evaluation in discourse which includes the inter-rater reliability process, the criteria for evaluative stance, the steps in the implementation of the protocol and the theoretical and methodological grounding of the decisions, see Hidalgo-Downing and Pérez-Sobrino (2022) and for a detailed explanation of the complete protocol and its application to four genres see Hidalgo-Downing et al. (forthcoming).

First, all the speeches were manually tagged according to the type of evaluative strategies (classifying, predicational and attitudinal), metaphoricity (metaphoric or non-metaphoric) and value conveyed by the expression (positive or negative). Next, details such as the title of the speech and its source were removed in order to upload the texts to the MonoConc software. This was used to make the quantitative analysis as accurate as possible. In this regard, two tools of the MonoConc programme were used: i) the frequency option, which provided the word count and frequency of each category, and, ii) the concordance search, which showed the occurrence of each category in context, thus allowing us to examine common patterns regarding types of evaluative expressions as well as the participants or actions being evaluated. Once quantitative results were obtained, a qualitative analysis was conducted of the most frequent evaluative lexical choices identified in the samples. This qualitative analysis was aimed at explaining the co-textual behaviour of each realisation of evaluation identified in our model.

4 Analysis

4.1 Evaluative Strategies in British Political Speeches

The quantitative analysis of evaluative strategies in both samples shows that the Conservative politicians make a higher use of evaluation. In terms of function, as illustrated by Figure 1, the predicational function is the most frequent one, followed by the classifying function. In this regard, it is worth noting that classifying expressions are much more numerous in the Conservative set. By contrast, attitudinal expressions display a scarce use in both samples.

As for the categories of figurativity and value, non-metaphoric expressions and positive evaluation are the most frequent types in both sets of speeches. Besides, the same number of negative expressions was found in the two samples, as shown in Figures 2 and 3:
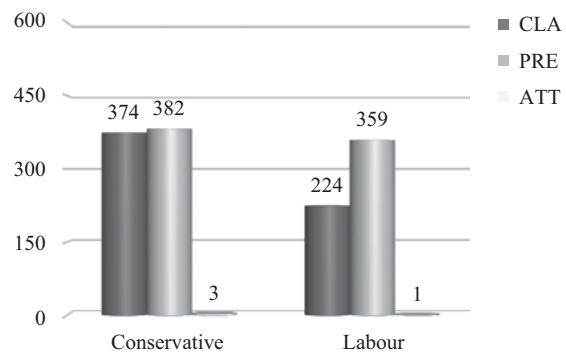
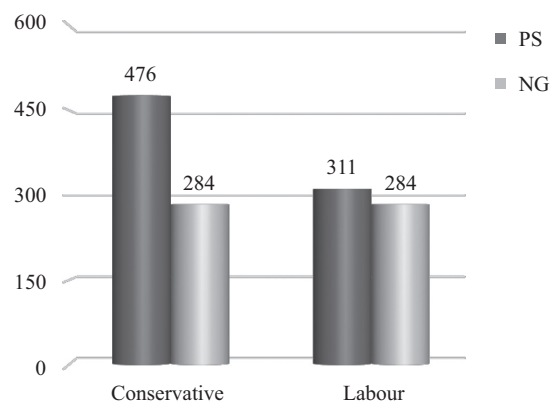**Figure 1.** Functions of stance markers in the Conservative and Labour samples.

Figure 2. Metaphoric and non-metaphoric stance markers in the Conservative and Labour samples.
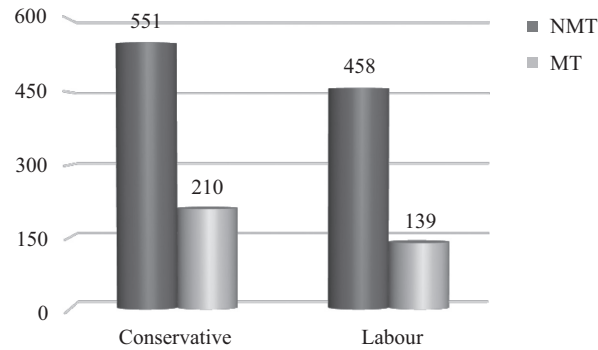
Figure 3. Positive and negative values of stance markers in the Conservative and Labour samples.

The following subsections examine the linguistic realisations and use of these evaluative strategies in the politicians´ construction of ideological positioning.

4.2 Evaluation in the Conservative Sample

The analysis of predicational evaluation in the STANCECON sample shows a prominence of the adjectives *great* (n=21), *good* (n=14, of which n=4 function as nouns), *clear* (n=8), *new* (n=5) and *strong* (n=3). A closer analysis of the words with which these adjectives collocate shows that they are used to evaluate four main entities: the message delivered by the Conservative party, typically evaluated through the adjective *clear*; Conservative policies, mainly in relation to the Brexit deal, usually through the adjectives *great*, *good*, or *new*; the Conservative party, usually through the adjective *great*; and the British nation, as we can see in examples (1)-(4).

(1) *For each of the four nations that make up our **great** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> United Kingdom.* (Davis 2016)

(2) *We are one of the **great** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> quintessential <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> European nations.* (Johnson 2017)

(3) *And let's make Britain **greater** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> still.* (Davis 2016)

(4) *Security for the nation with **strong** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> defences against threats <EV, NP CLA, NMT, NG> from abroad, and protection against threats <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, NG> at home.* (May 2018)

A close reading of the examples above shows that it is frequent for positive predicational evaluation to occur in the near co-text of a first-person plural pronoun *we*, hence anchoring the evaluation to the deictic centre, which is

occupied by the British people and/or the Conservative party (examples 1 and 2). This use of *we* tends to be combined with a positive predicational evaluation of entities with which the politician – and hence the party s/he stands for – can establish some relation, either because it is part of their national or political identity (*the nation*, in examples 1 and 2) or because it is the result of the political actions performed by them (in example 3). Likewise, as we can see in example 3, it is very frequent to find instances of positive predicational evaluation combined with an amplifying use associated to the comparative form. This contributes not only to evaluating positively the entity, but also to entailing a comparison with the past. As a consequence, the existence of the entity and any policy which might contribute to improving it are legitimised via an inferential process in which current or future actions are improved with respect to those of the past.

The analysis of negative predicational evaluation clearly shows that an opposition schema underlies PD, mostly equivalent to the 'us vs them' conceptualisation (van Dijk 1998). Thus, antonyms of the previously mentioned adjectives were found to indicate negative evaluation, including examples like *wrong* (n=4), *bad* (n=4), or *worse* (n=4). As was the case of positive evaluation, negative evaluation was used to legitimise Conservative policies by relying on a delegitimisation of Labour behaviour (see examples 5 and 6) or on an explicit reference to the negatively perceived past (as in example 7). As can also be seen in the last example, the evaluative opposition between the self and the others is frequently made explicit in discourse by relying on a co-textual relation of antonymy.

(5) *Ladies and gentlemen, Britain showed them it could be done. We proved them **wrong** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> then, and with your help, Britain will prove them **wrong** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> again.* (Davis 2016)

(6) *However **bad** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> the Labour approach is, we must do more than criticise it.* (May 2018)

(7) *This time it must be **different** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS>. Because we are all **worse off** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> when any part of us is held back. That means doing things **differently** <EV, ADV, PRE, NMT, PS>.* (May 2018)

Other examples of negative evaluation can be found in the predicational use of some evaluative adjectives accompanying verbs indicating states or possession. This can be seen in example 8, where a positioning of the speaker is observed in relation to the policies implemented or proposed by the Labour party.

(8) *A kind of manifestation of Heisenberg's uncertainty principle. It would be **disastrous** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG>. And in leaving Britain in this limbo <EV, NP, CLA, MT, NG> – locked <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG> in the orbit of the EU but unable to take back control.* (Johnson 2017)

Finally, negative predicational evaluation can be observed when referring to the current or future (financial) situation of the UK, as shown by the use of adjectives evoking negative social perceptions about how to spend money, such as *endless* (May 2018) expensive promises of the Labour government. Other examples include the use of the adjective *unfair* to refer to debts (Johnson 2017) or to prices (May 2018). In other cases, the negative evaluation comes from the combination of adjectives indicating quality, often in their comparative or superlative form, hence emphasising the perceived positive value of the new desired political outcome (see example 9 below).

> (9) *A **fairer** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> economy in the home of the free market – where enterprise creates wealth to fund **great** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> public services.* (May 2018)

The analysis of classifying strategies shows that when they have a non-metaphoric construal and positive value, they perform two main discursive functions. First, they contribute to building a shared interpersonal identity as *Conservative(s)* (n= 9). This interpersonal construction of identity is sometimes combined with a legitimation of the self's actions, and it may appear in the near co-text of what could be called an evaluation flag, that is, a word that could indicate that there is potential evaluation in the text. This is the case of the word *as* in example 10, which does not only indicate that a self-identity is discursively constructed, but it also allows for an inferential justification of the political actions of the self because they represent the core positive values of the party.

> (10) *No institution embodies our principles **as Conservatives** <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, PS> more profoundly <EV, ADV, PRE, NMT, PS> or more personally <EV, ADV, PRE, NMT, PS> than our National Health Service.* (May 2018)

Additionally, classifying positive evaluation is used when introducing the self's positive characteristics, as we can see in the use of abstract nouns such as *determination* (n=4), *decency* (n=2), *opportunity* (n=3) or *success* (n=3), which have inscribed evaluation. Other similar abstract nouns can be found in examples 11–13, although their use is not as frequent. These abstract terms have two main uses: i) indicating the positive qualities or behaviour of the Conservative party (example 11), the British people (example 12) or particular members of society, such as workers in the NHS, teachers of the armed forces (example 13); and ii) referring to the political situation at the time and to the political debate on Brexit, as in examples 12 and 13. In these two examples, the use of the *of* Prepositional Phrase illustrates another case of evaluation flag inasmuch as it establishes a "conceptual link" (Radden and Dirven 2007: 159) between qualities and those members of society who have them.

(11) *To champion <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS>* **decency <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, PS>** *in our politics.* (May 2018)

(12) *It would be tough <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> at first, but the* **resilience <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, PS>** *and* **ingenuity <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, PS>** *of the British people would see us through <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS>.* (May 2018)

(13) *The* **compassion <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, PS>** *of our NHS staff, the* **dedication <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, PS>** *of our teachers, the* **bravery <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, PS>** *of our police, and the matchless <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS>* **courage <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, PS>** *of our armed forces.* (May 2018)

Regarding the use of classifying expressions for non-metaphoric negative evaluation, several lexical choices were found in the STANCECON sample. These can be grouped into two types of nouns depending on the foregrounded aspect in the discursive construction of political opposition. On the one hand, we find nouns used to classify opponents depending on their political identity. Unlike references to the self as members of a political party, when pointing at the other it is not the name of the party that is used but nouns like *lefties* (Johnson 2017), *Marxist* (Rees-Mogg 2019) or *semi-Marxist* (Johnson 2017). In fact, besides their representational function, classifying uses of evaluation can also be ascribed an indexical function (Chilton 2004). On the other hand, we can find nouns which contribute to reifying the negative properties which characterise the others while backgrounding their identity as individuals or members of a group (Radden and Dirven 2007), as shown in example 14. Likewise, in example 15 we can see a similar backgrounding of the identity of political opponents who are referred to as *threat[s]* rather than as individuals. As Hart (2014: 127–129) notes, reification and abstraction strategies are frequent when negatively evaluating others' actions.

(14) *Let's make a positive <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> case for our values that will cut through the* **bitterness <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, NG>** *and* **bile <EV, NP, CLA, MT, NG>** *that is poisoning <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG> our politics.* (May 2018)

(15) *Security for the nation with strong <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> defences against* **threats <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, NG>** *from abroad, and protection against* **threats <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, NG>** *at home.* (May 2018)

Metaphoric evaluation tends to rely on conventional metaphors coming from the WAR, BUILDING or MOVEMENT domains, as in *winning* (n=5), *building* (n=5) or *leading* (n=1). It should be noted that these were tagged as positive metaphoric evaluation only when they were combined with the pronoun *we* and they were followed by a clearly identifiable political goal (as can be seen in example 16). While it is more common to find these conventional metaphors to indicate positive evaluation, these domains are also activated to refer negatively to the

others as *enemies* (May 2018), when talking about the *barriers to trade* (Davis 2016) or *destroying jobs* (May 2018), both of which are implicitly attributed to Corbyn's proposed policies. Example 17 is particularly interesting as it shows how the negative metaphoric evaluation stems from the co-textual relation between two near synonyms – *fall* and *collapse*– and the reference to cultural knowledge (*the fall of the Berlin Wall*), in such a way that the word *collapse* has to be metaphorically understood.

(16) *And together we will* **build <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS>** *a brighter <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> future for the whole United Kingdom.* (May 2018)

(17) *The defining <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> event for a new generation of voters was not the fall of the Berlin Wall, but the* **collapse <EV, NP, CLA, MT, NG>** *of the banks.* (May 2018)

While several conventional metaphors were found in the STANCECON sample, Johnson's speech is a particularly interesting source for the analysis of creative metaphor as a mechanism of evaluation. Examples of metaphor with a positive value include the use of the word *lion* and the verb *roar* to refer to the desired actions of the British people (example 18). More interesting is the use of creative metaphor with a negative value, as can be seen in the description of Jeremy Corbyn as a *zombie* in example 19.

(18) *That role is played by the people of this country. But it is up to us now […] to let* **that lion <EV, NP, CLA, MT, PS> roar <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS>**. (Johnson 2017)

(19) *It is back from the grave. Its* **zombie fingers <EV, NP, CLA, MT, NG> straining <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG>** *for the levers of power and that is why we cannot rest.* (Johnson 2017)

As far as attitudinal evaluation is concerned, only three instances of attitudinal evaluation appear in the STANCECON sample. Examples of expressions of attitude include the use of adverbs like *frankly* (May 2018), or the first-person singular pronoun *I* with the verb to be and attitudinal *delighted* followed by a clause (Davis 2016), as seen in example 20. Those two cases show the positive positioning of the politician towards the content of the following clause, which is usually related to the contextual situation. Only one instance of negative attitudinal evaluation could be found in *I worry*, which shows Theresa May's stance towards Corbyn's lack of *leadership* (example 21):

(20) *I* **am delighted <EV, AP, ATT, NMT, PS>** *that many who argued for Remain are now focussed on making a success of Brexit.* (Davis 2016)

(21) *That used to be Labour's position too. But when I look at its leadership today,* **I worry <EV, VP, ATT, NMT, NG>** *it's no longer the case.* (May 2018)

4.3 Evaluation in the Labour Sample

As previously mentioned, predicational markers are by far the most frequent category and contribute to creating a positive presentation of the ingroup versus a negative presentation of the outgroup. The most frequent evaluative expressions having a predicational function are *great* (n= 17), *real* (n=7), *incredible* (n= 8) and *good* (n= 6). As shown by examples (22–24), *great*, *incredible* and *good* are used to refer to the nation, the party or to their actions, thus typically collocating with inclusive *we* pronominal forms. On the other hand, *real* tends to collocate with nouns referring to the social or economic sphere (*real change*, *real alternative*, *real investment*), thus implying a negative evaluation of the Tory party´s actions. Example (25) shows how *real* is chosen to characterise the change that Britain needs, while presupposing that the Tory government has made no change at all or that such a change was not authentic.

(22) *Winning the next election will be because of people in this room and people up and down our* **great <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS>** *nation.* (Lavery 2019)

(23) *So my last thank you is to all of you, our* **incredible <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS>** *members.* (Formby 2019)

(24) *We are all* **good <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS>** *people.* (Butler 2019)

(25) *Labour stands for <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS> the* **real <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS>** *change Britain needs.* (Lavery 2019)

As was the case in the Conservative sample, the adjective *great* is commonly used in a comparative or superlative form, which contributes to amplifying the positive qualities of the ingroup´s actions. However, whereas the Conservative party uses these forms to highlight the positive changes resulting from the party´s actions (*Let´s make Britain greater still*, example 3 above), the Labour party employs them to assess the groups' goals. By doing so, it legitimises the course of action from the present into the future while implying that there are still achievements to obtain, as can be seen in example 26.

(26) *(…) we can unite our fractured <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> world, and we can show that the* **greatest <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS>** *achievements of our socialist <EV, AP, CLA, NMT, PS> movement lie not in our past, but in our future.* (Thornberry 2018)

By contrast, the Tory party and their actions are characterised in negative terms as *bad* (n= 3) or resulting in *violent* (n= 2) crime. As we can see in example 28, it is common to find compound patterns of negative predicational evaluation consisting of two pre-modifying negative expressions joined by *and*. Further, *bad* tends to occur as part of an overall us vs them discursive strategy, often inscribed in a comparative framework. Here the contrast between the ingroup´s positive

self-representation and the outgroup negative characteristics is conveyed by means of nominalised adjectives as evident from example 29 below. Interestingly, *bad* collocates with *men*, whereas *good* collocates with *people*, thus placing *the people* closer to the speaker´s deictic centre and, in turn, creating an axiological distance with respect to the group of *bad racist men* formed by Boris Johnson and Trump. Indeed, the prevalence of predicational uses of evaluation is closely related to the representational function of PD, and particularly to positioning strategies within the axiological axis (Chilton and Schäffner 1997; Filardo-Llamas and Boyd 2018).

(27) *The Tories are carrying out their plan before our very eyes. We are letting these **bad** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> men drag us into <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG> this **dark** <EV, AP, PRE, MT, NG> place.* (Butler 2019)

(28) *They [Tories] are the ones who have CREATED the conditions for rising **serious** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> and **violent** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> crime.* (Abbot, 2019)

(29) *Boris Johnson, Donald Trump – these are just some of **the bad** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> racist <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> men combining, and we are **the good** <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> people who need to associate.* (Butler 2019)

In a similar vein, classifying expressions are used to categorise situations, actions or to express abstract values. As was the case with predicational markers, classification also functions to create polarisation and highlight the difference between the Tory and the Labour party, the former being negatively classified. The most recurrent non-metaphoric classifying terms are *austerity* (n= 12), *threat(s)* (n=10), both being far more frequent than in the Conservative sample, and *scandal* (n=5). These expressions are often used to characterise the times of Tory government or to demonise this party:

(30) *Eight years of destructive <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG>, **austerity** <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, NG> and obsessive <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> outsourcing have left other councils teetering on the precipice <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG>, too, and this Government must be held to account for their social vandalism.* (Corbyn 2018)

(31) *The predators <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, NG> are circling <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG> and the privatisation we've already seen is nothing in comparison to the **threat** <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, NG> posed by a Johnson-Trump trade deal.* (Formby 2019)

(32) *And then there's the **scandal** <EV, NP, CLA, NMT, NG> of the Tories'£6 billion cuts to social care, leaving 400,000 fewer older people receiving care.* (Corbyn 2018)

In contrast to the Conservative sample, where the outgroup´s identity was backgrounded by reification and abstraction strategies, in the Labour sample the identity of the participant(s) or source of the situation negatively assessed is made explicit thanks to the use of individualisation and collectivisation strategies (van Leeuwen 1996: 48). Specifically, the social actors belonging to the outgroup (i.e. the Tory party and allies), and to whom the negative evaluation is flagged,

are either individualised (*the threat posed by a Johnson-Trump trade deal*) or represented as a collective group (*this Government*, *The Tories*).

Interestingly, this negative representation of the political scenario is used as part of an argumentative strategy justifying the need for transforming Britain. Most of the metaphoric classifying expressions associated with Labour actions rely on conventional metaphors that contain the source domains of BUILDING and WAR. As far as actions are concerned, the most frequent types fall into two categories: metaphoric expressions associated with transformation or change, which represent the party's actions in a positive way and WAR metaphoric expressions that present the Labour party (or its leader) as heroes fighting a struggle. In this regard, the most frequent classifying verbs are *rebuild* (n=12), *transform* (n= 7) and *fight(ing)* (n= 9). As shown by example 33, *rebuild* and *transform* tend to occur together, thus representing Labour as the architect of the change that Britain needs.

(33) *Labour's job is now to win support for a deal that meets the needs of the country, combined with our plan to* **rebuild <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS> and transform <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS>** *Britain with investment in our people and economy.* (Corbyn 2018)

(34) *We will work with Jewish communities to eradicate antisemitism, both from our party and wider <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS> society. And with your help I will* **fight <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS>** *for that with every breath I possess.* (Corbyn 2018)

(35) *Labour government will reverse the privatisation of our NHS and return our health service into expert public control. That's something worth <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, PS>* **fighting for <EV, VP, CLA, MT, PS>**. (Starmer 2019)

Relying on these conventional metaphors as evaluative strategies contributes to reinforcing the positive representation of the ingroup and to persuading the audience that a different Britain is possible. Although BUILDING and WAR metaphors were also found in the Conservative sample, their ideological potential has been exploited by the Labour party in a different way. Rather than building a brighter future or representing the outgroup in negative terms, Labour emphasises the transformative nature of their actions and their heroic role in this transformation.

Classifying metaphoric expressions conveying negative evaluation are less numerous. In this case, it is worth noting how the use of the WEAPONS and MOVEMENT source domains gives rise to metaphoric expressions characterising the Tories´ actions in a negative way, as shown by examples 36 and 37, and the creative use of metaphor scenarios (Musolff 2016).

(36) *Election after election, Tories* **weaponise <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG>** *immigration, they* **weaponise <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG>**. (Abbot 2019)

(37) *But this Conservative Government has **pushed** our NHS **into** crisis <EV, VP, CLA, MT, NG>, with more people waiting longer in A&E and to see a GP and over four million people on hospital waiting lists.* (Corbyn 2018)

(38) *(…) 20 years since a Labour government started the Devolution Revolution which the Tories are trying to ignore as they **hurtle towards** <EV, VP, CLA, NMT, NG> a false <EV, AP, PRE, NMT, NG> choice between the 'Chequers Deal' and 'No Deal'.* (Thornberry 2018)

Example 39 below shows how the negative evaluation of the Tory party is conveyed in a subtler way, relying on negative entailments triggered by the creative exploitation of the restaurant scenario. In particular, the food expression *a side order of chlorinated chicken*, is metaphorically mapped onto the political domain to present the choice of Liam Fox, Secretary of State for International Trade at that time, as dangerous and illegal. This negative evaluation is activated by the expression *chlorinated chicken*, given that the practice of washing chicken with chlorine has been banned in the UK (also in Europe) since 1997[3].

(39) *Liam Fox is itching to scrap workers' rights and privatise the NHS **with a side order of chlorinated chicken** <EV, NP, CLA, MT, NG>.* (Corbyn 2018)

Finally, attitudinal resources are by far the least frequent (n= 1) and express the politician´s attitude regarding how he would like his party members to act in the future. This can be seen in the use of the adverb *hopefully* in example 40.

(40) *In the next Labour government, our very own Jon Ashworth, as Health Secretary, and Sarah Jones, as Housing Minister, will be carrying forward the struggle <EV, NP, CLA, MT, PS> to protect and extend democratic <EV, AP, CLA, NMT, PS> rights. **Hopefully,** <EV, ADV, ATT, NMT, PS> without becoming martyrs <EV, NP, CLA, MT, NG> in the process.* (Corbyn 2018)

5 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the way evaluation is expressed by Conservative and Labour politicians in two samples of political speeches delivered between 2016 and 2019. The mixed methods approach used in the study has revealed that Conservative politicians make a higher use of evaluative stance markers. Regardless of the frequency of use, more similarities than differences have been found in the categories of evaluative markers and in the ideological functions that evaluation serves.

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3   See Schraer and Edgington (2019). Chlorinated chicken. How safe is it?. BBC News, 5th March 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-47440562>. Last accessed 2nd April 2020.

In terms of categories, the most frequent one is predicational evaluation, which, in the two samples, was conveyed by means of adjectives, often used in comparative or superlative forms. The use of predicational expressions was employed by the politicians to legitimise their own actions and delegitimise those of others. Likewise, classifying expressions were also used with a (de)legitimising function. These markers included a wider array of lexical choices, ranging from nouns and verbs with inscribed positive or negative evaluation to metaphoric expressions. Interestingly, in both samples, creative uses of metaphor tended to be associated with negative evaluation, as was the case of the representation of Corbyn as a zombie in the Conservative sample, or the reference to the restaurant scenario when describing Liam Fox's actions in the Labour one. By contrast, conventional metaphors, such as those related to the BUILDING, WAR or MOVEMENT source domains were used to convey both positive and negative evaluation. More differences, however, were found in the use of nouns, where the name of the political party was more frequently used than any other classifying lexical choice by Conservative politicians, hence allowing the inferential association of political parties – and related beliefs – to positive or negative values. This was found to be consistent with a backgrounding of the other´s identity by means of reification and abstraction strategies in the Conservative sample, as opposed to the use of individualisation and collectivisation strategies to make the other´s identity explicit in the Labour set. In any case, the use of party names to activate negative evaluation has shown that evaluation is not only inscribed, but it can also be contextually evoked, particularly when building the self and the other´s intersubjective political identity. It shall be finally noted that the lack of attitudinal expressions can be explained if we take into account that PD is characterised as persuasive discourse ultimately aiming at developing a collective consciousness based on the representation of the party's members and values rather than expressing the politicians' individual comments on whole propositions.

Overall, in the two sets, evaluation was subordinate to the ideological square underlying PD, thus contributing to the positive self-representation and negative other-representation. It can be thus argued that in PD evaluative stance resources serve a persuasive goal in the sense that they function strategically to strengthen ingroup solidarity and to persuade the audience to believe that a given party is the best political option. In this way, evaluative stance also becomes the means to promote and legitimise the party´s ideology.

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